Maintaining the village atmosphere:
Exploring the spatialities of an urban middle-class enclave
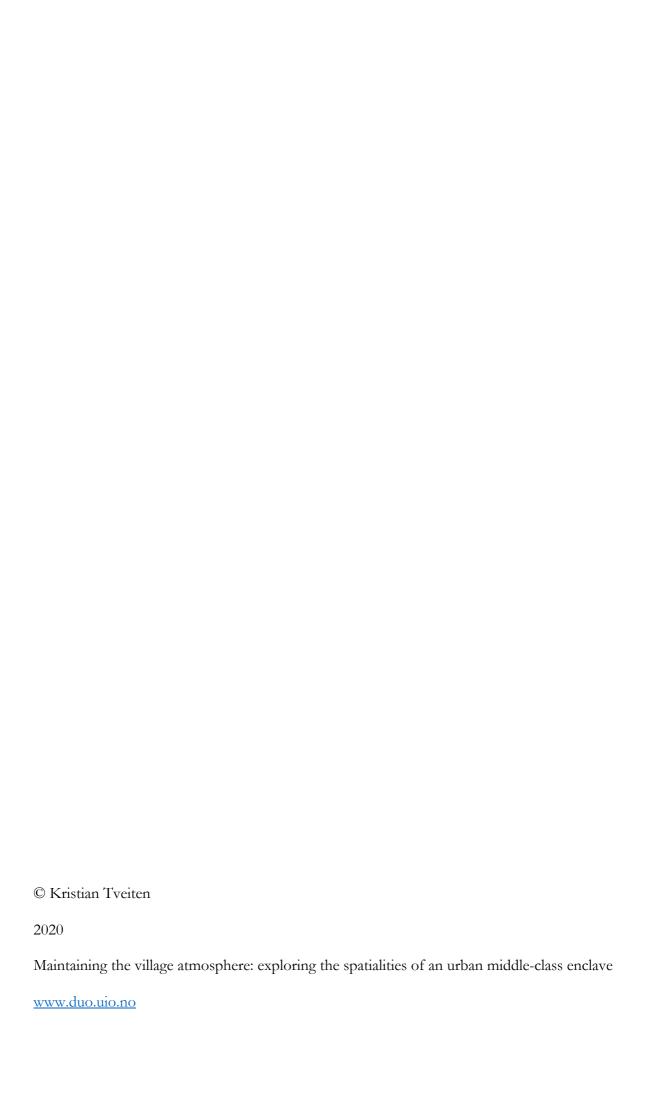
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Abstract

A wide range of research has demonstrated the enduring significance of social class in Norway, revealing how social stratification unfold through the intersections of wealth and lifestyle differences. Class (dis)advantages, social closure and symbolic boundaries have also been connected to geographical factors in understanding the spatialities of class; how these processes of stratification shape uneven social geographies, which can, in turn, affect people's life chances. Despite the value of this work, the recent 'spatial turn' in Norwegian class analysis has mostly involved quantitative methods or treated geography as something rather static and fixed. By confronting the lack of qualitative research of how the social and spatial are interrelated in the formation of class identities and places through situated practices and experiences, this thesis is empirically grounded in a former working-class neighbourhood that has gradually reterritorialised into a middle-class enclave in the inner eastern part of Oslo.

Based on walking interviews and analysing the place-specific notions some of the residents in the neighbourhood of Kampen have of their immediate socio-spatial environment and Oslo as a class-divided city, this study explores how class dispositions (e.g., aesthetic tastes, lifestyles, values) are bound up with creating a territorial sense of place and belonging in the urban fabric. These cultural middle-class urbanites are socio-spatially distinguishing themselves both from what they perceive as the 'boring', 'conformist' and 'homogenous' West End, dominated by their economic upper-/middle-class counterparts, and other inner-city neighbourhoods regarded as too ordinary or commercialised. Expressing a form of (s)elective belonging, the residents are valuing Kampen for its 'authentic urban village atmosphere', which they relate to its social, material and historical qualities, *and* the East End for its ethnic and cultural diversity. This study thereby discusses the socio-spatial practices of these middle-class dwellers of 'having their cake and eat it too'; living in and sustaining Kampen as a quiet and safe neighbourhood with people predominantly like themselves whilst retaining the urban qualities associated with the cosmopolitan city.

Moreover, through formal and informal practices of maintaining the historically 'authentic' and neighbourly village atmosphere, the inhabitants are undoubtedly able to nurture a good place to live together. Although this engender a certain degree of social cohesion amongst both in-movers and old-timers and as such nuance the typical binary between gentrifier and gentrified, some of these atmospheric practices depends on a particular sense of place, implicating certain aesthetic tastes, modes of consumption and lifestyles, which may contribute to advance the middle-class

reterritorialisation of Kampen. Especially a recent locally initiated project of making the 'village square' car-free and reducing parking spaces is interpreted as a particular form of 'bottom-up' (green) gentrification.

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1. Introduction

If you take the metro to Tøyen and walk to the square with the same name, you are likely to encounter a buzzing urban atmosphere in the midst of what in public discourse is considered the gentrification frontier of Oslo: Young Somalis on their way to the mosque brush shoulders with elderly Norwegians on their way to the pub, an old-timer smokes a cigarette whilst walking her dogs, and hip start-up entrepreneurs stares at their MacBooks, drinking freshly roasted Finca Tamana coffee. Moving further, where a Romanian beggar sit by the traffic light, and crossing the street Kjølberggata, you are on the other side of Ring 2 – the informal boundary distinguishing most of Oslo's inner-city neighbourhoods from the outer ones. By continuing up an eighty-step staircase, you suddenly arrive at a quiet neighbourhood on top of a hill. With its colourful old wooden houses and tenements, zigzagging streets, little traffic, and a church located in the middle, it radiates a village-like atmosphere, in stark contrast to the intensive urbanity just experienced a few hundred meters away. A cat strolls by and disappears into a backyard garden. The postman has a chat with someone outside the grocery store. There are no beggars here and no one seems to be on their way to the mosque. This is Kampen, and as asserted in a feature article, "[t]here is something in the air" (Aftenposten 2008, my translation[1]).

1.1 Setting the scene

This thesis confronts the lack of qualitative research of the interrelations between space and class in a Norwegian urban context, by exploring everyday life in a white middle-class enclave in Oslo. The former working-class neighbourhood Kampen, located in the inner eastern part of the city, has since the 1970s territorialised some distinctive characteristics, in striking contrast to the social and ethnic diversity of this part of town: Compared to the surrounding neighbourhoods in the borough of Gamle Oslo, Kampen has the lowest share of migrant residents with a background from Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe and Latin America; the largest share of inhabitants with higher education; third highest average income per person; and the highest housing prices per square meter.[2] Another prominent feature is the preserved wooden houses from the latter half of the 1800s, which differs from the concrete tenements typical of Oslo's inner urban landscape. Moreover, Kampen has since the 1970s been subject to a slow process of gentrification, in parallel with the development of a sense of community amongst many of its residents (Pløger 1997). Taking

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[1] All subsequent quotes from Norwegian sources (including informants) are translated by me, if not otherwise noted.
[2] Comparing Kampen, Grønland, Enerhaugen, Nedre Tøyen, Vålerenga, Ensjø and Etterstad (figures from Oslo Statistikkbanken, see http://statistikkbanken.oslo.kommune.no/webview/).

these factors into account, this case study explores how the social and spatial are co-constitutive in the (re)making of Kampen as a middle-class enclave. Working with a theoretical framework of the spatialities of class, the thesis analyses how Kampen's cultural middle-class residents creates a sense of belonging in the city; that is, how the formation of class identities is bound up with the formation of places, mutually shaping each other. Accordingly, the thesis approaches class and place as actively made and remade through socio-spatial practices and relations, structuring and structured by specific societal, geographical and historical conditions (Bourdieu 1990; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 2005). The outcome of such processes is the uneven social geography of cities such as Oslo (Ljunggren & Andersen 2015; Ljunggren, Toft & Flemmen 2017). Social stratifications are thus materialising in the urban fabric, and whilst this is economically structured by housing policies and the market, equally important are the socio-cultural dimensions of how these divisions are affecting where people live, how they make sense of themselves and each other, and the social consequences of these processes.

Related to this, gentrification has received considerable attention in urban studies. Inherently classed, gentrification demonstrate one of the ways in which various fractions of the upper- and middle-classes utilises certain neighbourhoods not merely as residential locations, but as lived spaces intrinsically linked to the formation and practice of class identities (May 1996; Butler & Robson 2003; Savage et al. 2005; Bacquè et al. 2015). Despite the attention gentrification has received in public discourse, there has been relatively little research of these processes in Norway (however, see e.g., Hjorthol & Bjørnskau 2005; Sæter & Ruud 2005; Hill 2012; Huse 2014; Rosenlund 2017). There are arguably at least two factors making Kampen both a special case and a place it is easy to disregard in this context: Firstly, this neighbourhood was subject to an early process of gentrification, when people with higher education and artists moved in during the 1970s (Pløger 1997). This gradually increased the share of middle-class in-movers in contrast to the surrounding working-class areas. Immigration from African and Asian countries manifest itself predominantly in the eastern parts of Oslo, contributing to the character of proximate neighbourhoods such as Grønland and Tøyen, whilst Kampen remains dominated by ethnic Norwegians. Secondly, the neighbourhood does not have the same degree of 'social problems' as other parts of Gamle Oslo and is hence not subject to various forms of territorial stigmatization (Wacquant et al. 2014), which likely limit it as an 'obvious' area for research.

Simultaneously, in Grønland and Tøyen, a multifaceted dynamic between gentrification and so-called *områdeløft* (a range of area-based policies) unfolds (see Brattbakk et al. 2015, 2017), whereas

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a large-scale housing development project is taking place at the former industrial area Ensjø.[3] Somewhat literally in the midst of these changes, Kampen remains seemingly untouched. Consequently, these factors – early gentrified with an enduring white middle-class population, lack of changes, few apparent 'social problems' and correspondingly no territorial stigmatisation – constitutes Kampen as a place of seemingly little research interest. Yet these factors are also precisely what makes it as an interesting case for exploring the qualitative aspects of class 'on the ground'.

Extending on this, two important issues must be preliminary mentioned: The first aspect relates to shared notions of Kampen having some sort of local community. These are sometimes apparent in more mundane place representations, such as in newspapers (including the neighbourhood's own local paper), tourist information, historical documents, and Facebook groups made by and for locals. Pløger (1997: 203) identified similar perceptions about community amongst residents of Kampen in the 1990s and argued that "they have developed a 'Gemeinschaft of the place' out of different forms of social interaction." However, despite the valuable insights of his study, they are based on a quantitative survey supplemented by newspaper excerpts, and thus empirically limited in discussing the more grounded aspects of this 'neighbourhood community'. This is related not only to how 'community' is experienced and perceived, but also how it is actually practiced (Wright 2015; Blokland 2017). There is a need to understand how 'community' actually materialises in the everyday life of places like Kampen and what meanings it has for the residents – how it relates to their place attachment and sense of belonging. This can enrichen the theoretical understandings of what community 'is' and how it unfolds in urban areas. On a more practical level, acquiring knowledge about everyday life in a seemingly 'well-functioning' inner-city neighbourhood is useful for the *potential* development of more socially sustainable residential areas in the city. Additionally, the existence of a place-based community depends upon socio-spatial boundary work expressing insiders and outsiders, significant in the territorialisation of Kampen as a white middle-class enclave. Qualitative data is needed to theoretically interpret and understand the intricacies and ambiguities of these processes, including the narratives and practices of belonging shaping the territorial identity of the neighbourhood.

The second aspect extends on the first by concerning place identity. Notions of Kampen being a place with a unique identity is another recurring theme in various place representations, for example formulated in terms such as: "Where the prison ends [located at adjoining Grønland], an

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[3] https://www.oslo.kommune.no/politikk-og-administrasjon/slik-bygger-vi-oslo/ensjobyen/#gref.

atmosphere begins" (Aftenposten 2008). Pløger (1997: 200) highlights similar sentiments by quoting an excerpt from the local newspaper *Kampenposten*: "Compliments to those who make sure Kampen does not lose its identity and its distinctive character, who make sure Kampen is still something of its own." Taking these issues into account, the thesis is interested in exploring how historical, social and material features of the place conjoin in producing a particular distinctiveness (Molotch et al. 2000). In short, how is a place able to maintain an identity through time despite being gentrified? This raises interesting theoretical questions regarding the intersections of class, space and time. Similar to the first aspect regarding community, a key enquiry is how Kampen's identity is made meaningful in the lives of its inhabitants, including how it is experienced and maintained by the them. Furthermore, 'place identity' is a substantial aspect of the boundedness of Kampen, influencing the relational construction of an inside and an outside – inherent to the neighbourhood's territoriality. This means analysing how classed dispositions related to tastes and lifestyle shape the residents' notions of Kampen's identity and the social implications this have for the further maintenance of it.

In summary, as a case study of the middle-class enclave Kampen, this thesis explores the residents' everyday perceptions of and practices in both their own neighbourhood and its surrounding areas, including notions of Oslo's classed east-west divide (Høifødt 2011; Andersen 2014; Ljunggren & Andersen 2015). Accordingly, there is not only a focus on how the ways in which people perceive, experience and use places interrelate with tastes and lifestyles, but also how they contribute in shaping these places by giving them meaning through their socio-spatial practices as part of forging their class identity and sense of belonging in the urban fabric (Benson & Jackson 2012; Blokland 2017). Accordingly, the thesis attempts to engage with the affective, material and spatial aspects of class in everyday life, in a country characterised by 'egalitarian individualism' (Gullestad 1992: 183-200). Responding to calls for more qualitative research of the geographies of class in a Norwegian context (Ljunggren & Andersen 2015: 314; Rosenlund 2017: 29; Toft 2018: 658), the thesis tries to fill some of the "knowledge gaps in how class is lived and practiced in late modern Norway" (Flemmen & Toft 2018).

1.2 Research questions
Based on the above, the following research questions can be outlined:

1. *What notions of Oslo's east-west divide have the middle-class residents of Kampen and how do these affect their sense of place and belonging in the city?*

2. *What meanings do they ascribe to their neighbourhood and how can this be related to their classed dispositions?*

3. *And what do these classed dispositions entail for the continuation of Kampen as a white middle-class enclave amid the social and ethnic diversity of Oslo's East End?*

The openness of these questions underscores the exploratory approach of this thesis. Whilst certain 'concepts' sensitise the research – class, place, belonging, and community – the aim of the study is precisely to engage in an empirically and theoretically informed analysis and discussion of these issues and how they interrelate. As such, the thesis contributes to the understanding of the socio-spatial significance and implications of how class is lived and practiced 'on the ground'.

1.3 Disposition

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework. Discussions of the fuzzy terms 'space', 'place', 'community', and 'class' leads to a theorisation of the spatialities of class – the interrelations of the social and spatial in the bodily and material making of class and place. Affective atmospheres and structures of feeling are also presented as useful concepts in this regard. Chapter 3 elaborates on the overall methodological approach, the sampling of informants, methods of data collection, coding procedure and issues related to scientific rigour, positionality and critical reflexivity, and how this impacts the credibility of the findings. Chapter 4 is a contextual presentation of Kampen, with brief accounts of the history, geography and demography of this neighbourhood. The findings are analysed and discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7, in which each of these are related to the three research questions respectively. Chapter 5 concerns the feelings the residents have towards Oslo's east-west divide on a macro-scale, which further informs the analysis in chapter 6; the specific meanings on a micro-scale the informants give of Kampen, including their notions of place identity and community. Chapter 7 builds on these themes in arguing how the gentrification of Kampen should be understood as a particular variant of this process, by highlighting its ambiguities and contradictions.

2. Theoretical considerations

A key enquiry in this thesis is to comprehend how different dimensions of social life are intertwined; how Kampen as a place can be understood in relation to social class, community, belonging, and gentrification. This entails using theories as tools for analysing the informants' descriptions and explanations of their situated experiences and practices illuminating these issues. The point of departure in this context is therefore to recognise the connections between different theoretical constructs, which is complicated by the fact that each of these can be regarded a fuzzy concept – "one which posits an entity, phenomenon or process which possesses two or more alternative meanings and thus cannot be reliably identified or applied by different readers or scholars" (Markusen 2003: 702). A preliminary distinction should here be made between the *etic* and *emic*, the former being the perspectives of the 'outsider' (i.e., the researcher), whilst the latter those of the 'insiders' (i.e., the informants). Place, class, community, belonging, and gentrification are as etic concepts fuzzy, whereas they can make perfectly emic sense. Consequently, this chapter discusses relevant etic perspectives, before bringing these into dialogue with the informants' emic perspectives in the analysis and discussion chapters. Thus, this chapter attempts untangle the (etic) fuzziness of these concepts by elaborating and outlining (1) what they mean in this thesis; and (2) how they can be related to each other. This also entails addressing certain ontological issues where necessary.

2.1 Anti-essentialism: 'becoming' rather than 'being'

An initial bridging of the theoretical perspectives presented here can be made because of their common denominator of anti-essentialism. Since this thesis is particularly focusing on the mutual formation of place and class, anti-essentialist perspectives accommodate analysis of how the seemingly stability and routines of everyday life are part of their constant *becoming*. Therefore, one can argue that anti-essentialist approaches are better suited to grasp these interrelated issues of place (e.g., Massey 2005), class (e.g., Bourdieu 1977, 1990), and urban community and belonging (e.g., Wright 2015; Blokland 2017), in the reproduction of Kampen as a middle-class enclave,[4] compared to theories that *a priori* essentialises these issues as bounded, fixed and static (i.e., *being*). With that said, understandings from humanistic geography of space and place (e.g., Relph 1976; Tuan 1977) will be involved because of the emphasis on emotions and meaning in the bodily

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[4] Following Marcuse (1997: 242), an enclave can be defined as "a spatially concentrated area in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development."

experience of places. Although integrating phenomenological perspectives from humanistic geography with constructivist theories may seem incompatible, this approach can be said conform to a sort of pragmatist ontology of what Pels (2002: 78) asserts as "the performativity of everyday realism": real facticities – such as places and social classes – are created, maintained and/or transformed, consciously or unconsciously, by the relational practices of humans interacting in and with their social and material environments, shaping and shaped by particular 'objective' political-economic, socio-cultural, historical and spatial configurations.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the prominent theoretical perspectives of space and place within human geography. A clarification of social class follows, which is connected to the previous elaboration of space and place in order to conceptualise a 'spatialisation of class', whereby the concepts 'structures of feeling' and 'affective atmospheres' are presented as especially suitable in this regard. The suppleness of the terms community and belonging means they are discussed where relevant. The last part address issues of gentrification in the context of the theoretical framework and research questions of this thesis.

2.2 What is place?

The purpose in this part of the chapter is to discuss the main theorisations of space and place within human geography, organised around a distinction between essentialist and anti-essentialist approaches. Recognising the weaknesses of essentialist theories, their strengths – the emphasis on bodily experience – will be brought into dialogue with anti-essentialist approaches.

2.2.1 Humanistic geography: meaning as essence

The philosophical tradition of phenomenology had an important influence on humanistic geographers when they renewed the theoretical significance 'place' within the discipline. This philosophy regards reality as constituted by phenomena which are experienced by humans' immersion in the world (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). Humanistic geographers were influenced by this mode of thinking in arguing that spaces and places are experiential phenomena founding an essential part of every individual's lifeworld. One of the aims of humanistic geography was accordingly to identify the essence of 'place-as-phenomenon' – the existential constituents of space and place.

One of the complexities of place is precisely how to theorise it in relation to space. Tuan's (1977: 6) well-known argument about the difference between space and place is grounded in the

experiential presence of meaning: "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value." Space is regarded as that which is not yet experientially meaningful, consequently characterised by the absence of meaning. It is the abstract which can be transformed to the concrete: "Abstract space, lacking significance other than strangeness, becomes concrete place, filled with meaning" (Tuan 1977: 199). This phenomenological perspective asserts the essence of place as the experiential meaningfulness it is given in people's lifeworlds: "Place is a center of meaning constructed by experience" (Tuan 1975: 152). These ideas about space and place also implies a notion of temporality: "A neighbourhood is at first a confusion of images to the new resident; it is blurred space 'out there'" (Tuan 1977: 17). Through different forms of interactions over time, space is 'unblurred' and made into meaningful place, with the possibility of developing a strong emotional attachment to that place; what Tuan (1974: 4) calls topophilia, "the affective bond between people and place." Thus, whereas space is regarded as a geographical location, place is imbued with meanings in people's lifeworlds.

This understanding of place emphasises a geographical boundedness in which place is perceived as a slice or fragment of the 'endless' abstract space 'out there'. "Place is whatever stable object catches our attention", asserts Tuan (1977: 161), adding to the boundedness of place an element of stability. However, although it is assumed that places are bounded, the degree to which places are actually experienced as such might vary. For instance, by referring to Herbert Gans's study of a working-class neighbourhood in Boston, Tuan (1974: 213) notes how the inhabitants did not relate to their neighbourhood as a coherent entity before threatened by demolition and redevelopment. Nevertheless, the essence of place is believed to be its meaningful boundedness: "Enclosed and humanized space is place. Compared to space, place is a calm center of established values" (Tuan 1977: 54). The underlying assumption here is that *within* the boundaries of specific places, certain qualities develop, making them unique from each other.

It might be argued that Tuan's phenomenology of place is founded on two constitutive assertions: (1) A binary relation to space (i.e., space: no meaning/place: meaning); and (2) places are shaped by subjects' meaningful experiences, implying place as bounded and stable (i.e., a place is an object which becomes meaningful in its experiential relation to an individual). The inadequacies of this rather unnuanced theorisation will be returned to, but for now it is sufficient to say that it ignores the inherent multiplicity of relations between people and places. For example, homeless people might experience the places they are constantly excluded from very differently than others, blurring the dichotomy between "undifferentiated abstract space" and "enclosed place as a meaningful and

calm center of established values." Moreover, the masculinity underlying equating place with a sense of belonging at home has been criticised by feminist geography (Rose 1993). Before discussing these issues further, an outline of Relph's (1976) perspective is necessary, due to his more nuanced framework.

Relph's (1976) key enquiry is to theorise why some places are more 'authentic' than others. Especially relevant in this context is the assertion that "[existential space is] the inner structure of space as it appears to us in our concrete experiences of the world as members of a cultural group" (Relph 1976: 12). Moving beyond the level of the individual, this underscore shared values and attitudes in people's development of place-based attachments. Despite the similarity with Tuan's understanding of place, Relph develops a more nuanced and culturally embedded theory of the relationship between space and place. Here, space is something more significant than simply the 'abstract'. When discussing the phenomenological essences of the identity of places, Relph (1976) is influenced by Norberg-Schulz's (1980) notion of *genius loci* – the spirit of place – which "constitutes the very individuality and uniqueness of places (Relph 1976: 48f.). Out of this identity emerges various ways of experiencing places, including what he calls 'existential insideness', which "characterises belonging to a place and the deep and complete identity with a place that is the very foundation of the place concept" (Relph 1976: 55). Such 'authentic' place experiences, it is believed, necessitate "above all that of being inside and belonging to *your* place both as an individual and as a member of a community, and to know this without reflecting upon it" (Relph 1976: 65). This understanding of what constitutes the identity *of* place and the sense of identity *with* place – grounded in the notion of *genius loci* – explicitly theorise places as bounded and fixed with the particular character or essence of place emerging within its local boundaries.

