EMIL PULL

THE ORIGINAL SIN

On displacement through renoviction in Sweden

**MALMÖ
UNIVERSITY**

THE ORIGINAL SIN

Dissertation series in
Migration, Urbanisation, and Societal Change

Doctoral dissertation in Urban Studies
Department of Urban studies, Malmö University, Sweden

and

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Department of People and Technology, Roskilde University, Denmark

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To my interlocutors in their struggle

Figure 1: Map of Uppsala

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Abstract

The thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How should the current displacement-induced renovations in Uppsala and Sweden be understood?
- How is displacement in Uppsala and Sweden experienced by the affected populations?

The section “Displacement dialectics in Sweden” will introduce the reader to Sweden’s housing regime and housing politics through an historical overview of displacement moments in Sweden from the late 1800 to present-day renoviction tactics. This is followed by a chapter detailing the dissertation’s ontological and epistemological vantage points and outlining the theoretical framework used to analyze displacement. It introduces certain takes on phenomenology and critical urban theory and how these two paradigms can reinforce each other through a reading of alienation. This is followed by a brief review on displacement in urban studies literature. The methodological chapter introduces the phenomenological method in brief, and it mostly consists of a series of methodological reflections on subjects such as ethics and the various types of techniques used to gather and analyze data. The conclusion summarizes the main points and arguments outlined in the individual articles enclosed in the thesis, as well as discussions brought up exclusively in this Kappa.

Abstrakt

Afhandlingen søger at besvare følgende forskningsspørgsmål:

- Hvordan kan de nuværende fordrivelses-inducerede renoveringer i Uppsala og Sverige forstås?
- Hvordan oplever og erfarer berørte befolkninggrupper fordrivelser i Uppsala og Sverige?

Afsnittet "Displacement dialectics in Sweden" introducerer læseren til Sveriges boligregime og boligpolitik igennem en historisk oversigt over fordrivelser i Sverige fra slutningen af 1800 tallet til nutidens renoveringstaktikker. Herefter følger et kapitel, der beskriver afhandlingens ontologiske og epistemologiske udgangspunkt. Her skitserer samtidigt den teoretiske ramme, der bruges til at analysere fordrivelser. Der introduceres til en særlig tilgang til fænomenologi og kritisk teori, samt hvordan disse to paradigmer kan styrke hinanden. Dette efterfølges af en kort gennemgang og diskussion. Af 'displacement' indenfor bystudie. Det metodologiske kapitel introducerer til den fænomenologiske metode og består hovedsageligt af metodiske refleksioner over de forskellige anvendte teknikker, der bruges til at indsamle og analysere data samt etiske overvejelser. Konklusionen opsummerer de vigtigste pointer og argumenter, som fremgår af de enkelte artikler, der er indeholdt i afhandlingen, samt diskussioner, der er refereret til denne 'Kappa'.

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To write a PhD thesis is at the same time a solitary and an exceedingly social affair. It involves long, lonely nights in front of the computer chasing a deadline, interjected by bursts of intense social interactions with colleagues and friends at the office, at conferences in far-away countries and cities, in discussions with students in the lecture hall and in discussions over a pint of beer in town. These interruptions in the writing process have not only kept me sane, but they have been exceedingly important in my reading and understanding of the matters of this thesis. I cannot thank everyone by name, but I would like to acknowledge some of the wonderful people that have supported me in the production of this thesis over the last few years.

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through my PhD studies. Your approach to supervision has always encouraged and granted me full academic freedom. You didn't bat an eye when I dug deep into for instance Giorgio Agamben and Jacques Rancière (I still owe you an article with a Rancièrian framing!), but allowed my curiosity to take me where it did. You have always treated me like an equal and taken my ideas seriously. I am very grateful for the confidence you put in me to find my own way, and for the help, encouragement and generosity you have offered me along the way. Mustafa, I met you during my master studies in Lund. But only on paper. Your brilliant mind and sharp theorizing about society struck a chord in me, and though I had never met you, my master thesis relied heavily upon your work. I finally did meet you face to face at a CRUSH meeting in Tallinn, and I have since gotten to know you as an animated and generous lecturer and thinker, whose work continuous to inspire me.

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Article B

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Article C

Pull, E. (2020b) “Displacement: Structural Evictions and Alienation,” *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 19(1), pp. 364–373.

Article D

Pull, E. (2020a) “A landscape of post-gentrification?: A renovation case in Sweden,” in Baeten, G. et al. (eds.) *Housing Displacement: Conceptual and Methodological Issues*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 53–66. doi: 10.4324/9780429427046-4.

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PREFACE – CORONA NOTES

How the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic and the consequential economic fallout will shape poverty, homelessness, and displacement patterns in cities that have undergone decades of austerity measures and neoliberal reforms, eating away at welfare programs and social security measures, is anyone's guess. However, what has been accentuated is how stable and affordable housing is at the frontier of – and forms a defense against – personal, local, and global crises of all sorts, not least pandemics. Recently, in a call for information on the impacts of the Covid-19 crisis and its implications for the right to housing, the OHCHR (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2020) wrote,

Approximately 1.8 billion people worldwide live in homelessness, informal settlements and grossly inadequate housing, often in overcrowded conditions, lacking access to water and sanitation – making them particularly vulnerable to contracting the virus, as they are often suffering from multiple health issues.

Leilani Farha, UN Special Rapporteur on the right to adequate housing, added that “Housing has become the front line defence against the coronavirus. Home has rarely been more of a life or death situation.” (ibid) Nevertheless, Amnesty International lists Sweden among the countries that, despite the ongoing virus crisis and contrary to UN recommendations, keep policing homeless people through police harassment and evictions from makeshift camps as well as more formal evictions from apartments. According to Amnesty, 687 evictions and removals affecting 848 persons (161 of which are children) were carried out in Sweden in the months between February and March.

Another theme that has been actualized through the pandemic is sanitization, immunology and city planning. In this thesis I discuss how these areas have strong interdependent links in the housing history of Sweden. The thesis was predominantly written well before the pandemic had hit and I consequently make no connections to today. But as a dialectical reading of history is something I promote throughout this thesis, I would be amiss not to invite readers of this thesis to think, critically, on the history and entanglement of disease control and the advancement of housing as a political project. In the midst of the death and terror that the pandemic have caused – by virtue of both its genetic code and by the neoliberal policies that have produced healthcare and housing deficits making us wholly unprepared to face our adversary – we now stand at a precipice. We now have a sliver of a chance of taking housing back from the privatized sphere so incapable of housing us decently and affordably, and to take housing into the public field of politics again. It is literally a question of life and death.

Malmö, 20th June, 2020

INTRODUCTION

[C]apitalism is based precisely on its ability to displace the working class in all sorts of situations. (N. Smith & LeFaivre, 1984, p. 60)

It feels as if we have done something wrong. I've worked for fifty years, paid my taxes. I have had kids and grandkids. But now they throw me out of my home. Like I am trash. It makes me angry but it also makes me feel useless you know, like what I have done doesn't matter. (Britta, tenant in Kvarngärdet, March 2018)

The title of the thesis, “the original sin,” is to most people known in its Christian guise: as the transgression of Adam and Eve when they ate the forbidden fruit. It was the first sin, the sin that plunged the couple out of Eden and all of humanity since into the world as sinners. Karl Marx (1992) later used this concept to name another ancestral and mythological sin, namely the birth of capitalism and of class society. Marx was well versed in the canon of political economy (in Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, and David Riccardo among others) and appreciated many of its insights into capitalism (Liedman, 2015; Marx, 1992), but he thought it was lacking in one aspect: how it all started. In his eyes, much of the literature on political economy adequately explained how the wheels kept on turning but failed in addressing how capitalism came to be. Smith had admittedly discussed some sort of pre-capitalist accumulation and touched upon the transition from feudalism to capitalism. For Smith, from time immemorial, some workers toiled harder than others and peacefully built up some capital. This hard toil paid off, and the hardy workers could eventually hire less diligent workers. Thus, capital and class positions were born. Marx saw that explanation as naïve. He wrote,

[Capitals] origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone-by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. [...] Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property. (Marx, 1992, pp. 873–874)

For the early liberal theorists, the original sin served as a way to remove class distinction as something political and to hide that it was forced upon some by others through strife. Instead, class distinctions and property relations were to be seen as inherent in the nature of humans, much like class positions were given by divine right to kings and the nobility. Marx called his own conception of how capitalism was born primitive accumulation, and it was not predicated on a division of the diligent and the lazy. Instead, primitive accumulation was a process during the late Middle Ages, especially in England, whereby two simultaneous and intertwined processes took place. On the one hand, the feudal class relations were slowly broken up and serfdom diminished greatly in favor of small landowning peasants. On the other hand, land-commons and agricultural land was encroached and privatized in a counteroffensive by the aristocracy. These processes entailed “freedom” for the peasants in a double sense: They were free of serfdom and regarded as emancipated individuals free to sell the products of their labor, but many were also freed of their land and the possibility to produce anything. This double “emancipation” consequently created a class who had nothing to sell but their labor power. These people made up the pool of surplus labor that mills and factories, in and out of cities, needed in order for industrialization to advance and capitalist class relations to cement. However, this “freeing” was not a very peaceful process; Marx recounts how peasants were often first displaced from their lands and livelihood and then relegated to precariousness as beggars and vagabonds in the cities, towns, and the country side, waiting in vain (or being unwilling) to be absorbed into the labor force.

Hence, Marx first conceived the concept of an original sin and of primitive accumulation as a critique against how those two concepts had been previously understood. The original sin used to connote a genesis where some were diligent and others lazy, eventually achieving a sort of primitive accumulation and birthing capitalism. In contrast, Marx meant that one class system led way to another class system through technological advancement but also conflict and strife.¹ The original sin to him was how capitalism came about through the exploitation and displacement of peasants at their moment of emancipation. Marx halted there, letting “the original sin” be original – the genesis of capitalism. Others have since picked up the notion of primitive accumulation. Rosa Luxemburg (1951) saw the displacement of people from land as pivotal to the workings of imperialism, as did Lenin (McMichael, 1977) in his way. Primitive accumulation also plays a central role in urban geographer David Harvey’s (2005) popular notion of “accumulation by dispossession” in his thesis on the new imperialism and the workings of contemporary capitalism. Through Harvey and other urban theorists (Chatterjee, 2014; Roy, 2017; Sassen, 2014), displacement and similar notions like expulsions and banishments, which are more or less prominently based on the centrality between displacement and capitalism, have maintained their prevalence in studies on modern society in general and urban questions in particular.

How then does the concept of the original sin relate to this thesis and its perhaps more elucidating subtitle, “On displacement through renovation in Sweden”? First, this thesis is about displacement, more precisely about the displacement of tenants from rental buildings and their neighborhoods following renovation schemes in Sweden. Given how commonplace displacements are around the globe today, it is not wholly surprising that they take place in Sweden, too. Displacement is intimately linked to the structure of capitalist society; the introductory quote by Smith and LeFaivre (1984) captures this strong relation well. As Marx made clear above, displacement has been part of the working-class experience since the genesis of capitalism, and displacement is ultimately and fundamentally about class conflict. I strongly disagree with readings of displacement as a natural process or byproduct in the evolution or “progress” of cities and neighborhoods. The original sin is the sin of a

¹ This is admittedly a very crude and simple interpretation of the move from Feudalism to Capitalism. For more in-depth interpretations, see Katz (Katz, 1993), Liedman (2015), and Harvey (2019).

societal organization where accumulation displaces the many in favor of profit for the few. This is the critical theory researcher in me speaking. This thesis rests upon a body of work and a theoretical canon going back to Marx via the Frankfurt School theorists of the early and mid-twentieth century.

The second meaning of “the original sin” is captured in the second quote above, by Britta, and relates more to the experience of being displaced. There is indeed a sin present whenever there is displacement going on, and as I hope to convey through the contents of this thesis, that sin is unjustly felt by those being displaced, rather than those who displace. The stories of my interlocutors are stories about rage and outrage, but also resignation; they are about a feeling of being on the wrong side of things, of being disposable, of being the lazy and the useless having to give way to the “thrifty,” of standing in the way of progress. This is part of the phenomenon of being displaced, eloquently captured by Marx’s reading of the myth of the original sin. Building on Marx, this thesis explores this structure of experiences of being displaced. With help from a phenomenological method, this thesis aims to flesh out what it means to be displaced – beyond the simple removal from a Euclidian point in space. It asks what it means to be alienated from your home: from dwelling and neighborhood, from ones social and material surroundings, and from friends and neighbors. It is a thesis about the price of displacement for those being displaced.

Housing, homelessness, and displacement globally

[The] dwelling of the poor man is a hostile element, "a dwelling which remains an alien power and only gives itself up to him insofar as he gives up to it his own blood and sweat" – a dwelling which he cannot regard as his own hearth – where he might at last exclaim: "Here I am at home" – but where instead he finds himself in someone else’s house, in the house of a stranger who always watches him and throws him out if he does not pay his rent. He is also aware of the contrast in quality between his dwelling and a human dwelling that stands in the other world, in the heaven of wealth. (Marx, 1961, p. 151)

To start discussing displacement, one must perhaps discuss housing, and to discuss housing is to discuss the housing crisis. But one has to be careful when using the term “crisis” to denote a situation in the sphere

of housing. The term “crisis” implies that something abnormal is going on – that something is temporarily disrupted from a normally well-functioning regime. However, inadequate and unaffordable housing is the norm rather than the exception for working-class, poor, and disenfranchised populations in most parts of the world and in most times. Already Engels (1872) said that the housing crisis is a *permanent* feature of capitalism. As with other crises, housing crises play out differently in different geographies and at different times; they affect different groups of people in different ways, and the solutions to specific housing problems never really solve the problems but, in the words of David Harvey (2006), merely move them around to another place and in another shape. Consequently, there can be no definitive start to a housing crisis, no genesis. Granted, crises do not erupt in a vacuum, but they play out in a dialectical manner as part of the political economy at large. Suffice it to say, the symptoms of the housing crisis are abundant almost everywhere today. Segregation and polarization, land grabs and evictions, poverty and precariousness, and displacement and unaffordability – these are all hallmarks of today’s cities. This is the case in Sweden as well, as we will see. However, the housing crisis in mainstream media is invoked rather differently, and it is rarely related to the processes listed above. It is rather invoked first and only when middle-class populations are in some way affected in their consumption of housing or when profits for powerful vested interest groups begin to fall, as they did during the sub-prime crisis in the United States in 2007 or in Sweden in the 1990s, when prices for homeownership crashed. This thesis is not about these particular crises but about that permanent crisis that is unevenly felt by different groups in different contexts and in different times.

The most obvious fallout of a housing crisis is homelessness, and homelessness is increasing in cities throughout the globe. This is true for the United States, where homelessness in, for instance, New York is more prevalent now than at any point since the Great Depression (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). It is true in Belgium, where homelessness in Brussels increased by 96% between 2008 and 2016 (Foundation Abbé Pierre - FEANTSA, 2019). It is true for Australia, where in 2017 one in every 200 was homeless at any given night, an increase of 13.7% since 2011 (*Homelessness in Australia*, 2017). It is true in Nigeria, where estimates have homelessness numbers at anywhere between 24.4 million, 68 million (Nnochiri, 2015), and even 108 million (The Guardian, 2017). It is

true for Brazil, where in 2017 municipal agencies in Rio de Janeiro estimated the city to have over 14,400 homeless people, an increase of 150% over a three-year period (Forte, 2017). It is true for India, where in 2011 an estimated 1.8 million homeless persons lived in such places as along roadsides, on pavements, near drainage pipes, under staircases, and on railway stations (Thiyagarajan, Bhattacharya, & Kaushal, 2018). It is also true for the country of focus in this thesis, Sweden, where homelessness has been on the increase since the 1990s (Pull, 2020b).

How to measure homelessness, and what constitutes as homelessness, varies between countries and over time. In many countries, statistics on homelessness are not gathered at all. The homeless in India are defined as persons who do not live in a census house, which in turn is defined as a “structure with roof,” irrespective of the quality of said structure. In Hong Kong, more than 200,000 persons live in “coffin homes”: cupboard-sized, subdivided apartment units, sometimes not large enough to stretch one’s legs when laying down (Taylor, 2017). They are not considered homeless. In Ghana between 10 and 20 persons on average are estimated to share every habitable room (Habitat for Humanity, 2020), they too are not homeless. According to the United Nations, anywhere between 100 million and 1.8 billion people are homeless, depending on how homelessness is defined. The numbers are staggering and increasing. Homelessness is an acutely important issue, while it is also wholly inadequate as a discrete statistical category to capture the various housing crises plaguing today’s cities across the globe.

I will not attempt to rectify the problems with defining or measuring homelessness in this thesis. After all, this thesis is about displacement rather than homelessness. Many of my interlocutors have never considered themselves homeless, although the fear of ending up on the street is ever-present for some of them. Nevertheless, to some extent, it is homelessness that this thesis is all about: the situation of lacking for a safe and secure home. Thus, I want to position this thesis, and the situation of my interlocutors, within the debate on homelessness above.

To instead put my study and the Swedish case in relation to displacement studies globally is not a whole lot easier. Methodological and conceptual differences between studies, coupled with poor data availability and a high level of political contestation, have made the scope of displacement a highly contested issue. The concept is rarely perceived to

be a statistical category, possibly due to operationalization issues, but has to be derived from other sources of data – data that tend to narrowly redefine what the researcher means by displacement. Zuk et al. (2015) note how data availability, statistical methods deployed, and the timing of the study, coupled with the questions the studies set out to answer – such as the nature of displacement (e.g., how many are displaced, where they go, how it varies between groups, etc.), the causes (e.g., rent changes, disinvestment, etc.), or the consequences (e.g., re-segregation, crowding, rent-burden, neighborhood destabilization, etc.) – all effect the derived “scale” of the problem.

In the realm of urban studies, the United States might be the place where the first studies on the scope of displacement following urban processes were carried out. Grier and Grier (1978), using a wide array of external factors leading to displacement, estimated that only a few hundred households were displaced annually in the major US cities. By contrast, LeGates and Hartman (1982), using the same variables as Grier and Grier, put the number at 2.5 million people per year in their 1982 study. In a more recent American study, Wyly and Newman (2010) conclude that “[i]n New York City, at least 10,000 renter households are displaced each year – a tip of an iceberg that includes many who leave the city, become homeless, double up with friends or relatives, or adapt in other ways that render them statistically invisible.” They echo Davidson’s (2009) and Atkinson’s (2015) worry that, rather than not being a problem, displacement could very well be severely underestimated due to methodological issues and the fact that what many studies attempt to do is measuring the invisible – the ones who have already left the site of the study when the researcher arrives.

Sassen (2014), who talks about *expulsions* rather than displacement, has studied foreclosures in Europe. She noted sharp increases in almost all of Europe. For example, she noted a 205% increase in Latvia since the economic crisis in 2007, a 10% increase in Sweden from 2008 to 2009, about 400,000 foreclosures in Spain between 2007 and 2012, almost a million in Hungary between 2009 and 2013, and 30 million in the United States over the same period (Sassen, 2014). Looking at forced evictions, Clark and Hansen (Hansen & Clark, 2017) claim that even conservative estimates based on reported cases “suggest very large numbers globally, and these do not include other less flagrant forms of displace-

ment and dispossession through the ball and chain of the market. Just the displacement associated with the Beijing Olympic Games reached over 1.5 million” (Hansen & Clark, 2017), figures that do not include the approximately 400,000 migrants whose homes were destroyed following large-scale infrastructural projects.

To conclude, displacement is equally if not harder to measure than homelessness. The scale, scope, and severity for the affected populations are exceedingly hard to quantify. Nor will I attempt to do so in this thesis. Suffice it to say, displacement is a serious issue globally, including in the small welfare country of Sweden, which will be the focus here.

Renoviction and displacement pressures in Uppsala: How my study started

In the middle of January 2014, I took a train from my home town of Malmö to meet up with and interview a number of tenants in Kvarngärdet, a neighborhood in Uppsala, the fourth largest city in Sweden. Kvarngärdet is an old Million Homes Program neighborhood adjacent to downtown Uppsala. The Million Homes Program was a housing construction program in Sweden between 1965 and 1974 in which roughly 100 to 120 thousand dwellings were constructed annually under favorable loans and subsidies by the Swedish state. As with other Million Homes neighborhoods in Sweden, Kvarngärdet was built to counter housing shortage and overcrowding in the 1960s, and as with many of these neighborhoods, it is now undergoing much needed renovations.

The general plan for the neighborhoods of Kvarngärdet and Gränby were drawn up in two stages at the end of the 1950s and the early 1960s. The neighborhoods were well suited for the industrial construction and pre-fabrication model of the 1960s since the area was flat and on virgin soil. A majority of the buildings were constructed by the municipal housing company Uppsala Hem. The first buildings were erected in the northern parts of Kvarngärdet and, according to Vikstrand (2009), most likely constitute the first low-rise, high density, industrially built neighborhood in Sweden. In a pre-renovation study, Vikstrand (2009) described the neighborhood as follows:

[It maintains] a higher standard than the average contemporary housing production. Despite a limited number of housing types – and most of the houses are of a single type – the neighborhood does not project the same type of monotony that other neighborhoods of a similar size often do. (2009, p. 23 Author's translation)

Parts of the housing stock in the neighborhood have since been sold to private actors. In 1996, much of Kvarngärdet was sold to the private housing company Drott, and their stock was in turn bought by Stena Fastigheter AB in 2004. Today, the main actors in both neighborhoods are the aforementioned private actor Stena Fastigheter, the municipally owned Uppsala Hem, and the private housing company Rikshem.

My first interview in Uppsala was with a group of three women. We sat down in the common area of their apartment building, a free space for gatherings and festivities that the tenants could use. The heating was broken and the outside temperature was below freezing, so we kept our jackets on and warmed ourselves with coffee and cookies while they told me their story. It was a story that I had heard before. The much-needed renovations of their apartments slowly turned into “luxury” renovations with tiled bathrooms and new kitchens, renovations resulting in far larger rent increases than the tenants could afford. The story, to me, sounded like a typical “murky backside of gentrification” saga, with more or less forced displacement of “poor and undesirables” in the wake of a city rejuvenation scheme. Of course, this came as no surprise to me. I was there with a purpose and had some prior information on their situation. A few years earlier, my Uppsala University-based colleagues Sara Westin (Westin, 2011, 2012) and Irene Molina (Molina & Westin, 2012) had taken note of a new phenomenon occurring in Sweden: renoviction, the act of evicting tenants in the process of renovating apartment buildings. (Perhaps it was not so new, but the scale and severity of it surely was; more on that later.) I was keen on investigating what had happened since. Over the next few years, I would have to reassess the idea of gentrification. But we will come back to that.

For the tenants in Uppsala, the process had started with an announcement in 2001 of gentle but necessary renovations of plumbing, electricity, windows, and insulation by the public housing company Uppsala Hem. Something much anticipated by the tenants.

I think it was back in 2010 that I saw a note in the stairwell that said, “We are going to renovate your neighborhood”. It said *your* neighborhood. I got really happy. Because I thought the neighborhood deserved it. I remember when I had just moved in, I called the landlord, and this is important, our kitchen worked and was ok, but it was a bit so-so. It hadn’t been painted in a long time. Not since it was built, I think. It was a bit shabby. I asked if they could do something, or if I could paint it myself. This was ten years ago, and they responded that they had plans to renovate the area and that nothing would be done now. I wasn’t upset. I thought, “ok, I can wait for them. I’m happy there are plans.” And then the note came, and I was really, really happy. (Interlocutor, January 2014)

Over the past decade, many of the housing companies in Uppsala had introduced rental policies demanding a certain income in relation to the rent to be eligible. Rikshem was one of these companies. During one of the few meetings with their tenants where Rikshem actually showed up, one of the tenants pointed out that she does not meet those requirements, not on the current rent and definitely not after the rent increases. The representative from Rikshem shrugged and answered, “so? You live here now” (Interlocutor, February 2015), refusing to acknowledge the problem. If she refused to sign the renovation agreement, Rikshem would most likely proceed with their plans anyhow and not offer her a temporary apartment during the renovations nor help her with the costs and logistics of moving. Help to move is something she was in dire need of as a low-income senior citizen without any savings to speak of and with nerve damage in her hands making heavy lifts impossible. She was welcome to sign the agreement and move out temporarily with financial and physical help. However, with the proposed rent increases, she would move back only to face the same dilemma again when the full impact of the gradual rent increases forces her to move again. This time, she would be left without financial and logistical aid, since such a move would be viewed as a choice rather than as a result of the renovation.

The option to oppose and refuse to sign the agreement put her in an impossible situation. Renovations requiring her to temporarily move out of her apartment would be made whether she signed the agreement or not (only the level of “luxury” and the final rent levels were in question – not that there would be invasive renovations); however, not signing would deprive her of the right to an interim apartment and the financial

help of moving. Further, moving without the aid of Rikshem was rendered virtually impossible by the rental policies, which put hard caps on income-to-rent-level ratios. She simply could not afford to move to another landlord. Her situation was not unique; it mirrored the story of dozens of tenants that I have met and continue to meet in Uppsala. Nor is her fight over. She has since that first meeting moved to a smaller and cheaper apartment within the neighborhood. However, her rents keep on increasing, and in a year's time, they will exceed that of her pension and she will be forced to move again. Where to, she does not know. Many of her friends and neighbors have already left to other cheaper neighborhoods. She has been able to maintain contact with some, but not all. Friendships have assuredly been lost. What she knows is that plans to renovate and massive rent increases have hit their new neighborhoods, too. Her old friends are likely to be displaced yet again, and the affordable neighborhoods left in Uppsala are vanishing quickly. She knows people that have been forced to leave the city, to move to the countryside, where it is cheaper. But what will she do there? Her family and friends are here, in Uppsala and in Kvarngärdet.

For the past fifteen years, the tenants in Uppsala have faced open-ended processes of being renovicted. Although they have substantially more freedom than prison detainees or refugee camp residents, their lived experience of being “stuck out of time” (Lars, tenant in Gränby, February 14, 2015), an embodied feeling of everlasting present, closely resembles that of incarcerated prisoners (Moran, 2012). They express feelings of life being on hold and of emotional deprivation, where the emotional spectrum is reduced to feelings of anger, anxiety, hopelessness, and lack of power over one's life. One of the tenants expressed it as turning into someone else: “a very mean and angry person” (Lena, tenant in Kvarngärdet, February 14, 2015), someone to whom the mundane task of keeping a clean home feels pointless since uprooting and renoviction waits just around the corner, and someone whose nights are occupied by dreams of packing and unpacking boxes and moving, when the level of anxiety allows for sleep at all (ibid). These tenants have been going through all this, every day, for a decade and a half and counting. Maj-Britt put it succinctly,

It feels as if we are living in a social experiment. (Maj-britt, tenant in Kvarngärdet, February 14, 2015)

This thesis is about this group of tenants and other tenants that I have met and talked to in Uppsala through the process of writing this thesis. It is about displacement, about experiencing a housing crisis, about how a home can confront its inhabitants as something alien and threatening, about experiences of abuse and exploitation: It is about a story of displacement “caked in blood and grime” (Chatterjee, 2014).

Aim and research questions

This thesis is about renoviction, about the process that my interlocutors in Uppsala are going through, but more generally, it is about displacement. It addresses how to think critically about and how to understand displacement, irrespective of the actual mechanisms driving the displacement. However, I will not advocate for a meta theory of displacement, and I see displacement not as a cause but as a consequence of diverse sets of urban processes in Sweden and around the globe. I therefore contend that displacement must be considered in its varying but concrete geographical and historical contexts. The geographical context of this study is the contemporary practice of renoviction in Sweden, generally, and in the municipality of Uppsala, specifically. However, historical context is equally as important as its geography, and the history of displacement in a Swedish context cannot be captured solely through the concept of renoviction. Other mechanisms have also been primary drivers of displacement, so this thesis is not solely about renoviction but about displacements more generally. Nevertheless, renoviction is the dominant form or mechanism that displaces tenants in contemporary Sweden.

I do consider displacement as a dominant force that is shaping the urban fabric for dwellers across the globe, and through this thesis, I make an attempt at conceptualizations that are concrete, precise, and relevant to displaced populations and that are contextually sensitive. I also argue that displacement is not the beginning or the end of exploitation but one consequence in a wider set of negotiations over power and control of space and place. I do not want to fetishize displacement by replacing meta-narratives like gentrification with displacement, but I want to enhance the conceptual apparatus around contemporary disposessions and displacements in a critical way, by putting experiences of displacement at the fore. By highlighting displacement and the displaced, I hope to contribute to a radicalization of research that for long has focused on the middle-class experience of urbanism in studies on gentrification and beyond.

Further, I contend that just as the solution to gentrification cannot be neighborhood decline, the solution to displacement and dispossession cannot be repossession and emplacement. A causal relationship between emplacement and displacement and between dispossession and repossession presupposes an immutable sanctity of private property. However, as neocolonial researchers have taught us, property and land are the result of variegated and heavily contested models of private property that are embedded within historical power struggles. A case in point is the long history of dispossession of indigenous land, where repossession has been shown to operate within decidedly colonial regimes of recognition (Blatman-Thomas, 2019). Consequently, I am not calling for a grand solution to displacement; rather, I am aiming for nuanced and sensitive investigations that highlight and challenge the uneven geographies of power and exploitation that underpin a variety of contextually different contemporary urban processes.

My research questions are as follows:

How should the current displacement-induced renovations in Uppsala and Sweden be understood?

How is displacement in Uppsala and Sweden experienced by the affected populations?

Main contributions

The main contributions of this thesis to the knowledge production around displacement are fourfold. *Empirically*, the thesis draws on longitudinal interviews (spanning a time period of five years) with displaced persons. Longitudinal qualitative methods are exceedingly rare in the field of urban studies at large, including studies on displacement. Consequently, the material offers a unique opportunity to understand the complexity of being displaced.

The second contribution is *methodological*. The technique exercised in the field has been that of unstructured and phenomenological interviewing. In the thesis, the main infliction of phenomenological thought lies in the concrete praxis of research: in the nitty-gritty method of meeting and discussing with interlocutors and in the in-situ knowledge production, as well as (particularly in Article B) in the generation of theory

from assembled data. Sadly, due to the nature of compilation theses, where the research output is focused on publication, this contribution is inadequately displayed in the articles themselves. The phenomenological approach to interviewing and the theoretical insights into space, place, and home are only explicitly mentioned in Article B; nevertheless, phenomenology has been a guiding principle throughout the work with this thesis. It is my hope that the benefits (and difficulties) of this approach will be made clearer to the reader through this kappa.

The third contribution is *theoretical*. Even though the phenomenological underpinnings of this thesis operate primarily on a concrete level as a specific method, the method reverberates in the ontological and epistemological presumptions of the thesis. Because phenomenology is more than praxis, it is also a theory of being and a theory of science. In the articles enclosed in this thesis, the theoretical backbone is that of critical (urban) theory with a Marxist view on knowledge production. To many, Marxism and phenomenology represent incommensurable paradigms, to borrow a Kuhnian term, unable to talk to each other. Others like Lefebvre (1991) and Merleau-Ponty (1958) breached this territory in fruitful ways. In this kappa, I attempt just that, to enter these paradigms into discussion. This is done through the concept of alienation, a phenomenon that I find is invoked too rarely in housing studies today and a concept that speaks both to the phenomenologist and the Marxist. It will be done not through the aforementioned French philosophers, as often is, but mainly through the German Frankfurt School theorists Herbert Marcuse and Eric Fromm.

Finally, I hope to contribute to the knowledge production and to the theoretical body of work of urban studies in general and to housing studies and gentrification studies in particular. The four enclosed articles make individual advances of their own, but taken together, I hope the articles build on the knowledge of displacement theory and advance it through the novel lens and reading of Sweden in transition to a “post-gentrification landscape.”

Delimitations: what this study is and is not

This thesis is focused on the experiences of a number of tenants regarding the threat posed against their homes. It is an investigation into and a story about alienation, a story which I attempt to historicize with a particular reading of Swedish displacement history. It is not an investiga-

tion into all the exercises of power used to displace. Although, for instance, Article A (enclosed in this thesis) does account for a few of them, there are other studies that tackle this aspect more in-depth (Westin, 2011). Nor is it a story of all the experiences of neighborhood changes. My interlocutors all live in two neighborhoods in Uppsala, and a lot has been happening in these two neighborhoods that I have not studied. In particular, there are strong grass-roots movements operating in Uppsala (Listerborn, Molina, & Richard, 2020). Activists have organized photo exhibitions, published books, written reggae songs, produced music videos, created radio shows and podcasts, and held rallies; further, housing conferences organized from below have gathered tenants, activists, and radical researchers together to share knowledge and experiences. Some of the tenants I have interviewed in connection to this thesis have been involved in some of these events and movements, and it has certainly played a major part in their displacement biography. Nevertheless, this aspect of displacement is not something I discuss in this thesis.

There are multiple reasons why this undoubtedly very important aspect of displacement in Sweden is omitted in this work. One reason is that not everyone suffering from displacement and renoviction processes in Sweden lives in neighborhoods where there are resistance going on. In fact, most do not. Uppsala and Gothenburg are the two cities where renoviction has received most attention, both from the media and researchers, undoubtedly due to the organized forms of resistance that have formed in these two cities. But many neighborhoods and cities in Sweden lack that form of resistance, and most tenants are not organized. In fact, the vast majority of my interlocutors are not part of any formal resistance movements. Further, this thesis is not a case study of what has happened in Uppsala; rather, it is a study into the phenomenon of displacement in Sweden at large, using Uppsala as the concrete example while trying to maintain a sort of universality. In the articles enclosed in this paper, I bring up several other cities and examples of displacement and renoviction processes. In these cities, the contestation has not been as impactful as in Uppsala and Gothenburg – yet. Another reason is ideological. I much prefer research on social movements to come from embedded action researchers, that is, from researchers who are themselves involved in the movements that they study. I hold those researchers to the highest regard, and I would personally find it difficult as an outsider

to attempt an analysis and to say something additional about a movement that the researchers inside the movement have not already said. Research is carried out by brilliant and community-involved researchers in both Gothenburg (C. Thörn, 2020) and Uppsala (Polanska & Richard, 2019), and my personal feeling is that I would not have very much to add to their studies.

This begs the question, why am I not involved in the social movements around displacement and renoviction in Uppsala? In part, it is due to the distance to Uppsala from my hometown, preventing me to go there very often. However, I do try to get involved where I can. For instance, I have been interviewed by a number of newspapers (Bäckström, 2016), national TV (SVT, 2016) and radio stations (A. Johansson, Lantz, & Claesson, 2016) about the plight that my interlocutors have suffered. I have also been writing articles in magazines (Pull, 2016c, 2017a, 2017b; Pull & Baeten, 2017) and newspapers together with activists (Carlenfors & Pull, 2016), and I have taken part of numerous conferences and events organized by activists, industry, and NGOs, advocating for the cause of my interlocutors. Moreover, I try to publish in popular books addressing housing justice (Pull, 2016a). That is the very least that can be expected from any researcher researching social injustices, and it does not fully answer why I am not involved in the social movements in Uppsala. I do not have a great answer to that question, and I am humble to the opinion that not incorporating this aspect of displacement, acknowledging the great width of agency that organized resistance entails, might be an oversight on my part.

Further, this study is not a call for sustainable and socially responsible renovations. There are great studies that approach the subject of sustainable urbanism with regards to the old housing stock in Sweden from a planning perspective (Formas, 2012), from an architectural perspective (Hall & Vidén, 2005), and from a social perspective (Hurtig, 1981). These studies have shaped my understanding of the Swedish housing regime; I owe a great debt to them and hope to be a worthy successor. This thesis is also not a study within the field of planning or architecture. Nor will it offer a grand solution to the “housing question.” However, to investigate housing is to investigate the connection between societal power and residential experiences. It is to lay bare, to a greater or lesser degree, who benefits and who suffers under the current organization of our housing regime. It is to offer up a clearer view of what the

problem is. The housing question might not be solvable within our current societal organization, but it can certainly be modified, changed, and acted upon. This thesis does not explicitly go into how best to politicize housing questions, since I think that can never be achieved theoretically but must be done in a dialectical manner, between theory and messy praxis and through struggle and resistance. I do hope that this thesis can offer a complementary review of some of the symptoms and causes to the housing question, understood broadly, by giving primacy to one aspect of the housing question – displacement.

Another aspect upon which this thesis touches is the gender dimension in displacement. Feminist scholars have taught us much about the gendered differences and the power relations and tensions attached to neoliberal planning (McLean, 2014), home cultures (de Wilde, 2016), social reproduction in the urban and at home (Fernandez, 2017; Gender, 1999), and the phenomenology of embodied alienation (Zeiler, 2013). They have also revealed how displacement is unevenly targeting women and queer persons (Edwards & Hogarth, 2008; Gorman-Murray, McKinnon, & Dominey-Howes, 2015), who are often subjected to overlapping layers of violence in connection to ruptures like displacement. To not incorporate this knowledge more fully in this thesis is a shortcoming. The main motivation for this omission is that studies are being carried out from a feminist perspective and with attention to gender dimensions in Uppsala by researchers better schooled in the field than I am.

Renoviction and critical housing studies: Where I position myself in the field

The term renoviction was coined by the Vancouver based activist Heather Pawsey, who together with members of her community mobilized to resist a large-scale renovation scheme of their neighborhood. The renovations led to up to 73% rent increases and effectively evicted the tenants living there – thus the term renoviction, combining the words renovation and eviction. The term was later translated into Swedish (*renovräkning*) by Westin (2012), whose early studies on renovations and displacement, alone (Westin, 2011) and together with Molina (Molina & Westin, 2012), have been of great influence on me. Their studies launched my interest in the phenomena of renoviction and displacement and opened my eyes to the case of Uppsala. The scholarly lit-

erature on renoviction is limited, and even in this limited literature, it is seldom the main topic of the research; moreover, the literature deals almost exclusively with cases in Sweden and, to a lesser extent, Vancouver (Catherall, 2017). In Sweden, the literature that exists is mostly centered on the contestation and organized opposition to renoviction by renters in a few Swedish cities, such as Gothenburg and Uppsala (Listerborn et al., 2020; Polanska & Richard, 2018; C. Thörn, 2020). There are some studies that deal with the experiences of tenants (Polanska & Richard, 2019, 2018; Pull & Richard, 2019), categorizing the event as traumatic and violent for tenants; a couple of studies on the techniques used to renovict (Baeten, Westin, Pull, & Molina, 2017; Westin, 2011); and yet another couple that deal with renoviction as a new phase or strategy of neoliberal accumulation (Baeten et al., 2017; Pull, 2016b).

Some studies place the renoviction phenomenon in relation to the larger process of gentrification (Bouzarovski, Frankowski, & Tirado Herrero, 2018). As a geographer, I was of course familiarized with the concept of gentrification from my undergraduate studies. Gentrification studies in Sweden were (and still are) relatively scarce (although there are good examples: Hedin *et al.*, 2012; Thörn, 2012; Andersson and Turner, 2014; Sandberg, 2014; Baeten and Listerborn, 2015; Thörn and Holgersson, 2016). One reason might be that gentrification is seldom accompanied by overt and directly visible displacement. Instead, gentrification works slowly and predominantly through exclusionary displacement. The researcher who arguably has influenced Swedish gentrification studies the most is Clark (1988), who through pioneering quantitative studies has revealed the closure of rent gaps and waves of gentrification and super-gentrification hitting Sweden through various boom and bust cycles at least since the mid 1800s. He does admit that the battlefields and contestation that often follow gentrification processes elsewhere have been largely absent in the Swedish setting (I discuss this more at length in Article D). The welfare state and the traditionally large public housing sector has undoubtedly played a role in mitigating the worst effects of gentrification, making the scarring of communities less obvious, possibly less severe, and assuredly harder to contest. Another reason why gentrification has received little attention, both in Swedish academia and in the media and among activists, might be the conception of the term and the early history of gentrification in the United Kingdom and the United States. Neither the British connotation of a “gentry” as a

prominent actor nor the American history of inner-city decline, suburbanization, white-flight, and then middle-class reemergence in the inner cities following heavy investments in the physical environment (irrespective of the factual accuracy of said phenomena) corresponds very well to the image of Swedish post-war urbanism. That is not to say that urban contestations and antagonisms did not occur. On the contrary, Sweden, like many other European countries, has been subject to unrest and urban rage rooted in exclusions and grievances that the Swedish state, with its mix of dying welfare politics and neoliberal agendas, is failing to address (Dikeç, 2007, 2017; Sernhede, Thörn, & Thörn, 2016); however, these contestations are rarely framed around issues of gentrification. Nevertheless, gentrification is a well-established trope at various undergraduate programs, including my human geography studies at the University of Lund. In 2014, Thörn and Holgersson edited the first anthology textbook in Swedish on gentrification (C. Thörn & Holgersson, 2014), with both newly produced and translated texts. With my background as a human geographer and with the renewed interest in gentrification from Sweden-based academics publishing in English journals, reading neighborhood change through the lens of gentrification has been quite natural.

Another, perhaps more natural, entry point into renoviction and displacement would be from a housing research tradition. But critical housing studies in general have been on the decline since the early 1990s. In an interview I conducted with the Irene Molina, the head of the Institute for Housing and Urban Research (IBF) at Uppsala University (tellingly, Sweden's only institute for housing research), she told me that they had experienced increasing difficulties securing research money for studies on housing ever since the institute's inception in 1994. Strategically, they had to adopt narratives away from housing and toward other forms of urbanism and sustainability research in order to be eligible for research grants. According to Molina, housing research in Sweden from the 1990s and onwards was very much the domain of conventional economists, real-estate researchers, and architects – and only of limited interest (by necessity rather than choice) to critical researchers. Consequently, my entry point into displacement research was Anglo-American human geography, which I knew from my undergraduate studies and which has been dealing with similar issues, though in vastly different contexts, since at least the 1970s. This is a shortcoming, and it might

very well make evident my ignorance about Swedish research on displacement in the enclosed articles of this thesis. I attempt to partially rectify this by including a substantial contextualization and reading of the Swedish displacement dialectics in this Kappa.¹

Thesis outline

The outline of this thesis is rather conventional. The overall thrust and the specific research questions of the thesis are stated in the introduction above, followed by the abstracts of the enclosed articles of this compilation thesis. The next section, “Displacement dialectics in Sweden,” will introduce the reader to Sweden’s housing regime and housing politics through an historical overview of displacement moments in Sweden from the late 1800 to present-day renoviction tactics. This is followed by a chapter detailing my ontological and epistemological vantage points and outlining the theoretical framework used to analyze displacement. It introduces my take on phenomenology and critical urban theory and how these two paradigms can reinforce each other through a reading of alienation. This is followed by a brief review on displacement in urban studies literature. The methodological chapter introduces the phenomenological method in brief, and it mostly consists of a series of methodological reflections on subjects such as ethics and the various types of techniques used to gather and analyze data. The conclusion summarizes the main points and arguments outlined in the individual articles enclosed in the thesis, as well as discussions brought up exclusively in this Kappa.

Article abstracts

Article A (published): Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden

Baeten, G., Westin, S., Pull, E., & Molina, I. (2017). Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden. *Environment and Planning A*, 49(3), 631–651.

Based on interview material relating to the current wave of housing renovation in Swedish cities, this article will analyze profit-driven, traumatic, and violent displacement in the wake of contemporary large-scale

¹ Kappa is the Scandinavian name for the body of work introducing and preceding the collection of articles in a compilation thesis, namely, the text that you are currently reading.

renovation processes of the so-called Million Program housing estates from the 1960s and 1970s. We maintain that the current form of displacement (through renovation) has become a regularized profit strategy for both public and private housing companies in Sweden. We will pay special attention to Marcuse's notion of "displacement pressure," which refers not only to actual displacement but also to the anxieties, uncertainties, insecurities, and temporalities that arise from possible displacement due to significant rent increases after renovation and from the course of events preceding the actual rent increase. Examples of the many insidious forms in which this pressure manifests itself will be given – examples that illustrate the hypocritical nature of much planning discourse and rhetoric of urban renewal. We illustrate how seemingly unspectacular measures and tactics deployed in the renovation processes have far-reaching consequences for tenants exposed to actual or potential displacement. Displacement and displacement pressure due to significant rent increases (which is profit-driven but justified by invoking the "technical necessity" of renovation) undermines the "right to dwell" and the right to exert a reasonable level of power over one's basic living conditions – with all the physical and mental benefits that entails, regardless of whether displacement fears materialize in actual displacement or not.

Article B (published): Domicide: Displacement and dispossessions in Uppsala, Sweden

Pull, E & Richard, Å (2019) Domicide: *displacement* and dispossessions in Uppsala, Sweden, *Social & Cultural Geography*. Online first. DOI: 10.1080/14649365.2019.1601245.

This article investigates the lived experiences of tenants staying put in two neighborhoods undergoing urban renewal processes and increased rent levels in Uppsala, Sweden. The article draws on a place-sensitive analysis to escape a "Euclidean prison" that we contend underpins many displacement studies – studies that reduce the notion of displacement to only signify out-migration. Such studies often miss both the scope of displacement and the grievances experienced by tenants following changes in place and space under various urban transformation processes. Through phenomenologically inspired interviews with tenants, we contend that place cannot simply be understood as coordinates on a

map, as it often is in practices of urban development, but has to be understood relationally. Adhering to such a place-sensitive understanding of space, our study investigates the changes to place and to “home” experienced by tenants staying put in neighborhoods under increasing displacement pressures. What surfaces is a series of displacements that can be categorized as (a) spatial disposessions, thematized under the sub-categories “contraction of home” and “withering entitlements,” and (b) temporal disposessions, categorized under “life on hold” and “erasure of history.” These displacements are suffered by tenants who despite displacement pressures have remained throughout the renewal process.

Article C (published): Displacement: Structural Evictions and Alienation

Pull, E. 2020. Displacement: Structural evictions and alienation. *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 2020, 19(1).

Despite decreases in formal evictions in Sweden, housing precarity measured through homelessness as well as through various forms of displacement is increasing. It is therefore important to conceptualize beyond evictions when looking to the condition of various housing regimes. Forced relocation following renovations (renoviction) is a dominant form of displacement in Sweden today, and this form of displacement makes little difference compared to formal evictions, in terms of outcomes for both landlords and tenants. Drawing inspiration from displacement literature, I suggest conceptualizing all forms of mundane displacement that lead to forced relocation as *structural evictions*. By “mundane displacement,” I mean displacement processes instigated by actors in the housing sector from within an already established political and legal framework that result in, for instance, increased costs of living for households to the extent that they are forced to leave their homes. I will use the example of renoviction to show how the boundary between formal evictions and structural evictions through renoviction are blurry at best. In this paper, the similarities between formal evictions and displacement through renoviction will be illustrated through narratives by tenants relocated from two neighborhoods in Uppsala, Sweden, that are undergoing renovations.

Article D (published): A landscape of post-gentrification? A renovation case in Sweden

Pull, E. (2020). A landscape of post-gentrification? A renovation case in Sweden. In G. Baeten, C. Listerborn, M. Persdotter, & E. Pull (Eds.), *Beyond displacement: theoretical and methodological issues* (pp. 54-66). London & New York: Routledge.

In a 2005 paper reflecting on the definition and scope of gentrification, Eric Clark recounts a meeting with pioneering gentrification scholar Neil Smith. Asked to be shown the battlefields of gentrification in the city of Malmö, Clark hesitated and found it difficult to explain that gentrification was indeed prevalent in Sweden, and had been for a long time, but that the country had no proper battlefields. Over a decade later, the battlefields are here – or at least a hot glowing ember. Neighborhood unrest is gaining attention in media, politics, and academia. Anti-displacement grassroots networks are growing, and articles about displacement and displacement trauma are prevalent in the news. This development can be predominantly attributed to the sharp rise in overhaul renovations of the large housing stock from the 1950s to 1970s and the accompanying rent increases for tenants. Nevertheless, is this really a new gentrification frontier we are witnessing in Sweden or a paradigm shift to a post-gentrification housing regime? This chapter will discuss these questions using the example of Kvarngärdet and Gränby, two Swedish neighborhoods in Uppsala municipality, the fourth largest city in Sweden.

DISPLACEMENT DIALECTICS IN SWEDEN

In this chapter, I will sketch a brief history of Sweden's displacement dialectics from the late nineteenth century onward, with an emphasis on post-war Sweden. Dialectics is the effort, or method, that Marx and Engels developed in order to study historical materialism in a scientific manner. This thesis is not a purely, or even particularly, dialectic endeavor in the proper sense; I admit that in the case of this chapter, the dialectical approach is more a method of sorting literature and a technique of writing than a proper dialectical analysis of the history of housing and displacement in Sweden. Marx and Engels were both highly empirical in their dialectical endeavors, and Marx in particular was known for consuming vast amounts of first-hand sources to derive his arguments and to substantiate his claims (Harvey, 2010). This chapter has much less ambitious goals. The point of this chapter is to share with the reader how I read and understand change in the Swedish housing regime and to emphasize the role of history in the present. My historical overview is based on a tightly selected literature on the subject. Where it is possible, the sources originate from and are analyses of the period they describe, but not always. They are overwhelmingly analytical rather than empirical works, by which I mean that they attempt to explain why rather than what. I borrow these disparate accounts of the particular moments of displacement and, using dialectics as a heuristic device, attempt to fuse them together as a coherent narrative.

The birth, quick death, and rebirth of Swedish housing politics – displacement in the nineteenth and early twentieth century

The telling of Sweden's displacement dialectics could start at any given time. In much of Western Europe, it is quite common to discuss housing trajectories starting after the Second World War. The dramatic change that the war and the post-war years brought on makes this a natural starting point, perhaps even more so in discussing urbanism and housing questions. At the end of the war, not only atrocities and death had irredeemably changed how the world was perceived, but whole cities were scarred and destroyed and had to be built anew. The rebuilding of material Europe became thitherto the largest (re)construction project in human history. Thus, it is rather natural to make the end of the war a breakpoint from which to start a history. On the other hand, Sweden was unlike (most of) the rest of Western Europe; it was not an active combatant in the war. Yet it is still relatively common for surveys of the Swedish housing regime to take the post-war years as their starting point, and this overview will largely do the same. In some ways, this too is natural: The Swedish housing regime, as we will see below, went through radical processes and changes in the post-war years. Notwithstanding, many of the processes of the 1950s and onwards that this chapter revolves around had started much earlier, and there have certainly been acts of displacement in Sweden prior to the war.

A while back, I stumbled upon a series of books by the author August Blanche (1811–1868) in an old second-hand bookshop I occasionally frequent. August Blanche was not a name I was familiar with at the time, but some research and digging revealed the man to be a nineteenth century Swedish liberal politician, author, playwright, and radical journalist and publicist. As a politician, he was a democrat elected into parliament by a constituency in the poor outskirts of Stockholm. Among other things, he lobbied for the abolition of the Riksdag of the Estates. (Until its dissolution in 1866, the Swedish Diet was divided into four estates: the nobility; the clergy; the burghers, on whose mandate Blanche was elected; and the peasants.) As an author, he is considered to be a realist and an accurate portrayer of daily life and strife in Stockholm, not least from the perspective of the working-class people (Forsberg, Hanson, af Petersens, Ålund, & Örn, 1981). In one of the

books I picked up, there was a novella of which the first page and a half depict a displacement event that ought to have been typical of the time:

About a decade and a half ago, a large number of wooden houses were torn down in Stockholm's outer boroughs, thanks to compensation offered by the fire insurance office for torn down wooden buildings. Many of them were so ancient and rotten that the beams glowed in the dark. As such, even when it comes to timber, old age has its luster.

Among these long-doomed abodes was a farm called Trekanten, which formed the corner of Qvarn and Tull street, closest to the edge of the borough Ladugårdslandet. Unfathomable that people could live in such dens that provided no shelter against wind or cold. Yet it was no easy task to be rid of them. When the landlord, who had decided that Trekanten should be demolished, informed the tenants thereof and asked them to seek different lodging, he was faced with a stern no.

"But you must be reasonable," the landlord said; "you have lived here for many years hardly paying any rent."

"All the more reason for us to stay," was the retort.

The answer was altogether correct, although probably not regarded as wholly appropriate. After many propositions, the tenants agreed to move, but under one condition: that they might take the whole of Trekanten with them when they moved. This love for old house-gods could only be acknowledged, and the condition was accepted. After all, the overall profit was with the landlord.

It was a peculiar sight, when at the last day of the move a bunch of people, like ants at the anthill, crawled out of the old Trekanten, hauling with them one a few mullions, another a couple of doors, a third a few trusses, a fourth half a wall et cetera – everyone, thus, joint owners of a house for their first time, and surely for the last.

(Blanche, 1890, pp. 5–6 Author's translation)¹

¹ The novella was published in 1890 but written by Blanche in the mid-1860s.

This displacement story is quite similar to stories about workers and bohemians in Stockholm as told by August Strindberg in the novel *The red room* (1952), written a decade and a half later. In the novel, the characters lived cramped up and penniless in the outskirts of Stockholm; they pawned their beds for rent and broke up their wooden floors for fuel on cold winter nights. In the early 1800s, there was a decent balance between supply and demand of housing in most Swedish towns, but rapid urbanization throughout the century had by the time of Blanche's and Strindberg's writings produced a dire housing shortage and often despicable housing conditions. At the time, Sweden had no housing politics. All construction initiatives were left to private actors, and tenant housing was built as speculation. Rent levels were without regulation and left entirely to supply and demand mechanics; combined with a permanent housing shortage that would last until the mid-1900s, this resulted in very high costs of living for renters (Tägil, 1997). Local initiatives were occasionally taken to improve the situation for the urban poor, but it would take until 1912 before the state showed any interest in the housing question. Doctors were among the first to warn about the effects of poor and unsanitary housing and overcrowded apartments and neighborhoods. Advances in medicine, and epidemiology in particular, had brought about an ideal of light, airy, and "hygienic dwellings" with access to the outdoors and green spaces. These ideals were used in the planning and construction of the first sanatoriums in Sweden, for instance. However, in the 1910s, the situation was far from the ideal advocated by health professionals. The government appointed a commission to investigate the housing situation in the country, and the results that were published two years later painted a bleak picture. As it turned out, the housing situation in Sweden was far worse than most other countries in Europe, and the situation would turn even worse over the war years. Many local housing studies were carried out by municipally appointed housing inspectors, oftentimes with a medical background. The surveys were often immaculately detailed and measured family composition and spaces, including ceiling height, lightning, ventilation, and cleanliness. For example, in Norrköping municipality in 1915, Doctor Wilhelm Söderbaum surveyed 2,004 apartments and recorded 6,828 persons living in an average of 15–29 square meters. Cockroaches, mice, rodents, and lice were a prominent presence in the dwellings, and up to nine people were recorded per room on average in some neighborhoods. High sickness and mortality rates were widespread, particularly in work-

ing class neighborhoods (Arvidsson, 2002). The link between poor dwellings and poor health among the working population was substantiated by several municipal doctors, who propagated for industrialists and employers to construct sanitary buildings to reinforce the working population. Housing became seen as a way to create a healthy, sober, and ethically able working class.

Sweden was noncombatant in the war, but the war still led to market crashes and food shortages. The housing sector was hit hard as well and production nearly stopped altogether, while unregulated rents allowed landlords to keep on increasing rent levels for tenants. As a consequence, evictions were widespread and many people became homeless during the war years. Many cities responded by building temporary shelters in, for instance, school facilities (Tägil, 1997). The untenable situation was addressed towards the end of the war, when in 1917 the government, for the first time, issued state subsidies for construction of private and public housing (although most of the subsidies were used by private actors building ownership dwellings). Rent regulations were also implemented to alleviate the soaring prices.¹ This marked the birth of housing politics in Sweden.² However, its first death in a cycle of births, deaths, and rebirths came quickly. The measures of 1917 were seen as war measures, and the belief in the market was still high. In 1924, the rent regulations and subsidies were dismantled, and the state took their hands off the housing sphere, giving it back to market actors. This can be seen in contrast to most European countries, where the public sphere attained some control over housing production and distribution even after the war. The markets in Sweden failed to deliver, and from 1923 to the end of the decade, the number of rooms per inhabitant fell by 28% (Svedberg, 1980).

In 1932, the Social democratic party came into power. They would remain in power for forty-four years, and it is difficult to overestimate the impact that the party had on Swedish society and on the built environment over the remainder of the century. The early 1930s was a period of recession, with unemployment numbers reaching over 20%, and the so-

¹ Housing prices were four times higher in 1920 than prior to the war. At the same time, real wages had stagnated (Tägil, 1997, p. 14).

² This date is not uncontested; some consider the state loans to small, single-household farms in rural areas (granted in 1904 to prevent emigration to America) to be the first intervention into housing and, consequently, the start date of housing politics. However, 1917 was the first time that interventions into urban housing were conducted by the state.

cial democrats had won the election on a program of tackling unemployment and alleviating the housing crisis. In 1934, the influential couple Gunnar and Alva Myrdal wrote the famous book *Crisis in the Population Question* (Swedish: *Kris i befolkningsfrågan*, Myrdal and Myrdal, 1934), a neo-Malthusian account of sorts of the population development in Sweden. Their argument was that the record-low birth rates in Sweden during the early 1930s were due to poor and crowded housing, making it inconvenient for newlyweds to move and start a family. In turn, low birth rates were seen as a major threat to the welfare state model advocated by the Social democrats. Already in 1933, the party had launched a housing committee that would run for 13 years and gather several notable Swedish intellectuals (Gunnar Myrdal among them) and architects. The efforts over the next years shaped both the material and social fabric of Swedish society for generations to come. Much is written about this rebirth period of Swedish housing politics, so I will not go into depth about it here. Suffice it to say that through the 1930s and 1940s, a system was set up where the state could build housing, mostly through subsidies and favorable loans, by working together with municipalities, who formed public housing companies, and private actors. It was also around this time that HSB (a cooperative association for housing construction and maintenance with over 550,000 members today) expanded into importance and introduced a number of new quality standards for the housing they constructed. Garbage chutes, bathrooms in every apartment, and daycare facilities were some of the inventions that HSB brought to Swedish housing and that were later used as standards for many other public and private companies (Leo, 1981). During the Second World War, when production plummeted and prices went up, the state once more introduced rent regulations. This time, the regulations stayed after the war, and the state took a more proactive role in re-establishing production again through loans and subsidies. During the post-war period, state-funded research on housing, architecture, and construction accelerated, and much of the housing construction in Sweden was carried out under strict quality regulation.

Most introductory books into Swedish housing would perhaps start here – with the increased attention to housing in the 1930s that accelerated during the post-war years – and follow that up with a history of the making of the Million Homes Program: the collective branding of a project centered around the construction of one million dwellings between 1965

and 1974, a period of unparalleled housing construction in Sweden. While the Million Homes Program caused some displacements in itself (Pull, 2020b), in general, that project and those years are collectively known as the boom-period when Sweden “solved” its housing question and when the standards of today’s housing were set.¹ However, in terms of the dialectics of displacement, another story is rather more illuminating, namely the process of tearing down the old urban fabric to make way for the new “people’s home.” This story is less told, but it is obviously constitutive to how the ideal of the people’s home was realized in the built environment. The emplacement of the working class in high quality housing was preformed through the displacement of an urban working class in the first place.

Experiences of a cultural homicide: Inner-city sanitization and destruction in the mid-twentieth century

The inner-city reshaping that took place in most Swedish towns between the late 1950s and mid-1970s ought to have made a profound impact on any traveler visiting the “before” and “after,” observing the transformation from old to new. Over a few decades, nearly every Swedish city was “re-equipped” with a new, modern, and radically different city center. Among many illustrious examples, Johanson (1997) mentions the city of Västerås, where 60% of the historic buildings in the city center were demolished; the city of Gävle, where the entire south district of the city was demolished and forced the displaced population, without exception, to relocate to the city periphery; and the city of Örebro, where 84 central real estates turned to six neighborhood-sized blocks. Other examples include the complete destructions of Klarakvarteren in downtown Stockholm and the massive material reconfiguration of the neighborhood Stigberget in Gothenburg (Egerö, de Laval, Lindskoug, & Sjöstrand, 1965). Old towns with narrow streets, small shops, and apartments without running water were replaced by wide avenues, malls, and modern living spaces. These transformations were planned, guided, and largely funded by the municipalities and the state, often through public *saneringsbolag* (renewal companies or, literally, “sanitization companies”). A strong ideological and political driving force behind the renewal was undoubtedly the improvement of Swedish housing

¹ The “solving” of the housing question today is rather centered on the opposite: on deregulating and lowering the quality of housing (Grundström & Molina, 2016).

conditions. Crowded living and despicably poor living conditions were still widespread throughout the country even in the 1950s. However, the improvement of housing and living conditions was not the only rationale behind the renewal schemes. Strong economic post-war growth, an increasingly wealthy working class, and urbanization and growing cities all paved the way for increased car use, the growth of satellite suburbs, and a perceived need for improved communications and roads. The introduction and growth of inner-city malls was another driving factor. Increased consumption and models deploying economies of scale paved the way for US-inspired malls, and their number increased sixfold in the 1950s alone (B. O. Johansson, 1997). Neither roads nor malls or “airy housing” would fit the tight city structure and neighborhoods of Swedish cities, so large-scale demolitions were seen as the way forward towards modern cities shaped for a new economy.

In retrospect, the scale of transformation is hard to measure and account for, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, despite the profound material, social, and visual impacts on nearly every Swedish city – especially if one wishes to make implications to the scale of displacement. One way of estimating the scale is to consider demolition statistics. While the statistics on demolition in Sweden are incomplete at best, they do give some indication to the scale of transformation. Roughly 125,000 homes were lost in the category of multi-story buildings during the period 1959–1975 according to SCB statistics.¹ In one decade, during the 1960s, 42% of the entire housing stock situated in buildings pre-dating 1901 were demolished in Sweden (B. O. Johansson, 1997). In some cities, up to 80% of the old stock, entire historical town centers, were leveled to the ground. Though there are no statistics on the *actual displacement*, it ought to have been sizeable (Hurtig, 1981).

Much research (both governmentally initiated R&D reports and independent studies at, mostly technical, universities) was produced throughout the period, particularly in the later stages (Viden, Eisenhauer, & Blomberg, 1980). However, studies around economical, material, and technical aspects vastly outnumbered the few studies conducted on the social impacts of renewal. In a knowledge summary included in a governmental report titled “Technical and environmental as-

¹ With roughly 2.8 persons per household in Sweden in 1975, this would have affected 350,000 dwellers of multistory homes alone.

pects on building sanitization” published as late as 1980, the authors (ibid.) attest that while there had indeed been some research on the social aspects of renewal, it was both scarce and fragmented. According to the report, only one study actually offered proposals on how to address social issues of current dwellers in connection to the ongoing building sanitization. Studies sticking to mere documentation of social effects were slightly more common (Björnberg, Leif, & Olsson, 1979; e.g., Egerö et al., 1965; Selander, 1975). These studies suggest that many dwellers were skeptical to the renewals, irrespective of the possibility to move back after the process, and that anxieties of deteriorating social networks were particularly worrying, especially for the elderly (Hurtig, 1981). However, despite worries among tenants, organized contestation was weak at best (B. O. Johansson, 1997). In the following, I will attempt to give one answer as to why.

According to some authors (e.g., Denvall, 1997) and as previously mentioned, the ideological and political force that drove the city transformations in post-war Sweden can be traced back to the inception of *folkhemmet* (“the people’s home”) as a guiding ideological metaphor within the Social Democratic party. *Folkhemmet* signaled a society very much concerned with housing the population at large and *building* a new future. As a response to the aforementioned literary (e.g., iconic writer and journalist Ludvig Nordström) and scholarly reports (Myrdal & Myrdal, 1934) on the poor state of living for large parts of the Swedish population,¹ a host of governmental surveys and studies were carried in out in the 1930s and 1940s on topics of improving hygiene, health, housing and living conditions, family life, et cetera (Hirdman, 1992). Building on these surveys, and using “rational” and “scientific” arguments, the Swedish state expanded its role and interventions into the social life and problems of the population, and consequently into the built environment (Denvall, 1997; Hirdman, 1992; Öresjö, 1996). Scientific knowledge and rationality became the guiding principles behind the construction and reconfiguration of society, and a “social engineering” ideal was born (Denvall, 1997) – epitomized perhaps by the governmental committee Bostadssociala Utredningen (“the social inquiry committee on housing”; SoU 1945:63 & SoU 1947:26.).

¹ Governmental statistics from 1945 showed that 38% of all apartments were one room apartments and only 15% had four or more rooms; 64% percent lacked toilet facilities and only 21% had a bath or a shower; only one in three households had access to kitchens with electricity or gas; and only 11% had a refrigerator (Boverket, 2007). These statistics became very influential in the debate.

The need to renew and modernize the materiality of Swedish society became a prominent ideological project for not only the social democrats and the workers' movement but most of the political spectrum. "Light and airy" environments and increased housing standards with central heating and running water became guiding principles that even entered into law. For example, paragraph 16 of the building code of 1931 adopts calculations and guidelines on façade exposure to sunlight from modernist/functionalist ideals. However, history was given no quarter as the Bostadssociala Utredningen suggested that all buildings prior to 1933 should be demolished in downtown Stockholm, with the exception of certain buildings of particular historical value. This disregard to the historical and architectural values and the consequential brutality of the inner-city demolition, when compared to many other countries, is perhaps a consequence of Sweden's "non-belligerency" during the Second World War. Where most of Europe had been bombarded and lost much of its material history, Sweden's history was not impacted, so it did not experience the same nostalgia about what had been lost. Johansson (1997) expressed astonishment by the sheer size of destruction the renewal projects entailed and bewilderment at the lack of contestation by both city inhabitants and practitioners of cultural heritage management; he asked, "Were there none that saw the qualities of the city they destroyed and the sterility in the new that was created?" (p. 7, author's translation). In general, there seems to have been a strong optimism and belief in the rationally planned, modern welfare society that led to a very low degree of contestation over the demolitions during their initial inception. The modernist ideal of city planning as a scientific endeavor that eschewed reminiscence or even normativity faced minimal contestation and almost unequivocal approval when the Swedish city centers were restructured and demolished.

While the renewal projects were mainly justified by the increased pressure from industrialization and the expansion of commerce, as well as the need to expand communications and road networks and to make way to inner-city malls, they were also framed as sanitary necessities. Cities in general and inner-city "slums" in particular were considered a source of both physical and mental illness (Molina, 1997). Arguably, this line of thought was a continuation of an immunologic turn in social sciences, where society was perceived as a body riddled with sicknesses (Haraway, 1991) and cities as bearers and spreaders of what in 1800 Eu-

rope was perceived as social diseases: poverty, bad morals, crime, and violence (Denvall, 1997). Gromark (1987) has noted how the fear of epidemic contagion (cholera and other diseases, as well as moral decline), revolutionary contagion (exemplified by a multitude of social uprisings in many European cities), and ideological contagion (the uncontrolled city with its cafés, restaurants, and unlimited meeting places in the dwindling streets) led to a disciplinary architecture in the late 1800s. This disciplinary planning is perhaps best illustrated by Baron Haussmann's brutal intervention in Paris (Denvall, 1997), which was also a pervading planning aspect in a Swedish context. Many of the pioneers in city planning in nineteenth century Europe illustratively had their background in medical professions (Denvall, 1997). The disciplinary architecture was aimed at upholding spatial class, race, and gender divisions rather than addressing social issues (Molina, 1997). Slums were moved a couple of blocks, and the poor population got displaced. Gromark (1987) estimated that 350,000 people were displaced in Paris between 1850 and 1860 alone. The marked lines of differentiation and control along class, race, and gender lines that the immunological and social-hygiene turn enforced were distinctly reflected in the outcome of the planning. Diseases continued to spread, and living conditions deteriorated even further among many working-class families in Berlin, London, Paris, and Vienna (Denvall, 1997). The architecture moved rather than solved problems, and it mainly catered to the needs of the already privileged.

While the modernist and functionalist planning ideal leading up to inner-city destruction in Sweden bore many similarities to the immunological and disciplinary architecture of the nineteenth century in Europe, it was also different. Where European planning and architecture aimed to displace social and material issues to the spatial periphery – and in so doing cemented class, race, and gender division by creating new geographies of poverty – Swedish planning was genuinely inspired by visions of social progress *for all* (Nylander, 2013). Nevertheless, the framing of renewal as a sanitization project remained, and the social progress was in many accounts highly exclusionary and problematic. The notion of *Folkhemmet* and the Social Democratic party and its housing regime were intrinsically entangled with schemes of social Darwinism, eugenics, and both social- and racial hygiene – perhaps most clearly embodied in the mass sterilization of persons perceived as genetically inferior throughout the 1930s–1970s. The hunt for the subject of *Folkhemmet*

included the creation (or reinforcement) of the Other, the non-belonger: the “gypsy,” Jew, asocial, handicapped, et cetera. Molina (1997) has noted how the process of Othering, despite the working-class centering of social democracy, followed a distinguished logic of exclusionary delineation. The working-class ideal was framed within a dichotomy of cleanliness—uncleanliness, order—chaos, and vital—pathological typical of classic bourgeoisie. Built upon muddy imaginaries of genetics and heritage and framed as scientific, and therefore unquestionable, social engineering was epitomized in what Molina has labeled “housing-hygenics.”

Victorian sanitation was built upon the alienation of labor, both in the sense that it depended on the division of labor in the public and domestic spheres and in the sense that the individual sacrificed their privacy and dignity in exchange for the recognition and security of physical and moral sanitation. This exchange alienated the self, reducing the individual to a mere cog in a social mechanism that produced morality by enforcing sanitary standards in the public and private environments. The pursuit of cleanliness, imposed as a discipline of public health, was the foundation of the Chadwickian mode of sanitation that was eventually extended beyond individual bodies to the entire population. From the perspective of this discipline, individuals were no longer autonomous and self-realized human beings but statistical entities, components of a social class, or the population of a nation state that could be calculated, manipulated, and rehabilitated to extract the maximum amount of surplus value, which could then be put toward the sum total of social health and national wealth.

Sanitization is also closely tied to the ideology of modernity and functionalism at large. The interplay between light and open housing, hygiene, and a healthy population was strong within modernist thinking:

The population is too dense within the historic nuclei of cities, as in certain belts of nineteenth-century industrial expansion... it then becomes a slum, which is characterized by the following symptoms:

1. An inadequacy of habitable space per person;
2. A mediocrity of openings to the outside;
3. An absence of sunlight (because of northern orientation or as the result of shadow cast across the street or into the courtyard);

4. Decay and a permanent breeding ground for deadly germs (tuberculosis);
5. An absence or inadequacy of sanitary facilities;
6. Promiscuity, arising from the interior layout of the dwelling, from the poor arrangement of the building, and from the presence of troublesome neighborhoods. (Le Corbusier 1943, cited in B. O. Johansson, 1997)

According to Johansson (1997), much of the driving force behind the previously mentioned and hugely influential Bostadssociala Utredningen was a response to the social deprivation of many cities. The committee was adamant about not reducing and restricting the urban restructuring to technical issues but including slum-sanitization and socio-economic intervention (SoU 1945:63). In many respects, sanitization became a univocally positive signifier in the 1930s, and it remained as such until the late 1960s. Johansson (1997) has described *sanitation* as a strong and value laden word, a word for the extermination of vermin and a derivative of the *sanatorium* as a place for the sick to get healthy. It played a large partitioning role within the post-war Swedish housing regime. As part of the prevalent paradigm of social engineering, and framed as a technical and scientific solution, sanitization effectively helped dismantle any rendering of city renewal through demolition as politically contestable. Mobilization through sanitization functioned as a “scientific” articulation of a motif for the realization of a desirable and inevitable future. This inevitability rendered dissent impossible, despite its exclusionary implication and its racist and contemptible framing of the working class. Through experts and surveys conducted by the state, the discourse of Swedish modernity and functionalism, and with it the issue of renewal through demolition, was in a sense privatized by the disciplining order. It no longer belonged to the public sphere of discussion and consequently produced a sense-scape eluding contestation, despite massive displacement and consequential suffering.

Turn-around displacement and the abolishment of 40 years of housing politics

The city renewal projects and inner-city demolitions eventually met resistance by the end of the 1960s. Planners were seen as insensitive technocrats in an increasingly politicized climate. This shift, primarily the result of increased awareness of the cultural values that were being lost

(B. O. Johansson, 1997), is reflected in demolition statistics. The quantitative zenith of demolitions was reached in 1968 with more than 9,200 dwellings demolished annually. A steady decline is visible from 1971 and throughout the 1970s, with roughly 1,300 demolished dwellings in 1981 (SCB). Whether the decrease in demolitions was the result of increased resistance or decreased demand is unclear, but to many authors (Denvall, 1997; Öresjö, 1996)), they coincided with a shift in the housing regime. From the previous “progressivist” (Denvall, 1997) top-down planning ideal founded on the view of society as a machine and the planner as a scientific expert, a more “culturalist” (Öresjö, 1997b) and communicative planning ideal was born. The focus of urban renewal schemes slowly shifted from inner-city sanitization through demolition to address the shortcomings that had developed in the Million Homes Program estates and neighborhoods. By the end of the 1970s, Sweden had no housing shortage to speak of, nor much of an affordability issue. On the contrary, demand went down in the 1980s, and many of the public housing companies shifted from being mainly producers of housing to being maintainers and rebuilders. As such, public housing companies and municipalities received renewed critique against some of the housing that had been built in the decades prior. Many of the estates built during the Million Homes Program had been built on virgin soil and made up entire new neighborhoods,¹ with their own city centers with services, communications, and malls. Some of them became and still are fine examples of modernist planning; others were heavily criticized for being segregated neighborhoods with uniform and monotone brutalist planning to be likened with Soviet ghettos. Certainly, much of the renovation debt and divestment that is now used to justify renoviction practices were born in this and the following decade.

In 1983, the Swedish parliament passed a comprehensive renewal plan called the ROT Program: Reparation, Ombyggnad, Tillbyggnad (“repair,” “rebuild,” “extend”). It was meant to stretch for ten years and involve the renewal of 425,000 dwellings in both multi- and single-household buildings.² The program primarily comprised efforts to in-

¹ Importantly, the approximately million buildings were divided in roughly three equally large parts: high-rise multifamily buildings, low-rise multifamily buildings, and single-family houses. They were built by both private and public actors. The state never built anything; it only provided the financial muscles. Planning was (and indeed still is) up to the municipalities, while the construction was carried out by municipal and private actors. Consequently, the Million Homes Program was more varied than it often gets credit for.

² Over 200,000 dwellings were repaired before the program was scrapped in 1988, five years prematurely. Mortgage interests increased from 2.6% to 5.26%, and as a result, the ongoing renewal came to a drastic

form and spread the use of mortgage interest deduction on the renewal of old housing stock already implemented in the 1970s. The ROT Program was largely a response to halt the violent demolitions of previous decades (Öresjö, 1993). The explicit aim was to ensure the right of everyone to a well-maintained home with modern equipment and to guarantee an accessible home for everyone independent of age or handicap. The ROT Program was also supposed to increase housing equality and integration (Ds Bo 1983:2). The program was geared to renewing the remaining old housing stock from the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, as well as the run down and often poorly constructed neighborhoods from the early phases of the Million Homes Program. In some cases, these neighborhoods had gone from modernist utopias to run down and segregated. In others, over-establishment had prevented them from ever taking off, and landlords struggled to populate the buildings (Öresjö, 1997a). Renewal was seen as the cure, and although statistics show a new, albeit comparatively small, peak in demolition in 1982–85 (SCB), the ROT Program was specifically aimed to encourage renewal through rebuilding rather than demolishing.

Despite the new framing of socially aware and responsible renewal, and despite laws giving tenants the right to stay in (or move back to) their apartments after concluded renovations, many of the so-called turnaround projects led to massive displacement. A study conducted in 1989 (Wiktorin) showed that two thirds of the tenants had left the neighborhoods after the completion of the renewal schemes. This was not an unfortunate byproduct but the sought-after effect. The population of many neighborhoods were seen as part of the problem, and attracting a new population was part of the solution (Salonen 1997). Curiously, the underlying motivation of economic depravity underpinning many turnaround projects was often imaginary. Oftentimes, welfare dependencies in the neighborhoods were below the national average prior to the renewal (Öresjö 2012), but above average after the renewal. Salonen (1997) noted this change in Södertälje. Though he deemed the causality scientifically unproven, to him, it reinforced the narratives of tenants who, during both temporary and permanent displacement, substantially worsened their economic situation.

halt. The scrapping of the program was attributed to a need to stimulate new construction over renovations (Öresjö, 1993).

The turnaround projects tended to be similar in terms of rupture and brutality to earlier decades' demolitions. Their aim was often a total refurbishment of both architecture and outdoor settings; "problematic" neighborhoods and buildings were stripped down to their concrete core. Some neighborhoods were turned attractive, often through privatization of tenant buildings and a drastic exchange of population. Attractiveness and liveliness were the new signifiers denoting the continuation of previous sanitization – explicitly demanding a removal of unattractive populations. In Saltskog, Salonen (1997) noted how one of the official goals printed in the municipality's renewal documents for Nya Saltskog (the new Saltskog) was to "act to lower the rate of immigrants down to the city average" (p. 126). To that end, the project was successful; only 12% of the households living in Saltskog remained in 1991, although surveys showed that 87% wanted to stay without any renewal at all (ibid).

The ideological underpinnings one can extract from the aims of the ROT Program (Ds Bo 1983:2) are a clear continuation of the Social Democratic utopia of *Folkhemmet* – with the primacy of increased housing conditions for *the many* but not *for all*. However, the formation and organization of planning was different. The previous reliance on expert knowledge and the unwavering belief in city planning as a technical issue gave way for a more socially framed planning, with social offices and social workers as prominent actors (Salonen 1997). Technical experts gave way to social experts, but the outcomes in terms of displacement were (as exemplified by Saltskog above) often similar. The concept of sanitization had largely been replaced by new signifiers like attractiveness and liveliness. Nonetheless, the implied and sometimes even explicitly acknowledged unattractive character of immigrants and socially marginalized groups was in many accounts similar to the implied sanitary issues of previous "delinquents" underpinning the renewal schemes of the 1950s.

The end of housing politics and the creation of a monstrous regime

The year 1991 is another popular starting point when discussing the contemporary housing regime in Sweden. Much has been written about this period, too. I also touch upon it in several of the articles in this thesis, so this chapter will be brief. Towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, the Social Democrats had begun to decrease their subsidies for housing construction. The goals of building away over-crowdedness and the housing deficit and replacing the outdated housing of old with modern dwellings, as outlined by Bostadssociala Utredningen (SoU 1945:63 SoU 1947:26) had been achieved in practice, and the financial apparatus established to subsidize housing construction was said to drain state coffers. The conservatives won the election in 1991 and continued to dismantle subsidies for construction that had been in place since the 1940s. They also removed mortgage interest deductions and radically deregulated the housing market by removing quality standards for newly constructed housing. The municipal public housing companies were told to follow market principles and to compete on the market under the same rules as other actors. The latter led to a surge in the privatization of public housing. For example, the municipal housing company Uppsala Hem in Uppsala sold a quarter of its stock to private actors in the years 1992–1996 (Tägil, 1997). Today, several municipalities have no public housing at all. On a state level, the department of housing was abolished, as was the position of Minister of Housing. The ideological and practical goal was to remove state and municipal involvement in the housing sphere in favor of market actors. Housing would no longer be a political question, but a market question. This systemic shift put an end to housing politics in Sweden. The dismantlement of housing politics and the deregulation of the housing market continue to date, despite the change to a Social Democratic government in 1995. The universal public housing sector is still prominent, but combined with deregulations and a market focus, it has produced what Christopher (2013) has called “a monstrous hybrid regime” where poor regulations and deregulation have created a permanent crisis situation that calls into questions whether public housing is acting in the best interest of current and future tenants. At the end of the 1990s, cost-neutrality between tenure forms had been achieved. In other words, it was equally costly to live in a rental apartment as it was in a condominium. The deregulations coupled with the introduction of tax breaks and other benefits for homeownership (in-

cluding condominiums) had made it four times more expensive to rent than to own.

In terms of displacement, the 1990s and 2000s would predominantly be a period of exclusionary displacement through gentrification (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm, & Malmberg, 2012b). The large-scale sales of public housing to private actors created vast housing wealth, while excluding those (from entire neighborhoods) who were not in a position to opt in due to the disappearance of rental housing. This period also introduced multinational landlords to Sweden for the first time and marked the beginning of the financialization of rental housing in Sweden (Gustafsson, 2019)

Renoviction as a profit strategy

In this chapter, I will focus on the actual mechanism of displacement that takes place during the renoviction schemes in Sweden today. The background to renoviction as a profit strategy for both public and private landlords is outlined in the enclosed articles, and to avoid repetition, that part is omitted here.

In Sweden, rent changes for tenant housing is decided in annual negotiations between the tenant's union and the individual housing companies, and they rarely exceed a few percent per year.¹ In Vancouver, annual rent increases are capped by law. Nevertheless, in both Sweden and Vancouver, these protections for the tenants were sidelined in renovation processes in various ways. In Vancouver, a housing company used local regulations that allowed for the eviction of tenants during the renovation period if the necessary renovations were deemed of such magnitude that they could not be performed while the tenants remained in their housing. This clause was used extensively (and later heavily criticized), and the rent increases that the renovations entailed far superseded-

¹ The national average rent increase for 2019 was 1.8%, which was the largest increase since 2013. Since 2010, the national average has fluctuated between +0.8% and +2.8%. In 2020, the single largest rent increase for one landlord was 3.07%, in the housing stock of the municipally owned housing company Ydrebostäder. (<https://www.scb.se/hitta-statistik/statistik-efter-amne/boende-byggande-och-bebyggelse/bostads-och-hyresuppgifter/hyror-i-bostadslagenheter/pong/statistiknyhet/hyror-i-bostadslagenheter-2019/> and <https://www.hemhyra.se/nyheter/hyresforhandling-2020-missnoje-hos-alla-parter/>). These numbers are the annually negotiated rent changes that are supposed to be adjusted according to cost and upkeep changes for the companies and adjusted for inflation. Increases over quality-upgrades such as those resulting in renoviction are not part of these statistics.

ed the annual cap, preventing tenants from returning to their neighborhood after the renovations.

The unique characteristic of renoviction in Sweden lies in the eviction mechanism. Unlike in Vancouver, tenant evictions are enacted not through formal legislative bodies but through the new rents themselves. Housing companies do not serve eviction notices; they merely make the prospect of remaining an impossibility due to increased costs for the tenants. Since the eviction mechanism is not formalized and, consequently, not documented statistically by municipal or state actors as evictions, the process is arguably all the more insidious. The displacement of tenants is by all formal accounts viewed as voluntary – even though choosing to move in the face of 62% rent increases, as was the case for some tenants in Uppsala, is about as voluntary as swerving your car to avoid a collision.

While tenants are not formally evicted in a Swedish renoviction scheme, such as in the aforementioned Uppsala case, the formality of increasing rents is very much predicated on the use and abuse of particular legal frameworks and regulations. The finer points of sidelining the annual negotiations with the tenants union is discussed in Article A and elsewhere (Westin 2011), but in short and aside from a few documented outright illegalities from the side of the landlords¹, renoviction is based on the manipulation of two things: (a) the idea of a universal tenant and (b) the Swedish use-value system for rent setting. The idea of a universal tenant comes into play during rent tribunals. Renovations of one's apartment, according to law, must be agreed upon by the tenant, but both parties, the tenant and the landlord, can always appeal to the rent tribunal. However, the tribunal judges whether the renovations are in the interest of the tenant collective as a whole – to the imagined “universal tenant.” The case of the individual tenant (their income and life situation and so forth) plays no part in the tribunal process. As we show in Article A (Baeten et al., 2017), in 90–99% of the cases, the rent tribunals judge in favor of the landlord and the tenant collective as a whole (on the basis that tenants, in the plural, deserve a renovated housing stock). Importantly, the rent tribunals do not take the actual rent increase into consideration; they only judge on whether renovations are deemed necessary or not. The actual level of rent increases is decided in negotiations

¹ In Gränby there has been illegal pressures, threats, and offers of bribes from consultants towards tenants in order to pressure them into accepting right-to-buy schemes (Artäng, 2017)

with the tenant's union and the landlord and should be based on the use-value system for rent setting that Sweden practices. Only after the renovations have been carried out do the landlords set the definitive new rent, allowing tenants (through the tenants' union or by themselves) to appeal to the rent tribunal. This two-pronged process plays out squarely in favor of the landlord and makes renoviction practices very easy, should the landlord want to (not all landlords do). For the tenant, it requires mobilization at two different points in time, first to oppose the renovation itself (or more likely, the part of the renovation that threatens increasing the rents) and then (sometimes years down the line, as was the case in Uppsala) to contest the actual level of rents after the fact. Tenants have failed miserably on both accounts. In addition, they have to endure all the efforts of contestation in between – having dialogues with the landlord and public hearings, approaching the press to spread the story, and attempting to get the regional/national tenants union involved. In the Uppsala case, the contestation was strong but also a draining process that went on for years. Ultimately, individual tenants lose out to the imagined “universal tenant.”

The second mechanism used to sideline tenants is the use-value system for setting rents. The use-value system in Sweden is a regulation stipulating that the use-value of a rental apartment is what ultimately decides the rent level. The system was introduced in 1968, replacing the former rent regulation put in place during the Second World War to maintain affordable rents. The new use-value system was put in place to provide a predictable price-setting mechanism for both tenants and housing companies. Through this system, rents for tenants are not subjected to ordinary supply-demand mechanics but based on negotiations between the tenants' union and landlords on premises such as the quality of the interior and hardware, size of the apartment, local services, transportations, et cetera. Essentially, two otherwise equal apartments in two different neighborhoods or cities should be priced equally. Historically, apartments within, and priced by, municipally owned housing companies were used as norm-setting objects in cases where the landlord and the tenant's union could not reach an agreement and the dispute was settled in the rent tribunal. With a quantitative decrease of public housing in Sweden, that function has been made increasingly irrelevant (and was finally abolished in 2011) – since comparable objects have diminished but the use-value mechanic and the rent negotiation system is still in

place. It is within this use-value system, partially in place to protect tenants, that the second regulatory manipulation comes into play in the renovation practice in Sweden.

According to the use-value system, structural renovations cannot be used to increase the rents of a house. Renovations of plumbing, insulation, ventilation, exteriors, and the like are not considered as increases to the dwelling's use-value; rather, they are considered upkeep and are to be paid for through the tenants' monthly rent continuously over the building's lifespan. Historically, housing companies were allowed interest-free renovation funds, where they could set aside capital for future renovations, but these were abolished in the 1990s. Consequently, few housing companies have the funds to invest in large scale structural renovations like plumbing (Boverket, 2014a, 2014b) which has led to a general decline in the upkeep of the rental housing stock in Sweden over the past two to three decades (Boverket, 2003). This has caused a large-scale renovation deficit in the Swedish housing stock that can no longer be ignored, which in turn has made renovations a large-scale phenomenon in Sweden. Many housing companies have started renovating their stock, and nearly all of them, public and private actors alike, choose to finance structural renovations through rent increases (Boverket, 2014b; SABO, 2009). Since they cannot do this directly, they opt to combine structural renovations with overhaul renovations, that is, the full renovation of bathrooms, kitchens, and floors. Oftentimes, landlords claim that overhaul renovations are necessary in order to perform the structural renovations (e.g., the kitchen and bathroom need to be replaced in order to access the plumbing), but this claim has been disputed (Westin, 2011). Unlike new plumbing, for instance, new kitchens and bathrooms are improvements that change the use-value of the apartments and are consequently deemed acceptable reasons for increasing the rents.

Thus, renovations are made possible in Sweden through this meeting between the "universal tenant" and the use-value system for rent setting. Of course, the nitty gritty process of renovation varies based on a host of factors. One such factor is the willingness of landlords to exercise this practice, knowing that it often entails quite remarkable displacement and, sometimes, fierce contestation. The most notable examples of renovation come from private landlords in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Uppsala, where housing companies own a large part of the smaller, attractively located neighborhoods. Nevertheless, there are ample exam-

ples outside of these larger cities where renoviction have taken place, such as Västerås (P4 Västmanland, 2013), Solna (Karlsson, 2020) Örebro (Rytterbrant, 2014) and many more. Oftentimes, these instances occur in individual housing rather than whole (or large parts of) neighborhoods. Other cities are relatively spared from the practice, like my hometown, Malmö. Since this thesis is not a comparative study, I cannot draw any final conclusions as to why that is. According to housing activists in Malmö, their predominant struggle is exclusionary displacement. Housing companies in Malmö have largely abstained from large-scale neighborhood renovations, instead opting to renovate in-between tenants. The effect is a gradual increase in rents in the attractive working-class neighborhoods in Malmö, which makes it increasingly difficult for low income groups to move there, but the direct displacement of renoviction is not as present as elsewhere. This is not necessarily better from an affordability or rights perspective. The direct displacement traumas might not be as severe, but the slow process of exclusionary displacement is harder to mobilize around, the exclusion is just as real, and it affects the access of poor people to services just the same.

Another notable aspect of renoviction in the contemporary Swedish context is that public housing companies use it as well. Uppsala Hem, the municipally owned housing company in Uppsala, have carried out renovations with rent increases in both of the studied neighborhoods, and they are actively engaged in renoviction processes in at least one more – Eriksberg, a neighborhood to which several interlocutors have relocated after being displaced from Gränby and Kvarngärdet. According to Westin (2011), one reason public actors engage in these tactics is new legislation passed in 2011 (SFS 2010:879 chap. 1, 2 §) that dictates for public housing companies to be governed according to not only the public good but also “market principles.” Studies have shown that this new legislation is interpreted differently by different public housing companies (Westerdahl, 2020), and for some, chasing profits has become a larger aspect of their business – at the cost of a housing-commons’ role to cater to everyone, which public housing traditionally has had.

Public housing companies rarely deploy the most aggressive methods in displacing their tenants, nor do they make up cases with the largest rent increases. Rather, private landlords appear to be the vanguards of renoviction, deploying terror tactics like the ones in Gränby and Kvarn-

gärdet, which allows the public housing companies to enter the scene and deploy softer tactics and milder rent increases to less contestation. This has been the case in all three of the aforementioned neighborhoods in Uppsala. This dialectical relationship between private and public housing companies ought to be investigated more in-depth. That said, some public housing companies have been pushing out renovation schemes leading to mass displacement. In the municipality of Solna, outside of Stockholm, a public housing company has carried out renovations with 60% rent increases. This threatens to displace more than half the inhabitants in the affected neighborhoods according to the tenants' union (Karlsson, 2020).

CRITICAL URBAN THEORY AND PHENOMENOLOGY

In the following chapters, I will discuss my theoretical starting points and discuss the ontological and epistemological assumptions that form the backbone of my reading of displacement in general and the processes of displacement taking place in Uppsala in particular. This will be a two-pronged effort: I will attempt to put two philosophical schools – phenomenology and critical (urban) theory – into discussion with each other. Although they present two different approaches to knowledge production, they nonetheless have similarities at a foundational level that allows them to talk to each other. In order to let them do so in a manner that is elucidating and constructive for the research questions of the thesis, the concept of displacement will be discussed alongside the key-word *alienation*. The latter is a concept closely related to displacement and a prominent trope both in the critical school and in phenomenology.

Critical urban theory

In 2009, urban scholars Peter Marcuse, Margit Mayer, and Neil Brenner made a call to reimagine the revolutionary potential of the urban and to reinvigorate and reassert a critical urban theory in the aftermath of the economic crisis of 2007. In a special issue in *CITY*, they boldly put forth a research agenda and a theoretical umbrella captured by the proclaimed revolutionary slogan and rallying cry of “cities for people, not for profit.” The ensuing debate has spawned a number of discussions and a fertile ground for the development of critical studies and theorization of the urban in the past decade, ranging from debates on Global North centrism and calls for a postcolonial (Chatterjee, 2014; Roy, 2016b) and feminist (Peake & Rieker, 2013) injection into urban studies to episte-

mological debates on what is and is not *urban* (Brenner & Schmid, 2011; Keil, 2018; P. Marcuse, Imbroscio, Parker, Davies, & Magnusson, 2014; Roy, 2016a) and *critical* (Brenner, 2009; Brenner & Schmid, 2015) in critical urban studies.

These scholars also stand on the shoulders of earlier Marxist urbanists, and they acknowledge the depth and width of the ensuing urban research. Brenner and Schmidt (2005) write,

These analytical and political starting points have, since the 1970s, facilitated an extraordinary outpouring of concrete, critically oriented research on the various dimensions and consequences of capitalist forms of urbanization—including patterns of industrial agglomeration and inter-firm relations; the evolution of urban labor markets; the political economy of real estate and urban property relations; problems of social reproduction, including housing, transportation, education and infrastructure investment; the evolution of class struggles and other social conflicts in the spheres of production, reproduction and urban governance; the role of state institutions, at various spatial scales, in mediating processes of urban restructuring; the reorganization of urban governance regimes; the evolution of urbanized socio-natures; and the consolidation of diverse forms of urban social mobilization, conflict and struggle. (Brenner & Schmid, 2015)

In fact, the school of critical urban theory that Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer (2012) have attempted to create – or perhaps capture is a better word – derives from a reinterpretation of the Frankfurt School sociology of the 1930s and onwards. I will return to two of the Frankfurt schoolers, Herbert Marcuse and Eric Fromm. To capture the essence of the Frankfurt School approach to social science, Brenner has offered a very illuminating account in an article simply titled “What Is Critical Urban Theory” (2009), in the aforementioned special issue of *CITY*. In it, Brenner stipulates that critical theory, and subsequently critical urban theory, rests on four mutually interconnected elements:

First, *Critical theory is theory*. Brenner notes how in the Frankfurt School, critical theory is unapologetically abstract: “It is characterized by epistemological and philosophical reflections; the development of formal concepts, generalizations about historical trends; deductive and inductive modes of argumentation; and diverse forms of historical analysis” (Brenner, 2009b, p. 201). He points out that critical theory may also build upon concrete and evidentiary research. Brenner turns to Herbert Marcuse to ground the proposition that in order to exert change on the social, critical theory must abstract from the actual organization of society. Grand theory and abstraction without anchorage in the realm of practice is consequently denied, and critical theory “is thus not intended to serve as a formula for any particular course of social change; it is not a strategic map for social change; and it is not a ‘how to’-style guidebook for social movements” (ibid). Instead, critical theory “is focused on a moment of abstraction that is analytically prior to the famous Leninist question of ‘what is to be done?’” (p. 202).

Second, *critical theory is reflexive*. Theory in the Frankfurt School tradition is decidedly dialectical and, therefore, “understood to be at once enabled by, and oriented towards, specific historical conditions and contexts” (p. 202). Brenner argues that this has two key implications: First, critical theory rejects any philosophical standpoint with claims to be able to stand “outside” of its specific time/space in history. All social knowledge, including critical theory itself, is situated in a social and historical context, and there is no objective knowledge or theory that can offer a god’s view on social phenomena and social change. Instead, in Brenner’s words, knowledge is “endemically contextual” and mediated through power relations. However, and secondly, Brenner means that critical theory transcends “a generalized hermeneutic concern with the situatedness of all knowledge. It is focused, more specifically, on the question of how oppositional, antagonistic forms of knowledge, subjectivity and consciousness may emerge within an historical social formation” (ibid). Consequently, critical theory concerns itself with the fractures, contradictions, and paradoxes within capitalism. It is in the ruptures of the social formation that critique becomes possible.