2.2.2 Problems with phenomenologies of space and place

If recognising the strengths of these phenomenologies of place being the emphasis on bodily experience, phenomenology must also be recognised a primary cause for their weaknesses. Some of these problems arise by dichotomising space as one 'external thing' and place as another. Similarly, a narrow focus on experience does not recognise their actual genesis; it is to treat space and place as fixed objects. Thus, despite humanistic geographers' valuable reminder of the importance of space and place in human life, they tend to conceptualise space as something 'external' of social existence – space as an abstract 'out there' which can be 'filled with meaning' and thus become place. Although Relph (1976) nuances the distinction between space and place, they are nonetheless treated as something static which humans can experientially relate themselves

to: Space is understood as an external 'object' that in some instances can be 'internalised' as an existential 'inner structure' of a person's lifeworld (i.e., 'existential space'). The critical question is if this might obfuscate what space is in relation to place: Tuan reduces space to something abstract 'out there', whilst Relph essentialises space and place through his many (and sometimes rather confusing) typologies. As contended by Massey (2005: 6), "what if we refuse that distinction … between place (as meaningful, lived and everyday) and space (as what? the outside? the abstract? the meaning*less*)?" Since a focus in this thesis is not only on people's affective relationship to place, but also how places and place attachments are shaping and shaped by class dispositions, humanistic geography is particularly useful for the former, but insufficient regarding the latter.

The problem here is arguably the essentialising of place related to humanistic geographers' phenomenological approach; how a place is experienced is conflated with what constitutes that place. There are many strengths with this experiential focus, but – related to the research questions of this thesis – it posits an epistemological weakness: Phenomenologies of place starts with the subjectivity of humans as actors and stays there, resulting in an unsatisfactory analysis of how the significance of societal conditions affects places and people's relationship to them (e.g., economy, history, class, gender, religion, ethnicity [and their intersections]) (Pred 1983). Consequently, there is an inadequate *societal* understanding of precisely why different people and groups experience and relate to places differently and the wider implications of these processes (Ley 1981; Pred 1983; Røe 2014). For instance, as Rose (1995: 89) contends, "although senses of place may be very personal, they are not entirely the result of one individual's feelings; rather, such feelings and meanings are shaped in large part by the social, cultural and economic circumstances in which individuals find themselves." Feminist critique of humanistic geography – as idealising place by claiming its universal humanism despite implicitly theorising it from a masculinist position (Rose 1993) – further underscore these arguments. In short, essentialist theorisations of place lack, without modifications, the theoretical possibilities of connecting subjective experiences and practices to societal structures, such as class. Bourdieu (2000: 147) neatly sums up both the problem and solution: "One has to examine the question of the social conditions that have to be fulfilled to make possible the experience of the social world as self-evident which phenomenology describes without providing itself with the means of accounting for it." This entails constructing a theoretical framework of the spatialities of class, but to do so requires a different geographical imagination. Humanistic geographers' emphasis on experience paradoxically neglect the inherent spatiality of social life, and by treating places as static and bounded, they ignore the dynamic interrelations between them. Turning to anti-essentialist theories is a way out of this conundrum.

2.2.3 The social as spatial and spatial as social

What can be labelled anti-essentialist approaches emphasise how reality is socially constructed by attempting to theorise the interrelations between actors and their socio-cultural, spatial, and material conditions. This perspective can be traced to Lefebvre's (1991: 26) influential proposition that "(Social) space is a (social) product." His influential 'spatial triad' are meant to analytically untangle the dynamics between the spatiality of people's everyday life and the spatiality of 'ideologies' (with capitalism for him being the most significant). This framework consists of three ideal-typical conceptualisations of space: (1) Spatial practices; space as *perceived* in everyday life through routinised practices in certain environments; (2) Representations of space; space as *conceived* (related to actors with particular 'ideological' interests; e.g., planners, architects and real estate developers); (3) Spaces of representation; space as "directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'" (Lefebvre 1991: 39).[5] Spaces as perceived and lived can hence be regarded as the spatiality of everyday life – how the social and physical comes together in imbuing places with meaning. This resonates with humanistic geographers' understanding of place, although, importantly, Lefebvre argues that places are not only bodily experienced; social relations and practices are inherently spatial, consequently contributing to the creation of places as everyday life unfolds. Moreover, according to Lefebvre (1991: 46), the "relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable." However, exactly *how* these tensions actually unfold is an empirical question. For example, urban design and architecture have an important role in the transformations of cities in the interest of global capital as part of entrepreneurial urban governance (see, e.g., Dovey 2010; Andersen & Røe 2017). In these processes, representations of space appropriate and exploit the symbolic values of spaces of representations, often with significant consequences for people inhabiting and using these lived spaces – gentrification being an obvious example. In other cases, these spatial trialectics are likely *more* (if not completely) congruent, engendering a certain 'stability' between place as perceived, conceived, and lived.

What makes Lefebvre's framework useful concerning the topics of this thesis is its integration of the dynamics between human agency and societal conditions, epitomised in what he calls the 'specificity of the city':

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[5] *Les espaces de représentation* is translated to 'representational spaces' in *The Production of Space* (Lefebvre 1991). Here, the more appropriate term 'spaces of representation' is used.

> [The city] is situated at an interface, half-way between what is called the *near order* (relations of individuals in groups of variable size, more or less organized and structured and the relations of these groups amongst themselves), and the *far order*, that of society, regulated by large and powerful institutions … by a 'culture' and significant ensembles endowed with powers … This *far order* projects itself into the practico-material reality and becomes visible by writing itself within this reality. (Lefebvre 1996: 101)

For Lefebvre, the city is spatially produced through the interactions between these 'orders', whereas it is also in the urban landscape that these processes, and the consequences of these processes, are physically unfolding and materialising. Cities and urbanism, as assemblages of economic, socio-cultural, religious, ethnic and material relations (Massey 2005; McFarlane 2011), accommodates emancipating possibilities of identity, community and belonging, whilst they are simultaneously de-emancipating by further stigmatise, marginalise and segregate on the basis of class, gender, ethnicity, religion, and their intersections. As Lefebvre (1996: 101) argues: "If there is production of the city, and social relations in the city, it is a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects." Accordingly, the value of his framework is the emphasis on the interrelations between the everyday (re)production of places and societal conditions, making it highly relevant for an analysis of the spatialities of class; that is, of approaching place and class as co-constitutive. This opens the question of how social class, identity, and belonging intersects in the creation and maintenance of Kampen as a white middle-class enclave amid the socio-cultural and ethnic diversity of eastern Oslo. Similar to humanistic geographers, Lefebvre emphasise how people ascribe meaning to their everyday lives in situated bodily practices and experiences, but argues that these must be understood in relation to broader societal structures and processes. This leads to a relational understanding of place, viewing the social and spatial as interrelated, which will then be connected to a Bourdieusian conceptualisation of class.

2.2.4 Places as relations

In contrast to phenomenological approaches, the relational perspectives theorise space not as something 'out there' but intrinsic to social life: "Spatiality and sociality are inextricably intertwined; space is socially constructed as the social is spatially constructed" (Dovey et al. 2009: 2611). A place is experienced as stable (i.e., having an 'identity') only to the extent that the relations reproducing that particular place are also reproduced (Massey 2005). Whereas humanistic geographers payed

mostly attention to the subjective experiences of space and place (i.e., *being* in place), the emphasis is here on the *becoming* of place (Dovey 2010). The implications of this constructivist approach are both ontological and epistemological: "Places are constructed out of wider sets of social relations … We cannot understand the character, the uniqueness, of place by looking at that place alone" (Massey & Jess 1995: 222). This is not only about arguing that a place is unique only in its relation to other different places (although that is significant too, when, for instance, people defend the 'uniqueness' of a place), but a more fundamental argument is also being made here: The constant becoming of place is a process connected to wider social relations in which the spatiality of these relations stretches beyond that local place (Massey 1994, 2005). This is an important theoretical imperative when analysing *why* different people move to different places and develop attachments to them, including how the situated everyday life in them shape their 'identity'. Therefore, an empirical focus in this thesis is not only on Kampen in itself, but also on how the informants relate to Oslo's classed east-west divide and other neighbourhoods in the city, because these extra-local relations are constitutive of Kampen and residents' sense of place and belonging.

Doreen Massey has been highly influential in anti-essentialist thinking about places, and her work is particularly relevant because of this study's interest in the temporally enduring specificity of Kampen as a stable enclave in the midst of the material transformations and social diversity of inner-eastern Oslo. This is especially related to her arguments about viewing space, place, time, and the social as intertwined: Space can be regarded as the dimension of multiplicity, "the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist … a simultaneity of stories-so-far" (Massey 2005: 9). That is, space is that which enables all the 'things' going on around the world to happen 'here and now'. Furthermore, in an attempt at overcoming binary notions of time as dynamic and space as static, she argues that temporality depends upon practices of interrelations (enabled by space) and spatiality depends upon dynamic simultaneity (enabled by time) (Massey 2005: 55). In other words, space and time as mutually constituted. For example, a person walking across a vibrant city square or on the trails in a forest constitutes a spatial practice that is simultaneously by its very nature temporal.

Approaching sociality, spatiality and temporality as co-constitutive has consequences for thinking about place. For if space is a "simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories … as integrations of space and time; as *spatio-temporal events*" (Massey 2005: 130). This entails that the 'identity' of a specific place "is formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location … and the effects which that juxtaposition and co-presence produce

(Massey 1994: 168f.). Importantly – and this is sometimes neglected by those who criticises this relational emphasis – places are also characterised by "the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions" (Massey 2005: 130). In other words, places are created by socio-spatial relations, yet to analyse a relational construction of a place is also about identifying the relations that are not part of or excluded from that process, meaning the apparent stability of a place is the outcome of a lack of changes in the socio-spatial relations reproducing that place. This is maybe just as important as the actual relations materialising and interacting at a certain location and is an important imperative regarding the *apparent* stability of an enclave like Kampen.

Extending on this, as Paulsen (2005: 245) asserts, "even the appearance of a static, unchanging place is the product of active investment in preserving specific local qualities." Any claim for an 'authentic' belonging to place by an individual or group is also a territorial claim of constructing a boundary between an inside and outside. This echoes the tensions between ideological representations of space and spaces of everyday life (Lefebvre 1991) and is a dynamic unfolding in and between different scales (the re-emergence of ethnonationalism being an obvious example). There are thus issues of power involved, as for instance "in cases where one sense of place becomes so dominant that it obscures others, perhaps more important, understandings about that same place" (Rose 1995: 100). For instance, May (1996) identifies a tension between a reactionary and progressive sense of place amongst the 'new cultural class' residents of a gentrifying London neighbourhood, who are attracted to both its 'Englishness' and its ethnic diversity. As discussed later, similar ambiguities between authenticity, continuity and change are also in various ways pervading the lives of the Kampen informants.

2.2.5 Addressing some criticism of a relational approach
This relational approach to space and place has been criticised for ignoring the significance of stability and boundaries due to the emphasis on dynamism, process and the mutual relations between places (see, e.g., Dirlik 1999; Malpas 2012). However, such criticism mistakenly reduces a relational perspective to an either/or question about boundaries. What Massey (2005: 165, 167) suggests is that "the question cannot be whether demarcation (boundary building) is simply good or bad … The decision on whether or not one argues for openness, or for closure, must be an *outcome* [i.e., not a pre-given assumption]." Massey does not necessarily argue against boundaries altogether, she is instead sceptical of *a priori* treating space and place as fixed, static and bounded. A place can certainly be *experienced* as having a stable and essential identity – as phenomenologists

such as Buttimer (1976), Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977) underscores – yet to adequately understand the actual *becoming* of places requires analysis beyond that local formation. Accordingly, "the open relational construction of places in no way works against specificity and uniqueness, it just understands its derivation in a different way" (Massey 2005: 169). The significance of boundaries in the intersections of class and place is for instance shown by Jackson and Benson (2014: 1197), who argues that "middle-class residents draw up spatial and symbolic boundaries between themselves and their 'others', at the same time presenting their own neighbourhood (or part of it) and people within it as distinct." These boundaries are the *outcome* of the reproduction of the relational construction of that neighbourhood, intersecting with inter- and intra-class distinctions; they should thus be treated as something socio-spatially created and maintained, and the implications of that process are more analytically and theoretically important than treating them as *a priori* given.

What can be questioned, however, is the level of abstraction in Massey's relational theorisation of space and place. Although being more satisfactory in socialising the spatial (and vice versa) than the work of humanistic geographers, there is a shortage of analytical concepts to empirically investigate how people and social groups actually develop attachments to places and place-based communities, including what they do and feel 'on the ground'. The perspectives provided by humanistic geography are useful in this regard. Moreover, if places "change us, not through some visceral belonging … but through the *practicing* of place" (Massey 2005: 154), and if "individuals' identities are not aligned with *either* place *or class*; they are probably constructed out of both" (Massey 1994: 137), what is needed is the theoretical tools to investigate these dimensions of practicing place and identity. In short, if places and identities are relationally constructed, the question is what constitutes those specific relations and practices: People's identity *with* place and the identity *of* place, as elaborated by Tuan (1974, 1977) and Relph (1976), can thus be integrated with Massey's (2005) understanding of the relational perspective, in which people's identities and place's identities are shaping each other, within specific socio-economic, historical, and cultural configurations. This leads to questions concerning the implications of social class for the shaping of (urban) neighbourhoods.

2.3 What is class?

Since the thesis is especially focusing on the significance of class in the relational construction of places, elaborating on what class means in this context is necessary. As another fuzzy concept, the debates about the significance of class seems to pivot around conflicting views about what class

'is' and how it 'works' (Flemmen 2020). The aim here is not to extensively engage with these discussions (for an overview, see Crompton 2008), but rather elucidate how class is understood in the context of this study.

This thesis can be said to involve what Crompton (2008: 15) labels the 'cultural' approach to class, by exploring class as situated experiences and practices in everyday life. This is especially influenced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Embedded in a theory of practice, Bourdieu (1977, 1990) was particularly interested in revealing how seemingly mundane things such as people's interests, tastes and lifestyles are integral to the formation of classes and reproduction of social stratification processes (Bourdieu 1984). In this perspective, "class identities, practices, and 'lived experience' are not 'afterthoughts' tacked on preexisting classes; they enter into the very making of these classes" (Wacquant 1991: 51).

The integration of actor and structure in Bourdieu's approach can be conceptualised as "the double nature of social reality" (Rosenlund 2017: 12), consisting of two 'orders' of objectivity: In "the objectivity of the first order" (Wacquant 1992: 7), society is regarded as a 'social space'; a relational system of positions where people are located (Bourdieu 1984). Similar people – by possessing similar relative weight and composition of cultural and economic capital – have similar positions in social space, hence constituting the class fractions in a stratified society. In short, economic capital is the economic wealth (including goods and property) of an individual, whilst cultural capital is a person's cultural dispositions, for instance related to education, language, aesthetic tastes, leisure interests and lifestyle. Whereas social space is a heuristic construct, reality as it unfolds in everyday life consists of "different forms of human practices; it has a subjective, expressive and symbolic aspect" (Rosenlund 2017: 12). This is "the objectivity of the second order" (Wacquant 1992: 7), the situated practices and experiences of people, interpreting and acting in the world. This is 'the space of lifestyles', where people form their identities through cultural practices of distinction and affiliation; disidentifying with those 'not like themselves' whilst identifying with people 'like themselves' (Bourdieu 1984). Accordingly, social class is something people *do* and not simply *are*.

The key concept bridging the first and second order of objectivity is *habitus* (Rosenlund 2017). Habitus is a set of embodied dispositions, structured by an actor's position in social space, who simultaneously structure that structure through behaviour, interests, attitudes, taste, lifestyle and so on (Bourdieu 1984, 1990). The habitus is thus both generative in that it facilitates people with agency to act and make sense of the world and embodied by being internalised and taken for

granted – most things people do and believe are not consciously reflected upon but simply a part of who they are in their phenomenological lifeworld. Habitus is thus bridging this (subjective) lived immersion with the (objective) formation of classes, by becoming shaped by the social, cultural and economic conditions of an individual. People growing up in similar conditions develop similar habituses and composition of capital, thus sharing similar positions in social space, in which similar positions in social space constitute different class fractions, with the members of each fraction sharing similar ways of perceiving and being in the world (Bourdieu 1984, 1990).

Despite Norway's egalitarian ideals as reflected in the universalism of its social democratic welfare state (Esping-Andersen 2015) and Norwegians' sentiments towards themselves (Gullestad 1992), social stratification according to relative weight and composition of capital has shown to be significant both regarding class formation and lifestyle differences (Hjellbrekke et al. 2015; Jarness 2017; Rosenlund 2017; Flemmen et al. 2018a; Flemmen et al. 2018b) and class advantages, social mobility and closure (e.g., Ljunggren 2016; Flemmen et al. 2017). Concerning Oslo specifically, similar class divisions have been related to the impact of socio-spatial segregation at various scales (Andersen 2014; Ljunggren & Andersen 2015; Toft & Ljunggren 2016; Ljunggren & Andersen 2015; Ljunggren et al. 2017; Toft 2018). Although there are exceptions (e.g., Andersen 2014), most of this research treat space in a rather static sense, for instance as a variable in quantitative analysis of so-called 'neighbourhood effects'. There is therefore still a need to explore the situated practices and experiences that are actually shaping the relational formation of places and class identities. This entails constructing a framework for exploring the qualitative aspects of the spatialities of class.

2.3.1 Spatialities of class

By bridging the ('objective') social space with the ('subjective') space of lifestyles through the concept of habitus, this thesis is concerned with the importance of places for class identities as means of distinction and (dis)affiliation. In this context, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of 'the double nature of social reality' (Rosenlund 2017) resonates with Lefebvre's (1996: 101) aforementioned description of the specificity of the city, whereby the "*far order* projects itself into the practico-material reality and becomes visible by writing itself within this reality." Accordingly, a spatialisation of class approach needs to integrate how classed dispositions (i.e., habitus and composition of capital) materialises in the 'practico-material reality' of everyday life.

Paralleling Massey's (2005) relational perspective of spatiality, Bourdieu provides a relational perspective of class. However, although varying in how he approach 'physical space' (as it is usually

called) within his framework, Bourdieu tends to view geography in a rather static way, illustrated in assertions such as: "Though social space is not a physical space, it tends to realize itself in a more or less complete and accurate fashion in that space" (Bourdieu 2018: 108). The problem with this, is that geography is thought of as a flat surface where social groups are merely 'mapped' over. In short, Bourdieu maintains a separation between social and geographical space in which 'physical space' is (albeit unevenly) 'appropriated' by classes (Bourdieu 1996, 2018). However, integrating a Bourdieusian approach with a relational understanding of place necessitates recognising the co-constitutiveness of the social and spatial: "[A] social group does not merely make a place after its own (thus pre-given) image; rather the process of construction of the place is integral to the imagination and affirmation of the social identity itself" (Massey 1995b: 338). This socio-spatial understanding accommodates empirical analysis of how social class intersects with people's (phenomenological) identity *with* place and the identity *of* place (Relph 1976; Tuan 1974). For instance, it is not only that the middle classes 'appropriate' working-class neighbourhoods (by virtue of their lifestyles and aesthetical tastes as embodied in habitus, combined with their composition of capital), but those spatial practices are in themselves constructing the identity of that fraction of the middle classes as a means of distinction and affiliation: Living in a particular neighbourhood with particular types of housing, shops, cafés and other material features is not a mere 'backdrop' for 'everything else', but intrinsic to the formation of class identities and a sense of belonging (e.g., Savage et al. 2005; Watt 2010; Robertson 2013; Benson & Jackson 2014; Jarness 2017; Rosenlund 2017). It is therefore through "the practicing of place" (Massey 2005: 154) – the social practices constitutive of the place itself – that both the social and spatial dimensions of class are interrelated.

Qualitative research of the spatialities of class has been prominent across the global south-north divide during the last decades (see, e.g., Butler & Robson 2003; Atkinson 2006; Andreotti et al. 2013; Robertson 2013; Tissot 2014; Bacqué et al. 2015; Mercer 2018; Fuentes & Mac-Clure 2019; Nogueira 2019), demonstrating the multitude of ways in which the social and spatial are mutually constituted in the classed formation of identities and spatial patterns of belonging through distinction and affiliation in urban space. Savage et al. (2005) uses the term 'selective belonging' to capture how the middle classes develop attachments to the places they inhabit by virtue of their habituses and composition of capital. This term is useful for understanding how the social fabric of cities is stratified through the middle classes' "relational sense of place, their ability to relate their area of residence against other possible areas" (Savage et al. 2005: 29). However, despite emphasising how the middle classes are practicing socio-spatial belonging, places are nonetheless regarded as somewhat static, whereby the neighbourhoods of the city are finished products,

awaiting 'out there' as an *à la carte* menu to be consumed by the middle classes (Bacqué et al. 2015). 'Elective belonging' says therefore little about what actually happening in and to these places; how performing belonging and practicing place is a process not only of constructing the identity of the individual and social group electively belonging, but also how this affects the relational construction of a particular place (Blokland 2017). Echoing "the practicing of place" (Massey 2005: 154), Benson and Jackson (2012: 794) argues that "people do not merely select a place to live that matches their habitus; rather places are made through repeated everyday actions and interventions that work on both the neighbourhood and the individual." Obviously, this does not mean that places are only made by individuals and social groups in the 'civil sphere', but *in conjunction* with public and private actors such as urban planners, architects and real estate developers, conditioned by urban governance, particular planning regimes and political-economic structures. It is the spatiality of everyday life and that of larger ideological forces which shape the production of space, as expressed in Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad. Therefore, although the empirical analysis is particularly concerned with how Kampen's identity is maintained by its residents through local practices, the role of municipal and private actors will also be touched upon.

To summarise thus far, analysing practices is key for understanding the mutual formation of social class and place: "place-making can be understood as a discursive practice in action through which place and classed subjectivities intersect and are shaped" (Benson & Jackson 2012: 797). Places may as such be understood as relationally constructed by individuals and social groups through their (uneven) ability to electively belonging and practicing place, conditioning and conditioned by their habituses and relative weight of economic and cultural capital. What emerges out of these socio-spatial practices and relations is a highly uneven social geography of cities and urban regions, shaping people's notions of themselves and their Others – where they feel they belong in the city and where they do not. The following part extends on the above in presenting three concepts useful to theoretically analyse how the informants perceive and experience Oslo's east-west divide, their own neighbourhood, and how this can be related to practices of maintaining Kampen's identity.

2.3.2 Structures of feeling and affective atmospheres

The concepts 'structure of feeling' and 'affective atmospheres' are highly relevant for grasping how *affects* of everyday life shape experiences and practices in an emotional and lived sense (Anderson 2014). As amalgamations of emotions and actions, affects are produced in the immediate encounters and interactions between human and non-human bodies and materialities (Anderson

2014; Bille & Simonsen 2019). Analytically, affects can be said to infuse how people make sense of and act in the world, not through some rational cognition, but in a bodily, emotional sense: "thought as felt and feeling as thought" (Williams 1977: 132). If, as Flemmen (2020: 75) advocates, "we need to grasp the class divided ways of experiencing, perceiving, feeling and thinking about the world", these two concepts may be useful in this regard.