Third, *critical theory entails a critique of instrumental reason*. Critical theory rejects technocratic means-ends rationalities that avoid questioning the ends themselves. The dogma of instrumental modes of scientific

knowledge geared towards manipulating existing institutional configuration towards greater efficiency or reinforcing current modes of power is forcefully rejected. Technocratic propositions that presuppose their own separation from their object of inquiry entail an objective and outside view, something critical theorists reject. Instead, “critical theorists demanded an interrogation of the ends of knowledge, and thus, an explicit engagement with normative questions” (p. 202). The explicit purpose of critical theory is a critical engagement with the ends themselves. Critical science is consequently always normative, and the normative, political, and practical trajectory of research should always be made explicitly known.

Lastly, *critical theory emphasizes the disjuncture between the actual and the possible*. Critical theory to Brenner is concerned with the possibility for change and for radical emancipatory claims that are latent but systemically oppressed in the existing social formation. Critical theory is a critique of capitalist modernity and concerns itself with unpacking systemic injustices, oppressions, and exclusions, as well as investigating the possibilities of emancipatory practice latent in the system. Here, Brenner rejects much of what he sees as the “gloomy” side of Frankfurt School theory, where the hopes of a revolutionary proletarian subject had been abandoned and led Adorno and Horkheimer, for instance, to “retreat into relatively abstract philosophical and aesthetic concerns” (p. 203). Brenner instead turns to Herbert Marcuse, who argued that the need for qualitative social change is as pressing as ever. For Marcuse, the reason that the Frankfurt School was so abstract was the absence of a revolutionary subject. He boldly suggested that theoretical concepts will dissolve with social change. It is in concrete historical struggle that concept turns to practice and theory leaves the abstract. Conversely, the tight lid of oppression towards emancipation under late capitalism is what makes critical theory, *theory* and not everyday practice.

From this point of view, the so-called theory/practice divide is an artifact not of theoretical confusion or epistemological inadequacies, but of the alienated, contradictory social formation in which critical theory is embedded. There is no theory that can overcome this divide, because, by definition, it cannot be overcome theoretically; it can only be overcome in practice. (Brenner, 2009b, pp. 203–204)

Critical urban theory encapsulates a view on scientific knowledge production, the nature of theory, and the role of research for society that resonates with me both intellectually and emotionally. Its approach to knowledge production is mainly political. As such, its attitude towards method is very fluid and open, but also quite limited in the sense that it leaves few practical guidelines on “how” to approach a research subject. To answer that question, I turn to phenomenology.

Phenomenology

The contemporary history of phenomenology starts with Husserl and Heidegger, and from them, phenomenology has reached through various fields of philosophy – such as realism (e.g., in Max Scheler’s anthropology), constructivism (e.g., in Aron Gurwitsch’s gestalt theory), existentialism (e.g., in Simone de Beauvoir’s theories on gender and in Maurice Merleau-Ponty studies on the living body), and hermeneutics (e.g., in Hans-Georg Gadamer’s interpretative theory). According to Orbe (2012), phenomenology in its most basic sense is a school of thought interested in creating a philosophy and method of inquiry concerned with conscious experiences of phenomena, contextualized in individual lifeworld’s. It is an approach that puts emphasis on human experience and the everyday and that is concerned with experiences before they are theorized or categorized. The aim of phenomenology is

to make explicit the frameworks of meaning from which the sciences construct their particular thematizations of the world, and to examine critically the limits of their application as well as their relevance to the phenomena to be considered. Such frameworks of meaning are somehow already implicit in the world of everyday experience, to which the insights of the sciences must be capable in principle of being brought back and from which they are originally derived. (Pickles, 1985, p. 142)

Therefore, the emphasis of phenomenological work is often descriptive rather than prescriptive and has a focus on methodological and scientific rigor over theorization. That is not to say that phenomenology is a-theoretical; rather, its method is pre-theoretical. Nor does it mean that phenomenology is unconcerned with abstraction in its focus on concretizing phenomena; rather, it requires abstraction to be coupled with empirical inquiry:

phenomenology is not an alternative to abstract tendencies of science but a necessary correlate to it, seeking as it does to ground the relationship between scientific and the pre-scientific, the theoretical and the everyday, in a carefully prepared and reflective ontological analysis. Phenomenology ‘does not subscribe to a “standpoint” or represent any special “direction”’; for phenomenology is nothing of either sort, nor can it become so as long as it understands itself. The expression “phenomenology” signifies primarily a methodological conception. (Pickles, 2017, pp. 528–529)

As a theory of science, phenomenology is about uncovering and discovery rather than assumption and deduction. Further, phenomena are always experienced and, consequently, mediated through various forms of perceptions. There is no “no-where view” of phenomena – no outside god’s view from which to objectively observe and understand all facets of things – but rather different “focal lengths,” instruments, and practices of inquiry from which to understand them. Therefore, a common epistemological consequence for each branch of phenomenological thought is the rejection of “the objective researcher.” The phenomenological scientific method is an effort to “bracket” the preconceived, that is, to suspend judgement about the world and to instead focus on analysis of experience. Husserl believed that bracketing would enable phenomenological purity – that when peeling the layers of abstraction, symbolic meanings, and theory-informed readings of a phenomenon, it would appear to us as the thing itself through pure experience (Vannini, 2012). However, this possibility was denied by Heidegger and later by most phenomenologists, who instead insist that phenomenon can be experienced differently by different people irrespective of the practice of bracketing. Nevertheless, bracketing is still at the core of phenomenological inquiry, as the methodological approach of both *nearing* (rather than reaching) the phenomenon itself and uncovering the framework of meaning surrounding it. Pickles (1985) has argued that this interplay between discovering the phenomena of concern and the framework from which it is experienced is at the center of a phenomenological approach to science in general and that it is how phenomenologists approach and ground their respective disciplines:

[A] descriptive phenomenology would first seek to make transparent the a priori framework of meaning, or the particular projection of the world adopted by a discipline in its empirical work, as thematiza-

tions of the everyday world. This would usually be implicit in the sciences themselves and thus phenomenology would seek to make it explicit and transparent. It would seek to lay bare the region of concern of the particular science, and how its objects of concern are constituted and how they relate to the world of the everyday prior to their projection or thematization in the world of science. (p. 145)

Oftentimes, a phenomenologist approaches the object of research as a subject, insofar as the object-subject (like humans but unlike things) has agency. In this sense, phenomenology is an endeavor not only of awareness towards the object-subject of research but also of self-awareness. This mode of self-aware thinking is referred to as *epoché*. Discussing epoché in practice, Bevan (2014) wrote,

[E]poché is an attitudinal shift that is directed at moving the phenomenologist out of his or her natural attitude and adopting a critical stance. This critical stance requires the phenomenologist to question his or her position regarding the phenomenon under investigation. Critical self-questioning is a reflective process that remains self-conscious. Self-consciousness requires a critical view of bracketed knowledge that includes beliefs, knowledge, and attitudes that present themselves in relation to the phenomenon, and is maintained throughout the interview. By undertaking the epoché there is a change in attitude toward the phenomenon under investigation, which is situated in reality but it does not attempt to exclude this reality. When a researcher embarks on the attitudinal shift of the epoché he or she will undergo new ways of experiencing, of theorizing, and of thinking about a phenomenon, and this is where phenomenological research becomes radical. Radical in this sense means both original and changing. (p. 139)

The main infliction of phenomenology into human geography took place in the 1970s as a reaction to and critique of what was considered objectivist and reductive approaches in spatial science and theory. While phenomenology certainly is an empirical approach, its proponents took issue with the dominant approach of logical positivism within geography. It was also a reaction to the structuralism and functionalism in some forms of Marxist theory. Phenomenological geographers and spatial theorists like Tuan and Relph (Relph, 1976; Y.-F. Tuan, 1975, 1979a)

denied an unproblematic and simple mediation of sensory data into hard empirics that positivists proposed; at the same time, they critiqued tendencies towards theorization and abstraction not grounded in empirical inquiry at all.

The ensuing spatially-centered phenomenology focused on agency and everyday life; it saw places and spaces as lived and subjective spheres and advanced the field of spatial theory by examination of the experiential. Their call was for social geographies closer to the world of “the things themselves” and closer to the experience and lifeworld’s of persons:

‘phenomenological foundations’ (Relph, 1976b); ‘immediate experience of life’ (Relph, 1976b, 1); ‘geographical consciousness’ (Van Paassen, 1957); ‘geographical experience’ (Dardel, 1952); ‘everyman as geographer and personal geographies’ (Lowenthal, 1961); ‘life-world’ (Buttimer, 1976). Interest in these domains is prompted clearly by what Gregory (1978a, 123) refers to as geography’s “traditional attachment to particular places and the people that live in them”. Such claims have a long and respectable tradition within the field; [...] Each in some way seeks to uncover the ‘spirit’ or ‘character’ of a place (Gregory, 1978a, 137). Each, in some way, points to a particular phenomenological basis to geographic understanding. (Pickles, 1985, p. 42)

In many respects, at least on the surface, phenomenology and critical theory are similar. But there are also critical differences. In the next section, I will attempt to enter those two research traditions into conversation with each other.

Standing on two legs: Critical urban theory and phenomenology in discussion

Marxism and phenomenology are sometimes seen as conflicting theoretical standpoints. Wartofsky (1977) characterizes their incommensurability thusly: “The beginning of phenomenology is the reassertion of subjectivity. The beginning of Marxism is the attack upon subjectivity” (p. 133). Nevertheless, theorists have entered them into conversation with each other and breached this territory in fruitful ways before. The critical phenomenology (Simonsen & Koefoed, 2020) of Lefebvre and Mer-

leau-Ponty is a case in point that has had a major impact into the field of urban studies. In this chapter, I will briefly sketch out how the two Frankfurt Schoolers Herbert Marcuse and Eric Fromm constructively breached this territory. Curiously, both phenomenology (particularly in its Husserlian guise) and Marxist theory (particularly the structuralist theories of the 1960s) have been accused of resting on a naïve or even vulgar form of materialism. It is perhaps in this critique that we can find ways to put the two philosophies in conversation with each other. There is a risk at overstating the differences between critical urban theory and Marxism on the one hand and phenomenology on the other, and selling the theoretical venture of this thesis as more unique than it actually is. But in order to make the paradigms talk to each other, I think there is a point in approaching them from a point of difference rather than similarity.

The critique of Marxist materialism often emanates from a (albeit contested) view of orthodox Marxism as a mechanist grand theory with a latent social determinism towards the abolishment or supersession of capitalism. Following the First World War and the crushing of the German revolution by social democracy, Marxism was by many Marxists themselves seen to be in political crisis (Rosa Luxemburg was not alone in her critique of the authoritarian implications of Lenin's vanguardism). However, for Frankfurt Schooler Herbert Marcuse, who shall help us with the dialogue between Phenomenology and Marxism, the crisis of Marxism was more than political: it was epistemological, too. In the *Aesthetic Dimension* (1977), Marcuse attacks dogmatic Marxist theory that altogether neglects or reduces subjective experiences to what he calls "atomistic subjectivity," or a form of "vulgar- materialism." Marcuse traces the disinterest in individual experience to a transfixed reading of the base/superstructure dichotomy within orthodox Marxism. Within this orthodoxy, individual subjectivities like passion, love, and hate are deemed uninteresting and relegated to the realm of psychology. Subjectivities, irrespective of their emancipatory potential, are melted away into a mechanical and collectivized analysis of class-consciousness.

In phenomenology, the ontological genesis is to be found in the subject. Subject-object relations are seen to always be just that that: subject-object relations. There are no objects without an acting subject. Rather,

objects are constituted by subjects and are themselves subjects, or subject-objects. Objects are seen as products of consciousness, and it is the Ego (the knowing subject) that is the repository of the structures and conditions of the object. Wartofsky (1977) wrote about phenomenology that “[t]he objectivity thus attained is a constructed or constituted objectivity, one which the subject finds himself inextricably bound, and from which he cannot absent himself without self-destruction” (p. 136). To phenomenologists, the Ego is the bearer of (constructed) objectivity and the ego is thus primordial to the world “and the active positing of the other is the very being of subjectivity. In this way the ‘other’ is always a clue to the character of the subject; the object can always be ‘read back’, so to speak, as revealing the primordial or necessary conditions or structures of subjectivity itself” (ibid). The relation to an “other” as a subject-object is what constitutes and delimitate the subject itself and where the structures of the real are to be found.

Marxism turns this around. The ontological genesis of Marxism is to be found in the material conditions confronting the Ego. The world, and life, is primordial to and exists irrespective of the Ego – rather, the ego is an achievement of the world. For Marxists, a subject is a prerequisite for otherness as well as for the ability to relate to the world, for as Wartofsky points out, another subject is a logical demand to otherness. But the subject does not call otherness into being through its own consciousness, as an active agent; otherness is always already existent in the world irrespective of the Ego. Subjectivity exists for Marxists insofar as the material conditions between subjects differ, and Ego (and agency) is called into being only after being confronted with and (importantly) reflecting upon the world. Ontology in Marxism is thus found in the matrix of social practice and reproduction in the material world. More appropriately, consciousness is a product of the dialectical history of praxis. According to Marx, “The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness” (quoted in Fromm, 1961, p. 17). However, there is a reach towards history in phenomenology, too. According to an interpretation by Marcuse (2005, p. 161), what Heidegger brought to phenomenological philosophy was the immutability of time to being. For Marcuse, Heidegger brought the historicity of dialectical materialism into phenomenological thought.

In studies on displacement, critical theorists often criticize phenomenological studies as incapable of capturing the structures and economic roots leading to dispossession, its history, and its dialectics (Chatterjee, 2014). However, since both phenomenology and critical theory are materialist epistemologies, I would contend that they have a lot in common. For instance, the phenomenological epoché, the reductionist attitude to close in on phenomena, can be likened with the critical stance of critical theory, or as a methodological concretization of the reflexive approach in critical theory. One of the earlier efforts in discussing Marxism and phenomenology as complementary world views was done by Frankfurt Schooler Herbert Marcuse. In his youth, Marcuse was a pupil of Heidegger and saw in his phenomenology a philosophical revolution in the making. In post war Germany, Marcuse felt the field of philosophy had stagnated into a neo-Kantian and neo-Hegelian idealism that was incapable of dealing with important questions regarding human experience, particularly in the aftermath of the horrors of the First World War. But Heidegger's phenomenology offered something new. In a postscript to *Heideggerian Marxism* Marcuse (2005) wrote,

To me and my friends, Heidegger's work appeared as a new beginning: we experienced his book (and his lectures, whose transcripts we obtained) as, at long last, a concrete philosophy: here there was talk of existence [Existenz], of our existence, of fear [Angst] and care and boredom, and so forth. We also experienced an "academic" emancipation: Heidegger's interpretation of Greek philosophy and of German idealism, which offered us new insights into antiquated, fossilized texts. (p. 176)

Marcuse saw, at least initially, in Heidegger a philosophy capable of moving beyond the positivistic and revisionist philosophy pervasive both in bourgeois philosophy and increasingly in Marxist philosophy following the creation of the Second International. Granted, Marcuse, in his own view, never managed to satisfactorily align the two thinkers. Disillusioned with Heidegger's appropriation of Nazism during the war, he instead discovered, and turned to, Marx's early works (mainly *The German Ideology* and *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts*). But several authors (Abromeit, 2010; H. Marcuse, 2005) have since traced a heritage of both Heidegger and Husserl in Marcuse's critical theory.

Marcuse draws on phenomenology – as he had earlier with psychoanalysis – to advance one main argument, namely that scientific, mathematical and technological reason are not neutral, that even in their most abstract theoretical forms they reflect the larger socio-historical context. [...] Marcuse approvingly recapitulates Husserl's argument to the effect that scientific rationality is always related to the concrete practices of a lifeworld, even though its concepts conceal this essential relationship. It is in this context that Marcuse also approvingly cites Heidegger's critique of the notion of the neutrality of technology and his claim that modern science rests upon a particular ontology in which nature is always preconceived as mere raw material to be manipulated for human ends. (Abromeit, 2010, pp. 43–44)

Displacement is both a dialectically contingent process of dispossession and a phenomenon experienced in subjective ways but with an experiential structure.

Phenomenology means: allowing questions and approaches to be guided by the objects themselves, bringing the objects fully into view. In being grasped, however, the objects always already stand in historicity. This sphere of historicity already begins, as a concrete historical situation, in the development of the question as it seeks the object; it includes the unique individuality of the questioner, the direction of his question and the way in which the object first appears. [...] A] failure to situate a given historicity within a phenomenological analysis signifies that the investigation has failed to bring its object fully into view (H. Marcuse, 2005, p. 19)

This thesis proposes an eclectic Marxism rooted in carefully conducted empirical work taking individual experience and subjectivities seriously, combined with a phenomenology attuned to the historicity of displacement. In my studies, I do so in two ways, one weaker and one stronger. The stronger approach is methodological, in which the phenomenological interviewing is combined with longitudinal data and where space is considered in its concrete manifestations as places that change over time (see article B). The weaker approach to the issue is the attempt at historicizing the displacement dialectics of Sweden as a way to understand the current displacement strategy of renovation. It is weaker in the sense

that it is descriptive rather than analytical, a narrative based mostly on previous research rather than studies of my own.

Alienation as a key word

The schism between Marxism and Phenomenology is arguably between *objective* Marxism and *subjective* phenomenology. However, as is implied above, phenomenology makes certain claims to objectivity, and Marxism (at least from the Frankfurter School's perspective) takes subjectivities seriously. Perhaps nowhere else is this as apparent as in their dealings with the notion of alienation. Alienation is perhaps the concept in which phenomenology and Marxism come the closest, and to me, it is the bridge between the dialectically contingent process of dispossession and the phenomenological realm of embodied displacement. To write about alienation as the second decade of the 2000s is drawing to an end might seem odd. Alienation is rarely used as a concept in urban studies and geography nowadays. As concept innovation and novelty ranks high in the academic rank-chasing economy, rehashing old concepts is swimming against the current. On the other hand, as Madden and Marcuse (2016) have shown, alienation lends itself uniquely well to describe the contemporary housing situation of many, if not the majority of people today. In this chapter, I will briefly discuss the origins of the concept, some neo-Marxist developments to alienation in general, and how we can use the concept to better understand housing provision in general and the Swedish housing regime in particular.

Marx developed his understanding of alienation through critical readings of Hegel and the German atheist Feuerbach. The concept is prominent throughout Marx works, from his early writings in *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1961) and *The Holy Family* (1956 co-authored with Engels in 1845) to *Capital* (1992), though it is more prominent in Marx's early works than his later ones. However, it has been a concept of contestation within Marxist circles. The *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, where Marx first outlines the theory of alienation, was not published until 1932¹. Its publication had a large impact and spurred a great debate regarding how, if at all, its content was to be incorporated into political and theoretical Marxism. The manuscripts showed a more philosophical and humanist Marx where his

¹ I will use the 1961 translation by T.B. Bottomore, in Fromm (1961).

later focus on systemizing his thoughts into a scientific method had not yet developed. This led to the division of a “young” and a “mature” Marx. For some – like the USSR, where Marxism was squarely seen as a strict and stringent hard science – the manuscripts of young Marx were observed with skepticism (Musto, 2015). Theorists like Althusser held that there was an epistemological discontinuity between young and mature Marx and that the *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* should not be considered as an integral part of Marxism at all. Prior to 1845, Marx was a philosopher; after, he was a scientific economist. About the manuscripts, Althusser (1969) argued,

the Marx furthest from Marx is this Marx, the Marx on the brink, on the eve, on the threshold—as if, before the break, in order to achieve it, he had to give philosophy every chance, its last, this absolute empire over its opposite, this boundless theoretical triumph, that is, its defeat. (p. 33)

For Althusser, it was not until Marx made away with philosophy, rendering it obsolete in favor of scientific dialectics, that Marx became the Marx of Marxism. For others, like the Frankfurt School theorists, the young Marx opened up an avenue to critique what they saw as the dogmatism of the Marxist-Leninism of the USSR and various orthodox communist parties in Europe (Fromm, 1961; H. Marcuse, 1964). They saw in the manuscripts an eclectic thinker concerned not only with economic theory but also with the intricacies of the human condition.

Hegel, by whom we know Marx was inspired, saw alienation as a psychological state and process in which the Ego becomes alienated from itself via perceptions of an objective world. For the idealist Hegel, the objective world is merely an aspect of the conscious self, and only by coming to terms with that can the self, de-alienate itself. Feuerbach, another student of Hegel and inspiration for Marx, used the concept of alienation to critique religion. God, in Feuerbach’s view, was simply the idea of an ideal human, projected as something external. God was an outward projection of humans’ inward nature. He argued that religion was alienating because in religion man gave up human qualities to an external entity, surrendering what are essential human qualities to a totem. But all what God is, humans were (or could be), too. Thus, to Feuerbach, religion prevented humans from coming to their full potential. Marx, as we know, rejected the idealism of Hegel, but he found inspira-

tion in Feuerbach's thesis on religious alienation (Mészáros, 1970). However, Marx brought the concept more squarely to the realm of the material. Marx looked at the history of capitalism and argued that, in work, humans create goods and wealth for the whole society, but with the private propertied mode of production under capitalism, the worker does not feel satisfied and fulfilled from work; they¹ feel denied instead of affirmed – like an instrument instead of a social being.

In the most basic sense, alienation means that man does not experience himself as an acting agent in his world (Marx, 1961). Ernest Bloch (1970) succinctly explains it: “In contemporary life the external environment has made us alien to ourselves. We exist in an uninviting, unhappy, and involuntary externality, which in no way relates to our being” (p. 121). Even objects of our own making can only be experienced passively. For Marx, it is “not only that his labor becomes an object, an external existence, but that it exists outside him, independently, as something alien to him, and that it becomes a power on its own confronting him. It means that the life which they has conferred on the object confronts him as something hostile and alien” (Marx, 1961, p. 29). The life Marx is talking about is laboring life, and Marx used the concept of alienation chiefly to relate to the changing conditions of the social production of labor under capitalism – such as specialization, automatization and divisions of labor that results both in a perceived and actual lack of freedom and control over and at work. But it is not only the relation between self and things that Marx attributed to alienation. Marx distinguished three different forms of alienation: alienation from the product of work, alienation in the process of production, and alienation from society (Marx econ manuscripts). In a less production-centered analysis Horowitz (1966), has suggested that alienation implies an intense separation, first, from objects of the world, second, from people, and third, from ideas about the world held by other people. As Madden and Marcuse (2016) have shown, the concept of alienation relates very well to the life of many on the nowadays inescapable housing market. Curiously, the concept of alienation is rarely used in the realm of housing studies. This is an oddity considering how well suited it is in laying bare the housing situation – how individuals are suffering the consequences of a market that fails to fulfill even the basic needs of se-

¹ Curiously, despite women making up a large part of the new industrial proletariat of the booming textile industry, Marx talks about the worker as a “man.” I will use “they” as a pronoun instead.

curity or shelter and how the system is designed in a way that fulfilling those needs is rarely the goal. Marx himself has mentioned alienation in relation to home, which makes it all the more peculiar:

The savage in his cave – a natural element which freely offers itself for his use and protection – feels himself no more a stranger, or rather feels as much at home as a fish in water. But the cellar dwelling of the poor man is a hostile element, "a dwelling which remains an alien power and only gives itself up to him insofar as he gives up to it his own blood and sweat" – a dwelling which he cannot regard as his own hearth – where he might at last exclaim: "Here I am at home" – but where instead he finds himself in someone else's house, in the house of a stranger who always watches him and throws him out if he does not pay his rent. He is also aware of the contrast in quality between his dwelling and a human dwelling that stands in the other world, in the heaven of wealth. (Marx, 1961, p. 151)

Alienation is closely related to fetishization. Frankfurt scholar Eric Fromm (1961) has pointed out that alienation first found its expression in the Old testament through the concept of "idolatry." Idols, created by men, were imbued with the powers of their creators. The skill, imagination, and labor were seen as transcending and leaving the creator, flowing into the idol. The worship became the worship of (self-made) things – instead of worship of the artisan himself. In bowing down and worshipping something made with his own hands, the artisan alienates himself from the subject of worship (Fromm, 1961). He puts his own life, skill, effort, and labor into the idol – and in so doing turns himself from a maker and a creator, into a thing. He becomes a passive object, and all his potential resides in the idol instead of in himself. He can now only be in touch with himself through the worship of the idol. His own character and the whole wealth of his potentialities are now imbued in the idol and can only be reached indirectly through full submission to the dead and frozen item of worship. Here, one can easily find a mirror in life lived under the contemporary housing regime. *Home* (with a multitude of use-values, created by and for the inhabitants themselves) turns into *house* (with a singular exchange value, magically price-tagged by forces far away) and becomes alien in a plethora of ways. This is especially true under precarious housing conditions.

Home, shelter, and the act of building are, as Heidegger (1971) reminds us in his essay *Building, dwelling, thinking*, part and parcel of the human condition. To build (and here I read Heidegger to mean both to build with nail and hammer and to build through the creation of homeliness) and to be home at the hearth are what it is to be human. But consider, then, life lived under housing precarity. Take the United States under the subprime mortgage crisis, for instance:¹ 3.2 million foreclosures filings led to over 800,000 households losing their home in 2008 alone. In these circumstances, one's house has turned from being the source of ontological security to something threatening, something alien, even something vile and menacing – a promise of something worse ahead. In article B, Richard and I investigate how alienation is experienced under increasing displacement pressures and neighborhood transformation. The experiences are certainly subjective and individual, but they can be structured. We designed a taxonomy of dispossessions to better understand how the pressure was affecting our interlocutors. Our schema involved two temporal categories, “life on hold” and “erasure of history,” and two spatial categories, “contraction of home” and “withering entitlements.” In the article, we lay these categories out as a way of understanding the multitude of ways in which tenants are being dispossessed in the wake of renoviction schemes, be there physical relocation/indirect eviction at play or not; however, one can equally well understand those categories and read their emotive backdrop as the ways in which tenants are alienated from home – from the realization of house as home (with all its previous use-values) to house as an investment for the landlord (with a singular exchange value).

An important form of alienation is that of alienation in language. Fromm (1961) has used the example of love to illustrate how this form of alienation works:

[I]f I say “I love you,” the word is meant to be an indication of the reality which exists within myself, the power of my loving. The word “love” is meant to be a symbol of the *fact* love, but as soon as it is spoken it tends to assume a life of its own, it becomes a reality. I

¹ There is always a danger when listing various housing crises to illustrate alienation of making them sound singular and unique. And, of course, they are. In many ways, every housing crisis is unique in their build up and in how they roll out. But we have to remember what Engels (1872) taught us, that poor housing conditions and crises are permanent facets of a commodified housing regime – not by flaw, but by necessity and design.

am under the illusion that the saying of the word is the equivalence of the experience, and soon I say the word and feel nothing, except the *thought* of love which the word expresses. (p. 40)

According to Fromm, alienation in language is unavoidable. To prevent the alienating effect of language, we would have to stop talking. But one has to be aware of the danger alienation of language presents – when the spoken word threatens to substitute itself for the living experience. In the realm of housing, alienation in language is very prominent. Just think of the multitude of labels and meanings attached to home (housing, real-estate, accommodation, shelter, hearth, etc.), the myriad of classifications we give to different types of homes (house, villa, apartment, condominium, castle, loft etc.), how we categorize them based on location, quality, typology, and so on (suburbs, cottage, inner city slums, favelas, etc.), and how we distinguish them based on various forms of tenure (which still does not translate over differing regions and countries in the world). Many theoreticians have struggled with or explored the language of home and housing and how it relates to the Real or to various discourses, both from a use/exchange value point of view (Madden & Marcuse, 2016) and from a more phenomenological perspective (Fried, 1964; Relph, 1976; Y.-F. Tuan, 1979b).

Alienation in language is indeed pervasive in the realm of housing today, and it builds and adds on to the alienation of man from home. When homes turn into assets and when individuals are assigned labels based on tenancy, they do so not only on markets and for market actors but also for people who have never before seen their dwelling – their home – as part of the global accumulation regime. The tenants stand alienated and without agency in the face of landlords operating on a national and international level to destroy the hearth and turn house into nothing more than its exchange value. This is not only true for tenants in precarious housing situations. Housing has turned alien for the middle class as well. In real estate magazines and on the web, the message is that you are no longer expected to create a home, you buy it. The Heideggerian building of home is lost, alienated from you – turned into a fetish on the magazine page, fully constructed and price tagged. For the middle-class, making moves on the housing market to advance one's "housing career" comes with its own set of anxieties around issues like mortgage indebtedness, high interest rates, housing market volatility, and the threat of global recession (Colic-Peisker & Johnson, 2010). The

extent and nature of residential alienation differs in time and space between countries, regions, cities, and rural communities and certainly between classes, genders, and ethnicities. As Madden and Marcuse (2016) have noted,

Residential alienation can be found across the world. It is the product of the hyper-commodification of housing, the casualization of employment, rising inequality, and the neoliberal assault on the social safety net. These processes affect owner-occupiers as well as tenants, and middle-class households as well as working-class ones. Their impact is felt unevenly, but it is a mistake to suppose that they are only a problem for the poorest households. (p. 55)

While Marx and Engels have acknowledged that alienation under capitalism is a malaise for property owners and the proletariat both, they also stressed that for the bourgeoisie, alienation is worn as a mantle of power and success:

The propertied class and the class of the proletariat present the same human self-estrangement. But the former class feels at ease and strengthened in this self-estrangement, it recognizes estrangement as its own power and has in it the semblance of a human existence. The class of the proletariat feels annihilated in estrangement; it sees in it its own powerlessness and the reality of an inhuman existence. It is, to use an expression of Hegel, in its abasement the indignation at that abasement, an indignation to which it is necessarily driven by the contradiction between its human nature and its condition of life, which is the outright, resolute and comprehensive negation of that nature.

Within this antithesis the private property-owner is therefore the conservative side, the proletarian the destructive side. From the former arises the action of preserving the antithesis, from the latter the action of annihilating it. (Marx & Engels, 1956, p. 51)

However, that does not mean that the property owner is unaffected by the alienating effect of commodification. Marx (1961) illuminated, “With the mass of objects, therefore, there also increases the realm of alien entities to which man is subjected. Every new product is a new po-

tentiality of mutual deceit and robbery. Man becomes increasingly poor as a man; he has increasing need of money in order to take possession of the hostile being” (p. 144). Marx here talks about the wealth of commodities that alienates and forces man into bargaining positions vis-à-vis their fellow man under capitalism, and it is also a telling quote about housing. Irrespective of class position, housing can, and has, to many become something hostile. Wealth can conquer the hostile entity and transform real estate into home, while lack of wealth keeps it hostile. In both cases and irrespective of tenure, the hostility exists and endures as we progress through life and home(s) in a hyper-commodified housing regime (Hiscock, Kearns, Macintyre, & Ellaway, 2001).

A curious aspect of lingual alienation in the Swedish context is the labeling of individuals and collectives based on the different forms of tenure. The history and the cultural specificity of condominiums in Sweden are interesting but outside the scope of this thesis, concerned as it is with rental housing rather than condominiums. However, in order to understand this form of alienation, a brief sketch of the Swedish tenure system is required. In Sweden, there are three basic forms of tenure: owner occupancy, tenancy, and condominium (also varyingly translated to cooperative dwelling or rental-ownership dwelling). Owner occupancy is rather self-explanatory; in short, owner occupancy is almost exclusively (but not entirely) a tenure form for single-family houses. Owner occupancy in multi-family dwellings is very rare. Tenancy is the tenure form which this thesis is mainly concerned with and denotes the right of occupancy to an apartment in a house owned by a landlord.¹ The housing itself is referred to as a *hyresrätt*, literally “rental right.” The third tenure form, condominiums (in Swedish *bostadsrätt*, literally “housing right”), also exists predominantly within multifamily dwellings and refers to apartments assigned to an individual by a homeowner association. This is also a tenure form based on the right of occupancy and not outright ownership, and the occupants pay a monthly fee for the upkeep of common areas in the house (such as staircases and outdoor environments) and for any loans the association might have (this can amount to a significant part of the fee). Many condominiums are previous tenant buildings converted in right-to-buy schemes during and after legislation

¹ Tenancy exists predominantly in multifamily dwellings with a varying degree of public and private landlords (the mix fluctuates between different municipalities). In Sweden, the public and private rental market are integrated, and renters are treated as one collective with respect to rights and obligations as well as unionization and annual rent negotiations, for instance.

changes in the 1990s, with the contextual difference that tenants never bought apartments outright but through newly established homeowner associations (that rarely owned more than a single building, in contrast to landlords who often own large stocks, sometimes spread over several cities or even countries). Condominiums are traded freely (as far as such things go) on the market and are subjected to supply-demand mechanisms, boom and bust cycles, and speculation; moreover, they are subjected to a whole different set of legislation, taxation rules, and state subsidies (for renovation, for instance)¹ than tenant housing. In most respects, even though the dwellers do not strictly own their dwelling, condominiums are more akin to owner-occupancy than to tenancy.² Tenant owners are (or have increasingly become) concerned with the same thing's homeowners are: the exchange value of their home. Vast amounts of (housing) wealth has been accumulated for the middle and upper middle class (and to a lesser extent the working class) through the conversion of tenant buildings to condominiums and through the purchase and trade of "housing rights" within the condominium tenure form. Crucially, while the condominium form of tenure has existed in Sweden for a very long time, it is recent politically and ideologically charged legislative changes that have subjected the tenure form to market pricing. In the early 1990s, Sweden had achieved the sought-after goal of cost neutrality between tenure forms (cost of living was roughly the same for tenants, owner tenants, and home owners). This was abolished towards the mid-1990s, when home-ownership and condominiums were seen as a way to achieve wealth generation among large parts of the middle class.

Now, let us return to alienation through language and how it relates to forms of tenure in the Swedish context. The condominium and rental form of tenure, with respect to the labeling of the physical dwelling, are framed as rights: the right to rent (for renters) and the right to a house (for rental owners of condominiums). The rights of renters and rental

¹ In fact, the price per sqm is on average higher for condominiums than owner-occupancy housing (<https://www.maklarstatistik.se/omrade/riket/>). This correlates heavily with location, condominiums being located in the cities, and single-family owner-occupied housing mostly in the cheaper suburbs and the countryside.

² Importantly, since condominiums entail an occupancy right and a contract with a housing association, tenant owners are subjected to rules and regulations stipulated by the rules of the association and are also, through their monthly fee, subjected to the economic situation of that association. The condominium fee can fluctuate and change much more violently (in times of crisis, for instance) than rents for renters typically do. Associations can also go bankrupt, severely affecting the monthly rent and the market price of the condominium, should the inhabitants want to sell it.

owners obviously differ, but compared to many other countries, the rights of renters in particular are far reaching. The annual rent increases are collectively bargained through the tenant's union, protecting individual tenants from arbitrary rent increases. Renters are also protected from evictions through a tenure right. (Normally, landlords cannot terminate leases on other grounds than misconduct or unpaid bills. It is within that context that renovation becomes all the more pressing, since the practice practically entails an erosion of the tenure right of renters.) The Swedish word for the renter within the tenancy system is *hyresgäst* (or *hyresgäster* in the plural, to designate the collective of renters), which can be directly translated to "rental guest." The Swedish word for individuals within the condominium system is *bostadsrättshavare* (same in the plural and for the collective), which is usually translated to "rental owner." However, and crucially, a direct translation of the suffix *-rättshavare* would be "rights bearer" (where *bostad* simply means "dwelling" or "housing"), and a more direct translation of *bostadsrättshavare* would thus be "housing right bearer." The word "renter" is not part of the labeling and would confront the typical *bostadsrättshavare* as quite foreign, even though what they own and have purchased is a membership in a housing association rather than housing in itself. The rent they pay to the association is also labeled as a "fee" rather than rent. Therefore, despite the dwelling being labeled in terms of rights for both rental dwellings (*hyresrätt*) and condominiums (*bostadsrätt*), the bearers of these rights are only acknowledged for the latter, while renters are called "guests," with all the connotations that entails. Activists have picked up on this fact and have started to refer to themselves and to renters as a collective as *hyresrättsinnehavare*, substituting "guest" with the *-rättshavare* suffix, denoting that they too are bearers of rights.

Even though this thesis only implicitly deals with organized contestation, this process needs to be acknowledged. This is because it illuminates how the language of housing in Sweden is producing alienation through the framing of renters as "guests" in their own homes. Moreover, acknowledging it is to acknowledge that there are moments of "politics proper" taking place in the arena of housing in Sweden today. For French philosopher Jacques Rancière (2010), politics is just that – a process of naming and, through naming, the opening up of spaces to articulate demands. In this case, the demand is for renters to be recognized as bearer of rights to emplacement and dwelling and to not be seen as

guests in their own homes. The same activists are often organized around anti-displacement, anti-renoviction practices as well, since it is within those processes that the rights of tenants are most clearly violated in contemporary Sweden.

Alienation as displacement

The phenomenological emphasis on consciousness is not necessarily an emphasis on the (oft criticized by Marxists) transcendental but a focus on *being*: “being conscious” rather than having a metaphysical consciousness. According to Jung (1988), such a reading well reflects the Marxism of personhood as a totalizing process in a philosophical anthropology. With the humanist Marx in mind, alienation is used to bridge the phenomenological state of being displaced, and the critical tradition of more political and economic readings of city renewal. For Marx, alienation is not abstract but concrete, historical, and political. It is not a symptom of existential illness but a consequence of the organization of capitalist economies (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). The experience of alienation in modern cities is that of precarity, insecurity, and disempowerment and of increased inequalities produced by tangible political and material change that is upheld by concrete actors like landlords, banks, municipalities, developers, subletters, and other social actors.

Just as there is a “doing” of home, there is a “doing” of displacement; just like we can register the ideological shift of “doing” home as a shift from use-value to exchange value under increasing commodification of owned housing, we can register an ideological shift in the “doing” of displacement and the shifting nuances of the precarity of being displaced under a regime of increased value creation and commodification of rental housing. Phenomenology, when critical, does not merely seek descriptive accounts of the experience of a phenomenon but also seeks the internal structures of the phenomenon. It seeks not the structures of an object but the structures of a subject – structures nonetheless. The ideological shift from tenant housing as a common to tenant housing as one of the driving motors of the Swedish economy corresponds directly to the structure of “doing” displacement. The categories, variances, and nuances that displaced persons experience are pieces of the puzzle unveiling the structure of displacement itself. Setten (2008) has argued that “‘doing home’ and feeling at home can usefully be thought of as some

kind of balancing act: between private and public, domestic and civic, alienation and belonging, local and global, material and imaginative, and so on,” (pp. 558-559) and these categories are not entirely subjective and experiential categories; they are grounded in dialectic material processes. Alienation in a Marxist sense is not merely a feeling but a tangible societal process, as is the alienation resultant of displacement. Just as alienation can be traced structurally through modes of production, the political economy of displacement can partly be traced through a phenomenological inquiry into the persons suffering said displacement.

For instance, in Article B, my colleague and I looked for the phenomenological structure of “being displaced” by interviewing tenants that had managed to stay put in the two neighborhoods in question throughout the decade-long renovation process. By using a phenomenological approach to method and analysis, our goal was

not a description of idiosyncratic experience— “here and now, this is just what I experience”—rather, it attempts to capture the invariant structures of experience. In this sense, it is more like science than like psychotherapy. Psychotherapy is focused on the subject as a particular person and may appeal to introspection in its concern about the way and the why of the person’s experience of the world, here and now. (Gallagher & Zahavi, 2008, p. 26)

We conceptualized the structure we found in the phenomenon of being displaced into two liquid categories: spatial dispossession (with the subcategories “contraction of home” and “withering entitlements”) and temporal dispossession (with the subcategories “life on hold” and “erasure of history”). These categories are the concretization of seventeen people’s subjective experiences of being under pressure in their home and neighborhood throughout and after a process of neighborhood renewal. However, they are not merely a distillate or a convenient categorization of subjective feelings experienced by interlocutors faring poorly in a renewed neighborhood. Rather, if the study and analysis stand the test of time, these categories are a prelude to a structure of the phenomena of being displaced, and this structure can give invaluable insight into the *modus operandi* of the political economy of housing in Sweden. The experience of a “contracted home,” for instance, is part of this structure in the very erosion of authenticity and nostalgia that Chatterjee

(2014) has described. When familiar places for recreation are destroyed as bulldozers work their way through the interlocutor's neighborhood and previously treasured places are replaced by empty and anonymous concrete, these experiences are part of the structure, too. Moreover, it is a mirror of materially grounded processes – for instance, when spaces in the apartment previously not measured for rent purposes (a 0.5 sqm cold storage underneath an electricity station, a 1 sqm uninsulated wardrobe, a small space underneath a slanted window, etc.) are counted and increase the rent whereas insulation at other places (creating thicker walls and floors) makes the apartment smaller to live in without any rent-decrease. The structure of being displaced and the experiences of individual tenants is intimately entwined with the global process of alienation on the housing market, where all use-value of *home* is being eradicated in the transformation of use-value (what spaces matter for reproduction purposes) to exchange value (what objective measurements can be entered into the formula to maximize rent output).

For Gallagher and Zhavi (2008), “phenomenology aims to disclose structures that are intersubjectively accessible, and its analyses are consequently open for corrections and control by any (phenomenologically attuned) subject” (p. 26), and nowhere but in the rupture or disturbance of home might these structures be clearer. The dispossession category of “loss of history” (Pull & Richard, 2019), traced as part of the phenomenological structure of being displaced, was not only measured in the loss of artifacts, such as a furniture that had to be given away in order to down-size, heirlooms sold to cope with increased rents, or outdoor gardens leveled to the ground in order to achieve effective outdoor uniformity; the material possessions that were lost tied the interlocutors to memories of the past, but the memories that these artifacts and places represented also tied them and their identity to place. Our interlocutors stood in opposition to the liquid consumers of liquid assets that they were supposed to be for the housing regime to operate efficiently. The loss of history played out differently for different tenants of course, but it was always there. The increased detachment from place that their loss of soul produced alienated the interlocutors from their previous place in the neighborhood as well as from their space as dwellers, turning them into consumers chasing new spaces of consumption.

In acknowledging that displacement as a phenomenon has a phenomenological structure, phenomenological studies need no longer be brushed off as merely touching on the subjective and experiential side “poor victims” in research around displacement and gentrification. In this short article (B), only a few links were made between the rich and varied material on the experiences of displacement for a few interlocutors and the invariable structure of these experiences and how it mirrors structures in the political and economic landscape. Hence, more studies of this nature are needed. I propose shrinking the gap between the strands of critical urban studies and phenomenological studies of home when it comes to analysis of gentrification and displacement.

On alienation of home and domicile

Many critical researchers have started to acknowledge the merits and insight brought by phenomenology to gentrification and displacement themed research. However, they are often also quick to point out the limitation of phenomenological thought and methods in tracing and unveiling the structural, political, and ideological roots of the phenomenon.

[I]ts theory of displacement, unfortunately, is limited to an experiential sense of loss and the erosion of authenticity. Phenomenologists, therefore, understand displacement as a de-territorialization of identity and a spiritual trauma where people-place consciousness has been rudely split into placeless people and people-less place [...], phenomenology often falls short of conceptual tools that can provide an understanding of displacement that goes beyond “a sense of loss of the local.” (Chatterjee, 2014, p. 55)

This chapter aims to, if not solve, at least address and discuss some of those concerns via a deeper engagement in phenomenological thought and lessons drawn from fieldwork in an area undergoing renovations with various types of displacement as one of the primary outcomes. Historically, the contributions to the field of displacement via phenomenological inquiry can be divided into two branches: (a) a critical engagement in the spatial metaphor of displacement via phenomenological theory of place or (b) a geography centered on bodily and emotive consequences for “victims” of displacement, often with foci on experiences of un-homing.

The first strand is mainly concerned with the limitation of Euclidean space when displacement is researched in gentrification studies. Part of the spatial turn in geography, this is a critique of the notion of space as an empty container or coordinates on a map. A number of critical researchers (Jeffery, 2018; Pull & Richard, 2019; Wynne & Rogers, 2020) have reacted to what Wacquant (Wacquant, 2008) has aptly referred to as the gentrification of gentrification research – a normalization, and at times even appreciation, of gentrification and its alleged benefit for poor neighborhoods (Hamnett, 1991; Vigdor, 2002). As a response, these critical researchers have turned both to the very concept of displacement and to the problem of methodology, the measuring of displacement that has resulted in the benign analyses mentioned. Slater (Slater, 2009) has argued that benevolent readings of gentrification can be the result of methodological issues attributed to the difficulty in measuring displacement, leading to understatement of the problem. Displacement must instead be understood as a drawn out and fractured process, a process involving measuring what Atkinson (2000) has referred to as “the invisible”. Davidson (2009) suggested that the methodological hurdles of measuring displacement and the consequential benign diagnosis of gentrification might in part be resolved by a more sophisticated spatial analysis, inspired by Heidegger and Lefebvre. The metaphor of displacement invariably lends itself to a relocation analysis. But through a place/space dichotomy, Davidson argued that *displacement* – where un-homing is a category that needs not entail physical relocation but instead the rupture of familiar places – might capture the experience of neighborhood change where outmigration is hard to capture, or not at all prevalent, but where nonetheless people are victims of displacement.

While the first strand of studies is well integrated in the field of critical urban studies and urban displacement literature from the 1970s, the second strand operates firmly in the realm of phenomenology and the ontology of home. The first strand is theoretically grounded in the earliest gentrification literature of Ruth Glass (1964) and the early conceptualizations and definitions of displacement by Marcuse (1985) and Hartman (1979). The foundation of the second strand is rather that of early humanistic geographers in the 1960s and 1970s who were exploring and problematizing the geography of home and place attachment (Relph, 1976; Y.-F. Tuan, 1975, 1979b; Y. Tuan, 1971), even if contemporary studies rarely delve into the history of its roots. The tradition of home

geographies goes from rather idealized geographies of home as the prime site of security, belonging, and authenticity (Seamon, 1979; Seamon & Mugerauer, 1986) in the 1970s and 1980s and the grief and trauma of losing it through the displacement of relocation (Fried, 1964) or homelessness (Robinson, 2005) to more nuanced conceptualizations of home as potential sites for political negotiation, conflict, and strife in the 1990s onwards by predominantly feminist and intersectional geographers (Coltrane, 2014; Douglas, 1991; Gorman-Murray et al., 2015; Mahler, Chaudhuri, & Patil, 2015). While there is no dichotomy between the two strands, the second strand is more deeply rooted in the phenomenological tradition and is often centered on home, while the former is rooted in urban studies and borrows a phenomenological lexicon to deepen the understanding of neighborhood change.

Both of these strands have merit in and of themselves, but I suggest deepening the dialogue between the two. I recommend taking seriously not only the theoretical implications of a phenomenological reading of space and place in understanding the varied forms displacement can take but also the phenomenological aspiration both to gain insight into the subjective feelings of displacement and to find phenomenological structure – because there is structure to the experience of displacement, a knowing that pertains to more than the realm of subjective experience. For instance, the sense of control (or loss thereof) tenants experience has an intimate relation with the phenomenological structure of displacement; consequently, it gives insight into the functions of the structure of dispossession understood in a more traditional neo-Marxist or critical way (more about this below). Thus, I argue, a phenomenological inquiry need not examine only the subjective concerns, or the experience of being displaced, but can be used to trace the mechanisms and shifts in the political economy of displacement at a given time and place. This thesis argues for the field of critical urban studies to take seriously, and further develop, the insights garnered by phenomenological method and theory.

Forms of residential alienation

In an effort to operationalize alienation for empirical studies, Seeman (1959) postulated five different meanings of alienation: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement. He considered *powerlessness* the meaning of alienation closest to Marx's view on alienated work and the condition of wage laborers. He conceived of this variant as "*the expectancy or probability held by the indi-*

vidual that his own behavior cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks" (p. 784, italics in original). Seeman (1959) argued that this powerlessness, and Marx's in turn, is powerlessness in the face of socio-political events and one's relation to the larger social order; further, "[w]hether or not such an operational concept of alienation is related to expectancies for control in the more intimate need areas (for example, love and affection: status-recognition) is a matter for empirical determination" (p. 785).

In the realm of housing and for the tenants in this study, the feeling of powerlessness towards the socio-economic system is prevalent. Interlocutors talked about their situation as a "social experiment" out of their control, and they uttered bafflement towards the very idea that the welfare Sweden would treat them this way. It probably becomes all the more serious given the history of the Swedish welfare state. They said they feel the trust in the system fracturing, leading to anger, hopelessness, despair, and indignation. Hence, this thesis is reinforced by a study on the relationship between trust and Swedish welfare by Polanska and Richard (Polanska & Richard, 2019)

Related but distinct, Seeman (1959) discussed *meaninglessness* as characterized by a "*low expectancy that satisfactory predictions about the future outcomes of behavior can be made*. Put more simply, where the first meaning of alienation refers to the sensed ability to control outcomes, this second meaning refers essentially to the sensed ability to predict behavioral outcomes" (p. 786). Seeman focused on the experiences of the actor throughout his exposé of the various types of alienation, and like with powerlessness, the tenants in Uppsala make illuminating cases for meaninglessness understood as the inability to project the future. In article B, we talk about this aspect of alienation as "life on hold," a sensation of everlasting present where one ultimately waits for nothing but the one certainty: death. Tenants expressed feeling as if behavioral changes do not matter. They indicated feeling alienated from their life choices. This has, for my interlocutors, manifested itself as lethargy and hopelessness.

The third variant of alienation that Seeman (1959) discussed is *normlessness*, which he formulated from the perspective of the subject. He defined it as a "*high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors*

are required to achieve given goals” (p. 788). Like the above, this aspect is interlinked with the other aspects of alienation, but it is not dependent on them. Expectancies on the potential effect of out-of-the-norm action are surely related to the perception of one’s power in society and how intelligible one finds the world to be, but how that relationship looks can vary according to Seeman (ibid). One tenant in Uppsala sympathized with youth torching cars and said she would probably do the same if she were younger. She held no illusions about the effect of the act of torching cars itself, yet she had after years of struggle with landlords and courts lost all illusions that she could impose change by “normal means” and longed to somehow “stand on the barricades,” as she put it. Overall, many interlocutors blamed “the system” nearly as much as their landlords, and it was often the system rather than individual political parties that were seen at fault. This was one possible reason why several tenants opted out of the tenants’ union and put what little faith they had in self-organization and more or less informal organizations. Normlessness would also explain the increases in crime, the neglect of a formerly loved neighborhood visible in litter and trash on the streets. To my mind, this form of alienation gives rise to a peculiar form of agency. Neglecting one’s home need not only be an act of despair and hopelessness but everyday resistance as well. Julia, a tenant whose apartment has been renovated complained to me, like so many other tenants have, about the quality of renovations:

They’re shit, you know. Just awful. I get things replaced all the time. Kitchen cabinets breaking down. Wallpaper that just doesn’t stick properly to the wall. I’m making it a sport now, not caring about the wear and tear. Why should I care. They don’t care! (Julia, tenant in Kvarngärdet, May 2016).

Seeman’s fourth category of alienation is *isolation*, which refers to value and norm systems rather than to feelings of social abandonment. For Seeman (1959), the alienated in the isolation sense “are those who, like the intellectual, *assign low reward value to goals or beliefs that are typically highly valued in the given society*” (p. 789f). In the realm of displacement, tenants oftentimes assign a low value to aspects of living and being that are promoted within the real estate market, such as mobility, housing careers, and high-end consumption (e.g., gastro pubs). Unlike the intellectual in Seeman’s case, the tenant is oftentimes denied access to these things on material grounds and would assign a low value to,

say, hyper-mobility because it is outside of their financial reach rather than because of preference. In either case, I would argue, they are alienated towards the trends and the belief system of commodified real estate. Kvarngärdet in particular is (or was) populated by persons with high education. Their education levels are above the Uppsala average, and Uppsala is a university city. Many of my interlocutors are academics, but poor academics who have put more value into what they do than how much money they would get from doing it. These are people who have taken great pride in living in their neighborhood, with its mix of cultures and classes. As Therese eloquently put it,

I opted out of a housing career. I chose a job in the cultural sector that would never give me much money, but a whole lot of creative freedom. I raised my kids to live in a beautiful and multicultural part of Uppsala. The houses here, with their small gardens, used to be very picturesque. Now society is screwing me over for it, and with it, they erase this whole view of how you can live for your passions, not only for me, but also for my kids! They see another world now, where you're on the losing side if you don't make a lot of money. That's ideology at play in the small world. (Therese, tenant in Kvarngärdet, 2017)

Finally, Seeman discussed *self-estrangement*, which is the process or mode of experience in which a person experiences oneself as alien. It is the experience of being something less than what one could be, not reaching one's full potential. For instance, at work the salesperson is just that, a salesperson reduced to sales pitches and platitudes. This occurs as people make others into instruments and, in the process, do the same to themselves. Instead of full humans, we become insecure and conformist. Seeman acknowledged that self-estrangement is a tricky category that is hard to specify, and that it is difficult to determine the location of the alienation. He defined it as follows: "*the degree of dependence of the given behavior upon anticipated future rewards*, that is, upon rewards that lie outside the activity itself" (Seeman, 1959, p. 790). To be self-estranged, then, is to lack, or be deprived of, intrinsically meaningful satisfaction in activities or work itself. It is to lack fulfillment, joy, or pride in one's work or activities that lies beyond fulfilling the task at hand. With regards to my interlocutors, the feeling of self-estrangement is palpable. Elsa offered the following: "I don't recognize myself any-

more. I have become angry and bitter” (Elsa, tenant in Gränby, 2016). She further explained how meaningful activities, like meeting up with friends or going into town to see a movie, have lost their meaning. Moreover, she no longer recognizes herself. She used to be glad and interested in things, now she experiences herself as grey and dull. It is not a person that she likes.

There is a discussion in Marxist literature on the potential difference between alienation and estrangement, and on translation problems of the two German words for estrangement, *entfremdung* and *entäußerung*. For instance, Bloch (1970) has argued that “[a]lienation, estrangement: the terms are bound together by the alien, the external; yet in them evil and beneficent [sic] modes of experience can be distinguished in specific, very particular ways” (p. 121). However, in this thesis, following what Marx probably did (Fromm, 1961), I will use alienation and estrangement interchangeably and to mean the same thing. The discussion of Bloch is nevertheless intriguing. Through readings of Berthold Brecht, Bloch saw the alienated man being confronted by strangeness in potentially fruitful ways. Brecht’s theater exposes the absurdities of alienated life, and in the confrontation with our estrangement, we can see our alienation for what it is – and be “startled awake” from alienated society (Bloch et al., 1970, p. 121). This “startling awake” is key in a number of ways. It relates to how displacement is not only a form of alienation but also a process of rupture and of discontinuity. It grants motion to the concept of alienation, a sort of un-fixturedness from time. Displacement is the result of an alienating housing regime, and it produces deepened and partially new forms of alienated life. The process of displacement also reveals alienation to the alienated subject. Where it was before partially hidden in the mundane workings of the housing regime, and in how tenants live their life within in, its inertia turns into violence and brutality in processes of displacement, startling awake tenants and researchers alike.

In one of the very few studies on alienation and dwelling, Marcuse (1975) derived three different components of residential alienation. While he mainly talked about these forms in relation to homeownership in the United States, in the next few paragraphs, I will attempt to discuss these forms in relation to housing in general.

First, the inability of a person to form, to shape, his/her own dwelling, to express his/her individuality in it. (P. Marcuse, 1975, p. 186)

Marcuse argued that very few urban dwellers have control over the shaping and the form of their dwelling. Overwhelmingly, urban dwellers move into houses drawn by architects and built by engineers with whom they have had no contact; they are deprived the opportunity to influence the shaping of their abode. In this sense, residential alienation is very much monolithic and all-pervasive in contemporary society, embedded as it is the practice of housing production where dwellers are forced to let themselves be homed as a part of a larger and oftentimes industrial complex of standardization, prefabrication, and mass production of housing. However, as always, there is a counter-tendency. The need to express individuality and overcome this form of alienation is at overwhelming display in the ways people decorate and furnish their dwellings, in the explosion of do-it-yourself projects, in the tending of gardens and balconies, in the renovations of (predominantly) owner-occupied housing to reflect the tastes and sensibilities of its inhabitants. That is not to say that this counter-tendency is revolutionary in its challenge of alienation. On the contrary, and as mentioned earlier, there are often alienation and fetishism imbued in the way's dwellers attempt expressing their individuality through, for instance, décor and design. Further, there is certainly a class, race, and gender dimension, where such expressions of individuality vary a lot based on the money and time that can be afforded. Importantly, both ownership and rental housing are surrounded by regulations and boundaries on how far modifications to the house can be taken (more so in tenant housing than ownership housing). Thus, actual expressions of individuality might be relegated to the borderlands of the creative, to the menial. But the striving towards individual expression, the counter-tendency to the alienation inherent in how we are forced to consume housing, validates the tendency.

Second, the subjection of the individual's dwelling to the control of alien outside powers. (P. Marcuse, 1975, p. 186)

Residential alienation in this regard pertains to the agents and institutions governing our right and access to home, or lack thereof. To these belong the banks and landlords who juridically own most of our owner-occupied and rental housing in our stead, as well as municipal and state

actors who sublet or finance rents for those who have failed to secure tenure or fully pay the upkeep on their dwelling. For some people, the church or charitable organizations providing shelter to the homeless might enter as one such agent. These agents regulate what can and cannot be done with one's home, and according to Marcuse, they do so in two interconnected ways.

First, they do so as direct mediators of the market. The economic rationality of the market (which prices housing) is filtered down to home owners and tenants (and neighbors) through actors such as lenders and landlords, dictating what can and cannot be done with one's dwelling. Change in rent and fees is one such behavior, over which the homeowner and tenant have little control and over which a shroud of mysticism always lingers in how these are set and calculated; lease regulations are another. A tenant might be free to repaint a wall, but economic rationality will prevent the tenant from tearing out their wooden floors to be replaced by easier maintenance plastic ones. Further, a homeowner might be prevented by the neighborhood association from painting his house exterior in bold colors, or keeping a wild garden, over fears of depreciating the value of their neighbor's house.

Second, they do so as social agents and through social regulation and control: "Building codes, zoning codes, fire regulations, breach of the peace and nuisance statutes, health codes, respect for the privacy or the sensibilities of neighbors, the condition of the streets, the quality of police protection, the availability of recreational, educational, transportation, and other facilities – all these will have major impact on the extent to which an individual can do what he/she wants in and with 'his' or 'her' home." (P. Marcuse, 1975, p. 191) In Uppsala, the subjection to the control of alien powers was stark indeed. An illustrious example is the tearing down of gardens discussed in Article B. They had been a powerful expression of creativity for tenants, fulfilling a host of practical and aesthetic functions, but the landlord decided to demolish them and re-plan and replant them in a uniform manner across the neighborhood. Decade-old trees and flowerbeds leveled to the ground in an instant made sure to remind the tenants of their lack of control over their dwelling.

Third, the inability to mark or symbolically manifest the individual's ownership in his/her dwelling. (P. Marcuse, 1975, p. 186)

The strict legal meaning of alienation is to give up possession rights, so to live in someone else's home is to live in alienated housing both in a philosophical and a legal sense. In much of the world, struggles over this form of alienation have arisen both from the top and from the bottom. Home ownership has been promoted both by working class movements (as emancipation projects) and by the elite (as the famous saying goes, indebted home owners do not strike). Home ownership has been heralded as the freedom project closest to the self. Marcuse's writing predate the incredible growth of housing debt and indebtedness (Lazzarato, 2011), but today it takes little imagination to imagine the figurative prison homeownership can turn into when market volatility leads to dramatic price falls or hikes in interest rates. The sub-prime crisis of 2007 in the United States is one such example, the price crash in Sweden during the 1990s another, and the ongoing homeowner crisis in Spain another. In some places, the figurative prison easily becomes a literal prison. In the United States, researchers (Lebaron & Roberts, 2012) have discussed the reemergence of debtor's prisons, summoning images of Charles Dickens' England. In 2011, US judges signed off on 5,000 arrest orders over outstanding debts, incarcerating people for debts as small as \$250. Many of these debts were mortgage debts and house refinancing. In all of these cases, the ability to mark ownership over one's dwelling has done little to protect the dwellers from the potential alienating effect of housing. It goes to show that a purchase deed is nowhere near enough to escape alienation.

The displacement-emplacement and possession-dispossession dialectics

We can only be dispossessed because we are already dispossessed.
(Judith Butler, cited in Butler and Athena, 2013, p. 9)

The quote above by Judith Butler is an interesting one as it brings to the fore the duality of dispossession and – I think, in equal measure – displacement and alienation. For Butler and Athena, dispossession is the precursor to dispossessed, to another modality of itself. That we can be dispossessed is the result of our inability to be self-sufficient. We can be dispossessed because we are interdependent and relational beings who can be moved in contact with and over the actions of others. This dispossession of the self, where we are emotionally and existentially dis-

placed and thrown into the unknown, can occur when we are confronted by, for instance, other groups of people and other lives, other opportunities, grief, bliss, passion, surprise, and disconcertment. When we are confronted by something that upsets our sensibilities, the social acts upon us and we lose ourselves and no longer really know who we are for a moment. A good illustrative example would be the ongoing Swedish debate on illegalizing begging. Hanson's (2019) psychoanalytical reading attributes the increased animosity towards the, often homeless, beggar in a Swedish context in part to envy of an imagined place or state, outside of the social order, where the beggar resides and takes advantage of the benevolence of the passer-by. Namely, the beggar is the constitutive outside that demarcates the inside for "ordinary people"; in the act of encounter, the beggar forces the subject into interaction and thereby challenges the threshold between outside and inside. The interaction is emotional and disruptive, and to the passerby, it feels like these feelings are being forced upon them by the object, the beggar. The beggar is felt to be in control, and re-establishing the self and once again clearly demarcating between outside and inside becomes paramount. The perceived loss of control in the act of the encounter, and the paradoxical envy, creates animosity. There is a lot to unpack in this encounter: the dispossession of self that the passerby is confronted with, the actual dispossessed life the beggar lives, and the sustained but fragile social order that upholds the relation between them. Dispossession is clearly multi-layered, and it is at the same time existential and material.

The other side, or the other modality, of dispossession, is bound to the first. If we are passionate humans whose existence and reproduction is externally dependent, we are also dependent on a sustained social world:

For if we are beings who can be deprived of place, livelihood, shelter, food, and protection, if we can lose our citizenship, our homes, and our rights, then we are fundamentally dependent on those powers that alternately sustain or deprive us, and that hold a certain power over our very survival. (J. Butler & Athena, 2013, p. 4)

It is only through the dispossessory practice of possession that dispossession can take place. That is, dispossession presupposes certain legal and political configurations to enable a divide between the propertied and the propertyless, configurations that have a history intimately en-

twined with modernity, liberalism, and humanism. Possibly nowhere else is the divide between the propertied and the propertyless as clear as in the realm of housing. According to Engels, the question of housing can never be solved under capitalism. Further, speaking of the United States, Desmond (2017) stated that “[t]he owner-renter divide is as salient as any other in this nation, and this divide is a historical result of statecraft designed to protect and promote inequality”. Both are hinting at the same thing: the solution to dispossession, and to displacement, can never take the form of possession or emplacement. Displacement/emplacement and dispossession/possession do not constitute polar opposites; they are interwoven and simultaneous processes linked to each other through time and space. Possession and emplacement are only made possible through dispossession and displacement of another. The challenge then, both in theory and practice, would be to find ethical and political ways of objecting to forcible and coercive dispossession that do not depend upon valorization of possessive individualism.

INTERNATIONAL DISPLACEMENT (AND GENTRIFICATION) LITERATURE

Far too much ink has been consumed arguing about definitions; what is important is that definitions have both analytical and political usage, and that class inequality is at the forefront of any consideration of gentrification. (Slater, 2009)

Far too much ink has been consumed arguing about defining gentrification and displacement according to Slater (2009). In that, he might be right. All of the enclosed articles in this thesis contain literature reviews on displacement in one shape or the other, and I have written about it elsewhere, too (Pull, Baeten, Listerborn, & Persdotter, 2020; Pull, Lind, Ioanna, & Baeten, 2020). Consequently, I have opted to focus this Kappa mostly on other things than literature reviews; I have tried to widen the limited scope of my articles rather than to exactly pinpoint where in contemporary displacement research I position myself. Therefore, this chapter will be rather brief. Regrettably and for reasons explained in the introduction, it will also be slanted towards the Anglo-American displacement research.

Despite being a widespread occurrence throughout the world (Loretta Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2007), and despite the marked and disturbing impact on the physical and psychological well-being of effected groups (Fried, 1964; Fussell & Lowe, 2014; Manzo, Kleit, & Couch, 2008), displacement (as opposed to gentrification) remains relatively understudied within the field of urban studies. In Sweden, such studies are even scarcer and limited to only a handful of critical researchers. *Bort-*

trängning, the common Swedish translation of displacement used in the media and by activists, generates a single hit on Google Scholar. Any Swedish literature review on the concept of displacement is thus bound to start elsewhere. However, while displacement has long been identified as one of the negative outcomes of gentrification processes in American (C. W. Hartman, Keating, & LeGates, 1982; P. Marcuse, 1985; Palen & London, 1984), European (Hamnett 1973, Atkinson 2000), and to a lesser extent Swedish settings (Hedin et al., 2012), remarkably little work has been done in conceptualizing and defining displacement as such. As a phenomenon, displacement is plausibly as old as civilization – as suggested by the theories of displacement as part of primitive forms of accumulation discussed in the introduction. Chatterjee (2014) and Escobar (2003) both credit Marx for the first theory of displacement through his elaboration of the subject in *Das Kapital*. From another point of view, Fredrick Engels (1872 [1970]) discussed the “Hausmann-ization” of working-class neighborhoods in Paris and in England, in essence describing gentrification processes nearly a hundred years prior to the coining of the term, emphasizing how working-class people were forced from affluent parts to slums. In a similar fashion, Fried (1964) discussed the psychological sufferings of tenants during and after displacement due to slum-clearing in Boston. However, neither of these early authors engaged directly in any discussion around the definition of displacement.

Eunice and Georg Grier (1978) gave displacement the definition from which most operationalizations in academia today originate, at least within the context of urban residential displacement. In the 1960s, urban activists in the United States mobilized around mass displacement in the wake of federal urban renewal programs, highway constructions, and other government facilitated programs leading to displacement. In the 1970s, however, displacement was increasingly perceived as driven by private action and individual preferences, with the public sector as a subtle facilitator (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska, & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2018). Previously run-down American inner cities were being (re)populated by an affluent middle class. Due to congressional concerns over displacement, Grier and Grier were charged by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to investigate the scope and ramifications of what was seen as the “negative and highly charged by-product of what is otherwise a most helpful (and largely unexpected)

development for America's central cities" (George Grier & Grier, 1980, p. 252). Taking a broad approach, they surmised that displacement is not solely an urban issue but prominent in rural communities as well. They also concluded that "[t]he responsible agent is not always a speculator or private 'rehabber.' It can be a public agency, a quasi-public or private institution, or even the forces of nature" (p. 253). Further, "[t]he households displaced are not all poor or members of minorities. They can be renters and owners, they are of all races, and they span a considerable range of ages, incomes and household types" (ibid). In this broad take, the authors list 25 factors leading to displacement, among them are accidental fire, foreclosure, highway construction, urban renewal, natural disaster, and renovation of public housing. The list implies a diverse set of actors: natural disasters, private investors, government planning decisions, federal urban renewal schemes, et cetera. In a catch-all definition, Grier and Grier (1980) concluded the following:

Displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions which affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings, and which:

1. are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent;
2. occur despite the household's having met all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy; and
3. make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable. (p. 256)

Importantly, Grier and Grier make no clear distinction between voluntary and involuntary displacement. Adhering to the multitude of subtle actions, tactics, and inactions leading up to displacement, they argued,

For most residents to move under such conditions is about as 'voluntary' as is swerving one's car to avoid an accident. By the time the landlord issues notices of eviction, or the code inspector posts the structure as uninhabitable, few occupants may be left. Therefore, we cannot define displacement simply in terms of legal or administrative actions – or even draw a clear-cut line between 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' movement. (p.3)

A few years later, in an effort to call for critical research and active opposition, Hartman et al. (1982) defined displacement simply as "what

happens when forces outside the household make living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable” (p. 3). This simple definition has been a go-to definition for many displacement studies since (Loretta Lees et al., 2007; Slater, 2009, 2013; Wyly et al., 2010).

Peter Marcuse (1985) noticed that the polar opposites of gentrification (high and increasing demand) and abandonment (demand falling to zero) often occurred simultaneously and, virtually, side by side. For him this meant that the contemporary debate, which assumed a separation between abandonment and gentrification, was built on false assumptions. He believed they constituted two parts in a vicious circular process where “the poor are continuously under pressure of displacement and the wealthy continuously seek to wall themselves within gentrified neighborhoods” (P. Marcuse, 1985). Abandonment and gentrification had to be understood not as isolated processes but as mutually fueling and subsequently effecting housing (un)affordability and displacement across the city. For Marcuse, the intertwining of abandonment and gentrification and the multifaceted process of neighborhood change called for a revision of the displacement concept. Considering only last-residence displacement might be methodologically convenient, but it does not account for the indirect displacement of households as they, over time, get barred from certain areas and neighborhoods due to gentrification and increasing rents. Building on Grier and Grier’s (1980) definition, Marcuse consequently developed the concept of exclusionary displacement:

Exclusionary displacement from gentrification occurs when any household is not permitted to move into a dwelling, by a change in conditions, which affect that dwelling or its immediate surroundings, which:

- 1) is beyond the household’s reasonable ability to control or prevent;
- 2) occur despite the household’s being able to meet all previously-imposed conditions of occupancy;
- 3) differs significantly and in a spatially concentrated fashion from changes in the housing market as a whole; and
- 4) makes occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous or unaffordable. (P. Marcuse, 1985)

Marcuse also developed a concept closely tied to the notion of exclusionary displacement: displacement pressure.

[D]isplacement affects more than those actually displaced at any given moment. When a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced. This is true both for displacement from gentrification and for abandonment. (P. Marcuse, 1985).

Hence, displacement to Marcuse cannot be understood by only looking at last-resident displacement, and it is not so easily captured. Previous pressure or neighborhood/building decline could have forced tenants to move earlier in the process. Displacement can thus theoretically exceed the number of housing units studied. Consequently, Marcuse suggested that four different forms of displacement need to be considered: direct last-resident displacement, direct chain displacement, exclusionary (indirect) displacement, and displacement pressure.

In the coming decades following Marcuse's expansive displacement definition, few researchers worked on theoretically defining displacement within Anglo-American research. Most researchers formally adopted one of the definitions given by Grier and Grier, Hartman et al., and Marcuse. However, as Zuk et al. (2018) noted, "in operationalizing the term for the means of study, most researchers have narrowly defined displacement as evictions or unaffordable price increases" (p. 27). Limited data availability and the notorious difficulty in measuring and studying those already displaced – described by Atkinson (2000) as measuring "the invisible" – combined with definitions based on the scope and agendas of research sponsors account for the increasingly narrowed down and data-driven definitions according to Zuk et al. 2015).

In the 1990s, Chris Hamnett (Hamnett, 1991, 1994, 2003) offered a series of critiques against Neil Smith's seminal rent-gap theory and other

gentrification theories that give primacy to structural changes in the production of land, the built environment, and housing, asserting that “the key actors in the gentrification process have been individual gentrifiers themselves” (Hamnett, 1991, p. 188). For Hamnett, the United States and the United Kingdom were not witnessing displacement as much as *re*-placement and professionalization. The middle classes were moving back to the inner cities, and they were growing as a class while the working class was shrinking. What others perceived as economic polarization was in actuality the disappearance of the working class as everyone reaped the benefit of global economic growth. His theories were supported by refined quantitative studies (Freeman & Braconi, 2004) showing that low-income households were in fact *less* likely to move from gentrified neighborhoods than other neighborhoods (McKinnish, Walsh, & White, 2010) – studies that concluded that gentrification was good for the neighborhood as a whole, not just for the new gentrifiers, and that displacement was consequently a minor social problem.

These studies sparked a large media and a policy debate that turned gentrification from a worrisome phenomenon displacing tenants and creating socio-economic polarization to something inherently good, into a progressive tool for city planning and neighborhood “revitalization” (Wyly et al., 2010). On the other hand, these studies also sparked academic debate and have been criticized on both methodological and theoretical grounds. The notion of a disappearing working class and decreased economic polarization has come under fierce attack in past decades, and although working with refined data material, the methodologies used by Freeman and Braconi have been questioned. For instance, Newman and Wyly (2006) have noted how their data comparison pits gentrifying neighborhoods against the very poorest New York neighborhoods, where residential mobility would always be high. That tenant mobility in Manhattan is lower than in disinvested neighborhoods in the Bronx is hardly a surprise, but it contributes little to the conclusion of Freeman and Braconi. Moreover, Newman and Wyly (2006) noted how the surveyed period in Freeman and Braconi’s study was the late 1990s, a period that had been preceded by decades of large investments and gentrification processes that had already displaced most low-income level groups; thus, low levels of out-migration are unsurprising and again contribute little to determining the scale and severity of displacement following gentrification at large. In a similar vein, Slater (Slater, 2009) argued that the removal of affordable housing

from long-time gentrified areas produces lock-in effects were staying put is not a choice but a consequence of tenants being trapped by lack of alternative choices.

In another effort to problematize these studies of gentrification as a benign process at the backdrop of lower-than-expected outmigration, Kirsten Paton (2016) studied attitudes, feelings, and desires among the low-income segments of gentrifying areas in Glasgow. She concluded that many low-income tenants enjoy the added services and cultural establishments gentrification brings, so they adhere to, and desire, to be included in the neoliberal housing and neighborhood transformation that gentrification brings. What is being displaced is cultural class identities: traditional working-class populations go to great lengths to stay put in, or even move to, gentrifying neighborhoods at the expense of decreased disposable incomes following increased living costs, and at the expense of class solidarity. For Paton (2016), gentrification is part of a “political project [that] involves a shift in the relationship between the state and the citizen, redefined through the expansion of participation via consumer citizenship. Through this restructured form of citizenship, working-class people negotiated with processes of gentrification that were not outwardly in their interest or advantageous to them” (p. 185).

Studying tenant mobilization over neighborhood change in New York and the efforts to protect a particular historical building from threats of gentrification, Mark Davidson (2009) noted how contestation persisted despite rent-stabilization legislation preventing immediate rent hikes. The simple allegory of spatial eviction could not explain the continued contestation, prompting Davidson to examine the spatial metaphors at play to explain neighborhood change. Davidson (2009) contested the predominant understanding of displacement, namely *displacement as out-migration*, claiming that it represented “a lack of engagement with important space/place tensions” (p. 220). Turning to Heidegger and Lefebvre, he called for a more nuanced, phenomenological understanding of “being in place” and its disturbance by gentrification and neighborhood change. By ignoring the effects of everyday life and the social utility of “home” and “neighborhood” during neighborhood change, something important is lost. Displacement understood merely as out-migration becomes inadequate and severely underestimates its scope. Instead, Davidson (2009) saw displacement as a violation of the enactment and production of space – the right to (make) place/the right to dwell.

Similarly, and drawing on Davidsons discussion, Rowland Atkinson (2015) noted how feelings of place being lost can be a severe and disruptive feature of neighborhood change, not only for relocated tenants but also for tenants staying put. He viewed displacement as comprised of more than simple “boundary crossings” of households moving around the city. Instead, he suggested understanding displacement as a process of *un-homing*, recognizing the emotional attachments to place and dwelling. Through a study of gentrification processes in Sydney and Melbourne, Atkinson (2015) showed how “feelings of displacement often emerge *prior* to being forced to move” and how these feelings linger among those who stay put. Insecurities created by changes in the physical and symbolic landscape and impacting the atmosphere and character of neighborhood life resulted in “feelings of a deepening psychic dislocation and inadequacy” among the tenants (*ibid.*). As neighborhoods change, so do tenants’ attachment to place, in such a way that they felt displaced without being relocated.

Focusing on the unmaking of home, geographers Porteous and Smith (2001) have suggested the term *domicide* to capture “the deliberate destruction of home by human agency in the pursuit of specific goals, which causes suffering to the victims” (p. 12). Their conceptualization of domicide centers un-homing and forced displacement as a categories of “loss and change,” drawing on Marc Fried’s (1964) studies on grief and the affective consequences of slum clearing for tenants in Boston in the 1960s. Categorizing domicide into “extreme” and “mundane,” the authors covered processes ranging from war,¹ colonial geopiracy,² and resettlement projects³ to naturalized everyday processes of displacement triggered by the world’s political economy (e.g., dam construction leading to the destruction of homes, settlements, and neighborhoods in British Columbia). Their influential book *Domicide: The Global Destruction of Home* was published at a time when home “for the first time [began] to be seriously acknowledged as a vital element in critical understandings of the politics of the everyday” (Nowicki, 2014, p. 787). Where home had previously been considered mundane and irrelevant, cultural and feminist geographers began to see spaces and spatial practices within the home, such as the kitchen and cooking, as sites that up-

¹ Exemplified by strategic carpet bombings in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia (Porteous & Smith, 2001)

² Theft of territory and homeland of indigenous people that do not necessarily involve acts of war but entail dispossession and even enslavement (Porteous & Smith, 2001).

³ Epitomized by ethnic segregation in apartheid South Africa.

held and reinforced traditional gender roles as well as potential spaces of politics and renegotiation of gender, class, and cultural identities.

While (predominantly Anglo-American) urban studies have been focused on the “to be or not to be” of displacement under processes of gentrification, displacement has been given primacy in various sets of other urban processes. Leaving Euro-American geographical centrism, postcolonial studies have further fleshed out the conceptualization of displacement. In a critical engagement with both Marx and the spatial analysis of Lefebvre, Chatterjee (2014) argued that displacement equals the “alienation of humans from the right to produce their own space and hence their own existence and history,” referring to the process as “estranged space” (p. 58). While appreciating the phenomenological insights of space/place tensions, Chatterjee claimed that many such approaches limit themselves to experiential sense of loss and the erosion of authenticity. She asserted that a firm grounding in Marxist theory and political economy is needed to understand the full nature of displacement. Studying displacement following river-side (re-)development in Ahmedabad, Chatterjee (2014) argued that displacement is not *just* a sense of placelessness or a loss of the authentic, or the uprooting of identity but the underlying logic of accumulation:

Displacement of some is the underlying prerequisite for accumulation to proceed. When accumulation has proceeded such that that there is an over-accumulation of surplus value, this surplus value may then be fixed in colonial projects in places elsewhere, starting new rounds of displacement of colonial subjects, so that forests, lands, and mineral resources can be usurped to feed capitalism at the imperial core. (p. 57)

Displacement for Chatterjee is at the very core of capitalist production and accumulation; it entails that “space [for some] is to be torn asunder from her/his existence and accumulated by others” (ibid.). Similarly, Ghertner (2014) argued that displacement needs to detach itself from the gentrification debate in studies of the Global South and asserted that

gentrification theory operates on four implicit presumptions, which fail to characterize the primary dynamics of urban change in India. These include: (1) the presumption that lower-class displacement is driven by a reinvestment of capital into disinvested spaces; (2) a

property centrism; (3) an agnosticism on the question of extraeconomic force; and (4) the presumption that land from which lower classes are displaced finds a 'higher and better use'. (Ghertner, 2014)

There is also a growing interest of intersectional studies within gentrification research, namely research that puts black displacement and white replacement, racialized disinvestment and reinvestment, and gender exploitation and politicization at the forefront (Hern, 2016). Similar studies have been made in the Swedish context by Molina (1997) and Molina and Andersson (R. Andersson & Molina, 2003).

Urban scholars generally seem divided on the conceptual reach and usefulness of the term *gentrification*. Some (e.g., Laska and Spain, 1980) have claimed that gentrification misrepresents or renders faulty conceptualizations of neighborhood change outside of its original British setting, attached as it is to the "gentry" and aristocracy, severely limiting the geographical spread and theoretical scope of the concept. At the other end, and more recently, a strand of critical researchers (Slater, 2005; N. Smith, 2002) have argued that the "impulse behind gentrification is now generalized; its incidence is global" (N. Smith, 2002, p. 427). Postcolonial efforts tracing the travels of gentrification from the Global North to the Global South have consequently described slum demolition in China, India, and Pakistan and mass displacement in Bangladesh, India, and Malaysia as gentrification (L. Lees, 2012). While this conceptual expansion is fruitful in consolidating diverse and disparate accounts of displacement, building collective identities and belonging (T. Butler, 2007), and rendering itself useful to global epistemologies of the urban – such as Neil Brenner and Christian Schmid's planetary urbanization project (Brenner & Schmid, 2015) – it has been criticized for constituting a colonialization of concept in its own right. Ghertner (2014) proposed that the "catch-all" use of the term *gentrification* threatens to obscure and cloud the diverse empirical dynamics behind various displacement processes, embedded as they are in different systems of property and planning. For Ghertner, capturing the diversity of displacement logics under the same umbrella will in the worst case produce improper conclusions. This debate is still ongoing and constitutes one of the more lively and fruitful debates in gentrification studies.

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The methods deployed in the papers of this thesis are mixed, but the primary method throughout my field work has been that of phenomenologically inspired unstructured longitudinal interviews and conversations with tenants. The deepest insight into my method among the published papers can be seen in Article B (Pull & Richard, 2019), where the phenomenological approach is made fairly explicit. However, none of the papers enclosed in this thesis elaborate deeply on the praxis of research. The following chapter is an attempt to highlight what has been a most central part of my research project, namely the method of phenomenological interviewing. For the purposes of publication, this method has had to take a backseat. I hope this chapter will flesh out how the material, my analysis of the material, and the conclusions I have drawn have materialized in the enclosed papers.

The phenomenological process

When we study something phenomenologically, we are not trying to get inside other people's minds. Rather, we are trying to contemplate and theorize the various ways things manifest and appear in and through our being in the world. (Vagle, 2014, p. 22)

As far as the phenomenological methods goes, “bracketing” – by which phenomenologists mean the suspension of pre-established theories, explanations, and prejudices – is a core technique in various stages of the research process (from designing the project, to conducting the interviews, to analyzing the gathered material). In the interview situation, this means taking a second-person “you” perspective rather than that of a detached, third-person view. The interview subject (in phenomenolog-

ical studies often referred to as “interlocutor” or “co-creator of knowledge”) is not an object to be learned about but a subject who can be learned with through mutual exchange. Rather than being a container of information to be extracted, the interviewee joins the interviewer to co-create and discover knowledge together; they are two subjects involved in a reciprocal and ever developing conversation. It is a method that requires “taking up an empathic position whereby that experience and understanding of interviewer and interviewee resonate” (Høffding & Martiny, 2016, p. 541). However, individual atomistic experiences are not the sole objective. Foundational to phenomenological inquiry is the search for a *structure of experience*. According to Gallagher and Zahavi (2008),

Phenomenology has as its goal, not a description of idiosyncratic experience - ‘here and now, this is just what I experience’ - rather, it attempts to capture the invariant structures of experience. In this sense, it is more like science than like psychotherapy. Psychotherapy is focused on the subject as a particular person and may appeal to introspection in its concern about the way and the why of the person’s experience of the world, here and now.... In this sense, phenomenology is not interested in qualia in the sense of purely individual data that are incorrigible, ineffable, and incomparable. Phenomenology is not interested in psychological processes (in contrast to behavioral processes or physical processes). Phenomenology is interested in the very possibility and structure of phenomenality; it seeks to explore its essential structures and conditions of possibility. Phenomenology aims to disclose structures that are intersubjectively accessible, and its analyses are consequently open for corrections and control by any (phenomenologically attuned) subject. (p. 28)

It is only through engagement with a subject in a subject-subject relation of knowledge creation that these structures can be laid bare. The process of discovery is far from a simplistic effort, though – partially because an experience is not a transfixed and immutable piece of data. Høffding and Martiny (2016) have defined experience as follows:

From a phenomenological perspective, an experience is not a thing one can retro-actively return to in a straightforward manner. It has no fixed diachronic stability, hidden inside the head to be dug up by

memory, no Archimedean point of reference. It is embodied and enacted in the world together with other experiencing subjects. It is a perspective on the world, marked by ever fleeting contents, but a relatively stable structure. (p. 544)

Consequently, experiences are not so easily captured, which is something this thesis takes seriously. The effort is most clearly present in the still-ongoing project of recurring meet-ups with five different tenants in Kvarngärdet, discussed below.

To summarize, my phenomenological approach to interviewing entails the following:

- a suspension or bracketing, or conscious naiveté, of theoretical assumptions about the researched phenomena;
- the form of a you-you relation, where reciprocity entails a constant traversing of knowledge back and forth between subjects (the interviewer and the interviewee);
- an aim to gain understanding of phenomena as lived, embodied, and enacted experiences that are intrinsically interwoven with the lifeworld's of both interviewer and interviewee;
- an exploration of intersubjectively accessible structures and conditions of the phenomena at hand;
- and, crucially, an attempt to uncover the social structures and power relations that effect the subjective experiences of a phenomena. This is where the critical enters into the domain of the phenomenological.

In more practical terms, the process has entailed deep and mostly unstructured interviews without pre-prepared questions, as well as a disposition that allows open interaction and discussion and lets empathy be the guiding principle.

Material

The analysis of contemporary displacement in the articles enclosed in this thesis has been informed by both primary and secondary data. Forty interviews with tenants in Uppsala have been carried out, recorded, and transcribed. Most of the interviews have been conducted with individual tenants or tenants in small groups (four to six people). Interviews have also been conducted with a representative of the regional tenants organi-

zation in Uppsala, a representative of the rent tribunal (in Malmö), grassroots movement representatives (*Allt åt alla*, “Everything for everyone”), persons playing multiple roles as both local activists and tenants, a representative from the local church, and a technical inspector.¹ The interviews with tenants were unstructured phenomenologically inspired interviews, where the interlocutors have had a large degree of freedom in steering the conversation, and their length has varied between one and four hours. Four of the tenants, a focus group in Kvarngärdet, have been interviewed six times, with roughly six months in-between interviews. The aim was to follow these same tenants over the course of the renewal processes of their area. All four of these tenants were evacuated to other apartments within the same neighborhood for the duration of the renovations and have now settled in new but smaller apartments within the neighborhood. At least one of them expects to be forced to move from the neighborhood entirely once the full impact of the rent increases hits over the next year.

In addition, in Article B (Pull & Richard, 2019) Richard conducted a number of interviews with tenants. Those interviews are not counted towards the total number of interviews and tenants in Table 1 below. Further, Westin interviewed tenants for Article A (Baeten et al., 2017), but only my own are counted towards the interviews in Table 1. For Articles A and B, a select number of interviews constituted the data underpinning the analysis. For Articles C and D, all interviews were used.

¹ The interview with the technician was over phone, not recorded, and consequently not transcribed word for word.

DATA SOURCE	Number of inter- views	Tenants	Notes
<i>In-depth interviews with tenants in Kvarngärdet</i>	25	15 Unique tenants 10 Women 5 Men 3 Young adults (aged 18–35) 6 Adults (aged 45–65) 6 Elderly (aged 65+) 8 With university degrees	Fifteen tenants interviewed 1–3 times.
<i>Focus group Kvarngärdet</i>	7	4 Unique tenants 3 Women 1 Man 3 Adults (aged 45–65) 1 Elderly (aged +65) 0 With university degrees	Seven focus groups with the same 3–4 tenants.
<i>In-depth interviews with tenants in Gränby</i>	10	10 Unique tenants 7 Women 3 Men 3 Young adults (aged 18–35) 3 Adults (aged 45–65) 4 Elderly (aged +65) 4 With university degrees	10 tenants, interviewed once

Table 1: Data sources

DATA SOURCE	Number of inter- views	Tenants	Notes
<i>Walk-arounds</i>	5		Overlap with focus groups and interviews
<i>Stakeholder inter-views</i>	6	6 Unique respondents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Juror at rent-tribunal • Deacon at local church • Politician and “whistleblower” • Technical building inspector • Statistician at the municipal planning unit • Head of the technical unit at the municipality
<i>Misc.</i>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Newspaper articles on renovations • Facebook groups on renovations (n=2)
<i>Total:</i>	Total # of interviews: 54	Total # of unique tenants: 45	

Table 2: Data sources continued

Methodological reflections

Bracketing of knowledge and the veil of ignorance

As previously mentioned, Epoché, or bracketing, is an attitudinal stance that entails both self-reflection and a naïveté towards theoretical assumptions. To me, epoché does not mean pretending not to be aware of the ingrained theoretical lens you have as a researcher; I cannot forget years of training and fully erase my human geography lens in an interview setting. Instead, I approach epoché by treating my interlocutors as co-creators of knowledge and testing my lens versus theirs. For instance, gentrification was a theme present in my mind from the very start of the fieldwork. With the above-mentioned 60% rent increases that were being pushed through in parts of the neighborhoods, the new rents had to come from somewhere. A quick glance at the demographic in Kvarngärdet and Gränby (earning well below the Uppsala average) spoke of the obvious need for a population replacement from the landlords' perspective. As ingrained as gentrification theory was in me from my undergraduate studies, I simply could not pretend that that was something I was looking for. And instead of beating around the bush, so to speak, I confronted several of my interlocutors with the concept. Most had actually heard of the concept, others had not, but everyone could talk about and discuss the concept once we had established a common understanding about what we meant by it.

Anna: There's a lot of empty staircases now. They keep them empty. Less contestation that way I think. They are smart. There are of course demolition contracts, too. You know, people living here short term. They have to leave when the renovations start.

Me: And in the already renovated parts, what kind of people move in there?

Anna: It's a lot of students, I think. And immigrants. But people don't stay for long. The rents are high now, and the quality is so poor. Who would want to live here for SEK 8,000 a month?

Me: They don't stay for long?

Anna: No. It's like they use Kvarngärdet as a stepping stone. It's hard, you know, with the housing shortage and all. You can't pick and choose if you're young or an immigrant. You can start here, but people don't want to stay.

Me: Do you know the concept of gentrification?

Anna: Hmm. Yes. It's when rich people push poor people out, right? With sushi bars and such.

Me: Yup. I mean, it doesn't need to be with sushi bars, of course. And there are many theories of what gentrification is. Hmm. I... ok. Let's say, or well, my understanding of gentrification, or let's say it is, that working-class people have to move, and are replaced by richer people. Does not really have to be rich people, but middle class like.

Anna: Ah. Yea. There is a sushi restaurant here. But yeah. I mean, Kvarngärdet is mostly a housing neighborhood. There is not many shops here. It's Gränbystaden [the mall in the outskirts of neighboring Gränby] and a couple of stores, a florist and such on the square.

Me: If we say that gentrification is about a class transition or replacement, from poor to a little or a lot of richer people, would you say that gentrification is happening here?

Anna: God no. I mean, I guess the students are middle class mostly, but they are students so they are poor.

Me: And you said they were moving out?

Anna: Yes, they don't stick around. They move on. I think actually more poor people are moving in. Immigrants without jobs and such. And there are rumors that the social services are using the apartments. Social housing contracts for people that can't afford the rents. And many of the immigrants are probably not paying themselves. Many are new arrivals and haven't gotten jobs yet. They are still learning the language. Perhaps they wanted richer people here. That could pay more rent. But no, that is not what is happening.

Me: Sound like they don't really need middle class people here to pay more rent, they get it anyways?

Anna: Yes. I mean. I don't know. The renovations are so cheap and the neighborhood is so bad now; I wonder what they were thinking. Perhaps they knew they could make money with shitty and cheap renovations. They obviously don't care.

Me: Gentrification without gentrifiers...

Anna: Hmm. What?

Me: I mean, sounds like they can make money without attracting the middle class

Anna: Yes. The system is broken. They make shit renovations. And the municipality is coughing up the money. It should be illegal. I mean, it's tax-payers money in the end.

Positionality: My own displacement history and my relation to “home”

Ever since Donna Hardaway’s (1988) forceful rejection of science as a pure and objective undertaking, literature on researcher positionality has burgeoned in the social sciences. The realization that the social, material, and political background, and the particular vantage points produced by that background, shape the knowledge researchers produce is nowadays taken for granted by most social scientists and theorists. However, it might play a more pronounced role for some researchers and within some theories of science than others. That factors such as class, gender, race, educational status, professional status, linguistic competence, and life biography all play part in the knowledge production is well established (Lu & Hodge, 2019), if not always acknowledged. Both phenomenology (Hopkins, Regehr, & Pratt, 2017; Staiti, 2016) and critical (urban) theory deal extensively with questions of positionality and subjectivity, and both schools do so primarily through the notion of reflexivity. Hence, there are many debates on the topic, not least critiques on the prevalence of eurocentrism, masculinity, and heteronormative epistemologies within the field of urban studies (Brenner, 2018; Hyams, 2004; Reddy, 2018; Roy, 2016a; R. Walker, 2015). In the next few paragraphs, I will reflect on my own relation to displacement and to home and on what that has meant for my research.

A certain degree of housing precarity is the reality for most youths leaving their parental home in Sweden, myself included. I left home in 2003 at the age of 18 (although I would return for a few months here and there over the next few years) and have since experienced various periods of brief and relatively benign homelessness (sleeping on friends’ couches or moving back to my parents for a few months) while hopping from short-term housing to short-term housing. During my first two years in Malmö, back in 2007–2008, I lived in five different apartments on short-term contracts, and was not until the winter of 2011/2012 that I moved into my first (and current) contractual rental apartment and out of housing precariousness. Despite a period of precariousness, my position on the housing market has always been privileged. Living temporarily with friends, renting rooms, and moving between cities and countries were the result of conscious choices as much as the effect of a dysfunctional housing regime where stable housing is hard to find for youth and young adults. My position as a white cis male with a stable middle-class background and caring parents who would always take me in when my

housing situation turned dire or help pay the rent when needed alleviated a lot of the pressure of precariousness. The fact that many of my peers went through the same experiences along with me added a sense of normalcy to the precariousness. My interlocutors, on the other hand, while representing a mix of genders and socio-economic, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds, only marginally represent my own position. Some groups are more represented than others in the material of this thesis. One such majority group is, for instance, working-class, middle-aged females, born in Uppsala, with working-class jobs and with children at home or recently moved out. The gender aspect aside, that group is a majority group in the neighborhood of Kvarngärdet, while the neighborhood of Gränby is more diverse (for instance, in terms of ethnicity). While I am no stranger to working-class jobs (I have worked factory floors and post terminals and as a care assistant in the healthcare sector for a number of years), I certainly have a completely different class background than most of my interlocutors.