Raymond Williams's (1977) term *structures of feeling* can be used to theorise people's shared feelings towards everyday life in different places (Pred 1983; Anderson 2014; Yarker 2018). Grounded in *feelings*, the concept emphasises "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (Williams 1977: 132). Outlining these different meanings and values infusing people's perceptions of different places, are especially useful regarding the first research question, concerning the informants' notions of Oslo's east-west divide. If, as Bourdieu (1984) suggests, social differentiation is structured by relative weight and composition of capital (which has shown to be case in Norway, see, e.g., Flemmen et al. 2018b), leading to symbolic boundaries and mutual antagonisms between those high in cultural contra those high in economic capital (see, e.g., Jarness 2017), structure of feeling is a valuable heuristic device for analysing how and what exactly the informants think and feel about people and life in the West End contra the East End. Importantly, structures of feeling, like habitus, is a theoretical construct – whilst experientially intangible it is useful for theoretically analysing similar people's shared beliefs about places:

> If structure of feeling is a generation- and class-centered array of meanings and feelings equivalent 'to a felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time', then it corresponds to the common meaning and feeling elements of sense of place held by some of those people of the same generation and class residing in the same place. (Pred 1983: 58)

For instance, although not using the concept, Andersen (2014: 256) labels the implications of Oslo's east-west divide on an individual level as either becoming 'East-bounded' or 'West-bounded', in which "these 'paradigmatic' ways of life co-constitute or reproduce the socio-spatial configuration." Structures of feeling can thereby be said permeate people's notions of the classed geography of Oslo. In other words, following McKay (2005: 79), the term captures the "the culturally infused socio-economic understandings people deploy to interpret places and landscapes." Importantly, structures of feeling should be regarded as always in-process, in which different structures of feeling operate simultaneously and in tension with each other (Williams

1977; Pred 1983; Anderson 2014): As returned to in chapter 5, the two local structures of feeling outlined based on interpreting the informants' sentiments towards the east-west divide, are emerging out of a relational sense of place, whereby everyday life in the former is perceived as more or less the opposite of the latter.

Whilst structure of feeling pertains to the first research question, analysing *affective atmospheres* are especially related to the other two. The term illuminates how a socio-spatial configuration can be bodily experienced as having an atmospheric 'something more' (Duff 2010), emerging out of the particular interactions between the human and non-human (Anderson 2009), which may affect individual feelings and behaviour. Atmospheres are intrinsically spatial, in which the affects "generated or experienced in place are dynamically involved in the production and reproduction of place" (Duff 2010: 885). For example, Edensor (2015) discusses the affective atmosphere at a football match, which temporarily unfolds in the interactions of supporters, players and events on the pitch, weather, time of day, and the architecture of the stadium.

Crucially, as an analytical term, affective atmospheres grasps the elusive qualities of certain places without essentialising these through a metaphysical notion of *genius loci*. Moreover, it retains important bodily and emotional aspects which revitalise the experiential dimensions of place as elaborated by humanistic geographers (e.g., Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). Affective atmospheres underscores the phenomenological experience of places whilst emphasising the actual becoming of such atmospheric qualities through practices: "In this way, atmosphere is not only something humans *feel*, or that conditions perception, but it also simultaneously positions the felt space as something humans *do*" (Bille & Simonsen 2019: 10). This is important when turning to the analysis of not only how Kampen is experienced, but also the degree to which and how people contribute in sustaining its identity.

In terms of the spatialities of class, affective atmospheres can be related to Walter Benjamin's (1969) notion of 'aura'. For him, unique works of art before mechanical reproduction had a distinctive time-space specificity; an aura affecting the viewer's experience of it. With reproduction, these specificities became disembedded from art and deprived it of these auratic qualities. Savage et al. (2003: 143) extends on this by arguing that auratic qualities are also imbuing cities; by being "spatially unique and unreproducible, they range across time, each with its own aura." However, cities in the age of neoliberal globalisation and urban entrepreneurialism are being marketed with their particular qualities whilst simultaneously becoming more alike by implementing similar urban

development policies (Harvey 1989; Thibaud 2015; Andersen & Røe 2017). As a result, Savage (2000b: 49) suggests that "cities become ever more similar, so people search ever harder for genuine urban distinction, and so such urban specificity becomes artificially constructed by speculative and booster interests." Although this should be regarded an empirical question, there may be something to it. In an era in which reproduction appears to be an ubiquitous part of consumer culture through intensifying aestheticisations of everyday life (Featherstone 2007), in which it has been argued that symbolic values (including those of space) in many cases surpass the use values of commodities (Lash & Urry 1994), it can be suggested that certain neighbourhoods – which simply cannot be reproduced – have the potential to retain important auratic qualities vital for the relational (re)territorialisation of social class: "The relative significance of housing vis-à-vis other social and cultural fields thereby enhances its relative capacity to convey distinction and thus is a fundamental part of the spatialisation of class" (Savage 2006: 7). If this is the case, the atmospheric 'something more' (Duff 2010) created and maintained in certain neighbourhoods can be said to interrelate with socio-spatial distinction; making sure certain auratic qualities persist are hence part of intra- and inter-class boundary work.

2.3.3 Treating place as a gift

Structure of feeling and affective atmospheres are hence useful for understanding how and why the informants relate to the East End in general and Kampen in particular, including their affective attachment to their neighbourhood, which may contribute to a shared sense of place and community: "Affects link places together, providing a lived sense of belonging in place, whilst giving form to the meaning and purpose of one's neighbourhood or community" (Duff 2010: 892). This is relevant not only for exploring the informants' sense of place, but also in analysing how people in the neighbourhood engage in practices of maintaining its perceived identity. Bennett (2014: 660), drawing on Marcel Mauss's theory of gift exchange, theorises why some places are cared for and nurtured over time between generations of communities: "When looking at place as a gift, this relationship between the two parties is useful in understanding why long-term connections to a place can seem to confer a particular sense of belonging for people in a place." In short, the way people care for their neighbourhood can be understood as a form of gift exchange; previous residents have made it an exceptionally good place to live, so the new resident wants to 'return the favour' by making sure those qualities persists. Treating a place as a gift can in this sense engender a moral reciprocity between new and old/former residents, in which the neighbourhood's distinctive affective-atmospheric and auratic qualities are collectively nurtured for, implying "a sense of deep care and concern for that place" (Relph 1976: 37).

Bennett (2014) argues that this place-as-gift process brings the relations between the past, present and future together. The past can be present both materially, culturally and in memories (Massey 1995c), and these various ways of bringing the past into the present as a way of collectively remember and caring for a place may create social cohesion and a sense of belonging (Fortier 1999). On a more grounded level, Bennett (2014: 661) suggests neighbouring, such as loaning tools or foodstuffs, can be regarded as a form of gift exchange, which "reaffirm the neighbourly relationship and allow each party to confirm themselves as good neighbours: that is, as participants in the moral project of neighbouring." Simultaneously, these acts of neighbouring are ways of practicing belonging and community (Fortier 1999; Kusenbach 2006; Wright 2015; Blokland 2017) and maintaining a certain neighbourly atmosphere.

Bennett (2014) further argues that an important dimension of treating place as a gift, is that is usually not consciously recognised as such but simply occur in the mundanity of everyday life. Because a shared sense of place is necessary, this form of gift exchange rests upon establishing a dominant notion of what the place is and what it should be (Bennett 2014). However, senses of place may be contested and affected by classed (albeit not necessarily recognised as such) dispositions (Rose 1995) – for example taste and lifestyle differences between working-class old-timers and middle-class in-movers in a gentrifying neighbourhood. Accordingly, treating a place as a gift depends on a particular understanding of its identity, meaning a certain sense of place can prevail over others, by involving a *certain* interpretation of its past, present and future (Massey 1995c). Consequently, whilst this form of gift exchange might engender a sense of social cohesion, it may also have unintended social implications, such as gentrification.

2.3.4 Beyond a narrow approach to gentrification

As previously mentioned, a slow process of gentrification has unfolded in Kampen since the 1970s (Pløger 1997). Inherently both social and spatial, gentrification illustrates some of the intrinsic interrelations of space and class. Theories of this process has historically diverged between production-/supply-side (Smith 1996) and consumption-/demand-side (Ley 1996) explanations, or attempts at synthesis (see Lees 2000), whilst recent advances within postcolonial comparative urbanism proposes that gentrification is a planetary process with complex trajectories not always confirming to theories developed in the Global North (Lees et al. 2016). Displacement is another debated issue pivoting around the degree to which gentrification is in itself causing the reduction of working-class residents in inner-city neighbourhoods or if it is due to broader demographic

transitions (see Slater 2009, 2010; Hamnett 2009; 2010). The aim here is not to repeat these debates, but rather comment on some of theoretical constituents of the gentrification discourse. On the one hand, it is obvious that gentrification is in many places engendered and intensified due to deindustrialisation in some cities and industrialisation in others, as part of neoliberal urban policies and the uneven geographies of global capitalism. On the other hand, an analysis of socio-spatial transformations in the urban fabric – and how this affects places and people's attachment to them – needs to remain attentive to the contextual particularities that nuance these political-economic trajectories, including involving an epistemology able to capture the inherent ambiguities and contradictions of these processes (Maloutous 2018; Johnson-Schlee 2019).

Such an epistemology is arguably necessary due to a doxic tendency to maintain a division between long-term working-class residents and the upper-/middle-class in-movers. The intention here is not to argue against the importance of class relations, nor an attempt to withdraw the critical perspectives put forward by Slater (2009, 2010). However, that almost taken-for-granted division may impede an openness to what is actually going on 'on the ground' in the everyday life of people's situated practices and experiences. Thus, the significance of class and ethnicity remains imperative, but should not blur the analysis of the particular dynamics between socio-spatial continuity and change, echoing Lees's (2000: 405) attentive reminder: "I caution against explanatory closure, a closure that gentrification researchers, more often than not, seem compelled to search for."

These comments can be related to Lawton's (2020: 9) recent appeals for an 'unbounding of gentrification theory': "a more holistic approach to the understanding of social relations requires one to situate the more overt forms of urban change, as associated with gentrification, with that which seeks to understand the longer term forms of class embeddedness in urban space." The relational approach to place and class and focus on the affective dimensions of everyday life, in order to understand the *apparent* stability of Kampen, are thereby also relevant to explore the socio-spatial *changes* that has ensued through the decades. Following recent attempts at nuancing gentrification and the subjectivities of gentrifier/gentrified (Brown-Saracino 2004; Douglas 2012; Benson & Jackson 2013; Blasius et al. 2016; Yarker 2018; Elliott-Cooper et al. 2019), the thesis adjoins this research by approaching gentrification as part of the wider spatialities of class and place. Moreover, because homeownership is dominant in Kampen (68 per cent),[6] it is reasonable to believe most old-timers still living there, own their own apartment. Relevant regarding gentrification-induced displacement is therefore its indirect form: Although long-term residents

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[6] https://bydelsfakta.oslo.kommune.no/bydel/gamleoslo/eierform

may be 'physically' secure through homeownership, "pressure of displacement" can be engendered by a sense of loss of place amongst old-timers experiencing their neighbourhood gradually changing, such as local social networks dissolving and certain shops and cafés closing down (Marcuse 1985: 208f.).

Research has shown how such indirect/symbolic displacement through social and material transformations of neighbourhoods affect the lives of people and their sense of belonging and community (e.g., Shaw & Hagermans 2015; Håkansson 2018; Yarker 2018; Elliott-Cooper et al. 2019), including in Oslo's gentrifying inner east (Sæter & Ruud 2005; Huse 2014). Simultaneously, recognising Lawton's (2020) call for an unbounding of gentrification theory and Lees's (2000) reminder of avoiding explanatory closure, necessitates a sensitivity to the contextual particularities of these forms of displacement. For instance, Yarker (2018: 3425) develops the term 'tangential attachments' to "understand how local residents draw upon urban transformation in articulating a sense of local identity, whilst also imbuing these identities with existing meanings." These long-term residents are thus not *only* experiencing symbolic displacement; old and new meanings are drawn together in redeveloping a sense of belonging. Furthermore, as suggested by Kern (2016) and Elliott-Cooper et al. (2019), there is a need to explore the underresearched temporalities of gentrification, the intersections of continuity and change and how this may also affect people's sense of place. Finally, Linz (2017) analyses the social implications of 'visible assemblages' of human and non-human bodies and materialities; a new restaurant with its interior, food, drinks and patrons emanates an affective atmosphere of inclusion or exclusion depending on the classed dispositions of the 'viewer'. This is especially relevant by focusing on the affective-atmospheric dimensions of displacement: "Social exclusion is produced aesthetically: in imminent ways through affect and materiality" (Linz 2017: 132).

3. Methodological considerations

Because of the need for coherence between research questions, theory, methods and data in the design of a research project, the purpose of this chapter is to address the methodological considerations of the thesis. Since the choice of method and data collected must reflect the research questions and theoretical framework (and vice versa), this also involves certain ontological and epistemological issues. By engaging in constructivist grounded theory in combination with abductive inference, this chapter discuss the justifications for choice of method, sampling of participants, data collected, and coding procedure, in order to illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of the thesis. Matters concerning scientific rigour, credibility and transferability are brought up throughout the chapter where relevant.

3.1 Constructivist grounded theory

Grounded theory (GT) is a methodology founded by Glaser and Strauss (1967). By 'grounding' analysis in the social world, the idea is to theorise as close as possible to the empirical reality. As a "systematic method for constructing a theoretical analysis from data" (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012: 347), GT accommodates an iterative and interactive relationship between data collection and analysis, facilitating for the emergence of unexpected insights from the ethnographic field which can then be integrated into subsequent data collection. This empirical grounding with 'an open mind' is highly useful in research *exploring* the socio-spatially situated mundanities of people's lifeworlds in a specific societal context: "A grounded theorist is concerned with trying to understand the interplay between the subjective experiences of everyday life and the broader historical and structural relations" (Bailey et al. 1999: 174). This thesis is concerned with how people think, feel and act in and about specific places, especially Kampen – a 'quiet' neighbourhood not subject to 'territorial stigmatisation' (Wacquant et al. 2014) and having few apparent 'social problems'. Because of the interest in how class is *lived* and *felt*, GT is especially useful to study the *situatedness* of everyday life, which seems appropriate with the theoretical framework, where phenomenological and constructivist approaches are integrated in exploring the spatialities of class (e.g., habitus as embodied subjectivity; humanistic geography; the relational construction of place; affective atmospheres). Accordingly, if "[c]ontemporary discussions of the formations of class suffer from a kind of presentaism that skims the surface of class culture without accounting adequately for either the residues of history in it or its place-based qualities" (Back 2015: 883), the 'groundedness' of GT is suitable in attempting to go 'beneath this surface' to grasp the affective and spatial dimensions of how class is lived in an 'egalitarian society', including capturing the

contradictions and ambiguities of social life, which too easily can get lost in the pursuit of scientific rationality implicating certain epistemologies (Bailey et al. 1999; Johnson-Schlee 2019).

Extending on this point, the variant of GT involved here is known as 'constructivist' (Charmaz 2006, 2008; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012), which ontologically and epistemologically partly differs from the original approach developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967).[7] Notwithstanding the ensuing divergences between Glaser and Strauss (for an overview, see Charmaz 2006: 4-8), constructivist GT is different from those variants Charmaz and Belgrave (2012: 349f.) calls 'objectivist' and 'postpositivist', in that it "takes implicit meanings, experiential views, and grounded theory analyses as constructions of reality. Constructivist grounded theory … emphasize studying how action and meaning are constructed." In this sense, it is appropriate for analysing and theorising not only *why* and *what* the informants think, feel and act as they do, but also *how,* as situated subjects conditioned by particular socio-cultural, historical and spatial conditions which they contribute in creating, maintaining and/or changing through their ways of interacting in their lifeworlds as it objectively unfolds for them. In contrast to objectivist/postpositivist GT implying an external reality to be studied from some neutral position, the constructivist variant recognises social reality as multiple and processual (Charmaz 2006, 2008), entailing it "provides an *interpretive* portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it" (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012: 349). This means the researcher plays an *active* role and is thus part of the construction of a reality as presented in the research findings, through the iterative interaction with the empirical substance; between data collection, analysis and theory. Consequently, constructivist GT involves recognising the positionality of the researcher and the researched, an issue that is returned to throughout this chapter.

Moreover, this variant also departs from the 'original' GT concerning the researcher's relationship with existing theory and previous research. Whereas Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that one should disregard all relevant literature in an effort to give complete attention to the empirical data itself, the reflexive positionality of constructivist GT includes recognising the challenges and problems of such an 'atheoretical' approach (Bailey et al. 1999). Part of acknowledging one's positionality is to recognise one's 'intellectual baggage', including personal research interests and the theories pertaining to those interests (Charmaz 2006: 16). Despite this, constructivist GT proponents remains committed to developing theory from the data through induction (Charmaz 2006, 2008; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012). However, Timmermans and Tavory (2012; see also Blaikie

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[7] Glaser (2002) is critical of viewing GT as constructivist, whilst Charmaz (2006, 2008) asserts the constructivist underpinnings of GT in general, and the advantages of developing GT with such an epistemology in particular.

2007: 99-101) counter that not only has novel theory development been scarce under the banner of GT, in actual research practice, inference is more reminiscent of abduction than induction. As Blaikie (2007: 101) argues, "[a]bductive logic requires a hermeneutic dialogue to occur between first-order, lay concepts and meanings and second-order, technical concepts and interpretations." Similarly, Timmermans and Tavory (2012: 169) claims abductive inference "rests on the cultivation of anomalous and surprising empirical findings against a background of multiple existing sociological theories [preferably from other disciplines too!] and through systematic methodological analysis." Whilst Charmaz (2006) has touched upon some of the abductive features of GT (e.g., the iterations between data collection and analysis), induction is asserted as the main type of reasoning. Nevertheless, this thesis integrates pre-existing theories and literature and analysis through abductive inference, by bringing the emic perspectives of the field into dialogue with the etic perspectives of the researcher, and thus infer existing theory to the degree they contribute in understanding and/or explaining the empirical reality. Accordingly, this entailed doing a literature review and constructing a theoretical framework before conducting the fieldwork, as opposed to GT's 'pure' inductive bottom-up strategy (see Glaser and Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006).

This, of course, does not mean that other theoretical concepts are not brought into the analysis nor that using preliminary perspectives involves disregarding ensuing insights from the field. Charmaz (2006: 16f.) refers to Blumer's notion of 'sensitising concepts' in arguing that "grounded theorists often begin their studies with certain research interests and a set of general concepts. These concepts provide ideas to pursue and sensitize you to ask particular kinds of questions about your topic." For instance, a significant part of this study is about social class. As elaborated in the theory chapter, this depends on a particular operationalisation of the term 'class'. This thesis involves a Bourdieusian approach, meaning a relatively broad understanding of what class 'is' and how it 'works' (Flemmen 2020). Although this, in turn, influences ('sensitises') the questions asked in the interviews and what to look for during the analysis, it does not follow that other theoretical perspectives are irrelevant as the analytic process proceeds: "*Sensitizing concepts* get the research started, but they do not straitjacket the research" (Ragin 1994: 87f.). For example, whilst class is inherent in gentrification processes, other ways of understanding and theorising the subjectivity of different residents were also needed as the analysis of the empirical particularities of this process unfolded, such as 'moral ownership' (Zukin et al. 2016) and 'social preservation' (Brown-Saracino 2004). Accordingly, abductive inference in combination with GT constitutes a rather pragmatic approach to making sense of the empirical world.

Furthermore, the procedures of GT facilitate scientific rigour in qualitative research (Bailey et al. 1999). Firstly, the dynamic between data collection and analysis enable communicating temporary findings to what Stratford and Bradshaw (2016: 126) calls the "participant community" (i.e., informants), in which something interesting identified during analysis can be implemented in a subsequent round of data collection, in turn enhancing the analysis: "We learn about research participants' concerns and experiences and then successively develop our interview guides from the data and our emerging analysis of these data. … Thus, our successively focused interviews strengthen the fit between data and analysis" (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012: 348). Secondly, abductively inferring these emic perspectives with etic perspectives, involves communicating the findings to the "interpretive community" (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016: 118; see also Baxter & Eyles 1997), constituted by well-established theories and concepts in the relevant field of research. Consequently, the degree to which existing theoretical concepts or explanations 'fit' the empirical findings, influences the case study's theoretical transferability (Baxter 2016: 142), contributing to further develop or nuance theories and their contextual applicability (e.g., regarding gentrification) (Timmermans & Tavory 2012).

3.2 Sampling of informants

Because of the interest in how 'ordinary people' give meaning to their situated everyday lives in a specific neighbourhood in Oslo, the sampling of informants was naturally restricted to that geographical locality. Thus, as a combination of 'typical case sampling' and 'criterion sampling' (Stratford and Bradshaw 2016: 124), the selection of participants was informed by a need for inhabitants in different ages, residential durations and class positions, in order to get place-related data from different types of residents. Since part of the study is concerned with place attachment, community and gentrification, it was necessary to acquire data reflecting views from both old-timers and recent in-movers. However, since population representativeness is seldom a principle in qualitative research (Bailey et al. 1999), the sampling of participants was guided by the search for data able to empirically substantiate the research topics. Although the informants differ according to age, residential duration and class, it is unreasonable to believe that they somehow 'represent' the neighbourhood as a whole. In other words, this is a form of 'theoretical sampling' by which data collection is driven by the research questions of the case study (Ragin 1994; Charmaz 2006; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012).

The recruitment of informants was based on a list of people who had accepted to be contacted for an in-depth interview in an online survey, conducted as part of the research project 'Invisible

Infrastructures' at the Work Research Institute (OsloMet). This list of 741 respondents, who were currently living (or had lived) in the Tøyen/Kampen area, consisted of contact info and which street they lived in. A sample of this list was compiled of those currently residing in Kampen, whereby the email addresses usually gave an indication of gender (i.e., name). Additionally, because certain streets in the neighbourhood are dominated by particular types of housing (e.g., wooden houses or apartment blocks), knowing which the street they lived in informed the sampling by selecting potential participants from different parts of Kampen, and thus increasing the likelihood of recruiting informants residing in different types of housing. This final contact list consisted of 43 persons, and, at this stage, it was uncertain if the sampling criteria were met, in terms of differences in age, social class and residential duration. A participant invitation and information letter (see appendix 1) was sent to these 43 persons via email, whereby 23 were willing to participate. However, some had to cancel, and others did not respond to the follow-up email of arranging the actual interview. Moreover, an additional informant was recruited during the data collection through one of my academic supervisors, thus ending up with a total of 14 informants.

If validity in qualitative research can be interpreted as the credibility of the findings (i.e., "[a]uthentic representations of experience" – Baxter & Eyles 1997: 512), Bailey et al. (1999: 175) recommends making the researcher's reflexive management explicit to the reader a principle for strengthening qualitative validity. Some remarks about the informants are thus valuable for "validating the presentation of findings" (Bailey et al. 1999: 172). Firstly, by recruiting participants from a survey, these have already shown a certain interest in their own neighbourhood, and hence may be more concerned with and eager to talk about it than other residents. Whilst it is difficult to discern exactly how this affects the data, it might entail a certain bias: Those who are inclined to participate may be more positive (or negative?), familiar with, and 'committed' to their neighbourhood than people who do not participate in such research activities. One way of dealing with these issues are to consciously recognise this before and during the interview. By carefully listening and talking to the informant in an attempt at having more of a conversation than an interview, it is likely easier to generate detailed and nuanced data (Dunn 2016). All in all, and as detailed later in the chapter, trying to reflect critically is essential in every stage of qualitative research (Bailey et al. 1999), which in this context involves dealing with a certain power tension in the interview situation (Dowling 2016): Do people say what they actually believe or do they alter their opinions and attitudes based on what they think I want to hear? This potential bias is also important to be conscious about during the analysis (Cope 2016). Based on the experience of doing the interviews and analysing the data, it is difficult to assert prominent biases of this kind. The informants were rarely neither overtly

positive nor negative, even of their own neighbourhood, despite many having strong attachments to it. They were usually surprisingly nuanced and gave what seemed to be sincere descriptions of their practices and experiences of their situated everyday lives. Although this nuancing may itself reflect them being conscious of the interview situation, they were strikingly more nuanced when talking about relatively sensitive topics concerning Oslo's East End (e.g., immigration, poverty, crime), than when talking about life in the West End. This 'selective nuancing' has arguably more to do with their classed dispositions and personal experiences (e.g., views on ethnic diversity, political attitudes, and feelings towards the economic upper-/middle-classes of the West End), than somehow being biased in line with what they perceive as the purpose of the research.