My precarity has been that of a precarity within the realm of privilege. I do not want to over- or understate either category – privilege and precariousness. The point of this chapter is to account for any potential blind-spots I might have as a researcher, as well as any privileged perspectives I might have due to my own housing history, and to address how my own housing background has shaped the research process of this thesis. Prior to my PhD studies, I took part of a research project on housing precarity in Malmö as an interviewer,¹ and I swiftly realized how wide the chasm between privilege and non-privilege is in contemporary Sweden. My own biography of housing precariousness occupies one end of a spectrum that needs an intersectional analysis to be painted in full – a spectrum where interdependent layers of social categorizations like class, race, ethnicity, and gender given to groups and individuals are recognized as creating overlapping systems of disadvantage. Sweden's universal system of welfare is often thought of as mitigating such systems of disadvantage, but as Molina and Andersson (R. Andersson & Molina, 2003; Molina, 1997) have shown, Swedish welfare in general and urban politics and housing trajectories in particular have racialized Swedish cities and created a history and a geography of residential segregation along ethnic lines.

¹ The empirical material was later analyzed by Listerborn (2018).

For example, among the interlocutors I interviewed for the aforementioned research project was Romani youth. Their precariousness partially mirrored my own. We applied for and got rejected for the same apartments in the same neighborhoods. However, their alienation played out very differently from my own. I could wait for just the right apartment, for the right amount of monthly rent, in just the right hip and multicultural old working-class neighborhood in my city. I fetishized the prospect of my first own apartment, but I could treat it as a luxury worth waiting for, secure as I was in my social position. My interlocutors, conversely, could not wait to leave that very same neighborhood. Centuries of discrimination towards Romani peoples had taught these kids that nothing was given to them freely in Swedish society. Where I was bumped ahead in housing queues and offered apartment viewings quite regularly and felt I could afford *not* to look for a new place altogether for extended periods of time, feeling content sharing a flat with a friend, for instance, they felt a grave sense of urgency. Housing, to them, meant social mobility. Their fetish was the result of and the answer to oppression. The hip and multicultural neighborhood that I embraced was perceived as a dead-end to them. Living there as a middle-class Swedish person with an abundance of cultural capital differed vastly from how the Romani youth experienced it. They saw living in the neighborhood as reinforcing their difference and theorized that their address – along with such things as their foreign sounding names, their looks and the prejudices they encounter as Romani – meant fewer interviews and less callbacks from potential employers and landlords. Securing a dwelling away from the multicultural, multiethnic, and poor neighborhoods of the city was a matter of securing a job and a future – not a matter of taste and sensibilities. Their world of housing advancement involved paying cash under the table in order to secure housing contracts, borrowing money from friends and family for down payments on condominiums (since tenant housing was deemed unattainable due to discrimination), and taking complex measures such as paying people with Swedish sounding names to apply for housing contracts in their stead. My precariousness was an adventure, albeit a tedious and frustrating one at times. My mantle of alienation (to paraphrase Marx) was worn with relative ease, while the precariousness of my interlocutors was a battlefield.

In one respect, my experience of housing was different from many of my peers. My family moved a lot. I was born in Gothenburg, but my family moved to a house in the small town of Kungsbacka when I was

still a baby and then again across the country to the slightly bigger city of Eskilstuna in time for my first school years. At the age of 14, my family moved back to the west-coast and settled in a suburb south of Gothenburg. A few years after I left home, my parents moved again, this time to an apartment in central Gothenburg. They moved yet again, this time to the former summer-house, made into a year-round residence, in the deep forests of eastern Halland. My history is marked by mobility, as well as a sense of displacement. During my school years, I was always the one with the weird accent who had come from somewhere else and whose closest friends lived somewhere else. As an adult, I still do not know how to respond to the simple question of “where are you from?” The longest I have lived in the same city is in Malmö. But Malmö does not feel like my hometown. Neither does any other town. In what manner this has shaped how I view displacement, emplacement, place-attachment, and the nature of home is hard to say. Nevertheless, it is clear that my mobile history and relatively weak attachment to home as fixed in space stand in stark contrast to many of my interlocutors. In the literature on home (Colic-Peisker & Johnson, 2010; Paton, 2016; Wacquant, 2008), it is acknowledged that there is a correlation between class position and gender on the one hand and place attachment on the other, where working-class people and women have stronger ties to place than middle-class people and men.

Building a repertoire: A transcribed snippet. February 23, 2017. Uppsala.

The unstructured approach is taxing in itself. Oftentimes, I have no pre-prepared questions, which can be demanding in a formal sense, especially if it is the first time, I meet an interlocutor. My first conscious task is to build a repertoire and a “personal” relationship, get the conversation flowing, so to speak. In some relationships that is easy, in others all the more difficult. The first time I meet someone, they are often acutely aware of my positionality as a researcher. I am the authority figure and I am supposed to be equipped with both knowledge and a battery of questions. On top of that, I am relatively young, white, and very obviously middle class.

February 23, 2017. Café in downtown Uppsala. Interlocutor, woman

in her late 60s. She is past retirement age, but she is working part time as an assistant at the university since her pension, in her words, is despicable. She has lived most of her life in Gränby. She remains in her apartment after the renovation, and the need for a part time job is a direct consequence of the rent increases.

Me: So, recording is on. Like I said, no one will listen to the recording but me. But...eh...parts of what I transcribe might be, will be, used. You know. If you want, I can send you the recording...

Interlocutor: Ok. Hmm. Yes. No. I don't like listening to my own voice.

Me: Yes. Me neither. It's a hard part of my job, listening to these recordings. I really don't like my voice. If you want, you can have the transcript afterwards.

Interlocutor: So, you have questions? Right? On the renovations?

Me: Yes. Hmm. Well. No. I don't really have questions as such. I figure we just talk. You know, in general. About renovations and Gränby and about housing politics perhaps. Whatever you like.

Interlocutor: Ok. But. Hmm. [long paus] I don't know. Can't you ask me something? I don't know what I can say...

Interlocutor: Yes. Sorry. Of course. So. Hmm, you live in Gränby, right? Or, that was not a question... How do you like living in Uppsala and Gränby?

Interlocutor: Hmm. Well. I have lived in Gränby most of my life. I like it there. And I like Uppsala, too. The library. There are cafes. You know, I read a lot. There is this atmosphere here. You know. Intellectual. It is nice. But it is also very posh, you know. I like the country-side, too. But I can't. I like gardening and so. And being outdoors. I wish perhaps I had a house on the countryside. Hmm. But this has nothing to do with renovations.

Me: No, yes. I mean, it is fine. I want to know more about the country-side. I mean. We can. This is a bit unusual. I mean, I don't. This interview is a bit special. Or well, my method is a bit special. It is called phenomenology. Or well, unstructured interviewing is perhaps... You know, there's always academic words for everything. But essentially, I want to learn of your experiences. Of living where you live and. Renovations. Hear your story.

Interlocutor: Ok. Well. It sounds interesting. But I don't know... what do I say?

Me: [Interrupting] Let's put it like this... I want to walk in your

shoes for a bit. You know...

Interlocutor: Ok. That sounds good, hmm.

Me: Let's get back to what you said about the country-side, is that... would you... Or. Have you always dreamt of that?

Interlocutor: Well. Not when I was young, I like the city. Uppsala. I think. Perhaps it's just day dreaming. I like the city, too.

Me: Yes. I recognize that. You know. I like the city, but I always long to be gone from it when I'm here. And then. You know, my parents have a summer place, and when I'm, there I want to go back. The autumns are great yea. I walk in the forest and it doesn't matter if I collect mushrooms or not...

Interlocutor: Exactly! I think I'm not as rash as you are. Or that I used to be. It comes with age [laughs]. I feel calmer but also slower now. But I think its daydreaming. I like the city.

The above interview had a rocky start, perhaps more so than is conveyed through the transcript. The interlocutor had reached out to me through a Facebook group, and we set up a meeting at a café downtown. The interview took place in February and it was cold outside. The café was warm, yet she sat with her jacket on – as if she was wearing it as a protective cover against me. The interview warmed up considerably during the two-pronged thematic of generational differences and growing older and through a discussion about daydreaming, nature, and the outdoors. We talked at length about picking mushrooms and about her small garden. Reading the interview in its full now, I see that very little about the interview came to address the renovations in her neighborhood; much of the interview was me telling my story, which was more about rootlessness than rootedness. In this case, a first meeting in which we could gauge each other and establish some trust was essential. I met her a few months later for a follow-up interview in which we zoomed in on the problem of a changing neighborhood and her experiences of the process. She is cited in one of the papers in this thesis. This effort at unstructured interviews is very time consuming, but it is also very rewarding.

The unstructured, phenomenological focus-group interview

A method used rather extensively in this thesis has been that of unstructured focus groups. The idea of using group techniques did not come from me; it was happenstance. I had reached out to a woman who had critiqued the renovations in Kvarngärdet in the local newspaper. She

said she had some friends she would like to invite to our meeting. I said yes, of course. The group was rather small, consisting of four tenants and me. In the literature on focus groups, that number is on the low side, but in retrospect and considering the longitudinal nature of this sub-study, it was easier when one of my interlocutors was missing and the meetings became more intimate. In parallel, I did two focus-group interviews in Gränby, with five and six interlocutors, respectively. One downside with those was the difficulty building trust and intimacy with a larger group.

In many respects, the series of interviews I conducted with the group in Kvarngärdet became a laboratory. I tested ideas with them, I tested theory, and I tried various methods and approaches to interviewing on them. The first time we met was in 2015, in a common room owned by the housing company and open to tenants. However, during the summers, we often met outside in the courtyard of one of the interlocutors. I brought Danishes, and they brought coffee and cookies. At times, we walked around the neighborhood and they pointed out various vacant parts where neighbors used to live, places where there had been renovation troubles with leaky plumbing, corners where there were suspicions of people selling drugs, courtyards full of rubble from the renovations, et cetera. Occasionally, we met in their homes, mostly because they wanted to show me something related to the renovations: a poor tapestry job, leaky pipes, drafty windows, or small spaces of the apartment that had previously not been counted in the living area in terms of rent setting but now were. Many of the renovations had resulted in bigger apartments on paper, for instance, the addition of a small closet space where the electrical switchboard was situated that had not been previously counted in the area measurement. These small little things taken together resulted in built up frustration, and the home-visits were often focused on just that – since that was what was occupying their minds and what they wanted to talk about. For many, it was a never-ending war against the landlord and the renovation companies, phoning in reports of poor repair and malfunctioning services. As far as data points go, this was slightly tedious work, especially in the transcribing phase. Tenants could easily spend an hour talking about the technicalities of the renovations, and this was amplified in the focus-group setting, where they could compare notes. However, this was not useless data. This was their reality over several years. It showed that the prolonged displacement process was not only social (in that the neighborhood had

changed) or economical (in that the rents were increased) but also very material.

Since phenomenology aims to capture the invariant structure of a phenomenon of experience – that is, what the phenomenon is when stripped of much of the preconceptions surrounding it¹ – the focus-group interview can be particularly rewarding. I have found that comparing the voices and feelings of multiple interlocutors as they work their way through their different experiences, and determining what unites them and what differs between them, has been an excellent way of bracketing. In a sense, my interlocutors do the bracketing themselves in real time. In the literature on phenomenological interview techniques, focus groups are not so often mentioned (Bradbury-Jones, Sambrook, & Irvine, 2009). Focus groups have even been considered incompatible with phenomenology (Webb & Kevern, 2001), but I absolutely recommend it to researchers interested in phenomenological praxis. However, it is important to remember the philosophical underpinnings of phenomenology when conducting and analyzing such interviews – that is, the focus group cannot be thought of as a device for deriving “truth-statements” by eliminating some voice or by attempting to achieve consensus (in contrast to how focus groups are sometimes used). The phenomenological focus group extends its claims to validity only insofar as it can validate some shared experiences; it cannot invalidate someone’s experience. A group setting allows the interlocutors to reflect both on their own answers and the answers given by others in the group. Also, of importance is the time given to them when they are not speaking but listening to someone else. This pause, I think, can be crucial for reflecting and finding new vantage points or themes that would otherwise be missed.

To conclude, phenomenological focus groups can often enrich the discussion and the produced material beyond the capacity of a normal one-on-one interview. The phenomenological interview considers knowledge to be co-created; it rejects privileging the knowledge produced between two interlocutors where one is a researcher over the knowledge produced in a discussion between two interlocutors where

¹ Husserlian phenomenology aims to remove everything but the phenomenon itself. In the Heideggerian interpretative phenomenology of being-in-the-world, the contamination of prior understandings, experiences, and clashes between the life-worlds of researcher and interlocutor is impossible and not considered a problem but a part of what constitutes research. This thesis leans towards the latter, and it certainly is easier to reconcile focus-group discussions with Heideggerian phenomenology.

neither is a researcher. Allowing interlocutors to discuss and acting as a facilitator and observer of a discussion can undoubtedly produce new and vital knowledge of a phenomenon.

Phenomenological interviews are often more time consuming than other forms of interviews; the same goes for group interviews. One group interview I carried out took four hours, and none of the rest was shorter than two hours. Therefore, one has to prepare for lengthy work when conducting phenomenological focus-group interviews. In addition, I recommend smaller focus groups than what is sometimes recommended in the literature on focus groups. The in-depth probing that is necessary to produce phenomenological data is difficult to do in larger groups, where some interlocutors often take a back seat to others. In order to allow a fuller range of experiences to surface through a group interview, I do not recommend including more than two to four participants beyond the researcher. I carried out a focus group with two, three, four, and six people, and the last two did not attain the same quality as the smaller ones.

The conflict between the critical researcher and the phenomenologist in practice

Focus group interview on Kvarngärdet, common area, February 2015

Interlocutor A: They've changed the guidelines, too. In order to rent an apartment today, yes, hmm, what example should we take, [name of a landlord] on the other side of Kvarngärdet you have to have three times the rent in income. I think a three-room apartment cost eight thousand.

Interlocutor B: No, it's nine thousand.

Interlocutor A: Then they've done it very neatly. They've decided how many people you are allowed to live in the apartment. In a two-room apartment, there is a maximum of three people. In a three-room apartment a maximum of four. And I call that pure racism.

Me: It is illegal to boot. Or well, you can have those demands for contract signing purposes, sadly. But they are not allowed to enforce those rules. When you live there, they can't evict based on too many people living there. It's a tactic they use that you can learn from.

Interlocutor B: Still though, it's a dirty tactic. And we didn't know

they can't enforce it. They don't tell us that.

Interlocutor A: They want a white and rich neighborhood. But what they don't understand is that if you have that much money, you don't move to a tenant apartment on Kvarngärdet. They want two and a half times the rent in income on their tenants.

In the above discussion, the bracketing of knowledge is clearly not exercised. Rather, it is the critical researcher sharing knowledge that might help. David Harvey (2009) has famously said that objectivity is impossible when confronted by the social injustices of the city, and while he might not have referred directly to the relationship between interlocutors in a research setting, I have found it to be true for the interview situation as well. From a critical theory standpoint, this engagement is unproblematic. Knowledge production takes place where theory meets practice. In the subsequent discussion, we talked about organization. I pointed out that the tenants' union can help with legal advice and, potentially, representation in court. This upset my interlocutors, who had been pleading their case with the rent tribunal without legal representation:

Me: So, the tenants union didn't help you at all? Like, with lawyers and such?

Interlocutor B: No, it was like this. They [the landlord] said, we hear what you are saying but we don't give a shit what you think. And we don't care that half the people living in the neighborhood won't have anywhere else to go. We don't give a shit. Because we have new tenants. They don't care about us. It must be because of housing shortage, no? We are somebody else's problem. The social services perhaps? It's not the market's problem at least. We got this acceptance agreement. There were two options. Yes or No. But that's just silly. It is the North Korean democracy. So, we said no. They called. They tried everything.

Interlocutor A: They tried to convince us. It was me and [Interlocutor B] and maybe five more. Someone was sick and couldn't come. So, we were eight people perhaps. And we didn't know about legal help. So, we were sitting there [in court] like fools.

Interlocutor B: Yes. We hadn't taken any courses in rhetoric.

Interlocutor A: No, no.

Me: Yes, and legal lingo can be daunting...

Interlocutor B: Yes, and we went on feeling you know. But they [the

landlord] were all rhetorical and legal about it and pressed us down.

Interlocutor A: Yes, it was super easy for them.

[...]

Interlocutor C: No. I don't care much for them [the tenants union].

Nothing. Just the fact that no one informs us that we are entitled to legal assistant from them at that meeting...

Me: Was that meeting arranged by the tenants' union?

Interlocutor A: No, it was like this. I got so mad when this woman talked to the newspaper and defended herself and defended the rent increases. So, I wrote her a letter. And I was furious. And she then told me we were invited to a meeting. And some of us went, and it was really clear we had stepped on their toes.

Interlocutor C: No. They weren't nice. And we weren't either.

My interlocutors were obviously disillusioned with the tenants' union, and they had all left or were considering leaving it. At that point, I was in the middle of research on the role and power of the tenants' union (see Article A) and was quite aware of the formal services they offered as part of the membership, so I imparted what knowledge I could about it. It sparked anger since my interlocutors had not been informed of their rights as members. The full focus group later rejoined the union (or opted not to leave). A year later, those interlocutors had created a tenants' union chapter of their own. That was not of my doing, of course; it was nothing I had advised or foreseen or even thought about. But through talking about organization, the idea was developed. The friction between their local chapter and the regional chapter remains, but as organized members, they can now use facilities like printers for posters and use tenants' union channels to get messages out for protests and the like. Organization and resistance efforts are not a dominant theme in my research, but they invariably informed my analysis. The tactics used by the landlords and the alienating effect of the legal framework that my interlocutors have said made them feel like fools helped me understand the ways in which power was wielded and alienation was felt. In Article B, Åse and I refer to this as "withering entitlements."

Reaching out to interlocutors: Snowballing and key informants

Reaching out to interlocutors in a qualitative study where the subject matter involves a certain degree of trauma is a demanding task for any

researcher. I had no previous attachment to Uppsala; I had not even visited the city before and knew only a handful of people there (other academics). I already had good and promising leads in the form of a Westin's study (Westin, 2011). I acquired a few email addresses and phone numbers from her, and that was where I started. However, it quickly became apparent that it was easier said than done reaching her former interlocutors. The emails bounced back and the phone numbers were no longer in use. I managed to make two phone interviews with tenants that had been displaced and had had to move, and they promised to reach out to acquaintances of theirs.

Another entry point was newspaper articles where tenants had been interviewed about the renovations. I reached out to the journalists that had written the articles and asked them to forward my inquiry and my contact information to the people they had talked to. This proved to be a fruitful avenue and put me in contact with the to-be focus group in Kvarngärdet. They in turn connected me to more people to talk to in the neighborhood.

Quite early in the project, I got in contact with Åse Richard, who lived in Gränby and was employed by the tenants' union at the time. She was also involved in various grassroots projects contesting the renovations in Gränby. She has been an invaluable asset ever since our first shaky video interview, not least through our co-authored article enclosed in this thesis. She also put me in contact with some tenants in Gränby.

Another important source for establishing contact with tenants in Uppsala has been social media. There are several Facebook groups dealing with the renovations in Gränby and Kvarngärdet. I have followed them as a source of information in and of itself, but I also made a few posts asking for people to talk to.

There is a bias resulting from my method of finding interlocutors – namely, through snowballing from activists and through tenants that have been interviewed by the media – in that a majority of the people I have talked to want to reach out. On the one hand, it makes the ethical aspect of the study more robust. On the other hand, I managed to predominantly reach persons that project their plight outwards, towards contestation, organization, and visibility. Everyone I have talked to for

this project have “suffered” displacement in one way or another, but I am sure that there are tenants in both outliers – those suffering more as well as less than my interlocutors – that I have missed. However, my aim with this study was never to quantify the full breadth of experiences attached to displacement or neighborhood renovations. Nevertheless, my method has an impact on what stories I got told, and not. I only met a few of the young and the students who repopulated the neighborhoods after the renovations. They had very little connection to the interlocutors I had, and my snowballing method did not allow me to reach them. They were rarely involved in the networks of contestation or in the Facebook groups and rarely made their voices heard in the media. This was of course in line with the narrative told to me of them using Gränby and Kvarngärdet merely as a stepping stone on their way someplace else. But surely their stories are more complex and multifaceted than that.

Another group that I never managed to reach is the population that was rumored by some of my interlocutors to suffer the most: the elderly (often male) and alone. While many of my interlocutors were elderly, they were predominantly women and with large networks of contacts in the neighborhood. One of their main fears was just that, losing their friends as part of the displacement process. However, I heard several stories of old men who had died during the renovation process, neighbors of my interlocutors who lacked the social networks but who nonetheless found the process highly traumatic. One interlocutor told me of one such neighbor, a man in his late 80s who in a rare act had reached out to her and cried openly about his own impotence in the face of new kitchen and bathroom hardware. He had asked her to help him with such basics as turning on the new and differently modeled shower. She observed how he had become increasingly confused throughout the renovation process. A couple of weeks later, he was found dead in his apartment, having fallen in the shower he had such problems navigating.

Sweden has dismantled its elderly care for many decades. In 1992, Sweden had 270,000 persons receiving elderly care in their homes and 120,000 in staffed care facilities (Edebalk, 2016). Twenty-six years later and despite population growth, particularly in the elderly cohort, only 230,000 persons received care in their homes and 88,000 lived in staffed care facilities (The National Board of Health and Welfare [NBHW], 2019). An increasingly older and fragile population lives in the regular housing stock in Sweden, and from previous research, we know that el-

derly people are disproportionately ill affected by displacement. Again, the limitations of my method of locating interlocutors has prevented me from reaching this population.

Ethics and anonymity

All interlocutors in every article enclosed in this thesis and presented in this kappa are anonymized. Prior to each interview, I have assured my interlocutors that no one but myself will read the transcripts and that they will be anonymized in any published works. In the cases where names have been used, they have been altered, their exact age changed, and their professions (when they have been described) have been changed to something else but similar (a carpenter would be changed to a plumber, for instance). It has been relatively rare that my interlocutors have asked for this type of anonymization, but it has happened. Persons with immigrant background have pressed for anonymization more often than those without. Persons with formalized conflicts with the landlord (like planned court appearances) have also had more questions to me with regards to anonymity. Conversely, people engaged in formal and informal contestation, like those who have reached out to the media or enrolled in grassroots networks in opposition to the renovations, cared less about anonymization. Persons with a middle-class background were also less inclined to linger on questions of anonymity in the interview setting. I had expected that divulging in sensitive life-stories and trauma to be a reason to ask for anonymization, but that had not been the case. Instead, the predominant reason why interlocutors responded positively or have had questions with regards to anonymization were fear of harassment and retaliation from the landlord. These fears ranged from fear of not getting a (smaller and cheaper) promised replacement apartment in the neighborhood after the renovations to fear of getting large fines for wear and tear after leaving their current apartment.

All interlocutors have been offered to read the transcripts and listen to the recordings of our talks, and all have been given my phone number and email address for follow up questions. No one has used the opportunity to read transcripts. Some, but not all, interlocutors have been mailed or emailed the publications (both academic and non-academic) that I have produced and co-produced throughout this PhD project. Many interlocutors have “disappeared” from the field, as is usually the

case when conducting displacement studies, and I have consequently been unable to reach them and share the outcome of my research.

Phenomenological data analysis and critical theory generation

There is much written on the analysis and generation of theory from phenomenological data, and a number of schools advocating their own approaches (Banfield, 2016; Groenewald, 2004; S. Walker, 2014). I do not adhere to one such school, so this thesis does not deploy a strict method of knowledge advancement. It has rather been a journey, as writing a dissertation often is. At the start of the thesis, my method was unrefined; towards the end, somewhat more stringent. Data and knowledge were produced and analyzed (and published) throughout the whole process, as is common when one writes a compilation thesis. Hence, it is only natural that one's method evolves. In the following chapter, I will attempt to systemize and clarify my thoughts on how to analyze phenomenological data and generate critical theory. The reader should be aware that in the actual nitty-gritty of doing-research, the road is often a bit bumpier and the process less stringent than it appears on the published page.

Figure 1 is a rough translation of the process that went into producing Article B. I will use that paper as the primary example of how I dealt with phenomenological data, mainly because the phenomenological method is most clearly on display in that article. In the pre-study phase, my collaborator Åse Richard and I discussed the overarching themes that we wanted to explore and the delimitations we wanted to impose on our study. We had both produced material before, so we also discussed that. We settled on the theme/question of how displacement was experienced by tenants who had stayed put in the neighborhood after the renovation and mass displacement processes. Among the delimitations we discussed was, for instance, that we would not focus on activists but on ordinary tenants not wrapped up in the politics of displacement. Richard knew many activists, and this certainly was a very interesting demographic to discuss, but we felt that the politics of dissent was not something we could give justice to alongside our main task of exploring the experiences of displacement. Otherwise, and in line with our unstructured approach, we did not impose that many restrictions on ourselves. We carried out the fieldwork individually, mostly for practical reasons

since Richard live in Uppsala while I would have had to take a five-hour train to the fieldwork site. I have discussed the practice of interviewing above, so I will not delve on that further here. What can be said about the fieldwork stage is that reflexivity was a major part of how Richard and I approached the data we gathered already at this stage. We mailed and talked to each other continuously and settled on our research questions at this stage (as opposed to in the pre-study stage, which would be more natural had we had a positivistic approach to knowledge production, for instance). We also started out the transcription process already at this stage, in order to refine our knowledge and find themes to follow up in subsequent interviews. For instance, this was how we discovered the centrality of gardens to our interlocutors, something that we decided to peruse further.

Figure 2: *Research methodology*

After transcribing the interviews, we copied them over to NVivo for thematic coding. Richard and I again did this individually, she from Uppsala and I from Malmö. In this initial stage, we probed the material with an attempted neutrality, trying to find commonalities and differences in the stories we had been told. She worked with the interviews she had conducted, and I worked with the ones I had made. Very little of the initial attempts at coding and thematizing the material reached the end stage, but it offered us the opportunity to learn the material thoroughly. The “real” process of thematizing and analyzing our material took place on the occasions we met up face-to-face. At this stage, we threw our previous themes out the window (although they certainly remained as triggers in the back of our heads) and started anew in a brainstorming fashion. Our goal was to condense the experiences of our interlocutors into as few thematic categories as possible. This was done through mind mapping and thematizing over and over again, trying new angles and ideas and discussing how well the alternately rigid or loose frameworks captured the material. Figure 2 shows photos of the whiteboards we used at this stage of the analysis. A guiding question throughout the process was how well our interlocutors would recognize their experiences in our themes and in our analysis. We sought to capture themes and produce categories that would be instantly recognizable to the population that we were studying, and we tried to stay away from overtly theoretical concepts. The phenomenology that we wanted to capture had to be fleshed out and to accurately reflect the experience of our interlocutors.

Relatively early we had settled on the overarching theme of dispossession, and saw our study as an investigation into the experiential dimension of dispossession involved prior to, during and after the renovations. That displacement was a form of dispossession was obvious to us in our material and in how our interlocutors talked about it, and was at this stage not a very theoretical conclusion we had drawn, but more a verbalization of the overarching feeling of ‘things lost’ that our interlocutors narrated. Once we had found the semblance of an order, we recoded our material once more in NVivo focusing on the categories of material, symbolic, affective and economic dispossessions. Thus far, our thematizing had been relatively a-theoretical, adhering to the phenomenological method of bracketing. After the material had been recoded once more, me and Richard met up once more for the theorizing part of the analysis. We had both read up on the phenomenological readings of

space and place tensions under displacement as advocated by Davidson (2009) and Atkinson (2015) and found that literature helpful when we over an intense two-day session went through our material and the coding we had done with an eye towards publication-ready concepts. The four categories that we finally ended up with was Life on hold, erasure of history, contraction of home and withering entitlements. A table (Figure 3) was produced to condense our theoretical framework and later use in a number of conferences and paper sessions.

Figure 3: Research methodology in practice

Life on hold	Erasure of history
<u>What:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feeling of uncertainty towards the future 	<u>What:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Erosion of memories
<u>Cause:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loss of control over one's life and future 	<u>Cause:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Material destruction (of familiar exteriors, interiors, commons, and quasi-public spaces like gardens Symbolic destruction (of a place where beauty and homeliness was created) Death of living narratives kept alive by neighbors and friends who no longer talk (as frequently)
<u>Examples:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> How much will my rent go up? (For how long) Will I be able to stay put? How do I pay my next rent? Hopefully my children will be able to support me once they graduate Waiting for death 	<u>Examples:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selling of heirlooms to make space for smaller living Selling of gold meant to be passed down to children Gardens that spawned memories, now gone. The importance of these values can be seen in the safekeeping of tokens like pictures/dried up plants etc. Remnants from the old home.
<u>Consequences:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fatigue Pacification Hopes put to the future (Hopelessness) 	<u>Consequences:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grief Rootlessness

Table 3: *Theorizing and schematizing from data*

Contraction of home	Withering entitlements
<u>What:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diminished space to enact home • Fading diffusion of home through space • Compressed limits of “home” 	<u>What:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Powerlessness exposed • Illusion of taken-for-granted rights scattered
<u>Cause:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scattered social networks • Alienation • Destruction of familiar public & private spaces 	<u>Cause:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right to dwell (besittningsrätt) abolished under a state of exception • Establishing/imposing rights of ownership – exercising the power of ownership
<u>Examples:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Afraid of walking the dog, short walks. • Previously close neighbors who met each day, now misses each other despite living in the same building. • Mothers watching over each other’s kids... 	<u>Examples:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realization of home not belonging to me. From house as home to house as commodity • Deprived of the sense of right to your home • Fear of enacting home (putting pictures on the wall)
<u>Consequences:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Frustration • Loneliness • Unsafety • Loss of reproductive and creative spaces 	<u>Consequences:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alienation • Pacification • Fear

Table 4: *Theorizing and schematizing from data continued*

Using qualitative data analysis (QDA) – NVivo

NVivo is a powerful qualitative data analysis software that I used to process data. But being a novice and not having received any formal training in the program itself, I assuredly did not use it to its full potential. Nevertheless, it was immensely helpful at structuring material. I used it predominantly together with Richard for our article (Pull &

Richard, 2019) to store (we uploaded all of our transcriptions to it) and to code our material. NVivo functions as a database where we could both access our material and see each other's coding work from a distance. NVivo can be used for "proper" analysis, for counting word instances, and for calculating dominant themes after coding. We did not use the more advanced tools to any length; we mostly used it as repository and a search engine for storing and going through our material. It undoubtedly helped us sort and analyze our material with functions that facilitated finding quotes and isolating sections that belonged together. Below (Figure 4) is a screenshot in the early stages of coding work for the aforementioned article.

Figure 4: NVivo

How to make notes to remember: Post-interview research note. May 31, 2019. Uppsala.

The following paragraphs were written at a small desk in a small room at City Stay Uppsala Hotel, my usual oasis during my fieldwork in Uppsala. I very rarely took notes during interviews or walk-arounds; instead, I trusted my cellphone recorder to pick up on most of the important things, and I saved the notetaking for the evening. This was convenient since I spent most of the evenings alone and had plenty of time to kill before bed. The quality and style of notetaking differed, and there was no strict methodology to them. The main purpose while writing them was to enable a memory throwback, intellectually and emotionally, to the event of the interview. Many, like the one below, were written in present tense, recalling how I felt and what I observed while conducting the interview, with reflections and a brief analysis in bullet points towards the end. The paragraphs below are raw material, only checked for spelling.

I sit slowly rocking back and forth in a white wooden hammock, lis-

tening to the man across the table talk intensely to me. He is in his mid-forties but with a face and a gaze much younger than his years. He is dressed in overalls with a tool belt, and while the garden is very picturesque very well organized, there's wooden planks and tools placed neatly in piles here and there, telling the tale of ongoing garden work. His wife and their three-year-old son share the table with us. He is getting beads woven into his hair while watching YouTube clips on his tablet. He nods and points at braided girls with beads in their hair on the small screen, with a serious look of acknowledgement in his face. That his own hair is mere centimeters long and only capable of holding one or two beads per braid doesn't seem to become him. The work is slow and the boy gets impatient now and then, leaps up from the table and runs out through the door of the red picket fence surrounding the garden. He jumps up on his tricycle and rides back and forth along the walk and bicycle path, vanishing for a minute or so now and then before rushing by us in the other direction. These breaks from the breeding allow his mother to pick up on things her partner has said or tell and reflect on her own stories. She too is intense, but in a more airy and outgoing way. When she remains undistracted from her son, she dominates the talk with vivid, open and inviting dialogue. We sit in the shade of a large umbrella behind some neatly cut trees in a small garden. Shielding ourselves from the harsh midday sun. It is an unusually hot month for May in Uppsala. The temperature has almost reached 30 degrees Celsius and I regret wearing long pants. We all move our chairs every so often as the sun travels the sky, shifting the shade under the umbrella. The hammock, table and the two chairs are placed on a homemade wooden terrace. It is neat and small, only a few square meters big, yet feel perfectly sized for the family of four living here. Their older son is in school, but I'm there filling the fourth seat at the table for a couple of hours. Our spot feels secluded, private, and yet it is open towards the neighborhood and the path outside. I imagine that one could cozy up in the corner towards the thick hedge behind me and feel distanced towards the outside, or conversely move down to the other end of the small square table, where the tall growing vegetation gives way to the small, wooden picket fence – providing a free view out over the neighborhood and the common grass covered yard that lies between the brick bodies. Where the wooden boards of the terrace ends, the grass stretches out along the wall of the house with bushes, trees and flowers. In a corner tall rhubarb with their red stalks

and intensely green leaves gives contrast to the white and yellow flowers. Above, a wooden arch stretching over our heads houses some kind of vine in brightly colored green, almost translucent leaves.

This is a place of opposites and of paradoxes. Walking the five minutes' walk from the bus stop to my interlocutors' apartment I first crossed a road with one lane closed for construction and widening, entered a build site where new and posh, eight to ten stories apartment buildings are being built, or have just finished being built, before entering into the old 1960s neighborhood of old Gränby. Here the houses are two to three stories...

- Kids playing and interacting and older kids taking care of each other – vs a meeting the other day where the police informed the tenants of kids dealing drugs
- Demolished play yards with the rubble still there vs the beautiful garden I sit in
- The newly built apartments vs the newly renovated ones that still very much look like buildings from the 60s

Using social media: Research note. August 26, 2019. Malmö.

Went through the Facebook group on the renovations in Kvarngärdet today. They still haven't gotten their common garbage room cleaned. Maggots and larvae all over the trash bins, the pictures looked horrid and the smell was apparently unbearable. They filed complaints last year and nothing has happened. But they fight. They've reported it to the tenants' union and to municipal authorities. They talked to a local reporter and a news article has been published. In the article the landlord says the problems have now been fixed and the rooms been cleaned, according to the Facebook members that is a lie. This slow violence must be exhausting. It is exhausting, they are bickering amongst themselves in the group as to who should agree to be interviewed by journalists. No one is really in the mood – everyone is tired and several are complaining about headaches and pains, others that they have already agreed to so many interviews already, and yet others that if you don't want to get your hands dirty you shouldn't post in the group at all. It's sad to see how they turn against each other when they all want the same thing. Divide and conquer tactics.

In a sense, the discussions on Facebook gave me an insight into what many tenants had already told me, but which I could not observe first-hand for myself: that their anger about the renovation process is channeled towards friends and family and, in this case, neighbors. I have discussed this in the enclosed articles drawing on quotes, but on Facebook, I got a tiny glimpse of it unfold in “real time,” so to speak.

Emotions and ethical dilemmas: Post-interview research note. March 21, 2017. Uppsala.

What some of my interlocutor's experience is hell. I scribbled some notes down. I couldn't record since we were walking around in the neighborhood. Tried that before and the environmental noise from the recorder just makes it too hard to listen to. And to be honest I have no energy now to summarize either. I'm beat. Today was a rough day. It is always exhausting to conduct interviews, all the more so when your interlocutors aren't feeling well. Their angst transfers into me. I have no protection in terms of a detached method and pre-prepared question due to this whole phenomenological approach. And since I've met these people many times now a strict interview-guide to hide behind would probably have felt silly in either case. Throwing yourself out there and to consciously show your own vulnerability in order to “co-create” knowledge, whatever that means.... Is exhausting though. I had a beer in the hotel just now to settle down, and figured I'd just transfer some notes I made on paper, translations in parenthesis:

Depression (Depression)

Sömsvårigheter (Troubles sleeping)

Koncentrationssvårigheter (Troubles focusing)

Håglös (Listless)

Orkeslös (Decript)

Ingen energi (No energy)

Ingenting är roligt (Nothing is fun)

Social ångest / fobi (Social anxiety / phobia)

Slutat träffa mina vänner (stopped meeting friends)

Ibland går inte till jobbet (Sometimes skip work)

Ångestattacker (Anxiety attacks)

Talk about displacement pressures...

As previously discussed, a phenomenological approach to interviewing, involving long and unstructured interviews, requires an empathic disposition. In my case, with interlocutors that are experiencing something traumatic, that means walking a rather thin line at times. Ethically, at least the following questions must be considered:

- Recounting and recollecting traumatic experiences is in itself a trauma. How does one avoid making things even more difficult for the interlocutors?
- Phenomenology is about reciprocity; how do I ensure the talks and discussions are mutually beneficial and knowledge co-created?
- Finally, my research entails emotional labor on my part, too, and my own mental health needs to be handled.

The research note above speaks to two of those points – the stress of my interlocutors and the stress induced in me listening to their stories.

Displacement can be a psychological and even physiological health issue. The literature on the health impacts for various groups and for various types of displacements is expansive (Allen, 2000; Danermark, Ekström, & Bodin, 1996; Daniel, Baker, & Lester, 2018; Fullilove, 2005, 2013; Robles-Ortega et al., 2017; Rojas & Stenberg, 2016). Further, my investigations, like so many before mine, have found displacement to be a traumatic experience. My interlocutors all handle the emotions that go into recalling the at times traumatic experiences differently. The single most common reaction when directly asked how it feels to talk about their hardship is that it is nice to meet someone who listens. In the methodological literature on qualitative interviews, catharsis – along with self-acknowledgement, sense of purpose, self-awareness, empowerment, healing, and providing a voice for the disenfranchised – has been listed among the potential benefits of taking part in research as a interlocutor (Hutchinson, Wilson, & Wilson, 1994). While catharsis has been an evident and explicit benefit for some of my interlocutors, I have also had cancelations due to emotional stress. That has never happened in a first-time interview situation, but it occurred on at least three occasions with interlocutors that I had interviewed previously. In these three cases, I have always had the chance to follow up with an interview at a later date. Although I have not probed the reasons for cancelation any deeper than simply acknowledging the reason of emotional stress given at the point of cancelation (i.e., I have not probed deeper in later

interviews), the fact that it has only happened in follow-up interviews could be a signal of increased awareness of the interview itself as emotionally taxing.

Another dilemma is that of expectations. I have made a conscious effort in each and every interview to emphasize that research is a slow process and that our talks will most likely do nothing for their plight. I learned to incorporate that early in the interview process when I interviewed youth in housing precarity in an earlier research project. It happened that interlocutors in that study hoped I could offer remedies or secret insights that could solve their dilemmas. Therefore, it was vital to make it clear that I could not. This is exceedingly pressing when using my close-to-the-subject method. My receptiveness, combined with a precursory belief in myself as an authority and proclaimed expert in the field of housing displacement by virtue of being a researcher, can easily make interlocutors hopeful that I can help solve their immediate problems. From an ethical standpoint, it is paramount that this notion is not carried into the discussion, giving false pretenses on what can be achieved by my research in general and our talks in particular. With that said, I obviously do try to help where I can – both as a researcher who follows a methodology that invites me to do so and as a fellow human being. I convey what information I can and offer any insights I possess. For a while, there was a lot of talk among my interlocutors about the rent tribunal, and interlocutors were keen on knowing how it all worked, so I told them what I had learned about the process from interviewing a rent tribunal judge and offered tips on how to go about investigating the prospects of launching a case. At another time, a focus group talked a lot about the role, power, and impotence of the tenants' union. I promised to convey their message, concerns, and complaints whenever next I met with the national director, which I did and reported back to my interlocutors. There is a specific literature on enacted solidarity and displacement within migration research (Eckenwiler, 2018), as well as within the broader field of urban studies (Fullilove, 2013); there is also an extensive literature on urban participatory action research (McIntyre, 2000), where the aim is to build alliances and where researchers together with interlocutors take deliberate action to address problems and to enhance community well-being. This study does not pass into that territory, but my method does require a disposition towards my interlocutors that invites solidarity – but not beyond what can be expected of anyone.

I often feel drained after a round of interviews, both intellectually and emotionally. And while it is important to “deal” with the emotional labor of research (Fenge, Oakley, Taylor, & Beer, 2019), my emotions as a researcher themselves constitute data. The literature on encounters of emotion from the perspective of the researcher is limited, but in one such a study, the authors pressed the point that “‘emotionally-sensed knowledge’ is an indispensable part of the research process” (Hubbard, Backett-Milburn, & Kemmer, 2001). While it is often taken for granted that any interlocutor’s account will be “shrouded in emotionality,” that the researcher’s own understanding and interpretation will be shrouded by emotion, too, and that those emotions are valuable data, this is rarely considered in the literature. But as Hubbard et al. (2001, p. 135) have noted, it is important “recognizing that emotions have epistemological significance. Being emotional is a way of knowing about, and acting in, the social world and is just as significant for how we make sense of our interlocutors’ experiences as our cognitive skills.”

CONCLUSIONS

In addressing the first research question (how should displacement in Uppsala and Sweden be understood and theorized?), the “should” makes the question explicitly normative and begs the question, “should” from what basis and vantage-point? The answer to that rests in the two-pronged effort at a phenomenological and critical theory study. From a critical theory standpoint, the answer comes from understanding the dialectic history of displacement in Uppsala and Sweden and investigating how displacement can be theorized to take account of that history; crucially, it also comes from learning how to address the injustices and uneven power relations that play out in the process of displacement.

In this kappa, I argue that displacement, in the post-war history of Sweden, has been the outcome of a series of processes ranging from the inner-city demolitions, to turn-around renovations, to gentrification processes, and finally to contemporary renovictions. Not only have these processes shaped the access to and exclusion from housing and particular neighborhoods, but they have also been mirrors reflecting ideology. Modernism, social democracy, immunology, sanitation, postmodernism, liberalization, state retreat – these are not housing- or displacement-specific ideas, but they are uniquely visible there, I argue. At the same time, Sweden has its unique history of housing provision and therefore a particular displacement history: an ideological shift from universal housing provision under social democracy to a “monstrous housing regime” (Christophers, 2013) where bits and pieces are still heavily regulated while others are thoroughly liberalized. In Article A (Baeten et al., 2017), we argue that this particular history has resulted in displacement through renoviction as a profit strategy for landlords throughout Sweden. Nevertheless, all grass was not green at the height of social demo-

cratic housing provision either. In Article C (Pull, 2020b), I show that the universal housing provision under social democracy was far from universal in practice; in fact, the number of evictions in Sweden reached a peak under the height of the modernist project. I also conclude that evictions are a blunt instrument for at least two reasons. First, there is a weak correlation to homelessness (as I show in Article C, homelessness has increased while evictions have decreased in the past few decades) that results in failure of eviction statistics in capturing the perhaps most severe situation a person can hold on the housing market – that of being homeless. Second, and perhaps more related to this study, eviction statistics only capture a very limited range of displacements. What I propose in Article C is to consider a new category, “structural evictions,” to capture a wider range of displacements (though not all). Responding to the call from critical urban scholar Peter Marcuse for research to “expose-propose-politicize” (P. Marcuse, 2009), I think that structural evictions, both as an analytical concept and as an operationalizable statistical category (next to the already established category of “structural homelessness”), would help deepen our understanding about displacement, give a more fair assessment to the scale of the problem, and bring to the fore the structural nature of the phenomenon. The latter is vital to formulating tactics and strategies geared at battling it.

Moreover, and related to previous critical research on displacement, I contend that there is a need to disentangle displacement from gentrification when discussing contemporary displacement processes in general (as discussed above) and Sweden in particular (and I do this mainly in Article D). There are tendencies for a straw-man argument present here. Most research into changes of the Swedish housing regime does not use the gentrification lexicon, so why bother arguing against it? Nevertheless, some of the most empirically robust gentrification studies in the entire field have been conducted in a Swedish setting (Clark, 1988; Hedin et al., 2012), and gentrification is a prominent trope in university curriculums; it was not long ago that the first textbook on gentrification was published in Swedish (C. Thörn & Holgersson, 2014). Internationally (and this study is targeted to an international audience), Sweden is a country from which many rich studies on gentrification hail. This thesis by no means wants to take away from this often brilliant and critical research. On the contrary, those studies make convincing arguments as to how gentrification has rolled out in a decidedly Swedish way and in a unique Swedish setting. Rather, this thesis builds upon the insights of

this body of literature, but argues that previous waves of gentrification might have given way to something new: a post-gentrification phase. As implied in Article B (Pull & Richard, 2019) and explicitly argued in Article D (Pull, 2020a), the renovations in Uppsala do not materialize in any use-value increases. On the contrary, the renovated apartments are oftentimes of lower quality than before the renovations. The renovations are simply a means to increase the exchange value through abusing legal and bureaucratic frameworks that allow rent increases despite the renters' needs and the intentions of the legal framework. The renovations increase estate values based on the possibility of new and higher rents, but the value increase need not be reflected in increased use-values in terms of new and better standards for the tenant. The processes are sometimes masked as revitalization (a synonym to gentrification, but without the baggage of negative connotations), with all the good things that are supposed to follow: increased neighborhood vitality, safety, services, consumption power, tax-base, attractiveness, et cetera. That was the case for the renovations in Gränby, which were marketed with sustainability discourse through the "Green Gränby" slogan, but not as much in Kvarngärdet, where technical necessity over worn-down houses was invoked. However, the end results for either neighborhood are hard to categorize as gentrification. By most metrics listed, Gränby and Kvarngärdet are neighborhoods in decline. The neighborhoods are now poorer, or at least as poor as they were prior to the renovations, compared to the municipal average. Poor people are physically and phenomenologically displaced, and displacement pressures remain high while new groups of poor people move in and face the same problems. In brief, they are neighborhoods without gentrifiers. Thus, I argue that renovation, and its subsequent displacement, has become a profit-seeking strategy based not upon gentrification mechanisms and gentrifiers but still through the exploitation of disenfranchised groups. In the new post-gentrification landscapes, the housing regime of Sweden is exploited in ways in which rent extraction can increase without a corresponding increase in affluent gentrifiers.

Returning to the research question again, this time from a phenomenological perspective, the conclusion from the articles enclosed in this thesis, particularly articles B and C (Pull, 2020b; Pull & Richard, 2019), and from the discussions in this kappa is that a number of points must be considered when researching and theorizing displacement. First, space,

and therefore also displacement, must be understood relationally. Mobility understood only as movement in absolute space – and consequently displacement reduced to outmigration – is not enough to fully capture the temporal and the spatial (experiential-) structure of being displaced. Displacement needs to be conceptualized in a way that is sensitive to context and that considers functions of and changes to place. Second, as we argue in Article A (Baeten et al., 2017), displacement must be considered as violence, structural and symbolic violence enacted on tenants by the very way society is organized. While this violence has societal causes, it also has an experiential structure. In Article B, we trace how this structure manifests itself through life being put on hold, through the erasure of history, through a contraction of home, and through the withering of taken-for-granted rights as humans (Pull & Richard, 2019).

Considering the phenomenological and critical theory perspectives together, this thesis concludes that the current wave of large-scale renovation projects have led to a plethora of displacements (in the plural). These displacements involve outmigration as well as complex spatial and temporal ruptures of various kinds. Taken together, these displacements play out as domicile, the murder of home, through a deepened and profound alienation.