Secondly, after conducting the 14 interviews, it was possible to get a feel of the degree to which the different 'voices' from the field were included in the data, based on class, residential duration, and age. This was surprisingly balanced with respect to the sampling criteria: Five males and nine females, ranging from the ages 22 to 76, most in the thirties or forties, all ethnic Norwegian, and with different residential durations: Some had lived in Kampen a few years, others around 20 years, and some since the 1980s and early 1990s. The allocation of the informants in class fractions was done using 'the Oslo Register Data Class Scheme' (Hansen et al. 2009), a Bourdieusian classification based on amount and composition of cultural and economic capital according to occupation and income. Twelve of the informants had an academic education and occupation in (or retired from) fields such as architecture, media, NGOs, humanities and social sciences, pertaining to the class fraction "cultural upper-middle", expect one in "cultural elite" (Hansen et al. 2009: 10). In the analysis and discussion, the term 'cultural middle-class' is used to refer to both of these groups (despite one informant being 'cultural elite' according to the class scheme). The remaining two informants were, due to their lower educational and occupational background, allocated to "cultural lower-middle" and "skilled workers". However, it should be mentioned that whilst this 'superficial' allocation is useful to roughly make sense of the classed dispositions of the informants, one of the aims of the thesis is precisely to qualitatively expand on the lifeworlds of people positioned in some of these class fractions.

Thus, since the thesis is first and foremost interested in the meanings residents in a white middle-class enclave are ascribing to Oslo's east-west divide, their socio-spatial environments (Kampen and nearby neighbourhoods), having interviewees predominantly pertaining to this group was especially necessary. However, having some of the old-timers were needed to generate data both concerning 'the neighbourhood of the past' and their experiences of gentrification. On the one

hand, the shortage of these latter informants is undeniably one of the empirical weaknesses of the thesis.[8] On the other hand, it was nonetheless possible to acquire data illuminating some of the issues most important to explore the contextual particularities of the gentrification of Kampen, especially regarding an ongoing and much disputed urban development project. Alternative sources were useful in this regard, such as local history books, news articles, neighbour complaints to the municipality, and debates in Facebook-groups. Moreover, merely being in the neighbourhood and visiting local cafés, observing and taking fieldnotes of everyday life in the urban village, as a form of intensive 'short-term ethnography' (Pink & Morgan 2013), was also beneficial. All of this provided me with a 'thicker' understanding (Geertz 1973) of the place, including what the local dispute is really about, and how it can be related to topics such as place identity, authenticity and gentrification. Such 'thick descriptions' explicates the contextual particularities of the case study, which Baxter and Eyles (1997: 515) suggests informs its transferability; "the degree to which findings fit within contexts outside the study." In short, the thesis focuses predominantly on some of Kampen's middle-class residents and their senses of place and belonging in the city. Had the study been *solely* concerned with gentrification and (symbolic) displacement, having more old-timers subject to this process would have been necessary, but since this is not the case, it *partly* mitigates the weakness of having few of those residents.

3.3 Walking and talking

The walk-along interview was the main method of data collection. This is a relatively underutilized approach to interviewing, despite the 'obvious' relevance for human geographers, namely its place-specific situatedness (Kusenbach 2003; Evans & Jones 2011; Finlay & Bowman 2017). Interviewing whilst walking *in situ* is useful in a constructivist GT approach: By being phenomenologically immersed in the socio-spatial environment relevant to the research questions, this method is closer to "lived experience as grounded in place" (Kusenbach 2003: 456) than sedentary interviews conducted in an 'external' setting. By focusing on the meanings the informants ascribe to their neighbourhood, the walk-along accommodates the immediacy and inherent performativity involved in that process. In contrast to the sedentary interview, being bodily situated and moving in place(s) 'naturally' prompts the interviewer and interviewee to mention or elaborate on place-specific matters, thus generating focused and detailed data, which improves the credibility of the findings (Baxter & Eyles 1997).

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[8] The COVID-19 outbreak impeded the possibilities of conducting further interviews.

The walk-alongs were done in two periods with enough time in-between to transcribe and analyse the first set of interviews.[9] This was inspired by the idea of planning for emergence *between* focus groups (Morgan et al. 2008). Despite not using focus groups, having enough time between the two interview periods to engage with the initial collected data is useful for at least two interwoven reasons: (1) Becoming familiar with the data early and thereby identify interesting and unexpected themes or patterns 'emerging' in the transcribed interviews, which informs the further data collection (theoretical sampling) (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012); (2) Integrating these preliminary findings in the subsequent set of interviews may increase the validity of the analysis by communicating them to the "participant community" (Stratford & Bradshaw 2016: 126), and as such refine and enhance the analytic interpretations of the data. This was especially useful in combination with the walking interview: Although the walk-alongs did not follow any pre-planned route, certain sites emerged 'naturally' as regular stops, since these were often mentioned during the first set of interviews. These specific locations and the data related to them were important in the final analysis, to discuss some of the reasons why different residents perceived their neighbourhood differently.

The walk-alongs were semi-structured using an interview guide (see appendix 2) as a 'springboard' to talk about topics relevant for the research questions. It was essential for these interviews to be more content- than question-focused (Dunn 2016: 158, 160), meaning an openness for the informants to interpret and answer questions in their own way and allowing room for narratives and digressions whereby something interesting and unexpected could emerge. Thus, on the one hand, the attempt to conduct these walk-alongs more as conversations about various topics was highly important to generate richer and more detailed data, especially because of the rather exploratory approach of this study. On the other hand, it was essential to collect data related to the specific research questions, so they could not be completely unstructured either (i.e., 'informant-focused' – Dunn 2016: 160). Accordingly, the interviews entailed "[balancing] hearing the participant's story in its fullness whilst probing for the analytic properties and implications of major processes" (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012: 350). The interview guide was partly modified after the first

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[9] Three of the interviews were done sedentary. The implications of this were especially noticeable in one of them, by being shorter and more on a 'surface level' than the rest, which may be due to the interview setting: Evans and Jones (2011) compared walking contra sedentary interviews, in which the former generated a much larger degree of place-specific data. The other two of these interviews, however, were actually rather beneficial. The first was conducted in the informant's apartment, in one of the old wooden houses. As an old-timer, this resident shared a lot about everyday life not only in the neighbourhood, but also specifically in these houses and the backyard, both in the past and present, thus enriching my ethnographic knowledge. The other was done on a bench in front of the church, thereby still retaining some of the phenomenological elements of the walk-along.

round of walk-alongs, to 'theoretically sample' some of the themes that had preliminary emerged during the initial analysis (Charmaz 2006).

Technically, the interviews were recorded on a handheld device. Since the walk-alongs included many potential interferences (e.g., wind, other people, passing traffic), the recorder was tested in advance to make sure the sound quality was tolerable when holding it in different lengths away from the face. It usually worked fine having the recorder fairly close to myself and tilting it sideways towards the informant, thereby allowing for more ordinary walking and talking. This leads to another strength of the walk-along; namely that it may mitigate some of the tensions between interviewer and interviewee, and thus generate more detailed data (Kusenbach 2003; Finlay & Bowman 2017). However, as these issues also concerns positionality, some comments regarding reflexivity and uncertainty should be made.

3.4 Reflecting on the uncertainties of reflecting on uncertainties

As aforementioned, it is necessary to critically reflect on the power relations in qualitative research and how issues of subjectivity and positionality affect data collection and analysis (Bailey et al. 1999; Dowling 2016). It is highly unreasonable to believe that subjective dispositions (e.g., class, ethnicity and gender), in combination with being positioned in an academic (sub)field established by certain doxic rules, norms and practices, together with an epistemic 'intellectualist bias',[10] does *not* affect the research process (Wacquant 1992: 39). Instead of viewing the uncertainties emerging from these three sources of bias as something that can be completely 'eliminated' or 'objectified' through transparent critical reflexivity, it might be more realistic to recognise the limits of consciously knowing exactly how one's positionality affects the research (Rose 1997). Critical reflexivity is in itself a practice informed by the social position of the individual practicing critical reflexivity, which hence paradoxically add uncertainty to the practice intended to reduce uncertainty. For instance, by being a white, cultural middle-class male, I can try to illuminate the ways in which this adds uncertainties to the research – especially because the neighbourhood studied and most of the informants' interviewed there are pertaining to many of the same ethnic and classed dispositions as myself (i.e., there is likely a relatively low degree of socio-cultural distance) – exactly *how* this attempt at reflexivity actually eliminates uncertainties is highly difficult to assert. Although critical reflexivity and formal criteria of scientific rigour (see Baxter & Eyles 1997; Bailey et al. 1999) are imperatives for qualitative research, uncertainty is an inherent part of the process: As argued by

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[10] "As soon as we observe (*theorem*) the social world, we introduce in our perception of it a bias due to the fact that, to study it, to describe it, to talk about it, we must retire from it more or less completely" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 69).

Bailey et al. (1999: 173, 175), integral to GT is the recognition of the researcher's active role in interpreting "other's construction of reality", meaning "interpretation is always partial", and this recognition of uncertainties entails being open about the research process and its fallibilities by situating knowledge production (Rose 1997).

Most of the interviews can be related to what Dowling (2016: 36) describes as "reciprocal relationships" between the researcher and the researched, due to "comparable social positions" and minimal power differences. However, this does not mean power differences were absent. The role as a researcher from 'outside' the ethnographic field, Kampen, and the informants' roles as resident 'insiders', creates unequal subject positions despite similarities with respect to ethnicity and class. Sæther (2006: 44) remarks that this situation in-between difference and sameness creates a 'liminal role': "The difference is necessary because it legitimates the observation and the questions the fieldworker asks, whilst the construction of sameness, of some kind of common ground, is necessary because it enables communication." During the fieldwork, this liminality was experienced in several ways: For instance, as detailed in the analysis, there are certain cafés, restaurants and shops in Kampen which undoubtedly caters to the middle-class residents' tastes and preferences for 'consuming authenticity' (Zukin 2008). On the one hand, a reason why I notice this, is not merely due to my dispositions as a researcher with certain knowledge when 'entering the field', but because I am part of that social class and have an interest in natural wine, vintage furniture and 'authentic' carbonara made with guanciale instead of bacon – all of which one can find in that place. On the other hand, the 'academic disposition' of reflecting critically about these issues is constitutive of the role as a researcher identifying and analysing significant socio-cultural aspects of this neighbourhood. Another example is from when some informants appeared to occasionally express themselves more as 'tour guides' than 'ordinary residents'; they sometimes talked about Kampen in an almost personally detached manner, as if they shared 'objective facts' rather than subjective opinions and experiences of their socio-spatial environment. Although this role as 'tour guide' can empower the informants and balance relations between interviewer and interviewees (Finlay & Bowman 2017: 269) – and as such possibly generate more richer data – it was in these instances also necessary to probe for their own personal narratives, practices and experiences. The strengths of the walk-along method were valuable in these cases, by being a less 'confrontational' interview setting (Kusenbach 2003; Finlay & Bowman 2017): Walking around and talking together creates a certain informal and loose atmosphere compared to the sedentary interview. In the latter, the interviewer and interviewee usually sit across each other, with the recorder visible on a table between them. Probing for more personal opinions and experiences from the informant can thus

feel less confronting (both for the interviewer and interviewee) in the looser atmosphere of the walk-along.

To conclude, my liminal role in-between difference and sameness affected the research process, at least in the ways illustrated by the examples. It is reasonable to claim that this adds uncertainties to the data collection and findings, because it sensitised me to look for and find particular 'things' more interesting instead of others, and analytically interpret these issues in certain ways. As Charmaz and Belgrave (2012: 349) accentuates, "data analyses [are] constructions that not only locate our data in time, place, culture, and context but also reflect our social, epistemological, and research locations." This is not to devalue the credibility of the research; on the contrary, situating these uncertainties can be seen as an attempt at being open about the process: If, as Rose (1997: 316) contends, "[the researcher] is situated, not by what she knows, but by what she uncertainly performs", my liminal role when doing the data collection and analysis contributes to that uncertainty. This recognition may, in turn, aid the reader's evaluation of the research and its findings (Rose 1997; Bailey et al. 1999).

3.5 Coding and thematic analysis

As the last interviews proceeded, I experienced so-called 'saturation' – when one "stops learning new things about the case and recently collected evidence appears repetitious or redundant with previously collected evidence" (Ragin 1994: 86). At this point, the coding process took over, which plays an important role in GT, being where patterns and themes are identified in the data and analytically conceptualised (Charmaz 2006, 2008). The coding process can be regarded as where the emic perspectives grounded in the data 'emerge'.

Coding is one of the main ways of 'making sense' of qualitative data (Cope 2016), in which "[a] code represent and capture a datum's primary content and essence" (Saldaña 2009: 3). Thematic analysis was used to identify themes in the data, informed by the research questions and theoretical perspectives: "[a] good thematic analysis needs to make sure that the interpretations of the data are consistent with the theoretical framework" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 95). Sensitising concepts related to theory, as mentioned above, thus informs the thematic analysis: If a "theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set" (Braun & Clarke 2006: 82), these themes can – as emic perspectives – be interpreted and abductively inferred with the theoretical framework's etic perspectives, subsequently developing or nuancing existing theory and literature. This procedure

arguably enhances validity and transferability by relating the findings to the 'interpretive community' (Baxter & Eyles 1997; Stratford & Bradshaw 2016).

The coding process in GT is highly incremental: codes are gradually refined and focused as the coding proceeds, moving from the preliminary broader descriptive codes to more defined analytic codes representing the various themes identified in the data (Saldaña 2009; Cope 2016). This meant beginning with some general descriptive codes such as 'sense of place', 'community' or so-called In Vivo codes, for example every time words like "atmosphere" (*atmosfære*) or "the West End" (*vestkanten*) were mentioned by the informants. Some of these descriptive codes were then developed into more specific analytic themes, such as 'treating the place as a gift'.

Subsequently, in the final presentation of the findings (chapter 5, 6 and 7), the themes identified during the coding process are interpreted, compared to, and discussed using the theoretical framework and existing research literature. As such, this case study contributes in research on social class, by illuminating how the spatial intersect with the social in the (re)making of class and place identities. Moreover, the findings nuance the gentrification discourse by underscoring the somewhat ambiguous form of this process that has occurred in Kampen; how the universal and particular of gentrification conjoin and is practiced and experienced by different residents.

4. Contextualising Kampen

The purpose of this chapter is to give a short outline of some of the most important features of Kampen in terms of location, history, architecture, materialities, and demography. Although one might consider this 'context', it should be noted that what presented here permeates the constitutive elements of Kampen with respect to place identity, social class and community, and the meanings residents are ascribing to their practices and sense of place and belonging. In other words, what presented here should be regarded as mere 'background information' but intrinsic to the research topics explored in this thesis.

Figure 1. *The location of Kampen (in pink) in the inner part of Oslo. Source: OpenStreetMap*

Kampen is located on the east-side of the city, part of Gamle Oslo borough. The name Kampen likely comes from the word "kamp" (crag/rocky hill) (Olsen et al. 2010), denoting the neighbourhood's hillside location, slanting towards Galgeberg and Vålerenga. People began inhabiting this place in the latter part of the 1800s, when it was outside city limits and the requirements to build in brick, allowing construction of the wooden houses still characterising Kampen today. This was closely related to the urbanisation of Oslo, when people from rural districts migrated to work in the industries emerging in the eastern parts of the city. Many streets in the neighbourhood, such as Nittedalgata, Ullensakergata and Elverumgata, are named after the places these working-class people came from. Numerous factories and machine shops were located

on and nearby Kampen from the latter half of the 1800s to mainly the early part of the 1900s, including Kampen mechanical workshop, Christiania Steelworks and Jordal brickyard. In 1878, the neighbourhood was incorporated in the city, leading to the construction of four- and five-floor brick tenements (Olsen et al. 2010). During the 1950, -60 and -70s, Oslo municipality targeted deprived and overcrowded working-class neighbourhoods in Oslo for demolition and redevelopment. Inspired by modern planning ideals, places such as nearby Enerhaugen, were completely demolished and Le Corbusierian apartment blocks raised to the sky. At the lowest part of Kampen, an eleven-floor high-rise was built in the early 1960s as part of the municipality's redevelopment plan for the whole neighbourhood. However, and probably intensified by the visual materialisation of these developments, local protests emerged during the 1970s against further demolition. It was in this context the neighbourhood association Kampen Vel was established in 1971, and played an important role in the resistance, publishing the local newspaper Kampenposten (still in biannual circulation) and organising local activities such as community meetings, petition campaigns, refurbishments, and protest marches. An alternative plan was developed by two local architecture students, based on preservation and renovation of existing housing. In 1982, the city council passed that landowners were responsible for the renewal of Kampen, essentially preventing complete demolition (Thorsen 2016).

Figure 2. Normannsgata. Source: Kristian Tveiten

This period of local protests also marks the beginning of gentrification, when artists and people with higher education moved to the neighbourhood (Pløger 1997). Both economic and cultural factors were likely relevant in this process: Housing was cheap, and the neighbourhood had certain aesthetic and socio-cultural qualities these pioneer gentrifiers were drawn towards (Sæter & Ruud 2005), thus making them join in on the local protests. Furthermore, since the city council had passed that landowners had to partly self-finance the renovation projects, many of the poorest residents became indebted (and pressured to move) or had no other choice than to move (Thorsen 2016). Moreover, many working-class residents had already relocated to the new satellite towns of the 1950s and -60s (Hansen & Guttu 1998: 30). These issues of gentrification will be further detailed in chapter 7.

Most of Kampen is regulated by the municipality's 'yellow list' of preservation. This is the mildest form of regulation, whereby every property development that may concern something on that list, must receive an advisory opinion from the cultural heritage officer, which informs the further development. In contrast, buildings or sites on the 'orange' or 'red list' are protected by law which set strong preservative regulations. This is an important distinction, because it means Kampen inhabitants (often through the local historical and residents' associations) have to make objections to the municipality concerning every property development they oppose, which have led to numerous disputes through the years, and 'spots' of physical transformations, such as infills and newbuilds. Some of these are clear attempts at architecturally adapting to the existing physical environment, using similar heights, colours and building materials, whilst others have a contrasting 'modern' aesthetic. Kampen is today characterised by a wide range of architectural styles from different periods, which, in combination with its height differences and sloping zigzagging streets, creates a somewhat unordered yet simultaneously territorial landscape.

A notable characteristic of the neighbourhood is precisely its territoriality, partly because of the elevated location and physical contrast to adjacent places: Kampen park may be regarded the northern boundary, with a playground, ping pong tables, football pitch and a large wading pool. Being at the highest part of the hill (77 masl), the park provides view over the city centre. Kjølberggata (Ring 2) functions as a westward border to the socio-culturally diverse and vibrant neighbourhoods of Tøyen and Grønland. This makes Kampen, combined with being on a hill, somewhat geographically detached from the more intensive urbanism of these socio-cultural and ethnic diverse places. Jordal, bordering to the east, in-between Kampen and Vålerenga, is a former industrial site, now mainly a sports complex owned by the municipality. Further noticeable here is

Jordal terrasse, five to seven floor apartment blocks, in contrast to neighbouring Kampen garden city (*Kampen hageby*) – a small colourful 'village' of terrace housing built in 1996. Railroad tracks divide Kampen from Ensjø in the north-east, another former industrial area currently being transformed into a dense high-rise residential neighbourhood. Lastly, Vålerenga, to the south-east, has certain similarities with Kampen: prominent wooden houses and gradual increase of middle-class residents in conjunction with a relatively strong sense of community (Pløger 1997). However, they are still two distinct territorialised spaces, and the informants' notions of Kampen's territoriality are analysed in chapter 6.

A large share of Kampen's housing stock is two- and three-room apartments. Regarding local businesses, most of the cafés, bakeries, groceries and speciality stores of the 1900s are gone. Except for the supermarkets Bunnpris and Coop Prix, the few present cafes, restaurants and shops are independent businesses, and despite different owners and names through the years, several of these are socially and historically embedded to the place, thereby in a sense being 'neighbourhood institutions': Gunnar Ruud, a former butcher shop, now catering, has been there since 1940; Blomsterenga, a florist, since 1997; and Kampen Kaffe & Bar since 2002.[11] A yellow brick house in the northern part of the neighbourhood has since 1982 functioned as Kampen Bydelshus, when it was renovated from a dyehouse into a community house on initiative by local residents, with financial support from the municipality and the Norwegian State Housing Bank. It is organised as a co-op, with local residents as shareholders, and is often rented for various occasions, such as birthdays, weddings and meetings. Kampen Bistro, a café, restaurant and music venue, is also located here. This historically significant building can be regarded as the heart of neighbourhood, where many locals meet formally (e.g., at a neighbourhood association meeting) or informally (e.g., an evening over a beer).

In 2019, Kampen had a population of 4023. Although the median age is 35 (the Oslo average), a prominent feature is the amount of elderly, with 9,8 per cent being 67 year or older, in contrast to neighbouring Vålerenga (6,4), Grønland (4,7) and Tøyen (4,4).[12] Compared to proximate neighbourhoods in Gamle Oslo, Kampen has the lowest share of migrants with backgrounds from Latin American, African, Asian or European non-EU countries (15,2 per cent). This is also evident in the local primary schools' share of minority language-speaking pupils, with merely 42,5 per cent

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[11] Kampen Kaffe & Bar was recently bought by Fuglen, a company having a range of coffee and cocktail bars in Oslo and Tokyo.

[12] This share of older residents is also related to Kampen Care+ – assisted living facilities for elderly not able to live by themselves but do not require a nursing home.

on Kampen school, compared to Tøyen school (84,6) and Vahl school (96,3). It has, together with Tøyen, the highest share of single-person households (57 per cent), whereas 18 per cent are couples without children and 13 per cent with children. It has the largest share of residents with higher education (58,6 per cent).[13] Except for Bispevika (which includes the waterfront housing at Barcode and Sørenga), Kampen has the highest housing prices in Gamle Oslo, with an average of 77 242 kr per square meter.[14] In the 2019 local election, the Green Party received the most votes (22,5 per cent), followed by the Labour Party (19,6), the Socialist Left Party (16,7), and the Red Party (13,6). Based on all of this, it is reasonable to describe Kampen as a predominantly white middle-class enclave, with a large proportion of highly educated and politically left-leaning residents, located in the midst of a part of the city dominated by the working class and ethnic minorities (Ljunggren et al. 2017).

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[13] Based on combining both lower level (even four years) and higher level (more than four years) university or college education.
[14] These statistics are provided by SSB through Oslo's Statistics Bank, available from: http://statistikkbanken.oslo.kommune.no/webview

5. Feeling as thought: the classed geography of Oslo

This chapter, and the following two, presents the findings through theory-informed analysis of the empirical data. The emic perspectives of the informants will be discussed together with the etic perspectives of theory and existing literature, by exploring the intersecting spatialities of class, community and belonging, and how this affects the (re)making of Kampen's place identity and its process of gentrification. The chapters are structured around the research questions, sectioned into the themes identified in the data, starting with the first research question – the informants' feelings towards Oslo's east-west divide. Chapter 6 concerns the second research question and 'zooms in' on Kampen by analysing the informants' relations to their neighbourhood within the surrounding urban fabric, whilst chapter 7 discusses how Kampen represents a particular form of gentrification. The chapters are closely related, whereby this one can be said to contextualise the situated socio-spatial experiences and practices explored in the subsequent two.[15]

5.1 The West End as the East End's constituting Other

As argued in chapter 2, structure of feeling can be used to conceptually outline people's notions of everyday life in the West End contra East End; what they think and feel about their Others and themselves through the places they inhabit. In other words, whilst quantitative research has demonstrated how Oslo is a class segregated city (Ljunggren & Andersen 2015), the purpose here is to capture what some of the Kampen residents make of this classed geography; its "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (Williams 1977: 132). The aim is to outline two structures of feeling pertaining to the West End and East End respectively, based on interpretations of the informants' *subjective* perceptions of these two parts of the city.

5.1.1 The West End: homogenising individualism

How the informants were talking about the city along lines of social class and ethnicity, substantiates the social geography of Oslo as constituted by a socio-spatial boundary between east and west. Unsurprisingly, most informants related to this divide in terms of what 'fit' their ways of life as embodied in their habituses and composition of capital, informing their elective belonging in the city (Savage et al. 2005). Especially interesting here, however, is how these territorial notions of place and claims of belonging are related to class distinction and affiliation, by which the

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[15] This echoes Geertz's (1973) assertion of the need for 'thick descriptions' when doing ethnographic analysis. Although this thesis is not as ethnographic as 'typical' anthropological research, there is nonetheless some similarities by attempting to interpret the informants' beliefs, practices and experiences in relation to the socio-cultural and historical context they are situated in.

informants' assertions about everyday life in different places are implying certain notions of themselves and beliefs in how their Others are, whereby most of them described the East End in relation to what was asserted as its mutual opposite – the West End. Similar to Bourdieu's (1984) theory of the mutual constitution of economic and cultural class fractions, and Massey's (2005) relational understanding of place, Andersen (2014: 65) argues that "the West and the East End [of Oslo] should be understood as being both separated *and* connected or interdependent because they only make sense together." This part thus analyses how the informants are perceiving the West End as the East End's constituting Other – conceptualised as two contrasting structures of feeling.

A preliminary comment regarding the geography of the 'West End' and 'East End' is necessary. The usage of these terms is meant to reflect the informants' actual usage of them during the interviews. They usually referred to the affluent western parts of the city as the West End, although this sometimes also meant beyond Oslo's official borders (i.e., Bærum and Asker). In contrast, the East End often only meant the Gamle Oslo borough – where Kampen is located – and not other eastern parts of Oslo, such as Groruddalen (which was explicitly mentioned if that was the case). Even places formally part of the borough were sometimes regarded as 'something else', such as Ensjø. In other words, the informants seemed to have a wider geographical sense of the West End than the East End. This may be related to class and ethnicity, whereby some of the informants' claims of belonging to the East End involves socio-spatial (dis)affiliation, such as: "I really feel a strong attachment to the East End, as opposed to the West End, I really do. But at the same time, I don't know if I feel completely at home in Groruddalen either, because that's a totally different milieu too, with high-rises and, you know…" (Female, 57). Rather than merely elective belonging, this expresses Watt's (2010: 154) term 'selective belonging'; the residential mobile middle-classes' "spatially selective narrative of belonging that is limited to a given space within a wider area."

The spatialised conceptualisation of structures of feeling is therefore useful in grasping these processes of identity formation through (s)elective belonging, particularly regarding the territorialised notions of Oslo as an ethnic- and class-divided city. As one of the lower-class old-timers, who has lived in Kampen since 1985, affectively asserts: "I'm never going to move to the West End. … [T]hat's about getting away from all the snobbery regarding how you dress when you go out and shop, or that you're pressured into conformity" (Female, 68). For her, the West End is as a place where material wealth is valued and believed to permeate the everyday lives of its residents: one cannot even go out and shop groceries without making sure being dressed in a certain way. An implicit connection between high amounts of economic capital, cultural lifestyles and place

is made, in which conspicuous display of wealth ("snobbery") is considered to be a prominent practice of the West Enders. Jarness (2017: 366) identified comparable geographic patterns of boundary work amongst the middle-classes in Stavanger, arguing that "antipathies and sympathies towards practitioners of certain lifestyles and tastes are also expressed in a highly specific spatial sense." This can be said to be the outcome of a mental coupling of forms of capital with particular ways of life (i.e., conflating a society's social space of classes with its symbolic space of lifestyles – Bourdieu 1984). This coupling is engendered by a set of social values and beliefs assumed to imbue everyday life in the different places inhabited by different class fractions according to composition of capital. In this case, economic capital is associated with 'snobbish' lifestyles and social values, and by being the dominant form of capital in the West End (Ljunggren & Andersen 2015; Ljunggren et al. 2017), those kinds of lifestyles and values are associated with that place. This does not mean that people are referring to each other explicitly classed terms but rather through place-markers, such as 'the West End' or 'people in the West End'.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the above quote, conformity is assumed to be a significant part of the everyday life of these wealthy neighbourhoods, which a former West Ender had negative experiences with:

> I grew up in, how to put it, proper upper middle class, where everyone looked the same and behaved the same, and how incredibly boring that is in many ways. And really somewhat destructive that everyone should be the same as their neighbours, so there is no room to be yourself, or someone completely different if that's what you wish, because you are supposed to fit into that particular category: You live here, you look like that, you do this, your children do that... So, you're an outcast if you don't act accordingly. (Male, 36)

Not only do this illuminate how classed identities are formed through practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1984, 1990), but also how those classed identities and practices are shaping places, which in turn affects the people inhabiting them through certain social norms embedded in place (Massey 1995b). It can therefore be argued that these accounts of a 'West End conformity' are believed to reduce space as the dimension of heterogeneous multiplicity (Massey 2005), shaping a place whereby certain identities and practices are excluded as out-of-place. Consequently, the possibilities of becoming someone else ("if that's what you wish"), are believed to be curtailed by the dominant social values and norms amongst the economic upper/middle classes. These issues of homogeneity

versus heterogeneity seems to be not merely related to social and ethnic diversity, but feelings of a *homogenising conformity*: one is seemingly "pressured into conformity" and "supposed to fit into that particular category". Thus, the informants' descriptions of the West End can be interpreted as ways of socio-spatially positioning oneself in the classed geography of Oslo, away from the affluent neighbourhoods of the West End, as these are regarded as too homogeneous due the pressure of conformity. This positioning, through the mental coupling of economic capital and cultural lifestyles, values and norms, constitutes the West End as places for people 'not like themselves' (i.e., the economic classes). Another Kampen resident who had grown up in the West End also described a sense of being out-of-place when encountering this 'pressure of conformity':

> … I got to know these really West End milieus, especially in junior high and high school, which I felt really unhappy in and more or less opted out of. … A lot of people strived upwards, and if you didn't manage to do so, if you didn't follow that, if the economy made it difficult, then that was quickly a problem. It was a bit like… Maybe those with the money set the standard, in a way. (Male, 42)

Again, the norms of being in a particular way were experienced as uneasy if economic factors had an excluding impact on the individual vis-à-vis the social milieu. Moreover, his notion of people "striving upwards" imply a certain status hierarchy. Thus, the West End described here gives the impression of a place where social status is pursued – if one is able to 'follow the crowd', so to speak.[16] This can be related to the informants' distaste for the conspicuous display of wealth associated with the 'snobbery' of the West End and the peer pressure this entails – for example having the 'correct' educational and career aspirations, as this Kampen resident experienced when he chose a 'different' path:

> … [J]ust regarding the career or education decision that I made, people raised their eyebrows and wondered, like, why… And simply that… Then I feel like you're really narrow-minded, when you – hehe! – won't even consider it alright to do that… But, geez, of course, there were lots of people who supported me in that decision and were nice, but just like… Worrying many who raised their eyebrows, I think. (Male, 36)

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[16] Obviously, this should not be regarded as a unique phenomenon of Oslo's West End. For instance, it might be difficult to grow up in smaller rural places, if one is somehow 'different'. What is peculiar here, however, is how material wealth is believed to be significant in the conformity of the West End.

The perceived negative aspects of the particular conformity of this socio-spatial environment were also discerned by another informant who too had her upbringing in an affluent part of the Oslo-region: "But I don't think the milieu in itself is particularly healthy, though, for children to grow up in – and that has changed as well, because it has become even more 'West End' and wealthier since I grew up there. And that's like, I don't want my children to grow up in that" (Female, 33). Interesting here is the notion of the West End becoming "more West End" – that the cultural characteristics of this place is believed to have intensified and, for her, made it even worse to grow up in. It is reasonable to suggest that by referring to this environment as 'unhealthy' for children, she is particularly aversive of the values and norms *believed* to dominate the West End. In other words, she does not want her children to embody these *perceived* ways of being in the world, in their habitus. Thus, there is a sense amongst these Kampen residents that everyday life in the West End are shaped by the dominance of economic capital, which shapes places with certain "unhealthy" conforming norms and values.

Another common thread in the informants' feelings towards the West End, is the tendency to describe it is a boring and monotonous place:

> I'm in a way from the West End, hehe! I mean, like expanded West End. But I have no interest to live there, nevertheless. It's so boring, hehehe! You have nice green areas and are maybe closer to *Marka* … but there's so little going on. There are shops, but not a lot of, like… Not nightlife necessarily, but culture or cafés or something – stuff that's happening. My brother lived on Thune at Skøyen, like, oh my God, it's so boring there! (Female, 32)

> … [It's] not really about the people, or – that's of course part of it, the type of people who's there – but it's a lot about how one uses the city and the area, that's important to me. So, it's really tidy and nice and such, but people aren't out in the streets and don't use the streets in the same way. And that's something I appreciate and is the reason why I like it here. (Female, 32)

For these informants, what is apparently lacking in the West End is not an 'urban culture' per se, but rather a particular form of urbanism. McFarlane (2011: 663) understands urbanism as "a sociomaterial achievement continuously remade through different encounters, labours, and mobilisations." Urbanism is not a fixed and coherent 'thing', but rather something that unfolds in

the interactions between human and non-human bodies and materialities in specific socio-spatial configurations. It is urbanism in this sense which appears to be unsatisfactory in the West End, amongst these Kampen residents: "[T]here, it can be a bit too monotonous, a bit too stiff and boring, in a way …" (Female, 32). Implicitly, there is a notion that the individualistic conformity and homogeneity of that part of the city lacks a more 'cosmopolitan urbanism' of ethnic, cultural and material diversity, which, as shown later, is something the informants value about the East End. Additionally, the way they are describing the wealthy West End as their constituent Other, has similarities with Jackson and Benson's (2014) study of how the residents of a London middle-class 'bubble' are distinguishing themselves from other middle-class neighbourhoods, by labelling these as boring and indistinct, whilst asserting their own neighbourhood as special and unique. These latter characteristics will be returned to regarding Kampen as well.

As illustrated thus far, what these Kampen residents have in common is a set of negative feelings towards the places dominated by the economic upper- and middle-classes of Oslo (Ljunggren et al. 2017), perceived as individualistic, conforming, homogenous, boring, and monotonous. These shared notions of the West End can be interpreted as a structure of feeling, by which the emphasis on *feeling* is important here: It is reasonable to argue that these attitudes are not based on some cognitive rationality, but on what Williams (1977: 132) describes as the "affective elements of consciousness and relationships: not feeling against thought, but thought as felt and feeling as thought." Simultaneously, these shared feelings about the West End comprise a structure, "as a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension" (Williams 1977: 132). Accordingly, the characterisations given by the informants can be sketched out as a local structure of feeling: The perceived 'snobbery' of the West End is related to the perceived pressure to conform to particular values and aspirations, in turn leading to its perceived homogeneity, which is then (normatively) considered unhealthy, boring and monotonous. Accordingly, if habitus "implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others'" (Bourdieu 1989: 19), this structure of feeling captures what these East Enders are *specifically* thinking and feeling about the places of their constituent Others, and hence part of what they are socio-spatially distinguishing themselves from. Although Bourdieu were using the term 'sense of place' in a more generalised way to refer to a subjective feeling of where oneself and others belong in socio-cultural terms (i.e., in society's objective 'social space'), as shown here, this is also highly evident in geographical terms.

5.1.2 The East End: heterogenising conviviality

Whereas homogenising individualism are what the informants feel about the West End, heterogeneity and collectivism are characterising their sentiments towards the East End. For some, this entails that the social and material diversity of this part of the city constitutes an exciting heterogeneity, in opposition to the seemingly boring, individualistic homogeneity of the West End:

> People are all kinds of weird, and that's so comfortable, and people do different things, and that's fine. And you don't have that leeway if you don't have diversity. So, if everyone becomes completely the same everywhere all the time, then it becomes this boring soup. Then the social life will look like that apartment block-stuff at Ensjø, where everything is just really uniform. And the same goes for shops and those kinds of things. I'm not as good at using it anymore, unfortunately, but one of the nice things about living in Grønland [the informant used to live there before moving to Kampen] was that you could go to the greengrocer and to the butcher. It's not that damn many places you can do that, where you actually have a butcher. A lot of the reason is that its halal, of course, but still, I can eat halal, that's fine. So I think diversity is important in all aspects. (Male, 36)

Clearly, what this informant is valuing about the East End is the conviviality of multicultural places: "the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of urban life" (Gilroy 2004: xi), and what Amin (2013: 3) describes as an "indifference to difference based on everyday negotiations of, and attachments with, spaces, objects, cultural domains, projects and interests shared with others (including strangers)."[17] In contrast to the homogenising conformity associated with the West End, this informant may be said to appreciate a sense of *heterogenising conviviality*: "people do different things, and that's fine." This is not to neglect the racialised and classed tensions related to ethnic and social diversity, which are returned to in chapter 6; the point here is rather to highlight some of the more general notions the informants have of everyday life in the East End.

Another tendency amongst the informants, in contrast to the perceived individualism of the West End, is to assert this part of the city as more collectivist: "People help each other, it's a totally genuine solidarity between people which I never really felt the year I lived on Majorstua, and I feel

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[17] This does not mean the informants' social networks are particularly diverse. As Butler & Robson (2003: 92) shows, the middle classes might celebrate living in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood whilst actually having quite socially 'tectonic' lives with their 'Others'.

that here"(Male, 42).[18] Additionally, what these informants underscore is the embodied, affective dimensions of place. For instance, solidarity is something he *feels* exists in Gamle Oslo, as opposed to what he experienced in a West End neighbourhood. As discussed in chapter 2, these affective dimensions can be understood as the bodily experience of an atmospheric 'something more' to certain places (Duff 2010). A place is not simply a physical environment where some people happen to be in, but an assemblage where particular social and material, human and non-human, relations intersect and interact with each other, creating something more than the sum of its parts (Massey 2005). That atmospheric 'something more' may be bodily experienced as 'existentially meaningful' (Tuan 1974; Relph 1976), depending on one's embodied dispositions in the form of the habitus. Thus, regarding multicultural places, Wise and Velayutham (2014: 425) argues for an understanding of "convivial multiculture as 'atmospheric' … where dispositions and practices of everyday recognition and accommodation, mediated by spatial and other factors, produce a sense of 'more than.'" In contrast to their distaste for the 'homogeneity of the West End', many of the informants can be said to be attracted to an atmosphere of convivial multiculture.

However, the convivial multiculture in this part of the city is not something every informant had necessarily thought much about. This was especially the case for some of the older residents who first and foremost were drawn to Kampen specifically and not necessarily the East End as a whole – another form of selective belonging (Watt 2010). As elaborated by one of the residents who has lived in Kampen in 16 years: "Well, sure, I do think it's nice, actually, that there's some diversity. But, uhm, hehe… yeah. I may benefit from it, but that's not why I like it here, and that's not the reason why I moved here either" (Female, 65). Nevertheless, this can also be interpreted as an "indifference to difference" (Amin 2013: 3). In principle, if this person had any problems with the proximate increase of immigrants, she could always move. In other words, for all these Kampen residents, tolerance for people being different than themselves seems to be a virtue they ascribe to the East End. Thus, as summarised by one the Kampen residents: "[W]e're in a way concerned with being in the East End, and that's part of it then, that it's a bit more diverse here – or we like to believe that at least" (Female, 22). This sort of cultural consciousness of belonging to the East End is interesting, because, as returned to in chapter 6, when certain elements of this social diversity are felt threatening to their own rather homogenous neighbourhood, measures are taken.

All in all, one might interpret these affinities towards the East End as a structure of feeling whereby multiplicity, the 'throwntogetherness' (Massey 2005) of the East End, is something that is valued

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[18] The informant is explicitly referring to Gamle Oslo.

and whereby an intersubjective tolerance and a convivial indifference to difference are believed to exist: If the 'culture of the West End' is assumed to reduce space as the dimension of multiplicity (Massey 2005) by an homogenising individualism; the informants perceives the East End in strikingly opposite terms, whereby it is in this multiplicity – the East End as an assemblage of ethnic, cultural, social, and material 'throwntogetherness' (Massey 2005) – many of these middle-class East Enders claim to belong.

To conclude, not only is Oslo stratified along lines of class and ethnicity; those social stratifications shape the relational construction of places, consequently affecting where the middle-classes choose to (s)electively belong, based on their thoughts and feelings about *how* everyday life in these places are. Whilst economic factors (e.g., the housing market) obviously contributes in these processes, the argument being made here is that these factors infuse people's understandings of the city, by conflating places with high degrees of economic capital with certain 'snobbish' lifestyles, norms and values. These imaginaries are thus part of the mutual constitution of place and class (Massey 1995b) – the spatialities of class: Through their notions of Oslo's east-west divide, the informants draw socio-spatial boundaries between themselves and their economic upper- and middle-class Others. This affinity and aversion towards the east and west, respectively, are arguably first and foremost based on affects and a practical consciousness, interpreted as two structures of feeling: What perceived as 'bad' in the West End are a whole range of interrelated social and physical features that conjoin in producing places with a certain atmosphere, and it is arguably the atmospheric 'something more' of these places (Duff 2010) the informants have a strong distaste for (and vice versa for the East End). Importantly, these structures of feeling are mutually constituted: interpreting the informants' perceptions about the West End and the East End gives an impression of the former being almost the complete opposite of the latter: The homogenising individualism of the West End in contrast to the heterogenising conviviality of the East End – thus underscoring Andersen's (2014: 65) assertion that "they only make sense together." It is therefore somewhat of a paradox that some of the cultural middle-class informants celebrating the ethnic and cultural diversity of the East End, live in one of the most homogenous neighbourhoods in this part of the city: Kampen.

6. The territory and aura of the urban village

The informants' notions of a heterogenous conviviality of the East End and homogenising conformity of the West End, contextualises the analysis of their 'grounded' relations to their own neighbourhood and its surrounding places. This is interesting given the 'enclaveness' of Kampen in terms of class and ethnicity. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to analyse the informants' sense of place, belonging and community in Kampen, in relation to its enclosing urban fabric. It begins with a discussion of the informants' more concrete descriptions of how they got to know the neighbourhood and the reasons why they moved to there. This chapter also address the affective, atmospheric, and social dimensions of place, and how this relates to notions of territoriality and 'authenticity'. The last part of the chapter analyses experiences and practices of the 'neighbourhood community'. Moreover, what discussed here constitutes important imperatives for understanding the particular form of gentrification that has occurred in Kampen, which is elaborated in chapter 7.

6.1 An unknown oasis?

Most of the informants claimed they had not known about Kampen before 'stumbling' upon it when looking for somewhere new to live: "Kampen – that looks like an oasis which is actually a little unknown to us", a resident (Male, 36) renarrates when looking back on the process of finding a place to settle down with his partner.[19] Whereas most had preselected some potential areas when searching for a new home (usually in the inner-eastern part of Oslo), Kampen was often described as something they had almost by chance *discovered*:

> [I] actually believe it was someone I used to date who mentioned Kampen … I'm not quite sure, but I think that's where the first seed was sown, that I started to think about Kampen. Because it's located a bit outside the city centre… (Female, 33)

> I didn't know about Kampen at all when I lived in Trondheim [she studied there] and thought about Oslo. I actually knew Tøyen well, because I had been there quite a lot during high school, at the gym and stuff like that. But Kampen on the other side of

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[19] The use of the word 'oasis' is interesting in itself. For instance, the Oxford Dictionary defines it as "a pleasant or peaceful area … in the midst of a difficult or hectic place or situation" (https://www.lexico.com/definition/oasis). Describing Kampen as an oasis underscores a feeling of this place as distinctly tranquil.

Ring 2 – completely unknown. … Then someone tipped me about it, because it was really nice here and a bit like a hidden gem. (Female, 32)

This particular sense of Kampen being a bit unknown, is not surprising due to various factors: One aspect is its location, as mentioned by these informants, on top of a hill, on the other side of Ring 2. Another is the small number of shops, cafés and so forth, which likely reduce the reason to visit it (and knowledge about it at all). Moreover, despite being an oft-used setting for films, TV-series and commercials, Kampen is likely not as well-known as nearby Vålerenga, because of the latter's connection to the sports club with the same name and other various symbolic representations. As a brief side note, most of the informants felt that Kampen was something different than Vålerenga despite the social and physical similarities. Interestingly, one of them believed Kampen to be more of a middle-class neighbourhood than Vålerenga:

When thinking about differences in people living there [Vålerenga], then I would say that its more, like, typical working-class people, whereas Kampen has more of that middle-class, academic profile, in a way. I'm also involved in local politics and was canvassing during the election campaign, and then we noted clear differences between those who opened the doors in Kampen and those in Vålerenga. A lot more resistance – I'm active in the Green Party – a lot more resistance at Vålerenga than here, where there's a prominent environmental awareness. You see a clear difference then, in people who lives there. (Female, 33)

In this case, political opinions are conflated with social class; antagonism towards the Green Party is associated with working-class political attitudes. Albeit beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss further, homologies between class fractions, political opinions and lifestyles have been identified in a Norwegian context (Flemmen et al. 2019).