The case of Uppsala, with its overtly violent renovations and eye-catching rent increases, might not be the new normal, but neither is it the exception. Just the other day, I read an article about tenants in the municipality of Solna in greater Stockholm facing 60% rent increases following overhaul renovations (Karlsson, 2020). The landlord was a municipal public housing company, and the estates (over 1,700 apartment units) are populated by a lot of poor and elderly who will undoubtedly be forced to move. Large-scale renovation processes are taking place all over Sweden. In other places, like Malmö (Gustafsson, 2019) and Landskrona (Baeten & Listerborn, 2015), displacement processes take other forms and are more akin to exclusionary displacement processes. However, in all the aforementioned cities (and in many more), displacement and expulsion of the urban poor seem to be the *modus operandi* of urban development in contemporary Sweden.

In my home neighborhood of Möllevången in Malmö, activists have noticed that the biggest landlords systematically renovate and increase rents in-between tenants. The displacement logic is exclusionary rather

than operating on direct last residence displacement, and the project is extended in time. The materiality is still undeniable: the workers in this relatively poor and multicultural neighborhood – the chefs and waiters, the small-shop owners, the hairdressers and computer repairpersons, and the workers in the farmers market on the public square – are increasingly forced to find accommodation outside of the neighborhood. The neighborhood is becoming gradually unaffordable to the people that sustain the services and atmosphere that made it attractive in the first place. This transpires not only through increasing rents but also in the establishment of expensive consumer landscapes populated by such things as microbreweries and gastro pubs, typical hallmarks of gentrification.

In a sense, the development of my own neighborhood, Möllevången, speaks against the thesis of a post-gentrification landscape spreading out in Sweden, similar as it is to classical gentrification. But my thesis is not that gentrification as urban strategy is dead; rather, it is that under certain conditions the often slow and mundane process of gentrification can be overcome by capital to produce more extreme and straightforward expulsion strategies, and that by studying those we can gain a deeper understanding about the underlying logics of neoliberal urbanism. The violent consequences of renovation and displacement to individual tenants, on the one hand, and the lack of need for a gentry to absorb the increased rents, on the other, expose things about the contemporary urban condition than go beyond the confines of the Uppsala displacement study. In a sense, the Uppsala case encapsulates something bigger, something more foundational, about the role of housing both for dwellers and for the so-called vested interests of the neoliberal housing regime. First, no quarter is given to the notion of home and its implied sanctity for its dwellers. Housing is an investment and is to be understood squarely through its exchange value. This is true also for rental housing, ironically, since it is a form of tenure traditionally and explicitly exempt from the market (at least to a degree). Knowing beforehand that renovations would entail mass displacement did not shake the landlords in Uppsala in the least, not the private landlords nor the public ones. Second, the renter serves a secondary role in the actual accumulation process driving urban housing processes. That is, the replacement of poor populations with a more affluent one (the classical hallmark of gentrification) is but one strategy to realize increased profits from housing by eliminating use-values in favor of exchange values. If increased

profits can be made without the help of a gentry, that is just as well. Third, from a white, male, middle-class perspective, it is always the urban poor, the disenfranchised, the Other that bear the brunt of the burden when urban accumulation processes are accelerated and accentuated in times of opportunity, or when they grind to a halt and investment turns to divestment and decay. Only efforts at de-commodifying the housing sector hold the promise of de-alienating dwelling and making one's promise of ontological security the precondition for everyone's ontological security and vice versa.

According to Andersson (1997), alienation is primarily about distorted relations. The god fearing surrender their own potential to the totem of worship; the worker is disconnected from the product of their labor; and in the realm of housing, home turns to commodity and appears as a something in flux, insecure and even threatening. It begs the question, what kind of relations would actors on the so-called housing market enter into if de-alienation was the goal? Reframing *house* back to *home* is not so easily done even in thought, engrained as "house as commodity" is in modern thinking and society. But thinking about hearth and shelter, about play and fantasy, about rest and life and love, is there not an intuitive absurdity in translating home into commodity? In framing these very basic needs and rights around something as volatile, insecure, and unequal, as prone to manipulation and crisis, as a commodity on a market? And is it not a thoroughly distorted relation between renter and landlord when the best way to wage profit from commodity rests in the hands not of the user, the dweller, but the one who exchanges it, the landlord? Would not a proper relationship, a relationship of clarity rather than distortion, be a relationship where the landlord works squarely in the interest of the dweller in the creation of home, rather than the dweller functioning primarily as the vehicle and object of the wants and needs of the landlord? De-alienation must entail de-commodification, and the relations in the sphere of housing must be configured as such, that the interest of various stakeholders like landlords, municipal actors and planners, et cetera, perfectly align with the best interest of both situated tenants, and prospective tenants.

STATE PUBLIC REPORTS (SOU AND DS) AND LAWS (SFS)

Ds Bo 1983:2 Bättre bostäder: *Ett 10-årigt förnyelse- och underhållsprogram.*

SoU 1945:63 Bostadssociala utredningen: *Allmänna riktlinjer för den framtida bostadspolitiken: Slutbetänkande.*

SoU 1947:26 Bostadssociala utredningen: *Saneringen av stadssamhällets bebyggelse: Slutbetänkande.*

SFS 2010:879 Om allmännyttiga kommunala bostadsaktiebolag.

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

Declaration of co-authorship

Co-authors should fulfil the requirements of the Vancouver rulesⁱ

1. Title of article:

Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden

2. Declaration of the individual elements

The extent of the candidate's contribution to the article is assessed on the following scale

- A. has contributed to the work (0-33%)
- B. has made a substantial contribution (34-66%)
- C. did the majority of the work (67-100%)

	Baeten	Westin	Pull	Molina
1. Formulation in the concept phase of the basic scientific problem on the basis of theoretical questions which require clarification, including a summary of the general questions which it is assumed will be answered via analyses or actual experiments/investigations.	A	B	B	A
2. Planning of experiments/analyses and formulation of investigative methodology in such a way that the questions asked under (1) can be expected to be answered, including choice of method and independent methodological development	A	B	B	A
3. Involvement in the analysis or the actual experiments/investigation	A	B	B	A
4. Presentation, interpretation and discussion of the results obtained in the form of an article or manuscript.	B	A	B	A

3. Signatures

Date	Name	Title	Signature
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21	Sara Westin	Doctor	S. Westin
21-sep-20	Jrene Molina	Professor	J. Molina
11	Emil Pull	PhD - candidate	E. Pull

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Co-authors should fulfil the requirements of the Vancouver rulesⁱ

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2. Planning of experiments/analyses and formulation of investigative methodology in such a way that the questions asked under (1) can be expected to be answered, including choice of method and independent methodological development	B	B
3. Involvement in the analysis or the actual experiments/investigation	B	B
4. Presentation, interpretation and discussion of the results obtained in the form of an article or manuscript.	B	B

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Date	Name	Title	Signature
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1) conception and design or analysis and interpretation of data, 2) drafting the article or revising it critically for important intellectual content, and 3) final approval of the version to be published. *Involvement based only on obtaining funding for the work or collecting data does not qualify for authorship, neither does general supervision of the research group in itself qualify as authorship.* If the authorship is collective, key persons who are responsible for the article must be identified. The editors of the scientific periodical may ask authors to account for their part in the authorship.”

PUBLICATIONS

I

Pressure and violence: Housing renovation and displacement in Sweden

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Abstract

Based on interview material relating to the current wave of housing renovation in Swedish cities, this article will analyse the profit-driven, traumatic and violent displacement in the wake of contemporary large-scale renovation processes of the so-called Million Program housing estates from the 1960s and 1970s. We maintain that the current form of displacement (through renovation) has become a regularized profit strategy, for both public and private housing companies in Sweden. We will pay special attention to Marcuse's notion of 'displacement pressure' which refers not only to actual displacement but also to the anxieties, uncertainties, insecurities and temporalities that arise from possible displacement due to significant rent increases after renovation and from the course of events preceding the actual rent increase. Examples of the many insidious forms in which this pressure manifests itself will be given – examples that illustrate the hypocritical nature of much planning discourse and rhetoric of urban renewal. We illustrate how seemingly unspectacular measures and tactics deployed in the renovation processes have far-reaching consequences for tenants exposed to actual or potential displacement. Displacement and displacement pressure due to significant rent increases (which is profit-driven but justified by invoking the 'technical necessity' of renovation) undermines the 'right to dwell' and the right to exert a reasonable level of power over one's basic living conditions, with all the physical and mental benefits that entails – regardless of whether displacement fears materialize in actual displacement or not.

Keywords

Displacement, public housing, renovation, urban renewal

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Introduction

Based on interview material relating to the current wave of housing renovation in Swedish cities, this article will analyse the profit-driven, traumatic and violent displacement in the wake of contemporary large-scale renovation processes of the so-called Million Program housing estates. The Million Program was a national housing program that resulted in the construction of roughly a million dwellings within the three main modes of tenancy, that is rental, cooperative and privately owned housing. The program ran between 1965 and 1974 and was strongly state-subsidized (Grundström and Molina, 2016). We maintain that the current form of displacement (through renovation) has become a regularized profit strategy, for both public and private housing companies in Sweden. The focus of the article is the varieties of ways in which displacement of predominantly low-income tenants is being carried out through renovation works, and how these 'soft' tactics effectively circumvent the legal tenant protections and the right to dwell inscribed in the Swedish rental system. While structural renovation works also take place without major rental increases (Jacobsson, 2013), the scope of this article is on displacement mechanisms in the wake of significant rent increases following renovation. We will pay special attention to Marcuse's (1985) notion of 'displacement pressure' which refers not only to actual displacement but also to the anxieties, uncertainties, insecurities and temporalities that arise from possible displacement due to significant rent increases after renovation *and* from the course of events preceding the actual rent increase. Examples of the many insidious forms in which this pressure manifests itself will be given – examples that illustrate the hypocritical nature of much planning discourse and rhetoric of urban renewal. We illustrate how seemingly unspectacular measures and tactics deployed in the renovation processes have far-reaching consequences for tenants exposed to actual or potential displacement. Displacement and displacement pressure due to significant rent increases (which is profit-driven but justified by invoking the 'technical necessity' of renovation, as well as the need for CO₂ reduction measures) undermines the 'right to dwell' and undermines the right to exert a reasonable level of power over one's basic living conditions, with all the physical and mental benefits that entails – regardless of whether displacement fears materialize in actual relocation or not. The notion of 'the right to dwell' as used in this article is derived in part from the complex and multifaceted framing of displacement offered by Marcuse (1986), showing how displacement needs to be considered to encompass a wider set of processes than those leading to direct physical relocation of inhabitants (see below). The 'right to dwell' must be understood as a right to inhabit the abstract space comprising 'home' in a wider sense. As Davidson (2009) points out with the help of Lefebvre and Heidegger, the 'right to dwell' and the 'right to make place' can 'be denigrated or destroyed even if one stays in a particular space' (p. 231). Dramatic neighbourhood change can so thoroughly change the place and the everyday lives of tenants that displacement can occur without actual physical relocation: tenants remain, but their home has been displaced from underneath their feet as it were.

With the exception of some acts of protest and resistance, the largest housing renovation project in Swedish history is being carried out without much opposition or critique. Our research seeks to highlight the deeply problematic nature of the Million Program renovation by discussing the motives of landlords and developers and by demonstrating how this affects large numbers of (mainly low-income) urban dwellers. The article is inspired by Wacquant's eloquent call for critical research

[c]ritical thought must, with zeal and rigor, take apart the false commonplaces, reveal the subterfuges, unmask the lies, and point out the logical and practical contradictions of the

discourse of King Market and triumphant capitalism, which is spreading everywhere by the force of its own self-evidence... Critical thought must tirelessly pose the question of the social costs and benefits of the policies of economic deregulation and social dismantling which are now presented as the assured road to eternal prosperity and supreme happiness under the aegis of 'individual responsibility' – which is another name for collective irresponsibility and mercantile egoism. (2004: 101)

Qualitative interviews were made with residents, housing company representatives, representatives of the Rent Tribunal and representatives of the Tenants Union. The interviews were semi-structured, lasted on average about one hour and were transcribed. The conversations revolved around how tenants were experiencing the actual or planned renovation project in their building or neighbourhood, how housing companies were carrying out or planning renovation projects and how the Tenants Union perceived and worked with the planned renovation projects. The interviews were held in the city of Uppsala, north of Stockholm, during three periods in 2011, 2014 and in 2015, and in Stockholm during 2011. The interviews in Uppsala were carried out in three different areas at different stages of renovation, namely Gränby, Kvarngärdet and Eriksberg. One interview with a former employee of the Rent Tribunal was conducted in Malmö. The purpose of the second and third round of interviews in Uppsala was to return to the area studied the first time to see what had happened with those who stayed in the renovated area and to those who had left. This allows us to capture the experience of displacement and displacement pressure at different points in time and hence provides us with a richer and more nuanced picture of displacement (pressure).

While the empirical material underpinning our analysis is far from exhaustive (there are over 300 public and over 40,000 private rental housing companies in Sweden,¹ each acting on their own accord, and in the case of municipal companies under different political party majority, and in their own unique geographical setting), our respondents cover a range of different circumstances. They live both in public and private housing and in different areas of the city. The commonalities were striking, but the cases were obviously not identical. This article, however, does not aim to be comparative. Nor does it aim to provide a perfectly accurate and generalizable roadmap to the process of displacement. Rather it aims to show the varieties of tactics deployed by landlords to displace low-income tenants in a system that is often and generally regarded to rest on universality, equality and strong tenant rights.

Displacement

Displacement, in spite of its widespread occurrence in cities across the globe (Lees et al., 2015) and in spite of its disturbing impact on the physical and mental well-being of displaced groups, remains remarkably underrepresented in urban studies (Desmond, 2012; Slater, 2006). Relatively few empirical studies on displacement have been undertaken (even fewer in a Swedish context) and they are predominantly Anglo-American. By reviewing the evolution of the academic debate, this geographical bias becomes apparent, and the authors are not unaware of this. However, there are clear empirical similarities between the cases reviewed and the current Swedish situation, making the conceptual evolution of 'displacement' in the literature a relevant backdrop to this study.

Displacement, or 'what happens when forces outside the household making living there impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable' (Keating et al., 1982: 3), became clearly identified as the main negative outcome of gentrification processes in North-American cities during the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Hartman, 1979; Keating et al., 1982; Laska and Spain, 1980; Marcuse, 1985; Palen and London, 1984) as well as in Great Britain (Hamnett, 1973). Then, in the

early 1990s, the 'unpicking' of the gentrification/displacement relationship (Davidson, 2009) had begun through the work of, amongst others, Chris Hamnett (1991, 1994, 2003). Hamnett argued that what we were witnessing was not *displacement* but the *replacement* of the contracting working classes with the expanding middle classes that 're-entered' inner-city neighbourhoods. Quantitative research by Freeman and Braconi (2004) took this further and argued that people in gentrified neighbourhoods in New York were actually 19% *less likely* to move out of the neighbourhood than from non-gentrified neighbourhoods between 1996 and 1999. Inhabitants of gentrifying neighbourhoods apparently went at great length to stay put so as to enjoy improved service levels – a research conclusion that was eagerly picked up by the mainstream media (USA Today: '*Studies: Gentrification a Boost for Everyone*'). Likewise, McKinnish et al. (2008) argue that there is no evidence of displacement of poor non-white households from gentrifying areas between 1990 and 2000. Rising average income levels in these areas is due to the influx of white college graduates and the retention of black high school graduates. Schloming and Schloming (2010: 529), commenting on Hartman and Robinson's (2010) attempt to factually demonstrate the magnitude and impact of the neglected problem of eviction, dismiss Hartman and Robinson's concern about eviction on the grounds that

[p]eople have often flourished by wandering, so displacement and mobility are not inherently bad. The 'hidden' problem is not evictions, but how homelessness has been caused by protections enacted in the name of helping the poor... successive waves of us wandered as immigrants to a new land and gave the energy and vitality that very quickly turned the United States into the world's most advanced industrial nation... Thus, displacement and mobility, wanted or unwanted, are not inherently or always or even most of the time bad.

The denial of eviction and displacement as existing social problems not only triggered a set of counterarguments but also a lively debate around the nature of displacement (and gentrification) research. Newman and Wyly (2006) point to the simple fact that Freeman and Braconi studied the second half of the nineties – a period that is preceded by twenty or so years of gentrification processes that would already have displaced most of the people who could no longer afford to live in Manhattan and brownstone Brooklyn. Low levels of out-migration from gentrified areas during the second half of the nineties therefore seem unsurprising. Moreover, the control group in the 'non-gentrified neighbourhoods' consists of residents from some of the poorest areas of New York City, including the Bronx, where residential mobility would always be high, and certainly higher than in already gentrified neighbourhoods. Further, people not on high income can stay in gentrified areas when living in rent-controlled housing or public housing, or through accepting poor housing quality, sharing with others, enjoying the compassion of a landlord who does not charge 'market prices' or simply coping with extortionate housing costs (see also Wardrip et al., 2009, who bring to light that low-income groups often spend much more than 'a third' of their income on housing – sometimes up to 80% or 90%).

Slater (2009: 306) argues that people may stay put in gentrifying areas, in spite of rising house prices, because 'gentrification has removed so much affordable housing that poor people in gentrifying neighbourhoods are trapped' (indeed, in the United States, the number of affordable homes per 100 low-income households decreased from 130 in 1970 to 38 in 2010 (Dahmann, 2010, quoted in Wyly et al., 2010). Statistics used by Freeman and Braconi cannot capture the fight of people on low income to stay where they are, and neither do statistics reveal the existence and extent of government-led gentrification programs that would for obvious reasons never engage in collecting statistics on displacement due to those gentrification policies. And, Slater continues, why would we have to rely on *gentrification* to

bring 'better services' to the neighbourhood, or at least to those who move in or can stay? Wyly et al. (2010), while admitting that the relation between gentrification and displacement is contingent rather than necessary, are worried that the extent of displacement remains seriously underestimated:

In New York City, at least 10 000 renter households are displaced each year – a tip of an iceberg that includes many who leave the city, become homeless, double up with friends or relatives, or adapt in other ways that render them statistically invisible. (Wyly et al., 2010: 2620)

In line with this, Desmond (2012) laments our lack of knowledge of especially eviction processes, the most dramatic form of direct displacement, and, according to Desmond, also the *main source* of displacement. Slum clearance and gentrification also trigger displacement but not in the same measure as evictions. It is simply the current high cost of living in many cities that leaves the urban poor in financial ruin, which can easily lead to rent arrears and, eventually, eviction. Once evicted, most people move directly into homelessness since it is difficult to find new housing as landlords tend to not rent out to people with a conviction or an eviction. In that sense, eviction plays a pivotal role in the *reproduction and enforcement* of urban poverty. This process has clear racial and gender dimensions: 'In poor black neighbourhoods, eviction is to women what incarceration is to men: a typical but severely consequential occurrence contributing to the reproduction of poverty' (Desmond, 2012: 88). Goetz (2010) scrutinizes another form of displacement, namely the government-led relocation program HOPE VI that should result in a new geography of opportunity for the poor through dispersal, redevelopment, social mix, social capital enhancement, change in behaviour, better design to create defensible space and reduction of social disorganization by giving community back social control. In fact, Goetz finds, the move of poor people to marginally better neighbourhoods may leave them feeling safer but does not improve their material conditions since they *lose* vital social capital from their previous neighbourhoods on which they rely for temporary work, help and care. Poor people are being moved around under the assumption that anywhere is better than where they started.

Another pivotal effect of displacement captured in research are the strong ties to health and sickness (see Douglas Porteous and Smith, 2001; Fried, 1963; Fullilove, 2004; Marris, 1974). The correlation between health and housing has been studied extensively for at least a century, and though laying bare the actual causal relationships is difficult given the number of variables at play, the connections between poor housing and poor health are unquestioned in housing studies. Studies on relocation after renovation (Allen, 2000; Ekström, 1994) do show clear (and often severe) health effects even on temporarily relocated tenants, pointing to the traumatic rupture that relocation can have. Older people are particularly vulnerable. To be forced out of one's home can affect elderly in a way similar to other major life events such as the loss of a spouse (Hurtig, 1995). In particular, forced displacement has shown to result in higher mortality rates than voluntary or otherwise controlled relocation (Danermark et al., 1996).

In the light of this evidence about displacement as one of the most severe social problems in today's cities and their housing market conditions, why is it that the fate of displaced people and of low-income people in gentrified areas has received so little attention from researchers? There are, of course, serious methodological hurdles since we are studying 'the invisible' (Atkinson, 2000). The precarious housing situations of displaced people, people doubling up with others, etcetera, often exist outside official records, and, when traced, these people are not necessarily willing to 'be interviewed' about their troublesome life trajectories. As noted by Davidson (2009), most gentrification studies focus on the middle-class

experiences of gentrification through interviews with gentrifiers as subjects and the working classes appear at best as an anonymous desubjectified mass of 'victims' that is being 'displaced'. This bias towards the middle-class experience of gentrification strongly relates to the ways the 'academic nobility' or the middle-class intelligentsia always represent the poor and the working class in relation to its own lifestyle. The working classes are then defined as 'lacking the resources' to 'aspire for higher'; they are 'failed consumers' (Allen, 2008a).

In gentrifying areas, then, the well-meaning middle-class research community would rather pose the question how we can 'lift everybody up' to certain levels of middle-class consumption and lifestyles (assuming that is what the working classes want) than pose the question of 'displacement experiences'. There are few attempts to study the fate of the marginalized and the working classes *in their own right* and *not* in relation to the needs and aspirations defined by the (researching) middle classes (see for example Paton, 2014). Allen (2008b), following Charlesworth's (2000) phenomenological analysis of the working class, studied working class experiences of displacement fears and realities in a central Liverpool neighbourhood that was marked for large-scale demolition and renewal, with special 'loan products' provided by the city council so that working class inhabitants could return to 'modern' homes. But working class residents were not aspiring to middle-class consumption levels, middle-class lifestyles or middle-class housing ideals and the debt it implied. What the promoters behind the renewal scheme failed to understand was that 'the repositioning of their houses within the space of positions in the market for houses violates a whole way of working-class "being" towards houses (a place to dwell rather than position within the space of positions)' (Allen, 2008b). According to Wacquant (2009), this disdain towards the subjective experiences of the working class, the marginalized and the displaced in urban renewal research is part of a wider disdain and neglect of the working class. Together with low-service workers, the working class still constitutes the majority of the population in advanced economies, yet it is excluded from much civic and scientific debate. 'The working class is unfashionable, inscrutable, unnoticed if not invisible' (p. 200). Much gentrification research does not pay attention to the displaced working classes, but focuses on 'preferences' of the middle classes, and thereby 'they are only following the general pattern of class blindness by urban researchers even as class inequalities sharpen before their very eyes' (p. 200). Wyly et al. (2010) regard the deliberate statistical disappearance of its costs and victims as one of the 'most effective tactics of neoliberalism', with displacement and the fate of the poor in urban renewal processes no exception.

Displacement and renovation in Sweden

The Swedish housing system has sprung out of a strong welfare state with cheap high-quality housing through subsidised construction, strong tenant protections, high formal demands on quality standards and collectively negotiated rent levels (Bengtsson et al., 2013; Nylander, 2013; Salonen, 2015). One ideological underpinning was that a large and universal rental sector with affordable housing for 'everyone' (as opposed to social housing for the few) would create a more egalitarian and just housing regime than elsewhere. The effective implementation of this principle in post-war Sweden has led many authors to speak of the Swedish housing regime as a 'success story' (Christophers, 2013; Clark and Johnson, 2009; Headey, 1978; Lundqvist et al., 1990). However, efforts to liberalise the Swedish housing sector over the past decades have thoroughly transformed the Swedish housing regime to

produce gentrification (Hedin et al., 2012), reinforce social polarisation (Andersson and Molina, 2003) and reduce the size of the rental sector in general, and the public segment in particular. Public housing housed 25% of the general population in 1990 and saw its share decrease to 18% by 1989 (Bengtsson et al., 2013). The shift is even more striking at a regional level with a dozen municipalities having sold their entire stock, thereby fully withdrawing from the housing sector (Salonen, 2015). The trend has continued until today, and now only 16% of the Swedish inhabitants are housed in public housing. Regulations and housing policies of the former welfare state have collided with ever-increasing neoliberal doctrines and market intrusion to create what Brett Christophers (2013) calls a monstrous hybrid. A hybrid where both welfare regulations and the market forces work against the interests of (low-income) tenants. In some sense, the Swedish housing system is still very much regulated, but the state is no longer an active and political actor on the housing scene: 'Sweden has gradually become one of the most liberal market-governed housing markets in the Western world. State engagement is substantially less in Sweden than in the homelands of market liberalism, Great Britain and the United States' (Lind and Lundström, 2007). The market is the dominant actor and old welfare policies, structures and laws created to protect tenants are being used and/or circumvented and exploited in increasingly violent ways.

The so-called 'Million Program' was a programmatic effort by the Swedish government to oversee the construction of 1 million dwellings in 10 years (1965–1974) to build away existing housing shortages. It was actually a continuation of high rates of post-war government-led housing construction (already in 1964 90,000 homes were added (SABO, n.d.); what was new this time was its long-term perspective. In the process, hundreds of thousands inner-city homes, often in poor condition, were demolished and replaced with new homes or offices. It triggered the largest wave of housing displacement in Sweden's history, albeit firmly grounded in a social-democratic conviction of social betterment for all. Fifty years later, part of this housing stock needs technical renovation works, and The Swedish Association of Public Housing Companies (SABO, 2009), amongst others, stress the simultaneous need for ecological renovation (lifting these homes to contemporary environmental norms and standards) as well as 'social' renovation (the Million Program estates are largely occupied by poorer (non-Swedish) population segments). A recent survey amongst 119 public and private landlords (owning 12% of the Million Program housing stock) reveals that half (471 000) of the existing Million Program housing stock (922 000) is in need of structural renovation,² and a quarter of the housing stock (264 000) has already been renovated. The overall cost of these massive renovation works is estimated between 215 billion Swedish Krona (Träd och Möbelföretag (TMF), 2013), 300–500 billion (National Board of Housing (Boverket, 2014) and 300–900 billion Kronor (Industrifakta, 2013). The majority of landlords seek to finance these major renovations through rent increases according to a survey amongst 51 landlords owning Million Program housing stock by the Tenants Union (Jacobsson, 2013). Rent increases highly vary without obvious geographical pattern: most of the pressure lies in large cities because of the very concentration of Million Program housing stock in those places, but some of the highest rent increases take place in 'peripheral' cities while some minor rent increases are introduced in central cities. According to the survey, substantial rent increases do lead to significant displacement volumes (about 1 out of 5 tenants with rent increases over and above 1000 Swedish Kronor monthly for a two-bedroom apartment), while minor rent increases (less than 500 Swedish Kronor) hardly trigger displacement (Jacobsson, 2013). It is not clear from this survey whether rent increases are the main or sole reason for displacement, but at least it provides a significant indication.

That rent increases *are* an important reason behind displacement is confirmed by a recent study by the National Board of Housing (Boverket, 2014) which compares levels of out-migration from renovated apartments with out-migration levels from non-renovated apartments. Tenants in renovated apartments are 1.8 times more likely to move out than tenants in non-renovated apartments: around 25% of tenants move out from renovated flats compared with 14% from non-renovated flats. Those on low income are more likely to move out and those who move out are more likely to change apartment soon again, which suggests that tenants found only temporary housing solutions. Low-income tenants are according to this study less likely to move out in the year before renovation (when rumours about substantial rent increases are spreading) but more likely to move out after renovation and rent increases. This points at the particular pressure on low-income groups since they find it difficult, first, to move, *and*, second, to stay. Tenants who have moved receive on average higher housing benefits and social benefits, which means that they have moved to more expensive apartments. Even though rent levels are higher in their new home, tenants move to neighbourhoods with lower average income levels and worse school results, which implies that renovation and displacement result in increased segregation. Contrastingly, in the control group of tenants who live in non-renovated flats, those who change apartment move to neighbourhoods with higher average income levels and better school results. Rent increases are typically higher in metropolitan areas, with higher displacement levels as a result. By way of example, in the Backa Röd quarter of Gothenburg, Sweden's second largest city, only 4 out of 80 tenants are expected to move back after renovation and a 33% rental increase (Björk, 2014). In Gränby, Uppsala, part of greater Stockholm, 140 out of 220 tenants left due to rent increases between 18% and 34% (before organized protest the rent increase was set at 45%) (Molander, 2014).

Moreover, for those who cannot afford the rent after renovation it has become more difficult to find affordable rental accommodation elsewhere: public housing companies not only seek to finance renovation through increased rent but also through the sale of part of their rental stock to private companies which, in turn, convert more than half of them into tenant-owned apartments (Boverket, 2014). As a consequence, between 1997 and 2012, the total rental housing stock in Sweden decreased by almost 100 000 units,³ while the total apartment stock grew by more than 300 000 units⁴ in the same period (SCB, 2014), in line with the overall population growth. The number of inhabitants per apartment remained constant at 2.1 between 1997 and 2012, which puts a question mark behind the existence of a housing *shortage*.⁵ As Dorling (2014) argues, it is not the size of the housing stock that is the main problem (although it would do no harm if more houses were built), but its distribution. It is sharpening housing *inequalities* (crystallising in problems such as unaffordability or displacement), that is the main problem. There is a housing crisis for those at the bottom of the housing market which manifests itself in the first instance as a lack of *affordable* housing, in particular *rental*, forcing people into coping strategies such as moving to less attractive neighbourhoods, sharing, not leaving the parental home, overspending on rent, or the forced purchase of a mortgaged home.

The housing stock which remains in the hands of city is increasingly used to trigger profits used for non-housing purposes. Stockholm's 23 public housing companies, for example, transferred 1.4 billion Kronor to the municipal coffers in 2012 (Samuelsson, 2012) and around 3 billion Kronor in 2013 (partly through sales) (Hultman, 2014). This surplus has not been re-invested in municipal housing provision, but was used to finance other projects, often benefiting private actors (*Dagens Nyheter*, 2013). In Malmö, the municipal housing company MKB took out nearly 1 billion Kronor in profits between 2010 and 2014 (Wahlgren, 2016).

Displacement as a profit strategy

The rental housing stock of the Million Program has long remained outside the private sector's scope of interest. The Million Program estates from the 1960s and 1970s, most often located on the outskirts of the city, soon turned into unattractive neighbourhoods (from a white Swedish perspective) and became an affordable refuge for newly arrived immigrants during the 1980s and 1990s, resulting in sharp levels of ethnic segregation in Swedish cities (Andersson and Molina, 2003). In recent years, public housing companies on those estates have started to sell their rental stock to private sector actors and have themselves embarked on systematic renovation works of their remaining stock. A law reform of 2011 made public housing companies obliged to act 'business-like' and private rental companies are no longer obliged to follow rent levels set by public companies, as was the case before 2011. As a consequence, the Million Program rental stock finds itself in a completely new economic-legal environment and has been turned into an interesting object for profit-seeking (by both public and private companies). This is not only leading to increased displacement but also changing the nature of gentrification in a Nordic context from 'gentle' to 'brutal' (already mentioned in a different context by for example Clark, 2005; Larsen and Lund Hansen, 2008), and fits into a wider process of the neoliberalisation of the Swedish housing market (for overviews of this process, see for example Christophers, 2013; Hedin et al., 2012; Lind and Lundström, 2007).

Greg Dingizian, one of the more visible property developers in the city of Malmö, discerns a 'growing acceptance for apartments in higher price ranges' (Eklund, 2014) of late. His company Victoria Park has recently bought more than 3000 Million Program apartments in various cities in Sweden, including Rosengård, Malmö, which is arguably one of the most notorious Swedish neighbourhood marred by regular violent clashes between youngsters and the police. The 'acceptance' of higher rent levels seems to be absent, though. Dingizian maintains in an interview with a business magazine that 'what matters is to get rid of those who don't fit in'. Therefore, he believes that not only property owners but also the police and the social authorities should be involved in the renovation of Rosengård. There should be 'zero tolerance', and 'people should learn not to throw garbage through the window' (quoted in Grossman, 2013a). Around 100 tenants, suspected of illegal subletting, saw their contract suspended, and tensions have risen between remaining tenants and landlord representatives (Mikkelsen, 2013). Eight hundred sixty-seven Rosengård apartments were acquired for 3800 Swedish Kronor per square meter from a previous owner with financial difficulties. Dingizian summarises the rent gap as follows: he believes these apartments are worth 'twice as much', and, after renovation, 'at least 10 000 Swedish Kronor per square meter'. He has an outspoken opinion about the current (most often poor) tenants: 'In what other business can you find a situation where the client can halve the value [of your product]? That is when I realized that we need social measures to get forward' (Grossman, 2013a). In other words, tenants are blamed for lowering the value of the property through their alleged misbehaviour, and it is therefore only logical that they should be displaced (called 'social measures') in the name of profit-maximization. In the same interview, Dingizian even lays bare the direct relationship between higher rent levels and the share prices of his company: 'An increase of the value of the apartments by 1000 Swedish Kronor implies [an increase of] four Swedish Kronor per share'. Apartments in run-down neighbourhoods in Sweden have become the object of profit-seeking renovation works where the misbehaving existing tenant population is nothing but a nuisance that has to be removed, after which the Million Program becomes, so to speak, a 'brownfield site' waiting to be renewed and made profitable. Similarly, two businessmen recently started a new

development company, Gimmel, with a simple and straightforward business model according to the owners: 'Buy Million Program, renovate when apartments are empty, buy material from China and then increase the rent. Now only [buying] objects are missing' (Grossman, 2013b). An inventory of 11 ongoing renovation projects in cities across Sweden reveals that proposed or actual rent increases vary between 14% and 80%, with an average of 45% (Alla ska kunna bo kvar, 2015).

It should be clear from these examples how the Million Program, once designed to provide everyone with affordable housing within the Swedish spirit of welfare universalism, has acquired a totally new social and economic meaning. In other words, 'housing policies in Sweden have made a long journey from being the cornerstone of the Swedish welfare model and welfare thinking to forming the base of "anti-welfare" policies' (Baeten and Listerborn, 2015), seeking to actively steer away needy groups from attractive parts in the city. Renovation, sharp rent increases and subsequent displacement from formerly affordable rental apartments has become a profit strategy that necessitates a permanent housing crisis to keep up demand. Current displacement in a Swedish context, then, can be regarded as the direct consequence of private companies moving into low-end housing market segments for profit-seeking purposes. Next, we turn our attention to what concrete forms displacement pressure can take, and to what effects this pressure can have on affected people.

Displacement pressure

[D]isplacement affects many more than those actually displaced at any given moment. When a family sees its neighborhood changing dramatically, when all their friends are leaving, when stores are going out of business [...] then the pressure of displacement is already severe, and its actuality only a matter of time. Families under such circumstances may even move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; they are displaced nonetheless. [...] We thus speak of the 'pressure of displacement' as affecting households beyond those actually currently displaced. It is certainly a significant part of the displacement problem. (Marcuse, 1985: 335)

It is clear from our research that the displacement pressure, initiated by profit-seeking ambitions of both public and private landlords, and followed by actual displacement or not, creates an overall sense of anxiety and insecurity, even though, paradoxically, landlords promise increased safety and security levels. The Million Program estates are usually associated with crime, violence and a lack of safety, which is invoked by landlords to justify renovation efforts.⁶ While the need for security measures features prominently in the justification of many renovation projects, in practice they often come down to physical changes as banal as changing the lighting in the stairwell or changing the doors to the storage room (see Westin, 2011). There exists an obvious contradiction between the landlords' discursive promises of increased security and the renovation projects themselves, which, ironically, triggers all kinds of basic, unanswered questions about the security of the tenants' rental contract and whether they will be able to stay put in the first place.

This deep sense of insecurity among residents has been observed in earlier research on large renovation projects (Johansson et al., 1988). Paradoxically, then, in the name of improving safety and reducing violence on the Million Program estates, the systemic violence of displacement, and tactics displaying a large degree of symbolic violence exerted by landlords, is imposed upon many of its inhabitants. Systemic violence is here

understood as violence inherent in a system: 'not only direct physical violence, but also the subtler forms of coercion that sustain relations of domination and exploitation, including the threat of violence' (Žižek, 2009: 8). Systemic violence is 'objective' in the sense that it is not directly executed by subjects but operates anonymously, systemically and invisibly through the very way society is organised, as opposed to physical, or 'subjective', violence. Objective violence appears as neutral, normal, bereft of ideology, and is therefore, again in contrast with subjective violence, more difficult to locate or resist. Renovation, then, is presented as a normal technical and economic necessity, even an ecological opportunity to reduce energy consumption and emission levels. But it contains built-in systemic violence since it forces people to either accept increased rent levels or leave and live with all the physical and psychological disruption this entails. Displacement pressure is thus the result of systemic violence inherent in the seemingly neutral need for renovation.

A second form of objective violence is that of symbolic violence or violence imposed by language and discourse (Bourdieu and Ferguson, 2000; Žižek, 2009). Symbolic violence encompasses a decidedly disciplining element. In surrendering to and absorbing the hierarchies and structures of the social order, individuals, initially outraged, often end up blaming themselves for their precarious situation and suffering, thus re-rendering the symbolic violence back to a realm of invisibility (Bourdieu and Ferguson, 2000). Through language, discourse and interaction between powerful landlords and a much less powerful 'society' (the Rent Tribunal, the Tenants Union and local politicians), the symbolic violence normalizes and hegemonizes an order where tenants are left feeling powerless and being at fault themselves. In the case of tenants under displacement pressure, the symbolic violence is clearly visible in the interaction between landlords and tenants in shape of for instance 'letters of approval' which literally do not provide an option to disapprove, alongside subtler tactics of harassment and attempts to dismantle and render opposition impossible.

Based on three Swedish case studies, Axelsson (2013) has tried to distil an ideal type procedure used by landlords to initiate large-scale renovations and rent increases. This ideal type should be regarded as a good illustration of systemic violence through renovation. First, landlords mobilise a 'divide and rule' tactic by only contacting a small part of the households in the neighbourhood that will be renovated – those who are part of 'Phase I'. In that way, they avoid negotiations with the entire population and potential organized resistance. Second, the 'Phase I' group will be put under maximum personal pressure to formally agree with the planned renovations if they want to stay put, so as to create a precedent for the rest of the neighbourhood. Third, landlords threaten from a very early stage with court action (at the Tenants Tribunal) if the tenants disagree with the planned renovations. Fourth, landlords spread the rumour that the vast majority is in favour of renovations, even if they have never surveyed the opinion of all tenants. We could add as a fifth tactic that landlords spread rumours about very high rent increases (in some cases up to 70%) so that, after negotiations, a 20% or 30% increase seems a reasonable compromise.

In the next section, we will illustrate some features of displacement pressure following major renovation works as they emerged from our interviews with tenants, and how this situation specifically triggers feelings of insecurity, worry and hopelessness. We focus on some examples of systemic and symbolic 'renovation violence', namely the legal requirement to seek the tenant's consent with renovation through a letter of approval, the (ab)use of the Rent Tribunal, the invocation of 'stepwise rent increases'. What characterizes all of these examples is their seemingly benign appearance as they are framed as tenant-friendly measures or procedures.

Systemic and symbolic renovation violence

The letter of approval – An instrument to force consent

Renovation legally requires the tenant's prior consent through an official letter of approval. This arrangement may appear democratic since the tenant is apparently given the opportunity to agree or not with the renovation plans. However, it is clear from our interviews that the approval letter does not present any real choice – rather it sustains and hides an undemocratic reality. A representative of the Tenants Union says: 'The impression I got when I was in contact with the tenants, when we asked if they had signed the approval letter, the answer we got was "yes, I had no choice".' He continues: 'Sure, the landlord received approval from all tenants, but under circumstances that are not quite right. I mean, there's a difference between telling someone "would you please sign this form, this is what we intend to do in your apartment, we need your approval, go through this information and consider it before you sign" and saying to someone "Hey, just a formality; sign here, please"' (Interlocutor, 2011).

The discrepancy between rhetoric and reality can be illustrated by looking closer at the Swedish Association of Public Housing Companies' (SABO, 2009) brochure 'Renovation on the tenants' terms and conditions'. The title speaks for itself and the preface underlines that the landlord may carry out renovation measures that lead to an increase in standard and thus in rent 'only if the measures have been approved by the tenant' (p. 3). The contrast between these benign intentions and the threatening tone of the actual approval letter is striking:

Between [insert date] and [insert date], this property will be rebuilt. The measures that will affect you can be viewed in the attached rebuilding plan. In order to implement the measures, according to the Rent Act, we need your approval. We therefore encourage you to sign this form, so that we can implement the actions planned. [...] If for some reason you do not want to approve the planned actions, we ask you to contact us for further discussion. If we still do not agree, we – your landlord – have the opportunity to appeal to the Rent Tribunal with a request that they authorize us to take action anyway. (SABO, 2009: 40)

The phrasing in this letter leaves little room for possibility of choice. And between the words in the last sentence one can detect a hidden threat: measures will be taken 'anyway'; displaying a veiled form of (symbolic) violence in the very wording and discursive structure of the letter.

Moreover, as we have learned from the study, the very name – approval letter – leaves no sense of the possibility of refusing the actual renovation; only approval is allowed; a 'no' box does not appear on the approval letter. Or as one tenant puts it: 'it's like a North-Korean democracy'. The only option for a tenant to disapprove of the renovation plans is to throw away the approval request letter – which will be countered with systematic reminders, as one interlocutor points out:

We received three letters: are you going to approve or not? We did not sign any of them [...] Then the case was sent to the Tenants Tribunal and they decided that the landlord had the right to carry out the renovation plans. Before that, we were contacted by the landlord who talked about how they usually win in court. But you know, if they had said from the beginning that this is going to happen anyway, that we have nothing to say, then we had not protested as much. But it *sounds* like we have influence, that we may decide. (Interlocutor, 2011)

Some tenants have experienced a great deal of pressure from the landlords to sign the approval letter:

they started to call, and people got worried and afraid [...]. Eventually I got a letter saying that only if I sign would I get ahead of the housing queue and have a chance to get a new apartment. I got scared. I'm alone, my son has just moved out. Where would I go if they forced me out? So I signed the letter.

The problems we are highlighting here are seldom recognized or spoken about; the subjective nature of harassment experiences is notoriously difficult to put into words, not to mention to prove, and makes displacement pressure hard to cope with, let alone combat. From our interview material, we judge that the problem of harassment of tenants who oppose renovation plans is standard practice.

The Rent Tribunal – A mockery of justice

Throughout the interviews we learned that the idea that 'the tenant always loses' is widespread across different actors involved in a renovation process. Although words like 'always' and 'never' are exaggerations, this generalization is rooted in reality. Statistics of the Rent Tribunal in Stockholm from the years 2008, 2009 and 2010 show that in cases where the landlord wants to carry on with renovation plans, despite the tenant's refusal, a majority turn out in favour of the landlord: 96% for 2008, 76% for 2009 and 91% in 2010. It is common that cases are simply written off when tenants, aware of the impossibility to win the court case, decide to sign the approval letter at the last minute (also Westin, 2011). A former employee of the Rent Tribunal explains that tenants

feel they want to take the fight, but eventually realize that their protest will lead to a court hearing, a hearing where they will be standing alone against a host of lawyers and representatives of the landlord. This realization most often leads to the tenants giving up. (Interlocutor, 2015)

This puts the tenant in a more or less completely powerless position, facing a defeatist road towards displacement:

The landlords most often get their request approved when they want to carry out extensive renovation measures, even if the tenants don't approve. The Rent Tribunal trusts the landlords to account for how much renovation is needed. According to our lawyer and architect we lose 98-99% of all cases. [The Rent Tribunal] considers itself not competent of assessing what level of renovation is necessary for the property in question, if the property needs extensive rebuilding in all spaces or not. (Tenants Union Representative, 2014)

The composition of the Rent Tribunal is in itself noteworthy: a chairman and a tenants' and landlords' representative, respectively. While seemingly democratic and fair, this composition could be problematic when technical issues of renovation are debated. The landlords' representative is usually a property owner and landlord herself – with good insight into renovation processes. The tenants' representative is usually represented by a senior member of the Tenants Union who has no formal expertise regarding the technical issues of renovation and estate management. A former employee at the Rent Tribunal explains the non-standardized selection of tenant representatives: 'those are the ones with spare time on their hands. We have a list of people we can call in. Most of them [the tenant

representatives] are senior citizens and glad to contribute' (Interlocutor, 2015). The result is that the technical aspects and inquiry (what degree of renovation that is justified under the circumstances at hand) is analysed and solely represented by a tribunal member with vested interests on the side of landlords. There might be cause to question this one-sidedness of the technical analysis, and to investigate potential bias.

Stepwise rent increase

A gradual increase in rent after renovation, with annual rental discounts during a three to five-year period, is often depicted (not only by property owners but also by the Tenants Union) as a tenant-friendly principle, and as support or protection for tenants facing a sharp rent increase after renovation. A real estate economist writes:

Since it is costly and cumbersome to move, especially if it has to happen quickly, a protection for tenants in these situations is necessary. If the tenant is given more time, chances increase that she will find a relatively good alternative or perhaps even increase her income to be able to afford to stay. (Lind, 1996: 84)

The tenants' stories problematize this picture. While it may be better to spread the increase in rent over a few years than having to pay a shock rent increase from day one, this 'protection' is not so much a protection but a prolonged displacement, or displacement pressure extended in time. One tenant suspects that the stepwise increase is a deliberate tactic of the landlord to avoid remarkable relocation statistics: 'if people stay a year or two or three it won't look so bad. They can claim the moves to have nothing to do with the renovations' (Interlocutor, 2014). Another tenant explains her economic situation: 'in two years the rent will be such that we'll have to go hand in hand [to the social welfare office or to a new neighbourhood]' and adds that 'the stepwise rent increase is bogus, it would be better if they were honest and did it all at once' (Interlocutor, 2016).

Furthermore, it is often assumed by the landlord that the tenant during a period of a few years 'can increase her income'. But a tenant on disability benefits disagrees:

You see a lot of people who have moved here, to these newly renovated apartments. But a lot of people have probably left the neighbourhood, because of the increased rent. Those of us who stay get a piecewise increase in rent during five years, which I am against. That's just ridiculous, I told them so. First I will go through the trouble of evacuating, then the trouble of moving back, and then I will only be able to afford to stay for two years before I have to find another place to live that I can afford. So I will have to move anyway! So that's just ridiculous! During those five years you are supposed to find a well-paid job, to change your financial situation. My situation is not going to change! And all retirees, women with low pensions... (Interlocutor, 2011)

Instead of being a protection, gradual rent increases function may cast favourable light on the property owner, who claims it is for the tenants' best, while gradual rent increase actually protects the landlord: 'It may be problematic for the company if many tenants move at the same time, so the company might give the tenants a five-year period to achieve the long-term rent' (Lind and Lundström, 2009: 22).

It should also be added that even if we were to consider gradual rent increase as a protection for the individual tenant in question, it does not protect society against residential segregation. The possibility to get the rent increase extended over time only applies to those who already have a contract, not to those who sign a new one after the renovation has been done. Thus, it is no protection against gentrification; it merely postpones displacement of low-income groups.

Neutralizing disagreement

The uneven power relations between various actors on the housing market are particularly apparent in the renovation projects in our study. While this is unsurprising and unspectacular in itself, it is somewhat more spectacular how landlords capitalize more directly and strategically from this unevenness. Within the confines of the unique use-value system of the Swedish rental sector, rents are negotiated between landlords and the local Tenants Union branch. While this should be (and often is) a security and source of empowerment for tenants, the Tenants Union is increasingly rendered powerless when negotiations strand. With stranded negotiations the landlord is free to negotiate directly with the tenants – and if in disagreement the dispute is to be settled at the Rent Tribunal. A representative from the tenant organization elaborates: ‘we can’t push too hard everywhere, we have to negotiate with the same landlord over and over again and good relations are important’ (Interlocutor, 2015). The need for ‘good relations’ is much an effect of a deep leverage disparity. While the landlord can appeal to the Rent Tribunal (at low risk, as illustrated above), the tenant organization has no practical measures they can take to the negotiation table. In effect some tenants get sacrificed over others, with the Tenants Union agreeing high rent increases in one area, in order to gain a better negotiation position for the next neighbourhood in line for renovations.