The feeling of Kampen being a "hidden gem" is noteworthy for different reasons, including the sense of community and the form of gentrification that have taken place there. This part of the analysis, however, is specifically interested in the significance this has for Kampen's 'identity' and the informants' sense of place. One of the most typical assertions when explaining why they were initially drawn to the neighbourhood, was its 'village feel'; that the place had certain features more reminiscent of a rural village than a 'typical' inner-city neighbourhood. Unsurprisingly, this is especially due to the old wooden houses, prominent in the physical character of Kampen:

[The aesthetic] appealed to me, or us, immediately actually – and that's what made us want to move here. … It feels like you're on the countryside whilst you're in the middle of the city. You have some of these houses here – it looks like a town in Southern Norway [*sørlandsby*] actually, the white Swiss villa there, for example [points at a house]. (Male, 36)

This informant had grown up in Oslo's West End, but because of a distaste for the perceived homogeneity and conformity of that part of the city, he had gradually moved further and further east as he got more and more in favour of the multicultural conviviality of the East End (which appeared to mean Gamle Oslo in particular). In other words, he is (re)shaping his middle-class identity through socio-spatial practices of distinction and affiliation: By 'learning the city' (McFarlane 2011), the embodied dispositions in his habitus became altered through everyday experience, including his residential preferences, thus "reflecting desires for lifestyle, social and urban practices and identity" (Bacqué et al. 2015: 77). Whilst his attraction towards Kampen reflects the cultural middle-class taste for the urban village aesthetic (Bacqué et al 2015), this phenomenological experience of the neighbourhood also underlines the affective-atmospheric dimensions of place. The sensations of being affected by the materiality of the neighbourhood contributes to a *feeling* that "you're on the countryside". Furthermore, thinking about urbanism as assemblages of human and non-human bodies, materialities and interactions (McFarlane 2011), entails, in relation to Kampen being a somewhat 'unknown, hidden gem', that the tranquil atmosphere of this urban village also emerges from a particular low degree of socio-spatial *intensity*: the relative lack of people and interactions in public space compared to more 'lively' urban neighbourhoods such as adjacent Tøyen:

I like that its quiet – well, a car just passed by, but it's not many of them, hehe! … And it's really close to the city, so it's in a way pretty special to have a neighbourhood that's rather quiet and a bit to itself, so close to the city. (Female, 22)

Thus, the urban village feel of Kampen is an important part of the informants' sense of place. Yet this is not based on an understanding of Kampen as cut-off from the rest of the world, but on a relational sense of place (Massey 1994, 2005): Part of Kampen's identity as an urban village is constituted by its extra-local relations to other (different) places. The distinct identity of this place is thus relationally constructed, meaning that many of the qualities the informants remark about

the neighbourhood are not merely related to that particular place itself, but instead that those qualities emerges *in relation* to its proximate location to other different places. When asked about what they liked about this urban village, its central location was usually quickly mentioned:

> I thought it was lovely to move to Oslo, but then I realised Oslo is terribly unpersonal too, right! But when you're living here, then you live in a local community which is exactly like a small town, whilst simultaneously having the big city completely next to you. So, you have both, and I think that's perfect! (Female, 57)

> … [I]t's both central and quiet. Like a combination of a small town and being very central, right by the subway and a short distance to the city and everything else. (Male, 42)

Whilst a sense of community is also mentioned when referring to this village feel (as returned to later), what is interesting here is the emphasis on the neighbourhood's proximity to "the big city". Kampen is experienced almost like a sort of liminal space, in-between the urban and suburban. Similar to how Butler (2008: 143) describes a middle-class enclave in London, it seems the residents perceive their neighbourhood "*in the city,* if not *of the city*" - which is likely related to its village atmosphere: It does not feel like a typical inner-city neighbourhood, but rather 'somewhere else'. This particular relational construction of Kampen makes it possible for these residents to 'have their cake and eat it too', so to speak: By being a bit unknown and withdrawn, they reside in the quiet atmosphere of a rural village; and by being centrally located, they get the cosmopolitan urbanism of the city and atmospheric 'convivial multiculture' (Wise & Velayutham 2014), which many of them value about the East End. However, it can be argued that the qualities they associate with their urban village depends on sustaining its 'safe distance' form 'the East End'/Gamle Oslo, consequently highlighting a peculiar paradox: Many of the informants celebrate the diversity and multicultural atmosphere of the inner east, whilst choosing to live in a fairly homogenous and 'secure' middle-class enclave with people 'like themselves'. For instance, as detailed later, the residents' association recently mobilised a public meeting with the police after reports of 'unwanted events and activities' in the neighbourhood. Thus, its urban village atmosphere is maintained by an outside of differences kept *at a distance*. This is an important imperative when returning to issues related to residents' active maintenance of and resistance against changes in Kampen's urban village atmosphere.

Moreover, the 'liminal' notions of Kampen as both withdrawn and central, is partly resonant with Douglas's (2012: 3580) study of a gentrifying Chicago neighbourhood on 'the edge of the island', in which the 'edge' is defined as "a cultural ideal and source of identity that drives certain individuals – young, hip, conscious of and conflicted about wider sub-culture and gentrification – to seek out new frontiers just beyond established, 'fully' gentrified neighbourhoods." Although gentrification is discussed more in chapter 7, this ideal of the 'edge' does have some analytical weight regarding the perceptions of Kampen as a "hidden gem" and an "unknown oasis", 'on the edge' of the inner-city urban landscape. This ideal is not only about geographical location but signify the 'authenticity' of places seemingly not subject to the overt forms of commercialisation and urban transformation associated with gentrification. However, whereas Douglas (2012) argues that the neighbourhood is attractive to the 'hip' newcomers because of a perceived lack of place identity, it is in this case precisely the distinct urban village atmosphere of Kampen that is appealing, across age groups and not only for the younger in-movers. As explained by a resident in her seventies who have lived in the neighbourhood for 23 years:

> I really like that there's a bit of a village feel here, that Kampen is like its own area where things happen for itself, whilst it's so central and easy to get to other parts of the city and get around, because the transport opportunities are really great here. (Female, 75)

In summary, Kampen's identity as an urban village – partly due to its materiality and tranquil atmosphere – constitutes an essential part of these residents topophilic place attachment (Tuan 1974), whereas its central relation to 'big city' relationally creates this distinctive identity and its perceived qualities. Similar to research of other middle-class urban villages (May 1996; Butler & Robson 2003; Jackson & Benson 2014; Bacqué et al. 2015), it is this particular relational construction of place these middle-class residents are drawn towards: both the distinctiveness of Kampen in itself and its proximity to 'the big city' and the atmosphere of multicultural conviviality associated with the East End.

6.2 Territoriality: The messiness and aura of Kampen as distinctive authenticity
Extending on the above, two important aspects of the relational construction of Kampen as an urban village is its particular boundedness and auratic qualities. These are explored in this part of the chapter, starting with its territoriality.

6.2.1 Physical and social boundaries

When asking about Kampen's territory, the residents gave very similar descriptions of its boundaries. This usually entailed an account of the neighbourhood's margins in each cardinal direction (i.e., north, east, south, west); a sort of mental mapping of Kampen, outlining what separates the neighbourhood from its surroundings, whereby physical elements function as constitutive parts of these mental maps. However, the socio-cultural dimensions of Kampen's territoriality are also important, in order to capture how the white middle-class 'enclaveness' of Kampen in statistical terms (as presented in chapter 4), are actually experienced and made sense of 'on the ground', and how this relates to notions of Kampen as an 'authentic' neighbourhood.

In terms of physical dimensions, it was common to refer to streets or the railroad when drawing their mental maps:

> The street we shortly enter, which is Sons gate, that's like the upper boundary towards the park [many also referred to the park itself as a boundary]. And then you have the railroad as a natural dividing line all the way downward against Ensjø. And then it's a bit more of a fluid transition between Jordal and Kampen. But I would say that *Jordal Amfi* is in a way… Kampen ends there, in a sense, and then Jordal begins. So, the school [Kampen primary school] is in a way part of the border. … [A]nd if you follow further down, then you have the demarcation towards the Jordal area all the way down. And then you come down to Galgeberg, and that's where Normannsgata ends. And then you have, well, Kjølberggata, Åkebergveien, all the way along, which I think is the lower boundary. (Male, 42)

Most informants' descriptions of the physical territoriality of Kampen were equivalent to what elaborated by this resident. Some also included its elevated location: "[Kampen] is a hill, I'm thinking of what's on top of the hill here" (Male, 42).

The physical boundaries of their neighbourhood were thus something these residents had clear perceptions of. These spatial elements are assembled in such a way that they give rise to a phenomenological experience of enclosure: Tuan (1975: 158) discusses how urban neighbourhoods are often not readily defined as specific spatial units except "in the minds of urban sociologists and planners." This is probably in many cases true: when bodily experiencing the city, it is not always easy to grasp where one neighbourhood ends and another begins. Many inner-city areas of Oslo

fold fluidly into each other without clear boundaries separating them. This is, however, evidently not the case regarding Kampen, as there is a strong shared sense of its boundaries. Löw & Weidenhaus (2017: 559) employs a relational perceptive (e.g., Massey 2005) in arguing that "the construction of borders is more important to the extent that the determination of the relationship to other spaces is more important in the constitution of space." As already discussed, the informants' perceptions of Kampen as an urban village is constituted by its distinctive relationship to other different places. In other words, this relational construction of place is reliant on territorial differentiation, with the outcome of Kampen becoming an "oasis" (Male, 36) and "its own area" (Female, 75).

However, although physical boundaries are highly important in understanding Kampen as an urban village, it is also necessary to explore how the neighbourhood is experienced 'on the inside'. This extends on the notions of its urban village atmosphere, by elaborating further how these sentiments of the neighbourhood are related to the distinctiveness of Kampen and what the residents appreciate about it. If "a *territorial space* emerges to the extent that the differentiation from the outside by means of the production of inner commonality is deemed to be more relevant" (Löw & Weidenhaus (2017: 566), attention to the 'inner commonality' of Kampen is necessary: what makes this neighbourhood distinctive in the urban fabric.

In terms of its socio-cultural dimensions, whilst most informants were aware of the cultural middle-class boundedness of their neighbourhood by mentioning the share of residents with an academic background – "but not in like economics, or doctors or lawyers necessary" (Male, 36) – there were also a tendency to emphasise a certain degree of social mix:

> The people moving here are pretty young and well-educated, quite unsnobbish and unvain [*ujålete*], I feel, in a way. But it's all kinds of people, although there's not so many who have their roots here. I have some neighbours and friends who have grown up in Kampen, but there aren't many. (Female, 75)

> [T]hat's also one of the things that appealed to me, when I moved here, that it was many different people living here and that it's a very unvain milieu, there's like a little bit of everything. (Female, 65)

I've read a bit about it being quite a lot of people in different creative professions – authors, artists … – and I've also heard that there's many with higher education, but I also experience it as relatively mixed. At least in the apartment blocks and houses I have lived in. In my previous block, there were some single mothers and younger people and older people. Now I live with some pensioners as neighbours as well… What's common is that many have lived here for a long time, so there's not a lot of changes. (Female, 32)

The perceived social mix of Kampen is accordingly first and foremost related to differences in households, age groups and residential duration, and not the multiculture they apparently value about the East End/Gamle Oslo. As noted in chapter 4, the share of elderly in Kampen is relatively large compared to other neighbourhoods in Gamle Oslo. That most of the informants highlight some of the social heterogeneous sides of their neighbourhood is probably not as surprising, given that many of them distinguished themselves from the perceived homogeneity of the West End. Nevertheless, whilst local differences in age, residential duration, and household types may consolidate a certain form of local diversity, it is not really any unique to Kampen.

More interesting is the notions of its 'unsnobbish' milieu, which is not only related to the longer-term residents, but also the younger academics and creative professionals moving in. Again, these affiliating remarks are relatively unsurprising because of the informants' perceptions of the snobbish culture in the West End. By proclaiming Kampen residents as unsnobbish is thus a way of connecting their place, despite its classed enclave characteristics, to the structure of feeling of the East End – which, as interpreted in chapter 5, consists of values of conviviality, tolerance and collectivism. These cultural divisions are consistent with Jarness's (2017: 363) study of the symbolic boundaries between the economic and cultural fractions of the middle class, whereby "the cultural fraction typically describe Stavanger as awash in 'egoistic' and 'individualistic' values … as reflected through right-wing political attitudes, a striving for material luxury and a conspicuous display of expensive status symbols." However, one can argue that the middle-class Kampen residents are themselves possessing certain preferences, tastes and competences as embodied in their habituses and their relative weight of cultural and economic capital, which, as the case in Jarness's (2017) study, forms the basis of the economic class fractions' assertions of their horizontal classed counterparts as 'cultural snobs' – underscoring the flexible meaning of the term 'snob' in an egalitarian culture. During the walk-alongs, the informants displayed a highly aesthetic reflexivity towards their spatial environment, meaning few things are merely 'taken for granted'. A prominent

example of this is their shared appreciation of the lack of chain stores and cafés in their neighbourhood:

> [*What immediately strikes me is the lack of chains...?*] Hehe, yeah, and that's so lovely! And really… Escaped from Starbucks and Espresso House – that's like, death. That was the nail in the coffin for Grünerløkka too, if you ask me, when you get these big chains. … [I] just for God's sake don't want those chains here, will keep it that way… Gunnar Ruud, you know! [former butcher store from 1942, now catering] It's a lot of tradition in some, or you can actually say, all of the businesses here. The only thing that's relatively new is Galleri Bastian [Italian restaurant], but they do it in such a homely and cool way, so… The pizza costs a fortune, but you go there at least occasionally because it feels Kampen. (Male, 36)

> [*Is that something you appreciate about Kampen, that there aren't a lot of chains?*] God, yes! Hehe! … It's nice if there's someone who wants to do something a bit weird and local, who actually make it work. … Like, if I go to a café, then I would rather go to something a bit more… at least Norwegian chains, hehe! But maybe something more niche than that, because they may have more passion for what they do. … So I try to do that instead of using Oslo City or the shopping mall in Sandvika [near her workplace], because I want to support that the least possible. That has a bit to do with the atmosphere there and the big chains and such. (Female, 32)

These preferences for independent businesses over large chains or shopping malls affirms research of the consumption tastes of the cultural middle class (see, e.g., Ley 1996; Bacqué et al. 2015; Flemmen et al. 2018a), often as part of a larger ethos of consuming 'authenticity' (Bourdieu 1984; Zukin 2008) – an issue that is returned to regarding notions of Kampen's aura. These middle-class residents have "escaped" the geographies of commercialisation – epitomised in gentrified Grünerløkka – to the 'edge of the island' (Douglas 2012), where independent cafés and shops with "a lot of tradition" still prevails. These are believed to have "more passion for what they do" – the relatively new Galleri Bastian is not merely a generic Italian restaurant because "they do it in such a homely and cool way … it feels Kampen."[20] The lack of chain stores and cafés is thus important to their sense of place by contributing to the distinctiveness of the neighbourhood: "I don't think

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[20] On a side note, notice this affective-atmospheric notion in which the restaurant "*feels Kampen*." The informant did not say 'feels *like* Kampen'. At least for him, this arguably imply that the place assemblage of human and non-human bodies and materialities engender a distinct 'Kampen atmosphere'.

[chains] fit in. And perhaps it becomes too commercial and maybe people aren't completely into that, hehehe! I think people are a bit conscious about that, that's the kind of folks who live here" (Male, 59). Accordingly, in terms of cultural capital, the cafés and restaurants Kampen Kaffe & Bar and Kampen Bistro focuses on natural wine, high-quality and locally sourced food, whilst Galleri Bastian use 'authentic' Italian ingredients (e.g., guanciale and not bacon in their carbonara!). Kampen Møbeltapetsering, an upholstery, repair and sell vintage designer furniture, whereas the store next door (Frø) offers eco-friendly children clothes (so-called 'sustainable fashion'). All of these businesses thus arguably caters to the tastes and wallet of the cultural middle-class mode of consumption that, despite involving a certain price level, diverge from those they associate with the economic classes' conspicuous displays of wealth, which hence likely reduces the Kampen residents' notions of themselves as snobs compared to their constitutive Others.

What this illustrates, is the mutual formation of social space, space of lifestyles and geographical space: Kampen is a residential area that fulfils some of the cultural classes' consumption preferences for 'authentic' independent shops, cafés and restaurants, which adds to a shared sense of a distinctive urban village atmosphere: "Kampen should be a bit special", as a resident (Female, 22) proclaims. Because they are aware of the fact that it is not easy to compete with larger chains, this taste for consuming the 'authentic' depend upon supporting the independent businesses, hence maintaining Kampen's 'special' identity through "the practicing of place" (Massey 2005: 154), by choosing these instead of others:

> [Y]es, I think it's much nicer to go to Kampen Bistro than to… if there had been like a Starbucks in the neighbourhood! [*So it's important to support these neighbourhood institution, to shop at Blomsterenga instead of Mester Grønn?*] Yes! It's really like that, hehe! There's really a culture for that. (Female, 33)

Certainly, this is not only about nurturing the 'uniqueness' of their neighbourhood as a means of class distinction; for instance, several informants highlighted the craftsmanship of the local florist or the mere practicality of having a local café or bar. However, instead of seeing these different dimensions of their mode of consumption as somehow contradictory (i.e., class dispositions vs. ordinary practicality), it can be argued that this pertains to how class actually 'works' in the mundanity of everyday life (Flemmen et al. 2018a): The cultural middle-class dispositions of the informants for choosing to (s)electively belong in certain places in the city and thereby practicing place are, first of all, not something everyone is able to do: one's amount of economic capital

influences the degree to which one is able to choose 'freely' where to (s)electively belong. Second, the food, drinks and 'things' offered by the businesses in a neighbourhood like Kampen, tailor to people with particular classed tastes, preferences and desires, and composition of capital. In a Bourdieusian perspective, consumption practices in the space of lifestyles are therefore conditioned by and conditioning the social space of classes, in which these practices in the space of lifestyles are materialising in geographical space – "the practico-material reality" (Lefebvre 1996: 101) – thus making it fundamental to their realisation. Consequently, in research of these localist forms of middle-class consumption, it has been argued that:

> … [C]onsuming locally represents a way of being local as well as allowing the
> respondents to play their part in maintaining and supporting the image of a "village",
> … through which social identities are shaped or reshaped. For these middle-class
> people, participating in the neighbourhood through consumption is key to their sense
> of themselves; the neighbourhood becomes 'a place of substantial investment in their
> urban way of life' (Authier, 2002: 89). (Bacqué et al. 2015: 112)

Not only is this practicing of place related to supporting local businesses, it also means defending their 'unique' neighbourhood from unwanted chain stores. A few years ago, Joker tried to establish a supermarket in a historic building centrally located at the village square (*Thorbjørn Egner's plass*). This was met with massive local opposition, leading the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority to disapprove the plans, whereby the leader of the residents' association proclaimed: "This is a big victory for the local community up here. We have from the start believed that a Joker-store, with its large and ugly advertising signs, don't fit in here" (Vårt Oslo 2017).[21] These forms of practicing place to maintain its 'historical authenticity' illustrates the aesthetical reflexivity of the middle-class residents and their ability to mobilise against spatial transformations deemed threating to the village atmosphere – an issue that is returned to later on.

6.2.2 Being affected by the aura

Thus far, the focus has been on some of the ways in which the socio-cultural dimensions of the relational construction of Kampen contributes to a territorial space of inner commonality (Löw & Weidenhaus 2017), whereby its cultural middle-class boundedness has been elaborated in terms of how the informants relate to their neighbourhood through certain aesthetical and material notions – as illustrated with the lack of chains. This aesthetic reflexivity, intrinsic to how the informants

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[21] The building ended up housing Galleri Bastian, the Italian restaurant.

appreciate and practice their neighbourhood, is even more prominent when analysing how these residents perceive the physical dimension of Kampen as a territorialised urban village and how this relates to its 'authenticity'.

Whilst the wooden houses are a significant part of the physical identity of the neighbourhood, many of the informants emphasised its distinctive architectural diversity as important for their sense of place:

> [I] like that there's such a mix of buildings. Of course, I'm very fond of the fine old wooden houses that are placed like pearls on a string here. But I also like that we have streets like Brinken, which has a completely different type of housing, that we have an OBOS cooperative. I think the most important thing for a residential environment is that there's variety. (Male, 42)

> It's in a way a mixture of pleasant and sometimes scruffy, and beautiful and diverse – very varied buildings. … But it's nice that there's some variation in general, I think that does something to an area. (Female, 33)

> I like mixtures, I really like mix. … And everything's not beautiful here either, something is really ugly. But that's Kampen as well! It's everything, in a way. Because you have those old wooden houses that are obviously very idyllic, but then you have the old tenements that are really nice also. It's messy and munificent [*raust*] then maybe. … [T]here's a variation here, and it's quite munificent, and that's what makes it so lovely to live here. (Female, 57)

Figure 3. An example of the 'messiness' of Kampen. Left, OBOS cooperative from 1961; right, red wooden house from 1878. Source: Kristian Tveiten

These aesthetical tastes for the 'messiness' of Kampen can be related to the aversions of the supposedly "boring" and "monotonous" places of the "homogenous" West End. Whilst part of this has to do with the socio-cultural dimensions of neighbourhoods (e.g., the diversity of people and lifestyles), it is also about how they phenomenologically experience Kampen as a distinct territory, perceived as meaningful in their lifeworlds (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). This taste for the seemingly 'imperfectness' of Kampen's aesthetic, has similarities with Zukin's (2008, 2010) discussion of the desire of cultural middle-class urbanites for the perceived 'authenticity' of 'scruffy' working-class neighbourhoods. As elaborated by many scholars (see, e.g., May 1996; Butler & Robson 2003; Brown-Saracino 2004; Robertson 2013; Bacqué et al. 2015; Kern 2016), these affinities towards 'authentic' working-class and multicultural inner-city areas, are intrinsic to the cultural classes' socio-spatial distinction from their constituent Others – the economic classes – which are associated with the ostensibly tedious, dull and materialistic lives in wealthy inner-city neighbourhoods and suburbs (as discussed in chapter 5).

As noted, the residents usually had very specific attitudes about their physical environment. They were rarely neutral; a building or site could always be positively or negatively judged, implicating certain tastes and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984). Regarding the discursive construction of Kampen's territory as an 'unique' urban village, this often involved contrasting it with other places considered for various reasons 'not for them'. Although, as discussed in chapter 5, the affluent neighbourhoods in the West End constitutes the epitome of these socio-spatial class distinctions, other areas were also perceived as deficient in what they value in a neighbourhood. Probably not a coincidence given its proximity, the newbuilt residential area Ensjø, with its high density of 'generic' apartment blocks, was often mentioned as an example of the aesthetical opposite of Kampen, so to speak:

> [*What do you think of how it looks here?*] I think it's the organic of it. I mean, when new things are built, it becomes so… You can look at Ensjø… It becomes… Not only that it's ugly, but it's dark, it's… Here it's like – here it goes in the terrain, the houses are built in the terrain, they're from the late 1800s … It's really old, and people have managed to preserve it and make it very nice. Then there's some newbuilds … but it has sort of got into the terrain, and that's thanks to the enthusiasts [*ildsjelene*] in the 1970s, who fought against demolition and wanted Kampen to have the character that it has. (Female, 65)

[*Seems people like that it's a bit messy?*] Mhm, and that's a bit in contrast to the rest as well. There's a lot that's streamlined, a lot of the new that's being raised, like over there on Ensjø. [*You can't imagine living there?*] No, I've considered it, mostly because of the price and size of apartments, and there you get a little more variation in sizes and opportunity to buy something, but I've put it off for now, because it becomes too sterile. It's something completely different, hehehe! (Female, 33)

[H]ere, you have a bit of self-grown streets, and that's also charming because it's so messy, in many ways. (Female, 75).

The uses of words like 'variation', 'mix', 'messy' and 'organic' in contrast to 'streamlined', 'uniform' and 'sterile' underscores the discrepancy in how these places are being positively and negatively judged, with the former set of words connoting a sense of 'scruffy' authenticity associated with Kampen, whereas the latter set do not. Interestingly, even St. Hanshaugen – a neighbourhood one might think matches the tastes and preferences of the cultural classes – is regarded as too 'impeccable' by an informant:

You may appreciate the atmosphere that's here and that it's not too rigid [*strigla*]. I've been on St. Hanshaugen and it's very pretty there, but I think it's too stiff, hehe! And it's very nice here, but it's a bit like… Ehm, yeah, it doesn't have to be too perfect. I think that's a charm here. [*That's not only about the physical, but also the people living here?*] Yeah, hehehe! (Female, 32)

Comparable to the findings in Jackson and Benson's (2014) study of how the middle-class residents in an urban village in London distinguish themselves from other places considered too 'run-of-the-mill' middle-class, this resident similarly perceives St. Hanshaugen as too "perfect" and "stiff". These place-based distinctions from other middle-class neighbourhoods, through underlying notions of a 'scruffy' East End authenticity, can be related to Benjamin's (1969) concept of aura and affective atmospheres (Anderson 2009; Duff 2010, Bille & Simonsen 2019). As elaborated in chapter 2, Benjamin (1969) described aura as the time-space embeddedness of unique works of art: the authenticity of a painting is constituted by its aura radiating from the presence of its time-space embeddedness. Similarly, neighbourhoods can be interpreted as possessing certain qualities that gives rise to an atmospheric feeling of authenticity, the distinctive 'something more' of a place

(Duff 2010; Bille & Simonsen 2019). Similar to authentic artworks, a neighbourhood does not 'acquire' this aura *ex nihilo*, it is socially created and maintained as it unfolds in time-space.