The organizational structure of the Tenants Union is such that some local chapters can be as small as individual neighbourhoods, which can result in clashes between the local and municipal level. A local member and tenant recounts how her interest as a tenant trying to create awareness in media and press after 52% rent increases were announced in her neighbourhood clashed with the municipal office;

we had printed information pamphlets about an arranged and upcoming meeting with [the landlord], but when my husband went to pick them up the chairman refused to give them to us. He said ‘surely you must understand this would happen when you talk to the press and cause a scene. [The landlord] will never show up at your meeting’. (Interlocutor, 2015).

This example illustrates how powerless and how carefully the tenant organization have to navigate the field of negotiations – and how they despite being a lobby group paradoxically at times have to stay away from rousing public opinion.

Landlords seem to be well aware of this power discrepancy and use it in order to neutralize the possibility of disagreement. Landlords often refuse to deal with individual tenants or to answer basic questions about the renovations – referring to company policies or enclosed negotiations. A tenant in Uppsala says:

We used to be able to call. [Now] the only means of contact we have is a communication representative in Gothenburg. There is no one in Uppsala. That’s their policy. And she knows nothing! It’s terrible! She can’t answer the easiest of questions. (Interlocutor, 2014).

Other recounts how meetings have been cancelled last minute with reference to ‘policy’ and asks what policy that could be: ‘not to talk to tenants?’ (Interlocutor, 2015). Others how when they show up they act arrogantly or just seem disinterested. A commonality among several of the respondents in our study is the hardship and work required trying to get basic questions answered, or to even reach the landlords at all. These difficulties generate feelings of not being in control of one’s life. Feelings that have a direct and adverse effect on the well-being of tenants.

Displacement pressure extended in time

Large-scale renovations are usually stretched out over time, and so is displacement. The anxieties and uncertainties among the respondents in our study can in several cases be traced back a decade or more, when renovation plans were first announced: 'I've had this hanging over me almost from when I first moved in. That's 12 years now. It's not human! And we haven't chosen this ourselves' (Interlocutor, 2015). This strategy of temporal extension serves the displacement tactics in several ways. First it serves to obscure displacement itself. In the course of a decade-long renovation process, it is notoriously difficult to examine the reasons behind tenants' relocation: are they leaving to prevent displacement later, or are there other reasons for tenants leaving the area? Our study shows that through announced rent increases years prior to the actual renovations many tenants have neighbours and friends moving out well before actual renovation in an attempt to avoid future rent increases. In this way, the number of displaced tenants is underestimated, much in similarity with the stepwise rent increase. Second, it allows for the gradual removal of potential disagreement. A common practice in the studied neighbourhoods is the use of so-called demolition contracts. These contracts are temporary and disallow new tenants from moving back in after the renovations, and consequently from taking part in the negotiations around the renovations. This practice creates an illusion of neighbourhood acceptance by effectively producing tenants without voice. Third, lengthy renovation projects exhaust tenants and produce the feeling that resistance is meaningless. One tenant expresses it as 'banging your head against the wall' (Interlocutor, 2014) and if it were not for the fact that she feared the same process would repeat itself to whatever neighbourhood she moved to she would have given up a long time ago.

The long time between announcement of renovation and actual renovation, in combination with 'demolition contracts', also pose the risk of producing both socially and materially barren neighbourhoods. One tenant says that

of around 300 households in this neighbourhood 200 are on demolition contracts [...] you don't know your neighbours anymore, people move in and out very frequently [...] a lot of apartments are empty [...] it feels lonely and deserted here, some are afraid. (Interlocutor, 2014)

Increased security, often invoked by landlords as a beneficial outcome of the renovation project, is undermined by actual feelings of insecurity and fear in increasingly gloomy neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood is transforming not only materially, but also socially, well before the renovations have even begun. This loss of a sense of belonging has effectively rendered any 'right to dwell' obsolete. A tenant in Gränby who somewhat successfully managed to reduce her rent increase from 40% to 20% explains: 'it doesn't matter. Most have moved out already. I will move too. The neighbourhood isn't the same' (Interlocutor, 2015). The arsenal of displacement tactics and the long-lasting and violent displacement pressures utilized by landlords serves to displace tenants and reconfigure the neighbourhood, no matter the outcome of any (if any) mediation between tenant and landlord.

Conclusions

Most research on gentrifying neighbourhoods focuses on the experiences and motives of gentrifiers, landlords and developers, while there is surprisingly little research on and knowledge about the 'dark side' of neighbourhood change, namely displacement, displacement pressure and displaced people. This article has tried to alleviate this

knowledge gap through a qualitative case study of displacement (pressure) in the context of the large-scale renovation projects currently underway on the Swedish 'Million Program' estates of the 1960s and 1970s. We have argued that the normalisation of a profit-driven renovation strategy of the Million Program housing stock in Sweden produces severe displacement pressures for tenants, and that it challenges former Swedish public discourses centred around universal housing rights and 'good housing for all'. While displacement and other exclusionary processes on the housing market are by no means new, the current need for technical innovation of some 400,000 dwellings has been used by both public and private landlords to systematically implement 'social renovation' through sizeable rent increases. We have highlighted how landlords try to increase profits not only through rent increase but also through the sale of housing stock and the conversion of rental stock to tenant-owned stock. In the process, landlords deploy a variety of 'soft' tactics to minimise disagreement and to force tenants to comply with far-reaching renovations and (sometimes skyrocketing but always significant) rent increases. These soft tactics may be unspectacular in their own right but their impact on the tenants' fate is striking and therefore requires our close attention and investigation.

Tenants who initially refuse to sign the formally required 'Letter of Approval' before renovation starts are systematically put under severe pressure by the landlords through legal threats, personal harassment and reminders about the futility of resistance as proven by previous unsuccessful cases. Cases that are tried and the Rent Tribunal virtually always turn out in favour of the landlord who can then go ahead with renovations and rent increases. Forced compliance renders any attempt to insert renovation works into a democratic process obsolete. Further, tenants are often offered stepwise rent increases, and this is usually portrayed as a benign gesture from the landlord, but it actually serves the landlord's interest to avoid a sudden decrease in demand. Moreover, to spread out the displacement process over a number of years makes it difficult to prove causality between renovation and eviction, and it only adds to the extent and severity of displacement pressure, until displacement actually occurs. Scores of tenants will never be able to significantly and systematically increase their income to match significant and systematic rent increases, and this is especially true for tenants on retirement or benefit incomes.

Under the guise of 'technical necessity', we are actually witnessing a systemic disregard and marginalisation of the displaced by both landlords and representatives from the legal and institutional framework dealing with renovation. Displaced tenants seem to be regarded as collateral damage – to use a military term adopted by Bauman (2011) – in the process of making neighbourhoods and cities more 'attractive'. Democratic and judicial rights are often illusory – if not to say a mockery – and merely deepen the tenants' sense of powerlessness. Bereft of power and choice, many tenants in Sweden facing large-scale renovations and neighbourhood 'upgrading' risk traumatic and violent displacement pressures affecting their everyday lives. In some cases, this results in negative impacts on both physiological and psychological health, in line with previous and international research findings.

Considering the scope of and the continuous need for renovations of the Swedish housing stock in coming years, there is cause to call for a reflection around the 'right to dwell' and the status of 'home' in an increasingly commodified housing sector. The silent displacement drama currently unfolding in the renovated Million Program housing stock is ultimately the result not of technical necessity but of decades of deregulation policies that have given free hands to landlords to optimise profits, not housing provision. It puts a question mark behind Sweden's constitutional right to housing.⁷ Public housing provision *for all* was once the cornerstone of Sweden's much heralded welfare state and resulted in a housing construction rate between 1965 and 1974 that was unmatched in the world. Today, in

times of housing shortage in large cities, the (previously despised) housing stock of the Million Program has become a very interesting investment object that can be renovated to accommodate the middle classes and yield significant profits, after parts of the existing low-income population has been evicted. The Million Program, then one of the main vehicles to install universal welfare in Sweden, has now become one of the main vehicles to actively work against welfare.

Further research

This research project has focused on actual displacement mechanisms and processes following structural renovation works of the Million Program housing stock. Further research is needed on examples of structural renovation efforts without significant rent increases and displacement. Examples of more tenant-friendly renovation projects exist (Arbman, 2016). Why do some (public) housing companies decide not to finance renovation through rent increase, or only partly, and what alternative forms of financing do they make use of? What is the role of the tenants in this form of renovation?

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Notes

1. The exact number is unknown, since no nationwide register seem to exist. 40,000 is an estimate by a senior chief negotiator from the Tenants union, and based on the number of companies they negotiate rents with annually.
2. Including renovation of pipe systems, bathrooms and kitchens.
3. From 1 747 180 (1997) to 1 653 347 (2012) or a decrease of 5.4 pct
4. From 4 246 038 to 4 550 779 or an increase of 7.2 pct
5. Even in Stockholm, the (official) number of inhabitants per apartment has remained almost constant (from 1.9 in 1998 to 2.0 in 2010) (Stockholms Stad, 2014)
6. Although, in recent years, a more positive counter narrative has emerged (see Langhorst, 2013; Tunström, 2009; Wirtén, 2010).
7. Public power shall be exercised with respect for the equal worth of all and the liberty and dignity of the individual. The personal, economic and cultural welfare of the individual shall be fundamental aims of public activity. In particular, the public institutions shall secure the right to employment, housing and education, and shall promote social care and social security, as well as favourable conditions for good health. (The Constitution of Sweden, 2016: 65)

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II

Domicide: *displacement* and disposessions in Uppsala, Sweden

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ABSTRACT

This article investigates the lived experiences of tenants staying put in two neighborhoods undergoing urban renewal processes and increased rent levels in Uppsala, Sweden. The article is drawing on a place sensitive analysis to escape a 'Euclidean prison' that we contend underpin many displacement studies; studies that reduce the notion of displacement to only signify out-migration. Such studies often miss both the scope of displacement, and the grievances experienced by tenants following changes in place and space under various urban transformation processes. Through phenomenologically inspired interviews with tenants, we contend that place cannot, as it often is in practices of urban development, simply be understood as coordinates on a map, but has to be understood relationally. Adhering to such a place-sensitive understanding of space our study asks what changes to place and to 'home' is experienced by tenants staying put in neighborhoods under increasing displacement pressures. What surfaces is a series of displacements that can be categorized as spatial disposessions; thematized under subcategories 'contraction of home' and 'with-ering entitlements', and temporal disposessions; categorized under 'life on hold' and 'erasure of history'. These displacements are suffered by tenants who despite displacement pressures have remained throughout the renewal process.

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Domicide: *déplacement* et *dépossession* à Uppsala en Suède

Cet article enquête sur les expériences qu'ont vécues des locataires ayant décidé de rester dans deux quartiers en processus de renouvellement urbain et d'augmentation du niveau des loyers à Uppsala en Suède. L'article s'appuie sur une analyse sensible au lieu pour échapper à la « prison euclidienne » qui selon nous, étaye beaucoup d'études sur le déplacement, études qui réduisent la notion de déplacement au sens de migration vers l'extérieur seulement. De telles études passent souvent à côté de l'envergure du déplacement ainsi que des injustices vécues par les locataires après les changements de lieu et d'espace dans diverses conditions de transformation urbaine. A travers des

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entretiens inspirés phénoménologiquement avec les locataires, nous soutenons que le lieu ne peut pas, comme il l'est souvent dans les pratiques de développement urbain, être tout simplement compris comme quelques coordonnées sur une carte ; il doit être compris de façon relationnelle. En adhérant à la compréhension de l'espace comme étant sensible au lieu, notre étude demande quels sont les changements par rapport au lieu et au « chez soi » que vivent les locataires qui restent dans leurs quartiers sous la pression grandissante d'un déplacement. Ce qui en ressort est une série de déplacements qui peuvent être classés en dépossession spatiales, thématiques sous les catégories « contraction du domicile », « diminution des droits » et dépossession temporelle et classés sous les rubriques « vie mise en suspens » et « effacement de l'histoire ». Ces déplacements sont subis par des locataires qui, malgré les pressions de déplacement, sont restés tout au long du processus de rénovation.

Domicide: déplacement et dépossession à Uppsala en Suède

Este artículo investiga las experiencias vividas de los inquilinos alojados en dos barrios que están sometidos a procesos de renovación urbana y a alquileres en aumento en Uppsala, Suecia. El artículo se basa en un análisis sensible al lugar para escapar de una 'prisión euclidiana', lo que, se argumenta, sustenta muchos estudios de desplazamiento; estudios que reducen la noción de desplazamiento solo para significar la emigración. Dichos estudios a menudo omiten tanto el alcance del desplazamiento como las quejas de los inquilinos después de los cambios en el lugar y el espacio en diversos procesos de transformación urbana. A través de entrevistas fenomenológicamente inspiradas con los inquilinos, se sostiene que el lugar no puede, como suele ocurrir en las prácticas de desarrollo urbano, simplemente entenderse como coordenadas en un mapa, sino que debe entenderse relacionamente. Al adherirse a una comprensión del espacio tan sensible al lugar, este estudio pregunta qué cambios al lugar y al 'hogar' experimentan los inquilinos que permanecen en vecindarios bajo crecientes presiones de desplazamiento. Lo que surge es una serie de desplazamientos que se pueden clasificar como desposeimientos espaciales; tematizados en las subcategorías 'contracción del hogar' y 'derechos marchitos', y desposeimientos temporales; categorizados en 'la vida en espera' y 'el borrar la historia'. Estos desplazamientos son sufridos por inquilinos que, a pesar de las presiones de desplazamiento, se han mantenido firmes durante todo el proceso de renovación.

Introduction

"What must be heard in these stories of urban renewal – their emotional core – is the howl of amputation, the anguish at calamity unassuaged" (Fullilove, 2005, p. 224)

"It's lonely and deserted here, some are afraid. It feels as if we're living in an experiment. People die. I'm sure of it..." (Britta, tenant in Kvarngärdet, Uppsala 2015)

During the past decade, Sweden has seen a rise in turn-over renovations and urban renewal projects centered on the large, build-boom rental housing stock from the 1960s and 1970s. These renovations have in many cases led to a steep rent increase and displacement of urban poor. The consequences for displaced groups have been documented by governmental agencies (Boverket, 2014) and researchers alike (Baeten, Westin, Pull, & Molina, 2017; Molina & Westin, 2012; Polanska & Richard, 2018; Westin, 2011). These studies show displacement to be disruptive to the social and economic life of the tenants, structurally violent, and often lead to tenants moving to neighborhoods less socio-economically well-off, triggering new rounds of displacement. However, no research has yet been carried out to map the consequences for tenants that remain in neighborhoods throughout and after the process of renewal. This is true in an international context as well. As noted elsewhere: 'there is little work that sets out to understand the impact of gentrification on the attitudes and lives of low-income individuals who remain in gentrifying areas' (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Indeed, as Slater (2006) and Wacquant (2008) noted a decade ago, the perspective of urban poor at large is disappearing from the field of urban research and gentrification studies, in favor of middle-class perspectives and sensibilities. While we are not using the signifier of gentrification in this article, we do hope to enrich the field of research of urban transformation and 'renewal' by engaging critically with the everyday experiences of tenants. Our case study draws on phenomenologically inspired, recurring in-depth interviews with tenants that have managed to stay put throughout dragged-out processes of renewal in two different neighborhoods in Uppsala, the fourth largest city in Sweden.

In this article, we contend that place cannot, as it often is in practices of urban development, simply be understood as coordinates on a map, but has to be understood relationally. As phenomenologist Edward Relph puts it: 'people are their place and a place is its people' (1976, p.34). Adhering to such a place-sensitive understanding of space our study asks what changes to place and to 'home' is experienced by tenants staying put in neighborhoods during renovations, under increasing displacement pressures. What has surfaced in our studies is a series of disposessions and displacements that we have categorized as **spatial disposessions**; thematized under the subcategories 'contraction of home' and 'withering entitlements', and **temporal disposessions**; categorized under 'life on hold' and 'erasure of history'. Taken together, we argue, these disposessions make a case for displacement being a reality not only for the out-migrating tenants leaving the neighborhood but also for many of the urban poor remaining under increased displacement pressures (Marcuse, 1985) and changes in the material and symbolic landscape of the neighborhood. Indeed, despite having stayed put, the interviewed tenants feel as if their home, both understood in the narrow sense as one's dwelling, and in the wider sense of something diffused throughout the neighborhood, the city, and one's place in society has been disrupted. We suggest the notion of *domicide* (Porteous & Smith, 2001), the deliberate destruction of home, to capture this process of un-homing that follows the renovation schemes in Uppsala – and that this destruction is suffered by both tenants leaving and tenants staying put.

Following a conceptual literature review on displacement and domicile, we will briefly elaborate on the notion of home, and its relation to the process of alienation in times of disruption. Thereafter, we present a short contextualization of the general renovation regime in Sweden, and how this plays out in the two areas of study, Gränby and Kvarngärdet. This is

followed by a methodological section briefly presenting data and the analytical framework used to process the narratives of our respondents. The analysis that follows will be centered on tenant narratives and their experiences of change in place and home prior to, during and after the turn-over renovations. Finally, the changes in place and space are put in relation to a set of sophisticated spatial readings of displacement beyond out-migration, and the effects on low-income households following the destruction of the home is discussed.

Displacement & domicile

Displacement, being seen as the principal adverse effect following various urban transformations, have a long history in urban studies and gentrification research (Grier & Grier, 1978; Hartman, 1979; Hartman, Keating, & LeGates, 1982; Marcuse, 1985; Smith 1979). The importance of place and home, and the grievances attached to losing them, is equally understood and has been well documented in seminal, but nowadays often forgotten books like *Longing for a lost home* by Marc Fried (1964), Peter Marris *Loss and change* (2015 [1974]) and phenomenologist Edward Relph's *Place and placelessness* (1976). The actual scope and severity of displacement under various processes of urban transformation have, however, been a methodological and conceptual hurdle as well as a scholarly battleground within the field of urban studies (Atkinson, 2000; Slater, 2006). Notably, a number of quantitative studies (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Freeman, Cassola, & Cai, 2015; Hamnett, 1991, 1994, 2003; McKinnish, Walsh, & White, 2010) found either little to no evidence of gentrification-induced displacement in their respective studies or that the displacement taking place was relatively benign and did not impact low-income households more negatively than if gentrification had not taken place at all (Vigdor, 2002). These studies have caused scholars to conclude that there is a need to decouple gentrification from its 'dirty' negative connotations (Butler, 2007; Vigdor, 2010). By way of example, a special issue in 'Housing Studies' (Kleinhans & Kearns, 2013) proposed the term 'residential relocation' to replace the term displacement in order to fix what they perceived as a too critical and negative approach to urban renewal. Undoubtedly, these studies have had a profound impact on legitimizing and reframing processes of gentrification as a positive force in media and public discourse, cleansing the term and recasting it as a progressive instrument in the planner's toolbox and in the eyes of policymakers. Wacquant (2008) eloquently refers to this process as gentrification of gentrification research. For a thorough discussion about this schism in gentrification, studies see Davidson, 2011; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Shaw, 2005; Slater, 2006, 2009; Wacquant, 2008; Wyly, Newman, Schafran, & Lee, 2010. This paper argues, in lines with critical voices like Marcuse, Slater and Wacquant – for a reaffirmation of displacement to the center stage of urban analysis, and to take seriously and seek to understand the emotional rupture it causes for its victims. Perhaps Peter Marcuse put it best when he wrote that:

If the pain of displacement is not a central component of what we are dealing with in studying gentrification – indeed, is not what brings us to the subject in the first place – we are not just missing one factor in a multi-factorial equation; we are missing the central point that needs to be addressed. (2010, p. 187)

Capturing displacement in research is, however, difficult. Indeed, a number of authors (Lees, 2012; Wyly et al., 2010) acknowledge the difficulty of measuring displacement, and Atkinson (2000) goes so far as to refer to it as 'measuring the invisible' since oftentimes researchers arrive at the site when the displacement has already occurred. Other methodological barriers (like limited and low-resolution census data) prevents researchers from making the finely tuned analysis of migration and household mobility required to properly account for the scale of displacement. Davidson (2009) suggest that some methodological issues of measuring could, at least in part, be explained by a poor 'spatial metaphor', where displacement is conceptually linked and limited to the process of *out-migration*. Davidson claims that this represents 'a lack of engagement with important space/place tensions' (2009, p. 220). Drawing on Heidegger and Lefebvre he calls for a more nuanced and phenomenological understanding of 'being in place', and its disturbance by gentrification and neighborhood change. He argues that by treating space purely abstractly (in order to empirically quantify displacement) many studies fail to account for the effects on everyday life and the social utility of home and neighborhood during neighborhood change. As a result, something important is lost. Material and symbolic changes in place might so radically alter the everyday lives of occupants that they feel themselves *displaced* even when staying put. Displacement understood merely as out-migration is thus inadequate, severely underestimating its scope and severity. Instead, Davidson argues, displacement must be understood as a violation of the enactment and production of space; the right to (make) place/the right to dwell. Davidsons intervention has spawned a number of studies (Atkinson, 2015; Paton, 2016; Sakizlioğlu, 2014; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Valli, 2015) acknowledging that much gentrification research is limited by a Cartesian understanding of space, a weak or non-existent consideration of changes over time, and an underlying Euclidean geometry that confines the understanding of displacement to a snap-shot process of moving from point a to point b. Turning instead to changes in place and lived spaces, these recent studies focus on the experiences of tenants staying put in transformed neighborhoods. In so doing they have shown how displacement understood through the deployment of a more sophisticated spatial, temporal and place-sensitive analysis, can take place at various points in time before, during and after neighborhood change, and without actual tenant relocation.

Curiously, early conceptualizations of displacement have been theoretically, if not practically, both temporally and spatially sensitive. The categorization of displacement by Marcuse (1985) includes an impressive range of different displacements: *direct last-resident displacement*; counting the last resident to vacate (this is the displacement type most commonly measured in studies on displacement). *Direct chain displacement*; referring to households that might have been displaced from the dwelling earlier in the process of decline or gentrification. *Exclusionary (indirect) displacement*; including those households who previously would have had access to the neighborhood but that due to either material decline or, contrarily, hiked up prices no longer retain that potential access. And lastly, *displacement pressure*; a category closely related to the experiential, cultural, psychological and social dislocation that Davidson terms (2009) *displacement* and Atkinson (2015) *un-homing*.

Taking cue from Davidsons (2009), Sims (2015) expands upon Marcuses categorizations by introducing three non-abstract spatial displacements, all three which are present in the two neighborhoods in Uppsala:

(1) displacement through Marcusean chain displacement where those displaced do not relocate outside a neighborhood; (2) displacement through the reconstitution of space that change the lived experience of places such as the case of “new-build gentrification” where new construction or adaptive reuse is assumed to lack direct displacement; and (3) displacement through the symbolic reshaping of spatial characteristics that disrupt the socially produced meaning of place with or without a resulting buildup of Marcusean displacement pressure. (Sims, 2015, p. 29)

We suggest turning to the notion of domicide to capture the various forms of displacements and dispossessions taking place in Uppsala. Domicide was first conceptualized by Porteous & Smith as ‘the deliberate destruction of home by human agency in the pursuit of specific goals, which causes suffering to the victims’ (2001, p. 12). Their conceptualization centers the notion of un-homing and forced displacement as a category of ‘loss and change’, drawing on Fried’s (1963) studies on grief and affective consequences of slum clearing for tenants in Boston in the 1960s. Domicide, or the murder of home, takes place on various scales, for different reasons, ranging from extreme (war and geopyracy) to mundane (gentrification) and is a highly uneven process where the victims are variably vulnerable. But as Zhang puts it with reference to a geographically diverse set of studies: ‘[domicide] tends to reinforce existing socio-spatial patterns of inequality, insecurity and oppression, forcing upon people that have already been marginalized, excluded and penalized’ (Zhang, 2017, p. 4).

While situating domicide as a global process, Porteous & Smith touches down both empirically and analytically in the local and more mundane forms played out in cities across the globe. In so doing they emphasize the bodily experiences of losing homes, fore-fronting the emotional distress suffered by victims of domicide and drawing attention to grief, loss and pain. They stress that domicide might result in:

“the destruction of a place of attachment and refuge; loss of security and ownership; restrictions on freedom; partial loss of identity; and a radical decentring from place, family, and community. There may be a loss of historical connection; a weakening of roots; and partial erasure of the sources of memory, dreams, nostalgia, and ideas.” (Porteous & Smith, 2001, p. 63)

With the destruction of one’s home, dwellers suffer a number of temporal and spatial forms of dispossessions. This is a drawn out and ongoing process, starting well before the actual neighborhood reshapes physically and, especially in the case of those staying put, a process with a diffuse and open end. Stabrowski (2014) talks about the process for tenants staying put as ‘everyday displacement’, characterized by an “ongoing loss of the security, agency, and freedom to ‘make place’” (2014, p. 787). Paying attention then to place as lived space and by ‘[f]ocusing on the lived experience of space thus casts light on the myriad ways in which processes of gentrification produce displacement without relocation’. Similarly, Hyra (2015) shows how long-term residents staying put throughout the process of gentrification are both culturally and politically displaced, and that the process is producing alienation, resentment and eventually civic withdrawal in the face of neighborhood change.

Despite referring to discussions and studies on gentrification, this article does not make use of the gentrification lexicon to any length in the analysis of our material. The reason is that the usual hallmark of gentrification, that of a class reconfiguration from low-income households to middle- or upper-class households is mostly absent. Well informed about the concept of gentrification, many respondents outright deny that gentrification is what has happened to their neighborhood. They see poor people moving out, and poor people move in. They experience few to none of the 'positive' sides associated with gentrification (increased services, more diverse shops or restaurants, nicer outdoor environments, quality indoor renovations). Whether or not this process can be labeled as a gentrification process, we argue that the process can, if not equally than complementarily, be understood through a focus on place and home – and the emergence of displacement and dispossession. It is also a sign of respect towards our respondents, many of whom as noted denies the term, to let go of our gaze from the ivory tower and to conceptualize nearer to the heart of our respondents' experiences.

Home

As already mentioned at length, displacement studies are most often concerned with the more or less forced migration from one's dwelling. Here, we seek to expand on the notion of home as something spatially going beyond walls, roof and a collection of rooms, and hence expanding the notion of displacement. Because, as Mackie puts it:

"The concept of home is applicable across all scales from the individual psyche, the room, the house, the street, the neighbourhood, the town to the nation and the globe. Home can refer to a physical entity such as a cave, a house, an orphanage. On an experiential level, home can refer to the daily round of life in one's habitual abode (Mackie 1981, quoted in Porteous and Smith 2001, p. 32).

Phenomenological and geographical studies have contributed to our understanding of home as a site of everyday lived experience; as a 'core node within a nexus of nodes which comprise the individual's activity space' (Porteous & Smith, 2001, p. 34); as a centre for self-identity/place-identity (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983); as symbolically charged with memories (Tuan, 1975); as a source of 'nostalgia and idealized or imagined conceptions of home' (Porteous & Smith, 2001, p. 37), and even as the very centre of human significance and existence (Relph, 1976). As Heidegger reminds us, dwelling means more than just shelter, and dwelling can never be reduced to mere location. Rather, 'man is insofar as he dwells' (1971, p. 145). Building and dwelling are to Heidegger ontologically interlinked. The function of the building is a distinctive *letting-dwell*, and dwelling is the basic character of Being. We are, and we think and act, insofar as we are dwellers. Disruption of home, and of the possibility to dwell, is then also the disruption of Being.

It is not our aim here to give an exhaustive definition of home but to contend that many of the meanings and functions attributed to home can be disrupted in processes of neighborhood change, even when the individual dweller is not forced to leave their house. As Porteous & Smith notes:

"...our sense of home is also enriched by garden (or rural setting); neighbourhood; village, town, or city; and country or nation. All these are called home, and there appears to be no value to more narrowly defining the concept of home in its physical sense – certainly all can be subject to domicile" (2001, p. 61)

Part and parcel of domicile, then, is the disruption of both the material and symbolic landscape; an estrangement from space. It is apt to talk about this disruption as alienation in a Marxian sense. That is to acknowledge that the process of displacement from home, whether or not forced out-migration is involved, not only entail the erosion of authenticity, or the uprooting of identity, or a sense of placelessness and un-homing. It is rather, as Chatterjee argues, the 'alienation of humans from the right to produce their own space and hence their own existence and history' (2014, p. 60). The production of space turns from the human endeavor of producing history of a people to producing accumulation for the sake of accumulation. This is to lift the inward gaze of phenomenology and put displacement at center stage in the process of 'accumulation by dispossession' (Harvey, 2005).

Turn-over renovations

Sweden is arguably undergoing its largest housing reconstruction project since the 1970s. In the build-boom 1961–1975 housing stock (constituting 1.4 million dwellings), nearly 500'000 apartments are subject to, have recently undergone, or need renovations to heat, ventilation, plumbing and other essential structural maintenance, according to one inter-branch organization (Lindqvist & Ekvall, 2013). Under the use-value system for rent setting in the Swedish rental regime (Boverket, 2014a), such structural renovations cannot be grounds for rent increases. Instead, regular structural maintenance and rent levels are negotiated between the Tenants Union and the landlord annually. The negotiated rents should spread these costs over the lifespan of the building and not impact rent levels all at once. However, recent years have seen a marked increase of so-called total makeovers in connection to renovations (Lind, 2015a, 2015b). In a journalist survey in 2013, with 107 landlords in equally many neighborhoods (comprising a total of roughly 59000 apartments), 90% of the real estate owners said they are financing their renovations through rent increases (Sveriges Radio, 2013). Prohibited by law from increasing rents over new plumbing, insulation and heating, landlords are instead financing renovations by rolling out tiled bathrooms, new kitchens and wooden floors; so-called quality increases, renovations that warrant increased rents under the Swedish use-value system. Renovations *without* rent increases are rare enough to spawn articles in the press (see Görfelt, 2016 by way of example). These renovations are not uncontested by tenants. But as it turns out, landlords win 9 out of 10 legal cases where tenants have tried to stop renovations (Baeten et al., 2017).

In short, landlords are ushering radically increased rent levels in the Swedish rental stock through these types of renovations (Baeten et al., 2017). In the city of Gothenburg, rent levels are projected to increase by an average of 35–50% in half of the entire housing stock following renovations, with the largest increases in the poorest neighborhoods (Mangold, 2016). While no systematic scholarly or governmental report on the full scope of rent increases following renovations has been made on a national level, reports on actual increases in media are prolific and geographically diverse, reporting rent increases from 25% to 100% in cities all over Sweden.

Movers from renovated buildings are also more likely to move again, predominantly towards socio-economically weaker neighborhoods. Meanwhile, Sweden's housing regime have increasingly become socio-economically polarized along forms of tenure, with predominantly cost-sensitive, low-income households occupying the rental stock (Boverket, 2009; Salonen, 2015; Sköld, 2015). Consequently, the current wave of turn-over renovations followed by sharp rent increase threatens to displace many households (Boverket, 2014).

This study is focused on the two adjacent neighborhoods of Gränby and Kvarngärdet in the Swedish city of Uppsala, just north of Stockholm. In these areas, large-scale renovation of rental apartment buildings began in 2009 and is still ongoing in parts of the neighborhood. Uppsala is interesting as a case study for a number of reasons: firstly, the renovations of the two neighborhoods in questions encompass a large part of the entire housing stock and are spread out over three major landlords (one public and two private), giving us the opportunity to see how renovations under diverse landlords affect whole neighborhoods. Secondly, the process has been ongoing for a long time and the authors have been present since the start. Gränby & Kvarngärdet might be the earliest renovation project of its size in Sweden in the past decades, and consequently well suited for a longitudinal study such as this. In fact, these neighborhoods spawned the first scholarly report on renovation induced displacement since the 1980s and brought renovation to the Swedish vocabulary in 2012 by Sara Westin. While Westin's article articulated the fears of tenants prior to the renovations, it also the story of what happened during and after the renovations had concluded. Thirdly, the rent increases here are on the high end of the spectrum, without being extreme. There are examples where the rent increases far exceed those studied here. This ensures some degree of applicability in a general Swedish context.

Renovations in Kvarngärdet and Gränby have resulted in 25–60% rent increases and extensive tenant relocation well documented by media (Berglund Adervall, 2012; Irefalk, 2014) and researchers (Baeten et al., 2017; Mauritz, 2016; Polanska & Richard, 2018, 2019; Söderqvist, 2012; Westin, 2011) alike. Gränby and Kvarngärdet were built during the construction boom years in the sixties. They are traditionally occupied by working class low-income urban dwellers and remain among the poorer neighborhoods in Uppsala (both prior to and after the renovations). Located near the city center, approximately one and two kilometers from the downtown train station, the housing stock is comprised of both public and private rental apartments as well as a smaller amount of condominiums and private houses. The areas demography is made up of a variety of ethnic backgrounds, levels of education and a wide range of overlapping social networks.

Method

Empirical material has been collected almost since the beginning of the renovations, through the attendance and engagement in public discussions and meetings as well as informal talks and through notes, photographs, films, interviews and focus group discussions. One of the article authors is a resident of Uppsala and has been following the reactions of her neighbors from the very start of the process: taking notes, collecting written material and recording interviews with fellow residents. She attended and arranged various information meetings as well as tenant protests. This inside knowledge has contributed to a rich background and informed our analysis in invaluable ways. To note, however, is that these early data, collected prior to our present project, is not part of the empirical data in this article, nor are we

personally acquainted with any of the interview subjects. For this particular article, in-depth interviews were performed with 17 tenants. All respondents lived in the area prior, during and after the renovation. The interviews lasted for about 1–3 h, were held in the homes of the respondents, in adjacent cafés, or while walking the neighborhood together. In two cases a series of three interviews were held, with some interval, in order to deepen our understanding. One focus group interview was performed during the renovations and one set of interviews encompassed group interviews with four tenants at five different occasions covering a period of 5 years. The interviews were transcribed and coded in the QDA (qualitative data analysis) software nVIVO.

We do not make any claims toward a fully representative sample, nor do we wish to generalize the experiences of our respondents towards universal applicability for any one group or geography. Rather, in line with Marcuses (2010) call, we aim to illuminate and forefront the experiences and social impacts that tenants face at the process at hand, without necessarily attempt to quantifying the suffrage experienced. An argument could be made that had the rent increases been kept lower the negative outcomes would have been less severe. This is probably true, but as is discussed below, the rent increase is but one in a multifactorial analysis. Changes in both the built and symbolic environment, the degree of tenant control and changes to demography all play into the experience of displacement and dispossession recounted to us by our respondents.

The categorization of our empirics and the process of thematically organizing the data for analysis grew organically from the interplay of extensive coding and re-coding as themes surfaced as important and others were discarded only to be picked up again under a different guise and through in-depth discussion between the researchers. The working idea was to pinpoint what the notion of home meant to our respondents, and in what way that home had changed through the process of renovation. Finally, two themes of dispossession surfaced as workable categories through which to systemize the experiences of the tenants: **spatial dispossessions** thematized under subcategories ‘contraction of home’ and ‘withering entitlements’ and **temporal dispossessions** categorized under ‘life on hold’ and ‘erasure of history’ (see Fig. 1).

Domicide in-situ

“It’s like there’s a shadow cast over everything. That there will be renovations. But where, how and what? It’s a stress factor. It feels as if your apartment doesn’t belong to you. It’s tough living here. I regret moving here. I have physical ailments and pain. I’ve crashed. I think it’s because of the stress”. – Karin 2014, Prior to renovations

“Everyone is worried. Depressed. They wonder how things will go. If you meet someone on the street the renovations are all that’s talked about. And this is the way it’s been for years now. It’s everyone’s main worry” – Karin, 2015, During the renovations

“We’re still in pain. And can’t sleep. Dreaming nightmares. They’ve worn us down. That’s the way they [the landlords] want it. To break us” – Karin, 2016, After the renovations

In the following, we will narrate the process of displacement through the temporal and spatial categories of ‘life on hold’, ‘erasure of history’, ‘contraction of home’ and ‘withering entitlements’ (Table 1) as they are experienced and recounted to us by tenants in

Table 1. Spatial and temporal dispossessions of domicile.

Temporal dispossessions		Spatial dispossessions	
Life of hold	Erasure of history	Contraction of home	Withering entitlements

Gränby and Kvarngärdet. It is important to note that the tenants in the area are far from passive victims in this process. On the contrary, the process has spawned fierce and multi-varied contestation, spanning from microscale resistance on an individual scale, to the formation of the grass-root organization, political art projects and new political subjectivities on a collective scale (Polanska & Richard, 2018, 2019). This needs to be illuminated further, to do justice to the cultural richness of neighborhoods, and to ensure that the process of displacement, as regarded from the perspective of tenants, does not pass uncontested. In the following, however, the focus will remain with the oftentimes overwhelming pressures of displacement and the accompanying trauma experienced and felt by tenants, irrespective of their agency and part in the renovation projects. This ‘howl of amputation’ needs to be part of a fuller theoretical understanding of neighborhood change, even though there certainly are howls of resistance, of agency and of politization present as well.

Life on hold

The quotes above come from Karin, a municipally employed care assistant in her forties currently on sick leave due to spinal disc herniation caused by work. She moved with her family to Kvarngärdet roughly 14 years ago, prior to the renovation plans. The rents used to be cheap and she knew the neighborhood. Now she is experiencing physical, mental, social and economic hardship as a result of the new rents and changes in the neighborhood. She clearly differentiates the hardships and makes a point in that they are not all related to the economic situation, although that one is dire. In many ways, her words mirror the feelings shared by a majority of the respondents in our study. Even though the renovation plans were initially met with careful anticipation – uncertainties, lack of information and early rumors about steep rent increase cast a shadow over the process. For the majority of our respondents, the renovation process has been a dragged-out process of uncertainty and stress from years before the actual renovation started, through a period of accelerating stress and worries during the actual renovations, culminating in grief and resentment as the tenants returned to their former homes post-renovation.

This prolonged period of stress and worry have made many tenants experience what they express as life being on hold: an ever-lasting present where life is experienced as limbo and the future put on hold. Anna, a retired tenant in her sixties express the feeling as ‘you’re on hold, out on loans’, her friend Maria, a now retired social worker in her sixties says that ‘Now, now is nothing. Now we do nothing. We just eat and sleep and wait’, and Hakim puts it grimly:

“I wait for death, and for the possibility in the future to buy a house or something (...), we wait for our children to be done with their studies, they’ll be doctors you know, they will have a job, they can borrow money, earn own money, save money and buy a house” (Hakim, 2016)

To Hakim, a husband in his fifties and father of four who's lived in Gränby since 2003, the renovation has led to capitulation and the acceptance of life being a life of waiting. Waiting for external factors to change (kids growing up to a career where they can support their parents), for the inevitable (finally being forced to move when the economic pressure becomes unbearable) or simply, death.

This state of being stuck in the present without the possibility of realizing, or imagining, a future of one's own is not the only cause of anxieties among many of the respondents. The feeling of there being 'no way out' is also attributed to feelings of lethargy, fatigue, loss of energy in a vicious spiral of hopelessness. Beatrice, recently retired and living in Gränby, used to see herself as a strong woman, a fighter of injustices against herself and others. Something she has practiced in her previous profession as a social worker, but now *'I can't even write about what I've been through and how I feel... Me!.. I've always been strong and stood up for myself. Not anymore'*. Hakim echoes the sentiment and recounts:

"I sit in the sauna staring. You stare all the time, you can't, ... you think and the thoughts keep on returning: what should we do? When should we do it? What will happen?" (2016)

The hopes of kids growing up and making money of their own are, of course, the creation of a newly imagined future. We argue, however, that these hopes and dreams represent, and are the manifestation of, temporal dispossession. Of 'life being on hold'. Agency is lost in surrendering hopes and dreams to external factors and imagined futures are tainted by fears and feelings of inadequacy in the present. Beatrice, who has lived all her life in Gränby fears that her teenage son too is being robbed of something:

"...I got this notion about this move, a feeling that in some way I destroy my sons' childhood. Because, you know, maybe one will not make it cozy and nice at home, as one is going to move anyhow, and all that..." (2017)

Erasure of history

Not only is the present and future is under threat; however, but history itself is also being erased as part of the ongoing domicile in Gränby and Kvarngärdet. Even though all of our respondents have stayed put in the neighborhood thus far, some have been forced to downsize and move to smaller apartments within the neighborhood and everyone is feeling the economic pressure of the sharp rent increases. Heirlooms, furniture and symbolically important things are sold to make a bit of extra money and to make room in the smaller dwellings. Hakim and his family have started to sell off their gold; rings and tokens inherited from grandparents and brought along as they came from India some 30 years ago.

"My wife got gold from her parents. She sold it to pay the rent and bills [...] We saved the gold for our children, they should have had it as memory from Mom and Dad. As dowry, it's nice for the next generation. The children are sad, we wanted to save it as memory, but we couldn't afford that" (2017)

When familiar and symbolic materialities like heirlooms, old furniture's and decorations are sold and disposed of it is not primarily the dispossession of things that concern the

respondents, but that narratives of the past wither away. Hakim and his neighbors become, to paraphrase Chatterjee, alienated from their own existence as spaces of history transform into spaces of accumulation. A process that is 'robbing them of the right to produce and the right to make their own socio-spatial history' (2014, p. 61). Links to past experiences are destroyed, and memories are no longer as easily conjured. By way of example, Britta, an elderly woman who moved to the neighborhood in the mid-sixties, shortly after the construction of the neighborhood, struggled to recall the specifics of the social life played out in her much-missed garden until shown old photographs that triggered her memory and launched her into telling a series of stories and past events that had transpired there.

Gränby was cherished by many of the respondents for the varied and beautiful gardens; gardens that played a big social role as a place not only to wonder at the beauty but also for sociality between neighbors and friends. Anna moved to the area as a teenager in the 60s and has since lived there most of her years. Talking about her garden she recounts:

"I had so many conversations over the years. Basically, every time I was out there someone came by. Talking about everything [...] They said: oh lord, it's so pretty! And then you talk, and you start talking about personal things. You share secrets. And people tell me when they feel down or feel ill they come here to look at my flowers and feel good again. It is an incredible experience." (2017)

To the tenants in Gränby, the gardens filled a range of roles. For the 'owners' they were spaces for creativity, social events and material representations of cherished memories of kids and grandkids playing. They were sources of pride for the tenants. But they were also spaces of solitude and serenity where the tenants could rest, reinvigorate and be by themselves. They were bearers of homeliness that in their near quasi-public nature served symbolic and social functions not only for the tenant but for the neighborhoods as a whole. This quasi-public nature of the gardens, with neighbors visiting, or merely observing and appreciating their aesthetics from afar, turned them into nexuses that tied the community closer together and opened up for spontaneous meetings and chats over the fence.

Possibly playing in part on the lush and beautiful outdoor spaces (but also chiming in on the popular sustainability discourse), the renovation process in Gränby is marketed as *Gröna Gränby* (Green Gränby). However, the old gardens were demolished and flattened to the ground as part of the renovation process, and replaced by generic lots designed for uniformity with restrictions on what you could plant and grow in them, depriving them of the uniqueness they used to have, or as Beatrice puts it: *'It's very... everything personal disappears in a way...'*. The actual leveling of the gardens was itself a traumatic event for all of the respondents who suffered through it:

It was sad. It was terrible and awful. All this that I have dedicated so many years to, that has got me so much praise from others; that was previously used by [the landlord] as 'our neighborhood's face outwards'. And then they came and tore it all down, several years' worth of work [...] big machines came and dug for a while [...] It only took like two minutes and it was all gone. It was over. All was over... I wanted to see it. To get closure. (Anna, 2017).

While trees, flowers and bushes can be replanted and new memories created from new materialities, the respondents feel that important values are irrevocably lost:

We've planned, planted and shaped our outdoor spaces over thirty years! The oldest vine in my yard is thirty years. They just scooped it up and away... No, I think, I have a hard time seeing [the garden and values being recreated]. And I'm not even prepared to try anymore. I have given up. I'm totally resigned. (Anna, 2017).

Contraction of home

Hakim tells us that to him, home used to begin at Arlanda, the airport an hour's drive from his apartment. The city of Uppsala was, as he puts it, his 'home country' since leaving India a number of years ago: 'you felt it in the air. The cool air and the calm. It is paradise' as he puts it. But now, now he has no home: 'Home is not home. It's like living in a hotel or something. I'm afraid... Home is hell. The economic pressure... and India is even worse'.

It is not, however, only the economic displacement pressure that has made home contract and shrink for Hakim and his neighbors, it is the profound changes in place, both material and symbolic. The diffusion of home through space, with tentacles stretching out from their dwellings, passing through gardens and further through the public spaces and meeting places in the neighborhood and city, is contracting; the tentacles severed. The impoverishment of the outdoor environment that underpinned many of the social networks and socialites has had a profound impact on the respondents, Britta recounts: *It's not my home anymore. The outdoor environment has changed. Everyone moves. It's how I feel.* (2017)

Combined with the large-scale outmigration of the neighborhoods, in which friends and neighbors have vanished, the area is experienced as desolate and empty, even unsafe: *'The neighborhood cohesion and unity is far less pronounced now'* (2016) building superintendent Joachim says, a sentiment echoed by Ingegerd, a retired woman and 15-year resident of Kvarnngärdet *'it's lonely and deserted here. Some people are afraid'* (2015). These are almost universal recounts with regards to how the respondents experience their altered neighborhoods. To Anna, the changes have in a very literal sense limited her mobility. She used to take long evening walks with her dog through the neighborhood, but now she feels that:

"It has become so unsafe here. I need to walk my dog at night. It doesn't feel good. Not good. The night walk is very short these days. I don't dare to go far" (2017).

There has been an influx of new households and the remaining and new tenants are strangers to each other. Some of the new households are middle-class households whereas others pay their rents via subsidies and various welfare systems. To compound this, according to our respondents, the new tenants often stay for short durations, leaving few marks on the community. Instead, the tenants complain about increases in crime and gang formations, about youngsters roaming without supervision. As a single mother of three teenagers, Bahar working fulltime recounts how some very important social networks between moms have disappeared. Neighbors that used to exert a modicum of control over each other's kids as they played and hung out in the different courtyards in the neighborhood, making sure they 'steered clear of trouble'. As the informal network of mums, which was based on meetings on the street, talks between windows and over fences scattered, this shared responsibility has vanished

and left a vacuum behind. The kids, however, remain; often migrating from their new homes in other parts of Uppsala back to their old neighborhood. In absence of adult presence in the neighborhood, Bahar worries both about her own and old neighbors' children. Since after the renovations, groups of youths have been torching cars and caused disturbances, and the police presence has increased. Bahar is worried that she and her friend's kids will end up in 'bad company'.

The contraction of the home also plays out in a subtler way, in the degradation and loss of taken-for-granted rights and entitlements that the tenants have had. A feeling of protection, which can be traced back to the welfare years, has lingered despite large housing reforms in recent decades. Reforms that has arguably turned the Swedish housing regime to the most liberalized in the western world (Lind & Lundström, 2007).