Accordingly, regarding the informants' experiences of and claims about Kampen's distinctive authenticity (its auratic time-space embeddedness) vis-à-vis other neighbourhoods, two particular dimensions are arguably significant here: (1) The temporal aspect, related to its historical working-class past: people from rural districts moved into the city, settled down in this area, and built part of what Kampen is characterised by today. Then, residents defended the neighbourhood against demolition by the municipality, and in-movers are still engaged in maintaining that 'saved' character. In short, Kampen seems to 'stand the test of time'; (2) The spatial aspect, related to the 'messiness' of this spatial assemblage (Dovey 2010), materialising in its colours, architectural diversity, zigzagging streets, and height differences. One can thus argue that these two time-space aspects are fundamental to these residents' phenomenological experience of and claims about their neighbourhood's auratic authenticity (Relph 1976), as a distinct territorialised urban village. In summary, because time and space are co-constituted (Massey 2005), Kampen's identity as an 'authentic' urban village (space) is mutually constituted by its 'organic' becoming through history (time). Since authenticity "forces us to think about time as well as space" (Zukin 2010: 29), the aura of Kampen is highly connected to the meanings ascribed to the relationship between the two.

However, whilst it is easy to agree that Kampen's spatial 'configuration' is relatively unique (at least in Oslo), the significance of time in the informant's experience of authenticity is not as straightforward. Many inner- and outer-city neighbourhoods in Oslo are obviously 'historic', and whereas it is easy to dismiss a newbuilt residential area such as Ensjø as lacking on these grounds, places like Frogner or St. Hanshaugen can certainly be claimed to have a historicity to them. This connection between authenticity and history is, for instance, prominent in Relph's (1976) work, whereby his examples of 'authentic places' are those with particular historical underpinnings. Yet it can be argued that it is not history *in itself* that creates authenticity; it is engendered in the processes in which the relations between the past, present and future of place becomes enacted and negotiated (Massey 1995c). This historical dimension of Kampen therefore needs further elaboration.

It was striking that many of the informants highlighted the significance of history for their sense of place, for more than aesthetical reasons:

I get good feelings from seeing that Kampen managed to save a lot of the old wooden houses – and that was thanks to private individuals. The municipality of Oslo did no good, they demolished the old houses down in Brinken, that they owned … But it was private individuals, led by people who really stood up, and everyone restored their houses. (Male, 76)

It's easier to belong to something that has been the same for a long time, that doesn't change so quickly. Then you might feel more at home. Things are not as alien. Kampen history association publishes a calendar every year with a picture and text for each month, an old black and white picture, and I think that's great. On the lawn in front of where we live, it used to be a huge hall where boxing matches were held. And that was cool, I didn't know that. (Male, 42)

There's something about it being a lot of history here, in the buildings and the streets and all the small backyards. So it adds greatly to the feel of the area. … [*Is the history in the buildings important to you?*] It was perhaps not so much before, but now with time it may have become more important, after living here. And I really appreciate that there's a history association and a residents' association, that are very committed. … I don't quite know what the historical provides, but it's probably a feeling of the place as a unit and that there's something defined, but I think it's a bit difficult to say exactly what it does. (Female, 32)

These residents highlight how the historical dimension of the neighbourhood radiates atmospherically, affecting their sense of place and belonging – an atmosphere that is difficult to precisely discern, yet nonetheless nurtures their topophilic attachment to place (Tuan 1974) and thereby shaping their lifeworlds (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976). The relations to the past are brought into the present through the materialities of Kampen – "the buildings, the streets and the small backyards" – in which they get "good feelings" of experiencing it, they "feel more at home." The historical aura of the neighbourhood is thus emerging out of the interactions between human bodies and non-human materialities. Whilst the history is spatially situated, it emanates atmospherically, by adding 'something more' (Duff 2010): "the feel of the area." The residents are affected by this aura in concrete bodily practices (Bille & Simonsen 2019), in the lived experiences of their neighbourhood, echoing what Lefebvre (1991: 42) referred to as spaces of representation: "the loci of passion, of action and lived situations … [It] is essentially qualitative, fluid and

dynamic." For instance, the significance of history for the informant above has gradually increased. Accordingly, by "[getting] to know it better and endow it with value" (Tuan 1977: 6), she becomes more familiar and attached to the place. Similarly, another learned about a former boxing arena outside his apartment through a neighbourhood calendar, which can be said to add experiential *meaning* and *depth* to this place in his lifeworld (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977). Although the boxing arena is physically long gone, it is atmospherically still there, in the mind(s) of the resident(s), on that lawn.[22]

6.2.3 Maintaining the village atmosphere

Thus, whilst many residents can be said to be *affected by* an historical aura, as illustrated above, there is also a need to explore how people are *affecting* this atmosphere (Bille & Simonsen 2019) – through practices of bringing these historical relations to the present and preserving them into the future. This two-way process is important to discern in order to fully scrutinise the notions of Kampen as a distinctive 'authentic' neighbourhood and how residents are *maintaining the village atmosphere* and the social implications of these processes. There is here an emphasis on socio-spatial performativity, "the practicing of place" (Massey 2005: 154), which underscores how "neighbourhoods are shaped not only through imaginings, but also through practice and the ongoing processes through which class and place intersect" (Benson & Jackson 2012: 794).

The practices of affecting Kampen's historical atmosphere can be distinguished between two sets of place-based actors: formal and informal. Formal actors refer to organisations involved in maintaining Kampen's historical relations to the past in the present and future. These actors are especially the local history association (Kampen Historielag, est. 1986), the residents' association (Kampen Vel, est. 1971) and the biannual newspaper (Kampenposten, est. 1977), whom are engaged in practices of preserving the historical character of Kampen – both regarding representations of space and spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991). The former relates to historical place representations, whilst the latter relates to practices of preserving Kampen's symbolic, architectural and physical features that are deemed vital for its 'authenticity' and 'uniqueness'. Informal actors refer to residents who on their own initiative, in some way or another,

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[22] The boxing arena referred to was located in the workshop hall of Christiania Steelworks (est. 1916), producing ordnance during WW1. When the company went bankrupt after only four years, the workshop hall was converted it into a boxing arena by the local sports club Kampørn. Political meetings were also held there, which includes an instance when local communists threw rotten eggs and tomatoes on Vidkun Quisling. The building was demolished in 1939, when two-room apartment blocks in functionalist architecture were built on the site (see https://oslobyleksikon.no/index.php/Christiania_Staalv%C3%A6rk, https://oslobyleksikon.no/index.php/Kampen_Sportshall).

does something that is related to the local history, and thus keeps the relations to the past 'alive'. Both informal and formal actors base these practices on a sort of 'Kampen-of-the-mind' outlook, informing their interpretations of the place, its past and what it ought to be.[23] The following discuss instances illustrating these formal and informal atmospheric practices of historical continuity.

The history association and Kampenposten are arguably the two most important formal actors regarding representations of space. Through discursive practices – e.g., documents and photos, articles, interviews, talks, and walking tours – certain historical representations of space becomes presented. These representations may, in turn, affect the historical atmosphere of Kampen, as illustrated with the informant who learned about the boxing arena through a calendar published by the historical association. Historical representations of space can also operate in more mundane ways: In a Facebook-group 'by and for' Kampen and its residents, representatives from the history association numerous times a week upload old photos, short texts, or links to a specific article on their website. Consequently, for the members in that group, people are regularly *reminded* of the neighbourhood's historical relations, without necessary reading the articles and texts made by the history association. Thus, even for residents who are not that interested in the details of the history of their neighbourhood, these reminders become part of the residents' sense of place, as exemplified by one of the informants:

> [*Is the local history something that is of particular interest to you?*] Not so much. I have the impression that people are very interested. Those in the history association are really committed, I think. But I'm not so interested in it. I think it's very nice with the architecture that's here, although I'm not so concerned about the history behind it, hehehe! But I find it fascinating that – there were someone who said this – a hundred years ago or something, eighty people lived in my block of six apartments, so that says a bit about how it's been here before. (Female, 32)

On the one hand, this resident pertains to a 'typical' gentrifier with a taste for the aesthetic of inner-city working-class neighbourhoods. On the other hand, whilst not particularly interested in the local history, she has nonetheless 'picked up' some historical information about the block she lives in. In other words, without caring much about the history of her neighbourhood, her sense of place is nevertheless affected by the local atmosphere of historical continuity, that is being sustained

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[23] The term draws upon Butler and Robson's (2003; see also Benson and Jackson 2012) conception of a 'place in the mind' amongst the middle-class residents in various gentrifying/-fied London neighbourhoods, inspired by the term 'village in the mind' by Pahl (1965).

through certain practices: "The historic city can have an atmosphere of age, which can be felt without much historical knowledge … [Related] to the capacity to *sense* the age of the city" (Albertsen 2019: 2, 13).

The residents' association Kampen Vel has an important formal role in maintaining the 'authenticity' of Kampen as a space of representation: the historical symbolism imbued in its materialities – the architecture, specific buildings, and other physical elements – a practice which goes all the way back to the establishment of the residents' association itself, during the local resistance against demolition in the 1970s. By being the formal neighbourhood organisation whereby official complaints are often channelled through, the residents' association is important in the local governance of the neighbourhood, specifically related to issues of continuity and change. Often in cooperation with the history association, Kampen Vel is regularly in dialogue with the municipality's Cultural Heritage Management Office [*Byantikvaren*], speaking 'on behalf' of the neighbourhood.[24] Through the years, the residents' association has been involved in many processes against certain building projects deemed to have negative impacts on the neighbourhood's 'historical authenticity'. Many of these are different forms of densification through infills or redevelopment. Especially a recent project became a regular stop during the walk-alongs, where an old smithy had been teared down in order to build row houses.[25] Some of the architectural features of these newbuilds are clearly inspired by the surroundings in an attempt to make them match the historical environment, through the use of colours and wood panel. Nevertheless, for some, this was an example of what happens when Kampen Vel 'lose the battle' against the municipality and property developers:

> Kampen Vel has worked against a lot of densification here, so one isn't so happy about all the new. … There used to be a smithy here, which Kampen Vel fought hard to preserve. That didn't work out, you know. I don't think this looks nice, and for those who live on the back side, there are roof terraces. We know someone who has his backyard right below that roof terrace. It's not nice that others sit staring down at your coffee cup. So I think there's several things here that should not have been like that. … [*For the smithy that was here, it was part of the charm and…?*] Yes, and it could've been absolutely converted into an apartment. But they tore it down. (Female, 65)

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[24] On their website (https://www.kampenvel.org/), it is stated that "Kampen Vel … is a mouthpiece for the residents of Kampen and a driving force in maintaining Kampen's distinctive character" (bottom of the page).
[25] For pictures, see https://www.enerhaugen.com/pf/kampengata-18

[S]omething was built right across the street for me, just a couple of years ago, some sort of row houses – in glaring colours and flat roofs with terraces. So, the idea is pretty good, but it could've been adapted much better. And I think it's awful that that atrocious thing (*kladasen*) was built in place of the smithy! Hehehe! [*It's an attempt at adaptation?*] Yes, sort of, but not when it comes to colour use and not when it comes to the flat roofs. … [*So, some parts of Kampen are more authentic than others, in a way?*] Yes it is, and I think it's important to take care of it and I also think it's important to adapt new buildings to a certain extent. It shouldn't be copies or anything like that, but that it's tailored in terms of volume and shape and ceiling and stuff like that. (Female, 75)

Despite the architectural attempts at customising the newbuilds to the existing built environment, these older middle-class residents are unsatisfied with the end result, partly because of the demolition of the old smithy – which arguably symbolised the place of the past and thus underscored the historical aura – and partly because of the negative impact on the neighbours. Accordingly, the residents' association, in cooperation with the history association, plays a key role in negotiating continuity and change in Kampen as a space of representation, which involves balancing the relations to the past with the interests of the future. Under the banner of sustainable urban development, densification is a widespread physical intervention, which – as the case of Kampen – is often met with local resistance, highlighting both the tensions between (ideological) representations of space and spaces of representation (Lefebvre 1991), and between social and environmental sustainability. Interestingly, especially the younger, recent in-movers were not nearly as critical towards these modern buildings:

I think that's really great and it seems like people really like it there. … That fence is a bit prison-like, but other than that I think it's a very nice project. … It seems like they can have a 'neighbourhood feel' in that little street there. So I think it seems great. (Female, 32)

I hope you have some of those old ones, whom are more or less born and bred here, on your list, because they really want to keep it as it is. But at the same time – here comes a cool example – of actually building new things that, after all, are really nice row houses. … It would be strange if you were to try to build some old crooked stuff that matches the building next door. Rather build something that is thought through, but modern, then you get a great mix. (Male, 36)

By having more positive attitudes towards these physical transformations, these recent in-movers are maybe not as familiar with particularities of the local history. For instance, when stopping outside these row houses, none of the younger informants seemed aware of the old smithy that had been there. However, as reflected in the latter quote, this younger resident is also conscious about the fact that others ("those who are more or less born and raised here") are more strongly inclined to maintain the neighbourhood "as it is." Thus, similar to the case above, although being reminiscent of a typical gentrifier predominantly attracted to the working-class neighbourhood aesthetic, this in-mover is aware of the importance of history amongst many of Kampen's residents – history 'matters', and, albeit being valued differently, it nonetheless affects residents' sense of place. As Zukin (2010: 29) argues, "our mental images of authenticity do reflect change, for each generation has an experience of the city in its own time that shapes what its members think about the houses, stores, and people that "belong" on a block, in a neighbourhood, and in the city as a whole." If these younger in-movers had been more familiar with the place of the past, including the old smithy, maybe their notions about the densification project had been different.

Regarding the more *informal* atmospheric practices of place in terms of bringing the past into the present, two empirical examples illustrates this form of agency. The first concerns private refurbishment and maintenance of one's own dwelling. An informant who lives in one of the wooden houses, describes how they refurbished it back to its historically 'authentic' condition:

> When we moved in there, the house was actually destroyed. And our house is from about 1850 and those before us had installed tilt and turn windows [*husmorsvinduer*] and the wrong panel and stuff like that. And we refurbished the whole house and went into great detail with everything, from windows to window catches, the right panel… So everything's put back together, and that's very important to us. … Most people keep their houses in good shape, you see that. But then there are some places. There's an old eternit house on the corner of Thorbjørn Egner's square … They haven't done anything about it, and it's been like that for many, many, many years. So people notice that, you don't like it. (Female, 65)

This resident expresses a strong aesthetical reflexivity to the different architectural features of her house and the neighbourhood, paying close attention to get the details right, in making sure the house is 'historically correct'. She possesses the economic and cultural capital to restore the house

back to its 'authentic' condition – something that is *important* to them. As part of their habituses, certain cultural tastes are being practiced in the appreciation of their neighbourhood's aura, and dislike for those who does not make sure their house is in good shape, arguably because they do not contribute in maintaining the village atmosphere.

Extending on this, during the annual street festival Kampendagene, many of the owners of the wooden houses open their backyards for public exhibition. By being a collaboration between formal and informal actors of place, this 'open backyards' event can be interpreted (together with the festival in general) as a celebration of their 'unique' neighbourhood, creating a sense of community and belonging – as returned to later. However, it is also a peculiar aesthetisation of everyday life, converting the private spaces of home into public spaces of aesthetic consumption. Similar to works of art, these phenomenological experiences and aesthetic judgements of place are dependent on the possession of certain classed dispositions: an *interest* and *ability* to truly appreciate the auratic qualities of the urban village. On the one hand, this aesthetisation is arguably disconnected from Kampen's working-class past, a time when this place was everything but as romanticised and idyllic as it is conceived of by the contemporary middle-class residents. On the other hand, despite that disconnection, the symbolic connotations of this old urban landscape may still engender an auratic authenticity. Thus, the maintenance of the houses and aesthetisation of their neighbourhood by these middle-class dwellers, is a process where "[t]heir taste is performed and practiced as a general appreciative approach to living life that closes the gap between art and life – making of one's life and landscape a work of art with the aura of the unique" (Duncan & Duncan 2004: 36). This 'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004), shaped by a particular idea of the 'authentic urban village', can hence be regarded as atmospheric practices of place (Bille & Simonsen 2019), whereby the composition of capital and aesthetic dispositions of the cultural middle class are actively mobilised in affecting Kampen's distinctive atmosphere of historical continuity. As detailed in chapter 7, the implications of these atmospheric practices of maintaining the village atmosphere can also be related to gentrification.

Figure 4. One of Kampen's many 'idyllic' backyards. Source: Kristian Tveiten

The other example of informal actors' practices of bringing the neighbourhood past into the present, is the re-establishment of a local football club. One of the informants told about the time he and some other parents organised a football club for their children:

> [W]hen my oldest began in first grade, we were quite many parents who started a football club for the kids, with lower fees and more mixed teams – a low threshold. And that was named 'Kampenkameratene' the first year, but it was not possible to register new clubs to the Norwegian Football Federation. Then we got in touch with those who still had the club licence for the old team 'Forward', which were older folks. So now there are lots of kids, my middle daughter also played on that team a couple of years. And I think that's a way to bring the history further as well. So I like things like that a lot. (Male, 42)

In re-establishing the old neighbourhood club Forward (est. in 1915), some of the more symbolic historical relations are brought into the present. By invoking the cultural history of the place through the symbolism of the old football club (e.g., logo, team colours), the past is connected to the present, thus maintaining a sense of historical continuity, thereby nurturing the neighbourhood's auratic authenticity as time-space embeddedness. What this demonstrates, is how a locality becomes endowed with meaning (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977) through people's active engagement with places and their pasts. It is not merely the specifics of history in itself that are important, but rather *how* those relations to the past are brought into the present (Massey 1995c).

As Bird (2002: 526) notes, "local narratives tell us less about 'history' and more about how people construct their sense of place and cultural identity."

These examples of formal and informal actors' practices of place illustrates how authenticity is created and experienced by the spatio-temporal embeddedness of aura (Benjamin 1969), reflecting what Thibaud (2015: 44) describes as "maintaining spaces over time" through the upkeep of affective ambiances: "Taking lasting care of urban spaces consists in keeping them in shape, nourishing sustainable potential, feeding existing resources, bringing together conditions which favour desirable actions … This is how a lasting ambiance may be installed." The point here is that the historical dimension of Kampen is not only a mere 'backdrop' for other activities; it is being enacted through specific relations to the past. These relations between past and present are what seemingly underlies the informants' notions about the authenticity of Kampen. Aura is thus something that is created through socio-spatial practices, and whilst other places in Oslo have these historical relations, what seems to be implied in the notions about authenticity regarding Kampen, is that other neighbourhoods in the city does not enact these relations in the same way as Kampen residents do in their neighbourhood. That the present is more detached from the past in other places, is thus implied when the informants celebrate the auratic distinctiveness of their urban village. Furthermore, the practices of maintaining the village atmosphere becomes part of the socio-spatial territorialisation of the neighbourhood (i.e., its 'uniqueness'), which is thereby both means and outcome of the middle-class residents' practices of distinction and affiliation through tastes and judgements – as epitomised in the 'open backyards' event and dislike for corporate chain cafés and stores.

The purpose of this the chapter has been to highlight some of the dominant ways in which Kampen is becoming relationally constructed and territorialised as 'its own' distinctive neighbourhood, highlighted in the informants' clear understandings of its socio-spatial boundaries and 'inner commonality' (Löw & Weidenhaus 2017), engendering a territorial sense of place which arguably contributes to a feeling of belonging to a distinctive 'their place' in the city. This territorial sense of place can be regarded as the result of certain atmospheric practices of both affecting and becoming affected by (Bille & Simonsen 2019) the auratic distinctiveness of the urban village. It has been argued that some of these atmospheric practices are both means and outcome of the cultural middle-class identities of the informants, because of the aesthetic tastes and modes of consumption infusing their senses of place, with particular affinities towards 'the authentic' – revealing a classed

'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004).[26] These notions of Kampen's aura have been interpreted as especially prominent in their territorial sense of place, by which *how* the neighbourhood's time-space embeddedness is being enacted is believed to be one of the most important markers of Kampen's distinctive auratic authenticity compared to other (upper-/middle-class) neighbourhoods. This embeddedness is continually practiced by formal and informal actors in negotiating the past, the present and the future of place – between continuity and change. In the following, it will be argued that such atmospheric practices of place are part of a larger ethos of practicing community in the neighbourhood.

6.3 Practicing community by practicing place: negotiating insiders and outsiders

Based on Pløger's (1997) previous findings of communal tendencies in Kampen, divergent from to the typical Gesellschaft social forms associated with (Western) city life (Tönnies 2001 [1887]), part of the interviews focused on these communitarian aspects. One of the things that were often mentioned as especially important for the informants' sense of place, beyond what already discussed, were the social qualities of their neighbourhood, whereby a particular 'neighbourhood community' was believed to be a prominent distinctive aspect of Kampen. Given it being more than 20 years since Pløger (1997) collected his quantitative survey data, this part of the analysis can be said to explore how these communal experiences and practices unfolds in the neighbourhood, and how the informants relate to this in their lifeworlds.

Recent practice-oriented perspectives, as discussed in chapter 2, focuses on the ways in which urban communities can emerge and endure despite the seemingly lack of 'real' ties between people: By thinking beyond the local neighbourhood community as a construct of social networks, these perspectives emphasise the fluidity and mundanity of urban communities (Kusenbach 2006; Wright 2015; Blokland 2017). This is not to argue against social network theories but, as will be detailed here, to highlight that the localist sense of community in Kampen is as much about fleeting and atmospheric encounters and practices, as it is the social forms associated with the ideal-typical Gemeinschaft village. Experiences of a communal urban neighbourhood can arguably emerge out of both of these ways of 'doing community' – the practice-oriented perspectives should therefore be regarded as supplementing, and not replacing, the network approaches to community based on the Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft divide.

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[26] This is further discussed regarding gentrification in chapter 7.

Although expressed in different degrees and ways, all the informants felt a sense of neighbourhood community existed in Kampen. Some felt part of a 'Kampen community', whilst others were more on the 'outside, looking in'. Nevertheless, all of them did in some way or another affirm local social relations markedly different from the places they had previously lived. Therefore, regarding the notions of Kampen as a 'unique' urban village, it appears that the identity of the place and its local community can unlikely be completely separated in the eyes of the informants. This relationship and the difficulty of distinguishing between the two is pointed out by Relph (1976: 34), who – despite the somewhat essentialist and exclusionary leanings - asserts that "people are their place and a place is its people, and however readily these may be separated in conceptual terms, in experience they are not easily differentiated." Nevertheless, instead of perceiving this relationship as a pre-given, it should be understood as something that is being relationally constructed in the neighbourhood – as what Massey (1995a: 59) label "a meeting-place, the location of the intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces" – through the socio-spatial practices of creating and maintaining a place-based sense of community. Such activity spaces unfold in specific contexts: formal ones, such as the street festival Kampendagene, the 'open backyards' event or the residents' association; or informal ones, such as meeting a neighbour or fellow parent on the street. The following analysis thus discusses some of the ways in which the local community materialises, both in the more 'traditional' Gemeinschaft sense and in the more atmospheric and fluid sense; whilst also recognising that these cannot necessarily be readily separated in everyday life.