Withering entitlements

As a consequence of the renovation processes, tenants in Kvarngärdet and Gränby have gone through a traumatic process of alienation with regards to their rights as tenants and members of society and their transformation from political subjects to customers and consumers. Rent hikes like those called forth by renovations have never been witnessed under the peculiar regime of negotiated rents in Sweden. The traditionally strong tenant union in the country, the rent tribunal and tenant laws that have ensured a secure tenure, now seems mocking in the face of unaffordability and the destruction of home and place, irrespective of displacement pressures leading to actual displacement or not. The sense of entitlement to home and place is so rooted that the tenants cannot comprehend how this process can be legal or as Anna puts it: *'It feels as if the landlords doesn't have to abide by Swedish law'* (2017). The powerlessness and puzzlement at what is going on; at having your home forcefully renovated without any control or say in the process is experienced as frustrating and even life-threatening:

"I almost want to burn the whole place down. The frustration! It's nothing weird anymore. I don't give a crap about the neighborhood anymore. I don't give crap about anything. They don't give a crap about me! I understand the youngsters torching cars" (Gertrud, 2015)

"We're been abandoned. People cry. An elderly neighbor got confused. He cried a lot, he didn't understand how anything worked. Mixed up the freezer and refrigerator. Didn't know how the new shower worked. Didn't dare call the landlord. A few days later he was found dead. Only a few weeks after he had returned to his renovated flat. He'd fallen. The renovations killed him." (Maria, 2015)

The frustration experienced by Gertrud stems from the failure in making her voice heard and be taken seriously. It is a reaction on the insidious tactics the landlord deploys in order to cohere, intimidate and even threaten the tenants to silence and compliance (see Baeten et al., 2017 for a deeper elaboration around those tactics; Polanska & Richard, 2019) but also the inability of public institutions like the Rent Tribunal and the Town hall to protect their rights in a process they consider to be if not illegal, at least immoral. While some tenants have been rather passive throughout the process, some because they could not fathom that things would turn out the way it did – *'how can this be happening in Sweden!?'* (Hakim, 2017), others because they simply have not had the energy to fight back, others have been active in resisting and fighting the process. To Gertrud, a woman in her mid-

sixties who has lived in Kvarngärdet since 2004, resistance was natural: *'We're brought up with a strong pathos for justice. That injustices shouldn't be allowed to exist and that you need to fight'* (2015). Karin echoes the sentiment: *'we resist and fight for the weak. For the old. For the Sick. And for the immigrants that doesn't dare. . . and doesn't know what is going on. . .'* (2015). But after over 10 years of resistance, alone and together with others, she feels drained. To her, trying to keep a dialogue with the landlord, with the Tenants union, the Rent Tribunal, with local politicians – is all the same, like talking to a wall:

"They don't even look up when you talk to them. It's like 'we hear what you're saying, but we don't give a crap about what you think and how you feel. And we don't give a crap that half the tenants will have no place to go after the renovation. We don't give a crap, because we will get new tenants'" (2015)

The feelings of abandonment by the public institutions and society at large, and the perceived futility in resistance, is reflected in our respondents feeling of self-worth as tenants:

There used to be a value in being a tenant. Or I thought so. But now they just run us over. They've destroyed us and a whole neighborhood. (Gertrud, 2016)

You have no dignity left. You don't feel respected as a tenant (Ingegerd, 2016)

The process of alienation and the realization that they are perceived merely as customers, at best, or annoyances to get rid of at worse, instead of human beings and political subjects, and their apartments being treated as commodities and not homes where people live, has had a profound impact on how they live their everyday lives. Some no longer care about their apartments and almost deliberately mishandles the new kitchens and bathrooms in acts of defiance. But, perhaps more commonly, others feel this is no longer their home, and therefore pay extra heed. Scared of being fined or evicted, they live their lives within the apartments much more 'carefully' (or a lot less fully). They are cautious of not making scratches in the new countertops or on the new floors. They furnish their apartments to make a minimal impact, moving the sofa from the wall as not to scratch it, let paintings and photos that used to decorate their homes now remain on the floor or tucked away in storage as to not make unnecessary holes in the wall. Britta, who's garden gave such joy and pride says that: *'I don't dare doing anything in my garden anymore, perhaps they will fine me'* (2017). To these tenants, home has contracted. From encompassing the whole neighborhood, down through their gardens and all the way into the very apartments, their home is gone and nothing is home; the domicile complete.

The economic pressure the tenants face as living costs increase is another source of contraction, and amputation from a life lived. Britta has severe aches in arms and shoulders, enhanced by the long walk to buy food at the shopping center. When asked why she does not take the bus she just laughs and say: *'the bus cost 30 crowns'*. She declares that she would really love to be able to buy her great-grandchildren presents, but this is off the table nowadays. She envies of her sister, who lives in an owner-occupied apartment a kilometer away. Her sister can afford things – going on holiday travels, buying clothes and eat at restaurants. But to Beatrice and to Hakims family, who can no longer afford the bus fares, life in Uppsala has become smaller these days. Going to the cinema or the theater or just taking the bus out into nature or into

town is unaffordable – and the energy for such engagement is no longer there. Lethargy and weariness caused by their situation is equally and often the reason not to catch a movie or read a book at the local library. Life is on hold, history and memories gone, home has contracted into nothingness and whatever rights they felt entitled to as tenants, have been stripped away.

Conclusion

Kvarngärdet and Gränby are interesting cases for tracing the various spatial and temporal forms of displacement that surfaces and are made visible under place sensitive inquiries and phenomenologically informed readings of space. Direct displacement through out-migration aside, and borrowing from Sims (2015) categorization of non-abstract spatial displacement, at least three forms of displacements can be seen in the neighborhoods. First, ‘displacement through Marcuseian chain displacement where those displaced do not relocate outside [the] neighborhood’ (ibid, p 29) is visible in apartment swaps where residents downsize and voluntarily move to smaller and (relatively) cheaper apartments within the neighborhood, to cover the increased cost of living. Secondly, ‘displacement through the reconstitution of space that change the lived experience of places such as the case of “new-build gentrification” where new construction or adaptive reuse is assumed to lack direct displacement’ (ibid), is present in the privatization of tenant dwellings, the construction of new owner-occupied dwellings around the edges of the neighborhoods and in the realization of new consumerist landscapes in the conglomeration of stores and facilities in the neighboring mall. Thirdly, and the main empirical and analytical contribution of this article, ‘displacement through the symbolic reshaping of spatial characteristics that disrupt the socially produced meaning of place’ (ibid) is present in the everyday experiences of many tenants that has, thus far, stayed put in the neighborhoods.

We suggest that what is going on is a drawn-out process of domicide through dispossession; or more precisely, through two distinct but entwined dispossessions: temporal (in feelings of ‘life on hold’ and the ‘erasure of history’) and spatial (in the ‘contraction of home’ and ‘withering entitlements’). It is an ongoing process, playing out both in time and space, morphing, expanding and contracting throughout the different stages of the process; before, during and after the renovations of the neighborhoods. Our study reads and understands home as something beyond the four walls of one’s apartment, where the diffusion of home radiates through space encompassing outdoor spaces, social networks of friends and neighbors and even the spaces of rights and entitlements towards society and state. With such a reading, the disruption and destruction of the home surface as all the more serious, and something truly impactful for those who suffer it. Even though the sample material is small, Gränby and Kvarngärdet make emblematic examples of how space, under renovation schemes, is torn asunder; how the enactment and production of space and the right to (make) place, and the right to dwell is being violated under a regime of symbolic, social and material dispossession. We do believe that our framework is highly relevant in the Swedish context and could be used with great benefit in other case studies throughout Sweden. Though much research needs to be carried out, Gränby and Kvarngärdet are foundationally typical Swedish build-boom neighborhoods in need of renovations and have counterparts all over Sweden. We hope that this attempt at

diversifying and categorizing the spatial and experiential understanding of displacement and dispossession can lend itself to varied, in-depth analysis of these processes both in similar and in different settings; centered on the housing question, but also beyond. The intricacies of the Swedish housing regime and the particularities of Uppsala produce outcomes, that might differ from other context, through mechanics unique to Sweden. Dispossession and displacement are, however, global phenomena imposed on and suffered by people in a range of settings (from labor life, reproduction and home, to war and through geopolitical large-scale events) and throughout the world. And everywhere the outcomes of these phenomena play out in space and in the experiential realm, as well as in the material sphere. Our hope is that our approach can contribute to the disentanglement of these phenomena and to help enrich future inquiries.

Further research

While this article focuses mainly on the lived experiences of tenants, it leaves the political and economic dimensions of renovation mostly inferred and untouched. To properly, and theoretically, ground the phenomenological reading of space in general and domicile in particular, to the structural process of accumulation and dispossession this link needs to be further researched and better understood. Further, we acknowledge that many aspects of dispossession in the wake of eroded networks and concerns over safety are decidedly gendered and warrants further analysis. This is crucial to understand dispossession through renovation and neighborhood change, but not investigated in this paper. It is, however, the topic of forthcoming work of the authors.

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III

Displacement: Structural Evictions and Alienation

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Abstract

Despite decreases in formal evictions in Sweden, housing precarity measured through homelessness as well as through various forms of displacement is increasing. It is therefore important to conceptualize beyond evictions when looking to the condition of various housing regimes. Forced relocation following renovations (renoviction) is a dominant form of displacement in Sweden today, and this form of displacement makes little difference compared to formal evictions, in terms of outcomes for both landlords and tenants. Drawing inspiration from displacement literature, I suggest conceptualizing all forms of ‘mundane displacement’ that lead to forced relocation as ‘structural evictions’. By mundane displacement I mean displacement processes instigated from within an already established political and legal framework, by actors in the realm of housing, that result in for instance increased costs of living for households to the extent that they are forced to leave their homes. I will use the example of renoviction to show how the boundary between formal evictions and structural evictions through renoviction are blurry at best. In this paper the similarities between formal evictions and displacement through

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renoviction will be illustrated through narratives by tenants relocated within two neighborhoods in Uppsala, Sweden, that are undergoing renovations.

Keywords

Displacement; evictions; structural evictions; housing; dispossession

Introduction

Evictions are often at the center of attention in contemporary studies on urban displacement. In particular outside of the realm of case studies on gentrification (where displacement is identified through longitudinal shifts in socio-economic patterns or inferred through other variables than formal evictions). And rightfully so, evictions are increasing in prevalence around the world, recently exemplified by the housing crisis in Spain that led to over 250000 evictions in the year 2013 alone (Parreño Castellano, Domínguez Mujica, Armengol Martín, Boldú Hernández, & Pérez García, 2019), and the foreclosure crisis in the US that sent economic shockwaves beyond the borders of the US. The severity for the individual is well documented. Studies have linked evictions to economic as well as psychological distress (Robles-Ortega et al., 2017) and even increased suicide rates (Rojas & Stenberg, 2016). But while Sweden is arguably undergoing its worst housing crisis since the early 1990s, eviction numbers are at an all-time low. This is occurring despite a medial and cross-ideological party consensus that Sweden is currently undergoing an acute housing crisis. In fact, Sweden has mostly been spared large-scale eviction periods in the post-war era. From around 2000 evictions annually in the 1970s, and with a peak in the early and mid 1990s with 7615 evictions in 1994, evictions had dwindled to 2154 nationwide by 2018 (Bailiff authorities 2018). By comparison to many other countries, Sweden has, and has had, very low eviction rates. But while evictions are declining, homelessness on the other hand is increasing. In 2017 the Ministry of social services reported that roughly 34000 persons in Sweden were homeless, a 6% increase from the previous report 2011 when 32000 persons were reported homeless. In the segment of acutely homeless (persons referred by authorities to highly temporary situations like motels and shelters, and people sleeping rough outdoors and in public spaces) the increase was a staggering 30% during the same time period, from 4500 in 2011 to 5935 persons in 2017 (National Board of Health and Welfare 2017). Surveys on nationwide homelessness in Sweden are infrequent, and with a range of methodological issues¹

¹ Data collection on homelessness is notoriously difficult and involves a number of both methodological and empirical considerations. The data points presented here are the result of government surveys conducted by the ministry of social services through statistics from municipal social services. The definition of homelessness has changed and the numbers are not perfectly comparable. Changes in homelessness definitions, added categories of homelessness and varying

making longitudinal studies on homelessness difficult, but homelessness seems by all accounts to be increasing since at least the 1990s (see table 1).

In this short intervention I will argue for three things. Firstly, that formal eviction rates are a blunt instrument in gauging the condition of a housing regime, and that Sweden is a good example of this through the inversed correlation between evictions and homelessness. Secondly, that there is merely a procedural difference between normal evictions and renoeviction and other types of displacement. I will do this by drawing on narratives of displacement pressures in a renoeviction neighborhood in Uppsala, Sweden. Finally, I suggest the term *structural evictions* to encompass all instances of forced relocation that operates within the legal and political framework of the housing sector.

The Link Between Homelessness and Evictions

Previous research (Stenberg, 1990) has shown that eviction rates are strongly linked to ease of entry to the housing market in Sweden. During the 1970s, after the largest post-war construction boom, and at the peak of social democratic welfare Sweden, new groups who had previously been denied entry, entered the housing system and got permanent residence in the newly built high-quality housing stock. These new groups of so called ‘outsiders’ had previously been denied entry over a range of reasons like income levels and what social services at the time called ‘anti-social’ behavior (a problematic term that could encompass everything from loitering, petty crime, substance abuse and psychiatric diagnoses, to historically contingent norm breaking behavior). With the entry of less economically robust populations, evictions increased (most often over unpaid rents). Stenberg’s research show that tolerance levels on the part of landlords decreased over this period as well, so minor infractions and mildly late rent payments increasingly led to eviction notices in the 1970s. Paradoxically then, when the thresholds for entry was lowered and homelessness decreased, evictions increased.

Low and decreasing rates of evictions are consequently an inadequate measurement of how well the housing regime functions in providing housing for disenfranchised groups, and could even be an indicator of a closed regime with high levels of entry shutting certain vulnerable groups out altogether. While eviction levels are estimated to have been rather stagnant through the 1960s (Stenberg 1990), the 1970s and early 1980s saw a dramatic increase in both eviction notices and actual evictions (see table 1). Stenberg, who wrote an in-depth study on the evictions throughout the 1900s, links this spike in evictions with the competition of the state

response frequency from municipal actors prevent unambiguous comparison. Two important methodological points that the survey authors make are that: a) homelessness between 1993 and 1999 is probably stagnant, and the decrease is due to methodological differences b) several new categories introduced in 2005 would make the increase between 2005 and 2011 less dramatic, as the 2011 survey includes a wider range of situations of homelessness. Homelessness has, however, increased over all comparable subsets between those years, so the trend shown is correct.

subsidized housing construction program that ran from 1965-1974 and added roughly a million new dwellings of high quality to the Swedish housing stock, explicitly aimed towards spacious, high quality housing for everyone. The program essentially built away the previous housing shortage, and this period of high supply and strong welfare ambitions opened up the regular housing sector to households that had previously been restricted to the secondary sector (social housing contracts and institutions) or various forms of homelessness. As thresholds of entry diminished, the eviction prevalence increased in tandem. Stenberg found that the causes were plural, that low incomes and inability to pay the rent were the strongest contributing factors, but also that the evicted to a larger degree than others suffered from social problems such as substance abuse and mental illness. These populations had previously been denied access to the regular housing market, but as social security measures and the Swedish welfare apparatus expanded and focused explicitly on housing-first, these groups became increasingly integrated into the housing market. As the housing surplus turned to a housing shortage, these households were once again excluded from the regular market. The stagnation and decline in evictions towards the end of the 1980s can be attributed to a re-exclusion process of the housing regime (Stenberg, 1990).

As shown in table 1, the eviction rate had another spike in the mid 1990s. While some authors point to the economic recession of the 1990s pressuring households as a likely explanation, Runquist (2002) notes that the sharp increase coincides with a growing public discourse on 'disturbing and noisy' neighbors and neighborhoods, and a consequential law change in 1993 ushered in by municipal public housing companies making it far easier to evict tenants over nuisance complaints. Since the early 1990s, housing production in Sweden has been low, homelessness has increased, housing precarity has taken on new forms and illegal trading with housing contracts has increased. Meanwhile, displacement through renovation has become increasingly prevalent in many cities in Sweden.

Despite falling eviction numbers, there has been a recent surge of attention in academia and media on increasing and increasingly violent forms of displacement (Baeten, Westin, Pull, & Molina, 2017; Polanska & Richard, n.d.; Pull & Richard, 2019) and inaccessibility to the regular housing sector for disenfranchised groups.

Table 1: Data on evictions gathered from the Bailiff authorities and Stenberg (1990). Numbers on homelessness from the National Board of Health and Welfare. It should be noted that eviction statistics does not include termination of various forms of special contracts, or where tenants have agreed to move before the state execution authorities get involved. Further, homeless numbers are based on municipal statistics and only include cases where social services have been involved. Number do not include homeless EU migrants for instance.

Renoviction in Sweden as a Form of Structural Eviction

The mechanism of monetizing rent gaps and extracting increased rents from tenants in Sweden is hardly done through formal evictions. Instead, as shown in previous studies on displacement in Sweden (see Baeten et al., 2017; Pull & Richard, 2019; Westin, 2011), the main way of closing rent gaps today is through *renoviction*: renovations with accompanied rent increases that displace people without formal evictions. While accounting for these mechanisms and practices in-depth is beyond the scope of this article, I will briefly outline four types of practices in brief (see Baeten et al., 2017; Polanska & Richard, 2019.; Pull, 2016; Pull & Richard, 2019 for a fuller account). Firstly, the economic pressure of increased rents is often extended in time (through a long process, in some cases decade long, from the announcement of renovations until the completion of the process with increased rents on the pay-slip), giving tenants time to move before the full economic brunt hits them. Secondly, many companies offer downsizing within the neighborhood “forcing” relocation without formal eviction. Thirdly, there have been ample reports of nefarious and

even threatening practices by landlords where tenants have simply felt compelled to move elsewhere rather than attempt to stay put in their apartments. Fourth, practices of short-term demolition contracts are widespread, preventing the mechanism of formal eviction to kick in by making the contracts precarious from the onset.

I have argued elsewhere (Pull 2016; Baeten et al, 2017; Pull & Richard, 2019) that the above mechanics have resulted in forceful displacements that are both violent to tenants, and structural in their nature (in that landlords operate within legal systems and practices). Here I argue that, for the purpose of both tenants (in losing their home) and real estate actors (in replacing low yield tenants with high yield tenants), the distinction between formal evictions and less formal displacement processes is for all intents and purposes insignificant beyond the procedural and technical operations of carrying them out. Instead, answering Marcuse's (2009) call to expose-propose-politicize, I suggest the novel concept of *structural evictions* to capture both formal evictions and other types of residential displacement that create new forms of ontological insecurities among large swaths of the population. By contrast to structural evictions, structural homelessness is a concept used by researchers and by the Swedish state. It is a statistical category that usually denotes homelessness caused by factors such as "trends in unemployment and poverty, the housing market, the structure of the economy generally, and large-scale social policies while individual causes include mental illness, alcoholism, substance abuse, and lack of a work ethic" (Main, 1998, 41). Conceptually, and in contrast to structural homelessness, the term structural evictions encompasses displacement processes caused by the very same factors: trends in unemployment and poverty, the housing market, the structure of the economy generally, and large-scale social policies that forces people to leave their home, including but not excluded to formal evictions. Structural evictions are displacement processes instigated from within an already established political and legal framework, by actors in the realm of housing (understood in a broad sense to encompass state, regional, municipal and private actors such as planning offices and both private and public landlords), that result in, for instance, increased costs of living for households to the extent that they are forced to leave their homes.

Structural evictions, and consequently displacement, have structural causes. Their ebb and flow is a dialectical process that can be explained on the basis of structural changes, all of which can be traced to the commodification of housing and residential alienation. Madden and Marcuse says of alienation that it:

[...] means estrangement, objectification, or othering. The idea is rarely applied to housing, but it should be. Intuitively alienation belongs within the field of housing, almost uniquely. Its roots can be found in property law. If something is "alienable," it is exchangeable. It can be bought and sold. (2016, 56)

For the homeowner commodification has an alienable effect when housing increasingly takes the form of exchange value, eating away at the use value of home

and security in a volatile world. For the tenant who does not benefit from potential increases in exchange value, the alienation is felt all the more strongly. Increasingly, housing appears as a commodity rather than as a home for tenants, just not *their* commodity. The production and reproduction of housing alienates tenants from their home in the same way as the commodity is alienated from the worker under a capitalist mode of production. Home is not produced and reproduced for the sake of and to the use value of a home, but as something alien to tenants. Instead of home serving as a site for ontological security and creativity, and its reproduction (making home) being a vital part of the human condition (Heidegger, 1971), commodified housing appears as something threatening – something controlled by hostile outside forces – something alien (Madden and Marcuse, 2016). The stories told by tenants from neighborhoods experiencing displacement pressures and structural evictions paint a stark picture of living in the extended and drawn out process of being structurally evicted²:

It doesn't feel like my home anymore. I don't live my life. All my art and paintings are sitting on the floor and leaning against the walls. I don't dare nail them up, perhaps the landlord will fine me if I move out and there are holes in the wall. A lot of [former] neighbors are talking about big fines when they move out. And I can't use my water-boiler anymore, the steam makes the new kitchen cabinets all bubbly and water damaged. Our old kitchens were high quality, these are the cheapest possible. (Tenant in Kvarngärdet, 2017)

Insecurity is one of the main effects of alienation, echoed by tenants in the Uppsala neighborhood:

We can choose color on wallpapers and such. And whether we want a coat hanger in the hallway or a towel warmer in the bathroom. But it doesn't matter. It doesn't matter if I can't even afford to buy cigarettes or food to my dog after the rent has been paid. (Tenant, in Kvarngärdet, 2016)

Madden and Marcuse argue that “[c]ommodified dwelling space is not an expression of the residential needs of those who live in it [...] [i]n these conditions, households cannot shape their domestic environment as they wish. They do not find expression and satisfaction in their housing [...] Instead, their housing is the instrument of someone else's profit, and this confirms their lack of social power” (2016, 59). This lack of social power can take on an ontological rupture, where even the humanity of tenants is put to the test. As explained by a tenant in Gränby interviewed in 2015, “they don't treat us as humans. Or perhaps as humans but as

² All quotes come from tenants in Uppsala, Sweden. They have all experienced rent increases following renovations and they were all relocated to smaller apartments within the same neighborhood because they could not afford the new rents. In all instances the rents in their new apartments supersede their previous rents despite the decrease in living space.

costumers. Only we have no money. Before this was my home, but now it is their house and I live there as an inconvenience”.

The structural core of the pressures for these tenants is undeniable and chillingly obvious in that individual choice is not a component in their search for an exit:

I want to move. I would if I could. But if I move the same thing will just happen again. All of Uppsala is too expensive or will become when renovations reach new places. Me and people like me have no place in Uppsala today (Tenant in Kvarngärdet, 2017)

One important difference between formal evictions and structural evictions, as I define it here, is that formal evictions involve more actors than just the tenant and the landlord. At various stages a formal eviction process can include the tenant, the landlord, the rent tribunal (where the tenant may be legally represented by the tenant union), municipal social services and the state agency enforcing the eviction. In each of the steps and depending on the circumstances and grounds for eviction the tenant has a wide range of corrective measures and appeals at their disposal that might prevent the final eviction. When forces outside the household, like in the case of renoviction, make it impossible to remain at one's home – these options are rarely available or, as in the case of appeals to the Rent Tribunal, only very rarely favor the tenants. In sum, while evictions might be the penultimate outcome of housing alienation, failing to recognize subtler processes that displace people, such as renoviction, constitutes a failure to place ontological security as a non-negotiable precondition to any housing program.

Conclusion

In this intervention I have shown how there has been an inverted correlation between homelessness and formal evictions at several stages in postwar Sweden, or put differently: eviction rates have gone down while homelessness has increased. The periods of decreasing eviction rates have been correlated to increases in other forms of displacement processes, such as exclusionary displacement where the thresholds of entering the housing market have increased, and renoviction processes where the displacement of tenants is voluntary in the sense that no formal eviction is taking place. I have argued, however, that for all intents and purposes these 'voluntary' displacement processes are neither voluntary (but forced upon households by forces outside of the household, with no fault of their own), nor are they a gentler form of displacement than formal evictions. On the contrary, displacements occurring under processes such as renoviction alienate and cause suffering just as formal evictions do – and in many cases the process offers less protections and avenues of resistance and feelings of control for the tenant than formal evictions do. To capture these covert displacement processes, I have suggested the use of the concept 'structural evictions'. Structural evictions encompass formal evictions, but also such displacement processes that through other avenues and operations within the political and economic framework forces tenants

to leave their home. While there undoubtedly will be both a methodological and theoretical challenge to measure structural evictions, researchers ought to take this task seriously. The demographic of displaced persons is mostly invisible in official statistics and research alike, and to rectify that (even only conceptually) is a way of politicizing the question of displacement. Tying displacement to eviction through the concept of structural evictions is also an act of recognition of both a societal problem and the severity of suffering experienced by those who thus far haven't been counted.

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IV

3 A landscape of post-gentrification?

A renovation case in Sweden

Emil Pull

Introduction

In an article reflecting on the definition and scope of gentrification, Eric Clark (2005) recounts a meeting with pioneering gentrification scholar Neil Smith. Asked to be shown the battlefields of gentrification in the city of Malmö, Clark hesitated and found it difficult to explain that gentrification was indeed prevalent in Sweden, and had been for a long time, but the country had no proper battlefields. Over a decade later, the battlefields are here – or, at least, a hot glowing ember. Neighbourhood unrest is gaining attention in media, politics, and academia. Anti-displacement grassroots networks are growing, and articles about displacement and displacement trauma are prevalent in the news. This development can be predominantly attributed to a sharp rise in overhaul renovations of the large housing stock from the 1950s to 1970s and the accompanying rent increases for tenants. Nonetheless, is this really a new gentrification frontier we are witnessing in Sweden or a paradigm shift to a post-gentrification housing regime? This chapter will discuss these questions using the example of Kvarngärdet and Gränby, two Swedish neighbourhoods in Uppsala municipality, the fourth largest city in Sweden. The findings are built on the case work of the authors' dissertation thesis, in which forty interviews with tenants were carried out over a period of five years (2014–2019).

Kvarngärdet and Gränby

Kvarngärdet and Gränby are two downtown-adjacent neighbourhoods in the municipality of Uppsala, Sweden's fourth largest city. Kvarngärdet, in particular, is largely within walking distance of the central station and the commercial district of Uppsala. Gränby is located a bit further out and, though smaller in population, is larger in size and contains a lot of green areas towards the fields surrounding Uppsala (see Figure 3.1). Both neighbourhoods have had large parts of their housing stock renovated over the past decade and, particularly in Gränby, a lot of new multifamily homes have been (and are being) constructed in the last few years.

Figure 3.1 Map of Uppsala.
Image processed from Google Maps.

In a first step, early in 2001, the municipality-owned housing company Uppsala Hem announced the need to upgrade their housing stock in Kvarngärdet. These initial renovation plans were met with acclaim by the respondents, who were well aware of the acute need for renovation of their largely neglected buildings. My respondent Theresa told me,

These houses were built during the 1960s to solve the housing shortage in Uppsala. They were built with lower standards and were only supposed to stand for twenty years or so and then be demolished. But after a while, they noticed they could stand for longer [...], but as an effect, these houses have never been taken care of. No changes of plumbing, electricity, or windows. Nothing! Just the other day, there was a smell of something burnt coming from my wall. It is the electricity.

(Theresa, interviewed in January 2015)

However, nothing happened with the plans until a few years later, when the municipal housing company sold parts of its stock to a private landlord. Uppsala Hem then went forward with the renovation plans of their

remaining stock, and the new landlord informed the tenants that their houses were scheduled to be renovated as well. However, there was a caveat: both landlords announced that the renovations would be financed through rent increases. Numbers as high as hundred per cent were announced. Since then, my respondents in both neighbourhoods have been fighting not only to be able to stay but also for the maintenance and renovations of their homes. Without renovation, as Karin (another respondent) puts it, their homes 'feel like a deathtrap'. Since 2015, I have returned over a dozen times to talk to my respondents. Today, they are tenants who have all suffered rent increases between eighteen and sixty-five per cent, and they are all tenants under various forms of 'displacement pressures' (Marcuse, 1985). These pressures are making their lives nearly unbearable with hardships and grief and also angry and with a lust for agency. The built-up pressures and the feeling of being neglected as valued members of society (Polanska and Richard, 2019) are of course spilling into the streets of the neighbourhood, and incidents of small riots have occurred. As one respondent, Karin (a pensioner aged seventy-three), puts it, 'Under the circumstances, I understand the youth torching cars here. Had I only been younger, I would have joined them myself!'

Gentrification in a Swedish context

Sweden has a long history of gentrification, even if the various processes have not always been denoted as gentrification. In fact, gentrification as a concept was introduced in research and student literature relatively late in Sweden. This is possibly due to the fact that urban development processes played out differently than in the United States and the United Kingdom, for instance. There is a landmark study from 1987 by Eric Clark, where he investigates gentrification in the Swedish city of Malmö over the years 1860–1985. This was a pioneering work, both empirically and geographically, but it was not until the second decade of this century that scholars like the aforementioned Clark along with Hedin (2010) and Thörn and Holgersson (2014) translated gentrification into Swedish and popularized the concept – making it a household term among domestic researchers, students, practitioners, and laypersons. (It is still a relatively uncommon term in media and probably for the general public.) However, there are ample examples in Swedish post-war history where a gentrification lexicon can be used to illuminate various housing processes. The largescale and geographically diverse inner-city demolitions and modernization in the 1950s and early 1970s (Johansson, 1997) and the large-scale suburban renovations of the rental stock in the 1980s (Öresjö, 1993) are two such examples, where gentrification very well could, but rarely is, used to denote the processes of change. In 2012, Hedin et al. published a much referred-to study that found clear evidence of gentrification and super-gentrification in Sweden's three largest cities during two boom periods (1986–1991, 1996–2001) and a bust period (1991–1996). Much literature has focused on the neoliberal turn in housing politics and the consequential gentrification and socio-economic

polarization of Swedish cities since then (e.g., Andersson and Turner, 2014; Sandberg, 2014; Baeten and Listerborn, 2015; Thörn and Holgersson, 2016). Nevertheless, in many ways Sweden is, or at least was, unique, having a tradition of social democratic housing politics and social engineering that often led to gentrifying processes without the classical disinvestment and neighbourhood decline cycles that much of the Anglo-American literature focuses on (Clark, 2005). Likewise, gentrification has been as often suburban as central. A long tradition of a large, egalitarian, high-quality, and universal public rental sector that deploys use-value baselines for rent-setting (where geographical location has not been an acceptable factor influencing rents for tenants, for instance) has kept rents generally affordable both in and out of the city centres (Hajighasemi, 2004). Strong legal tenant protections have made evictions hard and gentrification a relatively slow and mundane process. This has staved off much of the contestation that is often linked to gentrification in other countries and kept Neil Smith's battlefields at bay.

Much of this has been in the process of changing. The share of public housing is on the decline; it is being sold out to private actors or transformed into fully marketized condominiums (Salonen, 2015). Further, where they are still present, municipal housing companies are becoming increasingly inaccessible to poor dwellers as municipal companies increase access demands (e.g., minimum income levels and recommendations from former landlords) and produce housing with higher rents (compared to the disposable income of the urban poor) than ever before (*ibid*). Consequently, as Grander (2017) argues, the public housing of Sweden can perhaps no longer be called universal. It no longer caters for the segment of the population with the lowest incomes. In its place, there has been a radical growth in 'social housing contracts'¹ (nationwide, the amounts of social contracts have doubled in the last decade), to the extent that the municipalities' social services have become major players on the housing scene in many cities. Social housing contracts still only amount to a mere two per cent of the total housing market, but for a country without a social housing sector and where the universal public rent sector is supposed to be just that, universal, its rapid growth is worrying.

Renovations

The mechanisms turning renovations of tenant buildings into a violent and disruptive process leading to large-scale displacements have been thoroughly discussed elsewhere (Westin, 2011; Molina and Westin, 2012; Baeten et al., 2017). In short, the exceedingly sharp rent increases are made possible through what can most aptly be described as a legal loophole. From a legal standpoint, structural renovations (plumbing, heating, insulation, etc.) under the Swedish use-value system cannot be grounds for rent increases, but recent structural renovations of the housing stock from the 1960s and 1970s

have forced so-called luxury renovations of bathrooms, floors, etcetera upon tenants. These sorts of renovations are permitted if they are deemed to be in the interest not of the current tenant but of an abstract 'general tenant'. When individual tenants contest the renovations in the rent tribunal court, they lose nine out of ten cases in favour of this 'general tenant' and the 'common good'. This loophole has been previously used by the state to upgrade what was considered socially stigmatized suburbs outside of Stockholm (Öresjö, 1997), with displacement (or social mixing) as an outspoken goal. Nevertheless, in spite of the otherwise strong legal tenant protections in Sweden, never before has this magic trick of closing rent gaps reached this scale. Over a million dwellings were built during the building boom, and hundreds of thousands of them have recently undergone renovation, are currently undergoing renovation, or are in need of structural renovations (Baeten et al., 2017). The vast majority of these renovations are paid for by tenants through the curious practice of 'luxury renovations' (ibid). In tandem, Sweden is suffering a near-nationwide lack of affordable housing, with 240 municipalities (eighty-three per cent) reporting housing shortages in 2019 according to the National Board of Housing. However, the housing shortage is unevenly spread between tenure forms (with the largest scarcity being in the affordable housing sector) and place (with city central neighbourhoods in the larger municipalities being affected the most) despite a general construction boom over the last decade. This obviously has an effect on displacement patterns. According to the National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket, 2014), displaced tenants often end up economically and socially worse-off. The lack of affordable housing also hinders people from moving to a cheaper location in the first place, as is the case for some respondents in Gränby and Kvarngärdet.

Gentrification or not? Working through methodology

In the following, I attempt to make an ad hoc test of gentrification for the development in Gränby and Kvarngärdet using common methodological approaches in identifying gentrifiable, gentrifying, and gentrified neighbourhoods in the literature. The reason is twofold. First, it is a way to describe what is happening in the two neighbourhoods in question and to show how far off the happy side of sushi and coffee shop gentrification these renovations are. Second, I want to check whether the lexicon of gentrification is at all suitable for these processes in contemporary Sweden or what we are seeing is something new.

The methodologies measuring gentrification are many, and one divide is based on whether one ascribes to consumption- or production-driven gentrification. While going into any depth about this theoretical rift is outside the scope of this chapter, suffice it to say (and vital for the conclusion of this chapter) that the common denominator in these theories is *gentrifiers*, irrespective of whether they are driving the process via preferences and

consumption patterns or merely absorbing the increased land rents and the consumeristic landscape that closing the rent gap² produces in the aftermath. In gentrification theory, a gentry is always implied, whether they are the drivers of the process or merely its beneficiaries.

Identifying gentrification is commonly done via longitudinal census data. In a two-step process, this method first identifies the gentrifiable areas and then identifies the gentrifying or gentrified tracts. Typically, the literature labels any area gentrifiable when the average or median incomes are below some percentage of the metropolitan average (Bostic and Martin, 2003; Wyly et al., 2010) or below some absolute threshold (McKinnish et al., 2010). In a Swedish context, the discrepancy between the average household income in Kvarngärdet and Gränby compared to Uppsala municipality as a whole was fairly marked before the renovation process started (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). These neighbourhoods would certainly be labelled gentrifiable according to this method. In a more methodologically sophisticated approach, Freeman (2005) labels an area gentrifiable if the average incomes are below the metropolitan average and if the area has suffered from disinvestment for the past twenty years. Disinvestment here means lower-than-average newly constructed housing. This method of identifying gentrifiable areas has the advantage of corresponding nicely with early conceptualizations of gentrification as cycles of investment and disinvestment (Smith, 1979; Marcuse, 1985). The question is whether disinvestment is so easily captured by simply counting newly produced buildings. Kvarngärdet and Gränby certainly lacked investments in newly produced buildings and, consequently, match the criteria, but disinvestment in the neighbourhoods was perhaps even more notable, particularly for the inhabitants, in the lack of building maintenance over the decade preceding the renovations (as recounted earlier in the chapter). In any case, disinvestment in terms of an absence of newly produced housing was present in both areas prior to the renovations. Thus, both areas can be labelled as 'gentrifiable' using both methodologies.

Other researchers have produced multi-variable analyses, notably, Hammel and Wyly's (1996) methodologically rich paper outlining different census variables that discriminate between gentrifying and non-gentrifying tracts. Another is Bostic and Martin's (2003) study, where they develop Hammel and Wyly's approach and list changes pertaining to gentrification using the following nine factors: share of residents with college degrees, growth in average family income, homeownership rate, share of population aged thirty to forty-four, poverty rate, percentage of White non-family households, share of Black population, share of managerial and administrative workers, and percentage of residents with at least some college education. However, while a strict analysis based on a multi-factorial census analysis would be interesting, fieldwork in the neighbourhoods in question suggests that 'time period' or 'end of the time period' variables do not adequately capture the situation in Kvarngärdet and Gränby since the areas are still in

flux. Nevertheless, the methodological contributions of Hammel and Wylie and of Bostic and Martin do identify certain data sets that have strong correlations with gentrification.

In terms of transition from a gentrifiable to gentrifying or gentrified tract, Freeman (2005), in contrast to other studies, ignores income levels in the gentrified area in favour of college education, arguing that gentrification (in adherence to the origin of the concept) is more about cultural class transition than income levels. To him, gentrification has occurred if housing prices have increased and the percentage of residents with a college degree has increased above the metropolitan average. Thus, income is a factor only in identifying gentrifiable areas, not actual gentrification.

According to most methodologies of measuring gentrification, Kvarngärdet and Gränby can certainly be categorized as 'gentrifiable' neighbourhoods. But are they undergoing gentrification? An analysis based on income levels before, during, and after the renovations gives, at best, a very weak correlation between the renovations and rising income levels. Both areas started well below the municipal average, both had stagnating or even declining income levels during the actual renovations, and only Kvarngärdet has been trending (although weakly) upwards towards the municipal average in the years after the renovations (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3).

Figure 3.2 Gentrification indicators Kvarngärdet.

Source: Data from the Department of Urban Management, Uppsala municipality.

Figure 3.3 Gentrification indicators Gränby.

Source: Data from the Department of Urban Management, Uppsala municipality.

On the other hand, the census statistics correlate well with responses from tenants, who note that the affluent people moving into Kvarngärdet and Gränby are merely doing so on a short-term basis, on their way to someplace else in Uppsala. Asked directly if the neighbourhood is becoming a middle-class neighbourhood, one respondent answered,

What!? God no! On the contrary. Any middle-class family that moves here moves out just as quick. There is garbage everywhere. No one cares about the neighbourhood. I would move if I could, but it's expensive everywhere. Most new people that move in are poor immigrants or on social housing contracts. And the poor immigrants aren't even getting information in a language that they would understand. Their rents are probably paid for by the municipality.

(Birgitta, interviewed in March 2019)

If we consider education levels, another variable of Freeman's (2005) method, only Gränby would have been considered a gentrifiable tract prior to the renovations. Gränby has also seen an increase in education levels between 2007

and 2014 (see Figure 3.2), but the changes are very modest; in 2015, the levels were still well below the municipal average. According to the respondents, the small increase could be a result of students moving into the empty flats. But respondents both in Gränby and Kvarngärdet indicate that the neighbourhoods are stepping stones to more attractive living and that students only stay for a brief period. In contrast to Gränby, Kvarngärdet started out with above-average education levels and would therefore not be classified as a gentrifiable tract according to Freeman (2005). The education levels have also dropped in Kvarngärdet since the start of the renovations (see Figure 3.2). Thus, it is hard to see any gentrification in either of the neighbourhoods based on the shifts in education levels.

Homeownership rate is another factor used to gauge gentrification (Bostic and Martin, 2003). The changes in forms of tenure are relatively undramatic in Gränby and Kvarngärdet. In both tracts, the number of ownership/condominium dwellings have remained well below the municipal average (see Figure 3.4). The increasing share of ownership/condominium dwellings in Kvarngärdet can be chiefly explained by the newly built condominiums on virgin soil in the outskirts of the neighbourhood. This is a caveat, and it could possibly indicate long-term gentrification or new-built gentrification, but at least thus far, it has had little impact on the overall class-composition of the neighbourhoods.

A category seldom used in gentrification analysis in a Swedish context is ethnical or racial composition. One reason is that despite a decidedly racist dimension to housing provision in Sweden (Molina, 1997), the demarcation between White and Black or Hispanic communities is historically and contemporarily different from that in the United States, and census data

Figure 3.4 Tenure split in Uppsala and studied tracts.

Source: Data from the Department of Urban Management, Uppsala municipality.

in Sweden does not make distinctions based on ethnicity. However, census data looking at the share of persons with a foreign background (born outside of Sweden or with at least one parent born outside of Sweden) does show that the populations of both Kvarngärdet and Gränby are diversifying (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3). Again, this supports the case that both neighbourhoods are gentrifiable but not gentrified despite the rent gap having closed.

If not gentrification, then what? Towards accumulation in a post-gentrification landscape

Current renovation processes in Uppsala show a trend of displacement through various displacement pressures. Nevertheless, as outlined above, its neighbourhoods very much lack signs of gentrification. Most importantly, gentrifiers are seemingly absent. Income levels are stagnant in the neighbourhoods, and social unrest and petty crime are prevalent. Local media is rife with news articles on the problems and unrest, including the torching of cars by youth and the open sale of drugs. Some tenants are afraid:

I only walk my dog during the day now. It's hard now in winter; I only walk around my own block a few times instead of wandering longer. I feel exposed. A bit afraid.

(Jennny, interviewed in February 2018)

Nonetheless, profits are being extracted through the new rent 'corrections' that have entailed eighteen to sixty-five per cent rent increases for tenants, often without any discernible increases in standards of living. (On the contrary, the neighbourhoods and landlords were targeted by a television documentary in 2015 outlining and exposing the poor quality of the renovations.) The areas in question, along with plenty of others around Sweden (Baeten et al., 2017) are clearly closing the rent gap and extracting new increased land rents. Nonetheless, is what we are witnessing here really best labelled *gentrification*? Moreover, without affluent groups moving to the neighbourhoods in question, how are the new rent levels extracted? Below, I try to give an account for the former and outline a research agenda to answer the latter.

Answering the question of 'to be or not to be' for gentrification is simple. Whether or not you analyse gentrification from the side of capital movement (like Smith, 1979) or from the side of cultural change (like Ley, 2003), both approaches require a 'gentry' – gentry that either drives the shift through patterns of consumption or absorbs the increased cost of living driven by investment cycles. Thus far, Kvarngärdet and Gränby show no sign of such a gentry being present. Structural renovations close the rent gap quickly and efficiently, and evidently, a gentry is no longer needed for increased extraction of urban land rent. Instead, these costs are absorbed by the urban poor. This is not to say that this post-gentrification process is

benign or friendlier to working-class tenants (in that their neighbourhoods remain intact). On the contrary, here the process is not the gradual shift that can be observed in some gentrifying cases and in the gentrification history of Sweden, but it is overtly violent (Baeten et al., 2017; Pull and Richard, 2019). Rent increases are immediate (even if landlords sometimes offer grace periods and step-wise rent increases over a few years), and the effects on disposable incomes and the everyday life of tenants are instantaneous. Furthermore, displacements are bountiful both in terms of tenant relocation in space (Boverkett, 2014) and in terms of the destruction of place (Pull and Richard, 2019). The situation is a new one, and it seems to be something other than gentrification.

My respondents can no longer afford to buy bus tickets downtown. As one of my respondents puts it,

I want to take my family on vacation, but even taking the bus to the library is an expense that has to be budgeted. You feel bad. You feel really bad.

(Anna, interviewed in January 2016)

Their quality of life is diminishing as their low and decreasing disposable incomes restrict them to a life of immobility. Stories of squeezing together and sleeping in shifts are prevalent, and several tenants have concerns over their health due to monotonous, low quality food:

I smoke, you know; that costs money, too much money. And the dog needs food. I have to go without food sometimes. Can't let the dog suffer and starve because I'm stupid enough to smoke. But it's not healthy eating poorly you know.

(Amanda, interviewed in June 2016)

The economic pressure can indeed go far. One tenant, a retired social worker, recounts how the rent for her two-room, sixty-square-meter apartment costs her SEK 7,900 per month, which she pays from her SEK 11,900 pension. With hot water, television, and phone bills on top, it is hard to get the remaining money to cover other necessities. Others sell family heirlooms or take loans from friends. Thus, one answer to the question on new rent levels is that rent extraction is made through increased economic polarization. The disposable income levels of the poor are simply shrinking, but that is not the full picture of how rents are extracted. This is where more research is urgently needed – on how rent extraction and valorization of urban land is possible when tenants reach the absolute limits of survivability. Initial probing suggests that all municipal taxpayers are to an extent paying for the new land rent. The former chief of the municipal cultural department frankly admits in an interview (conducted in January 2015) that there have been cuts in their budget for cultural events and education as a direct response to the

increased costs for housing subsidies and other economic subsidies. Numbers from the city development office show a growth of hundred per cent in social contracts in Gränby over the past three years. As this data does not cover a sufficiently long enough time span, and the increases only amount to a total of four per cent of the dwellings, no hard conclusions can be drawn. Nevertheless, the data points to one (out of many) possible mechanisms for rent extraction in a post-gentrification landscape – mechanisms we need to learn more about.

Conclusion

When Eric Clark met Neil Smith in Sweden, he had no gentrification battlefields to point to. However, he did see the signs of battlefields on the horizon. Now these battlefields appear to have manifested themselves, but they are perhaps not best captured by the concept of gentrification. We have ‘conflicts of interest, displacement, personal tragedies, and the desperation that leads to battlefields’ (Clark, 2005) – yes. But gentrification? Perhaps not. How best to conceptualize this increasingly violent production of urban space is still up for grabs. Here I suggest post-gentrification – not as a way to denote a complete rupture from the processes of gentrification but to suggest that this is, in many ways, something new. By post-gentrification I mean schemes aimed at increasing rent extraction through interventions in the built environment, but where the replacement of poor populations by a wealthier gentry is no longer as central, or at all necessary. Instead, the process of post-gentrification as it manifests itself in Uppsala is both displacing and emplacing populations. Some are forced to move, or to downsize to a smaller apartment within the neighbourhood, while others cannot move, from lack of affordable housing elsewhere in the municipality and region. Or put differently, mobility in the landscape of post-gentrification cannot be captured through a simple displacement-replacement dialectics where poor households are squeezed out and wealthier move in. The unifying experience of tenants can perhaps best be captured through displacement pressure. A pressure that is exerted whether it materializes in relocation by the household or not. Elsewhere, I and a colleague argued for a focus on *displacement* and *domicide* as concepts rather than gentrification (Pull and Richard, 2019), to forefront the changes to home and place for individual tenants that remain in these neighbourhoods. More research is undoubtedly needed on this new post-gentrification landscape, where poor populations are targeted, but in other ways than through their replacement by a gentry.

Notes

- 1 Social housing contracts are acute interventions by municipal authorities to prevent homelessness, whereby the municipality enters into a contract with social services and sublets to the household. Most of the social contracts are dispersed throughout the housing stock and between public and private housing companies (Boverket, 2014).

- 2 While rent-gap theory is an important part of production-side gentrification theory and subject to a scholarly debate itself (Clark, 1995; Slater, 2017), that debate and the nuances of land rent and rent gaps will have to be omitted in this short chapter.

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This thesis is about renoviction – the process of evicting tenants through renovations, but more generally, it is about displacement. The geographical context is the contemporary practice of renoviction in Sweden, generally, and in the municipality of Uppsala, specifically. The history of displacement in a Swedish context cannot be captured solely through the concept of renoviction however. Other mechanisms have also been primary drivers of displacement, so this thesis is not solely about renoviction but about displacements more generally. By highlighting displacement and the displaced, I hope to contribute to a radicalization of research that for long has focused on the middle-class experience of urbanism in studies on gentrification and beyond.

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