At the outset, when asked about the specifics in their notions of community, many informants referred to their social relations to their neighbours as atypical of what they were used to, which they related to the 'urban village feel' of their neighbourhood. This was the case across age groups and residential duration and included everything from everyday interactions to more planned get-togethers:

> I just knew the name of my neighbours next-door when I lived in Grønland, but I didn't really know anyone else in the building there… And when I lived on Majorstuen, it wasn't talk of knowing someone there either. Here, it feels more like a little village where you ask your neighbour to bring in the mail and water the flowers when you're away and… Stand outside talking longer than – I almost said, longer than you should, you know… I think people view it differently, I think they feel more like living in a rural village than in the middle of the city, because people actually know their

neighbour here, and not only the closest neighbour, but often in the houses around you too. (Male, 36)

[T]here's very nice neighbours. Now I have neighbours in the house next door where there's three living units, and we have a very nice time. A little mixed when it comes to age and family situations and such, but we have our traditional parties several times a year where we meet and stuff like that. And otherwise very nice too. There's lots of people I greet more or less on an acquaintance level but aren't close friends with. (Female, 75)

There seems to be a certain knowledge of the typical anonymity associated with urban living, as illustrated by these residents, which is experienced as different in Kampen. That is not to say there is a strong community presence which somehow permeates every aspect of the life of every Kampen resident, but rather that there seems to be, at least amongst the informants, some forms of local communal sociability infusing their ideas of Kampen as a distinctive neighbourhood, in contrast to the Gesellschaft social forms of urban life in 'other places'. Residents emphasising the distinctiveness of these neighbour relations are reminiscent of a Parisian middle-class urban village studied by Bacqué et al. (2015: 114), whereby "inhabitants stress their collective sense of belonging through a celebration of their more immediate residential space. … [L]ocal sociability is deeply embedded in the neighbourhood and seen as unique."

Additionally, this practicing of community does not need to be confined to one's immediate neighbours: a sense of urban community can emerge from the routine encounters of daily life, such as regularly seeing the same persons in the same place at the same times during the week (Blokland 2017), which can create a communal feeling of safety and wellbeing in seeing familiar faces from day to day: "Public familiarity characterises a social fabric of the city where, due to repeated fluid encounters and durable engagements, individuals are able to socially place others, to recognize them, and even to expect to see them" (Blokland 2017: 126). Reminiscent of such 'fluid encounters', several informants felt they had a sort of 'social overview' of the neighbourhood:

You can walk on the street and say hello to someone, but you don't quite remember where you have… We were *Natteravn* together once or something… [*You have an overview?*] I have an overview, yes. And, like, that's the dad to him and him, hehe! (Female, 66).

I think it's very common for people not to greet their neighbours. And I really appreciate that here – that when I meet my neighbour at the store, we greet, even though we never really have a conversation, we just know that we live next door to each other. I believe that's something that's really lacking in big cities, to relate to the people around you, who aren't people you directly care about. So that's part of that village feeling. (Female, 22)

[*Is it a bit like you have a certain overview, you see mostly the same faces every day, there aren't a lot of new people?*] No, that's probably true. Not that I had recognised any recent residents, but if I go to the bistro one night, like now, I think I know who sits in the bar. (Male, 42)

These informants illustrate a sense of community that is not constituted by intensive social ties, but simply by encountering familiar faces regularly, which is arguably partly related to its socio-spatial configuration whereby most people in the neighbourhood are local residents, with little influx from other places. This can be connected to the previous discussed notions of Kampen as an "unknown oasis", whereby people seem to stay for many years once moved in, and that relatively few 'others' travel to or through this neighbourhood. However, there are also racial and classed dimensions to this fleeting aspect of the village community, in which the feeling of safety by routinely seeing similar faces, depends upon that those individuals or groups are not deemed out-of-place. As detailed later, the residents recently mobilised a meeting with the police in reaction to an apparent increase in 'unwanted events' and 'unfamiliar' people in their neighbourhood, thus underscoring how a sense of community (at least for some) also involves inclusion and exclusion, thereby keeping certain activities and people at a comfortable distance.

Consequently, whilst, as noted by another informant, "Kampen is the small town in the big city, you can certainly be anonymous in Kampen" (Female, 68), these practices of community and belonging contributes to their sense of place – it becomes part of what they perceive and experience as Kampen's village identity and atmosphere: "It's kind of funny, because it's not like you know everybody in Kampen, it's not a village in that way. But nonetheless, you get that feeling" (Female, 33). This *feeling* of community emergent in the neighbourhood, relate to what Albertsen (2019) calls 'atmospheric community'. Several informants gave specific examples of their experiences of this atmospheric community, including an outdoor cinema arranged by the residents' association:

[T]here's been a film screening here, and then you really notice the social. A movie screen had been set up on that wall [points at the wall of building at Thorbjørn Egner's square] and then they showed *The Triplets of Belleville*. And everyone brought their own folding chairs and they sold some mulled wine or squash. Then you really feel… Then there is someone who takes a bit initiative and organise something, and then everyone bring their chairs and you get that sense of belonging. You don't know all the people who are there, but you feel that there's a kind of social event that gives a lot, which makes you appreciate the neighbourhood. (Female, 32)

By emphasising the interrelations between the human and non-human bodies and materialities at this event – as an assemblage of the provisional movie screen on the wall, people getting together at the square, the (familiar) architectural surroundings, mulled wine and squash, the chairs, and so on – a communal atmosphere of belonging emerges which phenomenologically affects the people involved. This shared experience of belonging together as a way of practicing community differs from the concrete face-to-face forms of community associated with Gemeinschaft neighbourhood relations. Nevertheless, these two ways of practicing and experiencing community arguably add up to the more general senses of place as described by the informants, pertaining to the relational and more-than-human approach to belonging posited by Wright (2015: 403):

Rather than two people belonging to a backdrop of a place, or belonging to an ontologically discrete place, this means understanding that people, places, their emotions, their aspirations and all the processes, beings, and affects that make up those people and those places, co-constitute each other.

This is a way of practicing community by practicing place (and vice versa) and through such affective practices relationally maintain the overall urban village atmosphere. However, it is not happening in a socio-cultural vacuum: it is unlikely a coincidence that the movie shown is *The Triplets of Belleville*, a French animated film from 2003, which is highly acclaimed by critics for its artistic style and substance yet relatively unknown and uncommercial, compared to other popular movies such as *Madagascar* or *Frozen*. One can thus argue that this movie reflects the cultural capital and aesthetic tastes of the middle-class residents, adding to Kampen's middle-class 'enclaveness' through the shared sense of belonging engendered amongst these residents.

Extending this further, these neighbour relations are not only prominent in their sense of place but are mobilised in the concrete 'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004) – in maintaining the middle-class residents' ideas of the 'authentic' urban village; how "middle-class imaginings of place are not just 'in the mind' but are actualised in neighbourhoods" (Benson & Jackson 2012: 807). Some instances of this are the previous mentioned resistance against the establishment of a supermarket; the supposedly 'culture' for consuming locally; the abilities and resources necessary to produce and publish the biannual Kampenposten or organising the yearly street festivals Kampendagene and Egnermarked. Thus, the mobilisation of local community resources echoes Bourdieu's (1984) description of how social capital can be converted into (objectified) cultural capital, materialising symbolically in the place itself, as an expression of identity and social distinction (i.e., 'Kampen is not like other neighbourhoods' and sought after within the cultural class). In other words, if regarding neighbourhoods as a form of symbolic capital contributing to socio-spatial (hierarchical) differentiation and geographical segregation (Butler & Robson 2003; Savage et al. 2005; Robertson 2013; Rosenlund 2017; Mercer 2018; Pereira 2018; Fuentes & Mac-Clure 2019), the notion of Kampen as an authentic 'village in the mind' of the middle-class residents, is realised through specific spatial practices emerging from the mobilisation of community resources (social capital) (Benson & Jackson 2012; Bacqué et al. 2015). Another prominent example of such practices happened during the fieldwork, when locals, through the residents' association, rapidly organised a neighbourhood meeting with the police, because of an apparent increase in 'unwanted events' in the neighbourhood: drug dealing, thefts, car fires, the smell of marijuana and discovery of drug paraphernalia in the park, and 'unknown' youth groups 'hanging around'. Although the informants claimed to seldom or never feel unsafe in the neighbourhood or surrounding areas, several had noticed the overall interest in dealing with this issue amongst the residents:

> There was a meeting with the police at the community house a month ago, that there have been some episodes with youth gangs. There were both factual [*saklige*] and less factual [*mindre saklige*] comments there, but a bloody commitment at least. (Male, 42)

> …[I] believe some of the elderly think it's a little scary, that the youths may be a bit brown, because then they somehow have less control. Or they think it's a bit unfamiliar, they think it's a bit unsafe – at least when one starts to talk about it, right? And then there's a lot in the newspaper, right, about robberies and things like that, but

that haven't been here as far as I know. So I think its exaggerated. But Kampen Vel, they feel they must do something with that people are concerned about. (Female, 57)

The outcome of this meeting was that the police was going to increase patrols in the area, whilst residents were advised to inform the residents' association of 'unwanted events', who then reported further to the police. This form of strategic alliance with the police is also indicative of the concept of selective belonging (Watt 2010), whereby narratives of belonging to the East End are confined to certain aspects and places constitutive of it. Despite residential preferences for the eastern inner-city part of Oslo and its convivial atmosphere of multiculture, in contrast to the supposedly 'boring and homogenous' places of the West End, the alliance with the police indicates a certain ambivalence towards parts of this multicultural milieu and some of the activities it entails – at least when it comes too close to their own neighbourhood. This form of middle-class territorialisation is of course not unique to Kampen. For instance, by 'preserving (the right kind of) city', Nogueria (2019: 15) argues that the middle-class residents of Belo Horiztone "want to fashion places in accordance with their own views, building in the process a much subtler type of wall [than gated communities]. These middle-class citizens do not want to leave the polis, but rather to engage in the political arena to preserve middle-class spaces." Moreover, Tissot's (2014) study of the spatial practices of the gentrifiers in a Boston neighbourhood reveals how their love for diversity inherently involves their capacity to control it. Similarly, Andreotti et al. (2013: 578) argues that by 'controlling the urban fabric', "today's urban upper-middle-class managers develop their own combinations of practices that allow them to select the dimensions that they are willing to share with other social groups, and those in which they search for a more segregated social environment for themselves and their families." To a certain degree, these ways of negotiating diversity appears to be the case in Kampen as well, pertaining to its white middle-class enclave-characteristic, whereby certain 'Others' and their activities are undoubtedly deemed 'out of place' and at odds with the idyllic urban village atmosphere. Echoing the previously mentioned relational construction of Kampen as a liminal space, Moran (2007: 105) describes early cultures of gentrification in London, where "the 'urban village' was a way for the middle classes to be part of the city but separate from it, close to its amenities but cut off from its social problems." Similarly, Kampen residents are able to mobilise action against 'unwanted' activities and people. The purpose here is not to engage in a discussion about 'social problems in the city', but rather point out how the social capital of the 'neighbourhood community' are being used to actively influence the relational construction of Kampen, in which the specificity of place is also about "the relations not established, *the exclusions*" (Massey 2005: 130, emphasis added).

Indicative of the above, most informants – both those with and without kids – first and foremost proclaimed Kampen to be a great place for children, and whilst a few mentioned administrative and social issues at one of the schools, overall, the neighbourhood was rarely considered a bad childhood environment. On the opposite, several parents appreciated that their kids were growing up in a multicultural part of the city, usually in ways which can be interpreted in relation to their notions of a convivial and tolerant local structure of feeling of the East End:

> There will always be a lot of problems and challenges related to it coming a lot of people from many different places who's going to live together in a place, but it also creates a whole other dynamic and it gives the children an understanding of so bloody many things we weren't close in grasping or knowing anything about when we grew up. Being able to orientate oneself in the world and stuff like that – I think it's a huge advantage that there are children of parents with backgrounds from Somalia, Poland, Pakistan, you name it. (Male, 42)

Because of the qualitative approach of this thesis, it is not possible to say if these attitudes exist on a generalisable level. Nevertheless, it suggests positive evaluations of Kampen in terms of raising children, and a consciousness amongst some of these parents about how having a multicultural milieu can socialise a sort of cosmopolitan way of being in and understanding the world, which they want to 'secure' for their children. Such positive place-evaluations are in contrast to Bridge's (2006) findings from a Bristol neighbourhood, where middle-class households with children whom in deciding between the classed desire for inner-city urban lifestyles (objectified cultural capital) or assure good schooling for their children (institutional cultural capital), choose the latter and move out to 'better' (suburban) places. Similar tendencies are identified in Tøyen, whereby one of the largest shares of out-movers are ethnic Norwegian households with children (i.e., parents born in Norway) (Brattbakk et al. 2015). Again, whilst issues of generalisability due to the qualitative data must be taken into account, negative sentiments towards the local in terms of child upbringing are difficult to discern amongst the informants. Regarding community, it can be argued this has at least partly to do with the Kampen residents' ability to secure their own neighbourhood as a place considered satisfactory for raising children.[27] The biggest problem in Kampen in this context, according to the informants, is primarily the shortage and price-level of larger apartments.

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[27] There is undoubtedly an ethnic element to this: comparing minority language-speaking pupils in primary schools, shows 42,5 per cent on Kampen school, strikingly lower than Tøyen school (84,6) and Vahl school (96,3) (data from 2019/2020, available at: http://statistikkbanken.oslo.kommune.no/webview/).

Nevertheless, although this puts pressure to move for households with children, this is not related to the social qualities of the place itself – qualities that are actively attempted to be 'secured in-place' through local community initiatives, for instance through cooperation with the police, the revival of the football club Forward, volunteer work at Kampen Organic Children's Farm and other leisure activities confined to the neighbourhood, and organising the annual family event Egnermarked.

Lastly, regarding the interrelations between place and community, an important dimension of this territorialisation is the ways in which locals regularly 'remind' themselves about how great they believe their urban village to be, such as in the local paper Kampenposten and in various Facebook groups. Moreover, this 'celebration' is institutionalised in the form of the yearly neighbourhood festival 'Kampendagene', which includes (amongst others) concerts, theatre and dance performances, the abovementioned 'open backyards' event, and awarding the 'Kampen prize' (*Kampenprisen*) to a group or individual who has somehow contributed positively to the neighbourhood and its residents. This festival is another way of practicing community by practicing place, whereby the urban village is not mere backdrop but intrinsic to the event itself. By being an annual happening bringing people together in the streets, drinking beer, sitting next to each other on 'Oktoberfest tables', with live music and sunny weather - it radiates a 'buzzing' affective atmosphere. The festival also involves symbolical commemorations of the place of the past, for instance selling 'Kampen-hot dogs' as a historical reference to the famous hot dog vendor 'Mor i Bakken'.[28]

Reminiscent of what Seamon (2018) calls a *place ballet* with its bodily social interactions and encounters situated in a particular temporal and spatial configuration, this street festival can be said to add experiential meaning (e.g., memories, emotions, affects) to the urban landscape in people's lifeworlds (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976; Tuan 1977), which through its habitualness constitutes a sort of yearly place-ritual. It has been argued that rituals can engender a sense of belonging and creation of collective memories for those involved through their performativity in place (Fortier 1999, see also Bell 1999; Wright 2015); thus, Kampendagene can may be understood as both a physical materialisation and symbolic celebration of the communal sense of place shared by many

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[28] "Mor i Bakken" was a 'Kampen local' whom between the 1960s and 1980s sold (allegedly) city-wide famous hot dogs from a small stall in her backyard.

of its inhabitants. In other words, it is a way in which the 'village-in-their-mind' becomes realised as a 'village-in-the-flesh'.[29]

What all of these practices of place and community arguably does – from the mundanity of borrowing sugar from a neighbour or meeting a fellow parent with children on the way to football training, to the outdoor cinema, to annual place-rituals like Kampendagene – is to cultivate the constant reterritorialisation of the neighbourhood as a distinctive urban village. As Yuval-Davis (2006: 203) asserts, "[s]pecific repetitive practices, relating to specific social and cultural spaces, which link individual and collective behaviour, are crucial for the construction and reproduction of identity narratives and constructions of attachment." The shared notions of Kampen's distinctiveness – both in its human and non-human dimensions – are probably key in this process, as summarised by one of the informants who has grown up in the neighbourhood:

> I don't think there's many parts in the city where one has that sense of community …
> So I think that's something all of us feel, that we have something unique here [*noe eget her*]. And it becomes a bit self-reinforcing too, as long as you think we're so unique and have it so different, we nurture in a way the reasons why it's like that. (Female, 22)

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss some of the ways in which Kampen is reterritorialising as a distinctive place assemblage of human and non-human bodies and materialities through specific socio-spatial practices, with emphasis on the situated experiences and meanings the informants are ascribing to this process in their lifeworlds. Another important inquiry has been to highlight how these socio-spatial experiences and practices of place and community can be related to social class, specifically the significance of the middle-class residents' subjective dispositions and composition of capital; that is, how social space materialises in the space of lifestyles, or more specifically, the *geographies* of space of lifestyles – "the practico-material reality" (Lefebvre 1996: 101). Put differently, there has been a focus on the classed dimension of "the *social production of cityspace* as a distinctive material and symbolic context or habitat for human life" (Soja 2000: 8), with attention to the relational construction of Kampen as a middle-class enclave. This process seems to pivot around ideas of Kampen as an 'authentic' urban village, shaping ways of practicing place by maintaining its distinctive village atmosphere. As discussed throughout this

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[29] 'Village-in-the-mind' is a term used by Pahl (1965) to describe how imaginings of place and community informs the residential choices of the middle classes. The term 'flesh' is taken from phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty and especially Simonsen & Koefoed (2020: 28f.) recent engagements with it, "where the flesh of the world refers to the perceptibility that characterizes all worldly reality (human and non-human) that is actualized but not created by human perception."

chapter, many of these atmospheric practices imply a 'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004), in that they interrelate with the interests, tastes and aesthetic dispositions of the cultural middle class.

This analysis has also drawn upon the more abstract discussion in chapter 5, particularly the structure of feeling of the East End and its perceived values of collectivism and multicultural conviviality. However, not all people and activities related to urban life in the East End are convivially welcomed in Kampen. There are therefore active measures put in place to negotiate this love for diversity, in an attempt at securing the 'idyllic urban village', especially for children. The consequence of this, it has been argued, is to reinforce the 'identity' of Kampen as a white middle-class enclave. Whereas chapter 5 involved the concept of structures of feeling, this part has been attentive to the ways in which affective atmospheres can be regarded as an inherent part of the making of Kampen's distinctiveness, both regarding the historical authenticity of place through its aura, and its local atmospheric community and sense of belonging. In other words, processes of *maintaining the village atmosphere* permeates the spatialities of this urban middle-class enclave. The following chapter discusses how some of these (classed) ways of practicing place and community can be related to gentrification.

7. A particular form of gentrification

Whereas the analysis thus far has focused on why, what and how the informants relate to Oslo's east-west divide in general, and their neighbourhood specifically, this chapter builds upon this in discussing how the gentrification of Kampen should be understood as a particular form of this process. Not only is it one of the earliest areas subject to gentrification in Oslo,[30] it also entails an interesting relationship between public, private and civil actors, and ways in which issues of space, time, class, community, affect and materialities intersect in how this process unfolds and is experienced, especially regarding belonging and symbolic displacement. Moreover, it highlights connections between environmental and social sustainability, thereby enriching the theoretical discourse of 'green gentrification' (see Anguelovski et al. 2019).

Pløger (1997: 54, 59-69) discusses the socio-spatial transformations of inner eastern Oslo in relation to the urban renewal project "Miljøbyen Gamle Oslo" – a cooperation between the state and the municipality between 1993-2001. This range of area-based policies had as aim to improve the living conditions for Gamle Oslo's residents through social and physical interventions. Moreover, it was also an explicit goal to diversify the residential composition in the inner-eastern part of the city, which often accompany these forms of area-based 'revitalisation' programs (see Lees 2008). In this context, Pløger (1997: 60, 62) points out "local-specific processes of gentrification", mentioning the term 'Kampen-effect' as an example of the politically desired goal of a working-class neighbourhood developing a more diverse social composition. As described in chapter 4, the first middle-class residents moved to Kampen during the 1970s and became prominent in the local resistance against the urban renewal plans at the time ("Byfornyelsesprogrammet" from 1977). Sæter & Ruud (2005: 88, 228) describes these as typical 'pioneer gentrifiers' (see Blasius et al. 2016) – architects, artists, academics – who were drawn towards and engaged in preserving Kampen's village aesthetic through refurbishment of the old wooden houses, hence labelling them the "small house gentrifiers" (*småhusgentrifisererne*). These cultural middle-class residents have contributed in shaping the neighbourhood's proactive role towards 'external' urban development actors (Benum 1994: 364; Pløger 1997: 192) – exemplified with the two local architects who together with the municipality developed the final plan for the restoration and preservation of Kampen, or the recent protests against the establishment of a supermarket. The significance of these pioneer gentrifiers can also be related to the early work on Oslo's inner-city transformations by Wessel (1983: 72),

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[30] The streets Telthusbakken and Damstredet had, according to Høifødt (2011: 22), gentrification tendencies already in the 1950s.

showing that Kampen were different from other inner-eastern areas in terms of socio-economic status and urban renewal, whereby the neighbourhood's high levels of education and income were positively correlated with local improvement activities. Moreover, Kampen had in 1992 stronger indications of gentrification than nearby areas, also in terms of residents' education and income levels (Hill 2012). However, whereas these studies portray a quite 'typical' process of gentrification occurring in Kampen, the purpose of this chapter is to provide a deeper understanding of this particular process, specifically regarding issues of agency, affect, temporality, materiality, community and belonging.

7.1 Nuancing the practices and experiences of gentrification in the village

Based on the above, one might get the impression of a process of this kind in its most well-known formula: gradual overrepresentation of middle-class in-movers and increasing housing prices, occurring in conjunction with public 'urban renewal' programs. Moreover, how class and ethnicity intersect in Kampen's relational construction further underscore its gentrifying characteristics as a white middle-class enclave. However, this immediate impression does not take into account how the socio-spatial practices and experiences of place, community and belonging amongst (some) of its residents complicate the portrayal of Kampen as an example of 'classic gentrification'. Specifically, it does not take into account the ways in which the gradual long-term co-existence of different social classes does not merely entail tensions between new and old residents but may also create a sense of cohesion despite socio-cultural differences. Although part of the gentrification of Kampen has similarities to so-called early stages of gentrification, whereby middle-class in-movers renovate houses and thereby increase its value and attractiveness, that description usually maintains a somewhat antagonistic division between new and old residents. An argument can be made that it is necessary to *nuance* this almost pre-given social binary that accompany analyses and debates of gentrification, including how, and with what consequences, new and old residents relate to and negotiate continuity and change in their neighbourhood. Following recent remarks by Lawton (2020), gentrification has as an analytical term been painted into an unproductive corner, in contrast to Lees' (2000: 405) two decades old assertion of "keeping conclusions on gentrification open." Thus, Lawton (2020: 274) argues:

> Whilst gentrification research highlights the stark and blunt forms of exclusion in housing, the longer term mechanics of exclusion and class-based dominance of space must be brought into greater relief in a manner that allows for a broader understanding

of the multifaceted nature of these processes, including a greater emphasis on the role of time.

Consequently, this chapter addresses how the *ambiguities* of gentrification is felt in residents' everyday lives; specifically, how the previously discussed practices of place and community intersect with this particular form of gentrification, making it different from other places that are or have been subject to this process. Much of this discussion builds upon the previous chapter and the main constitutives of most of the informants' sense of place, summarised through key words such as unknown oasis; urban village; unique atmosphere; historical authenticity; neighbourliness; and local enthusiasm. This understanding of their place appears to be what they believe make it distinct from other gentrifying/-fied neighbourhoods in Oslo, in the sense that whilst most informants recognised the impact of this process in their neighbourhood, they nonetheless perceived it as different than in other neighbourhoods (especially Grünerløkka and Tøyen). Hence their appreciation of Kampen enduring as 'something special' – a place where the relations between continuity and change are unlike elsewhere. This raises questions of how the temporalities of socio-spatial transformations interrelate with gentrification and symbolic displacement (Kern 2016; Elliot-Cooper et al. 2019; Lawton 2020).

By tracing the historical origins of gentrification in Kampen to the 1970s, one can speak of slow and gradual changes. This trajectory has not entailed abrupt breaks with the place of the past; rather opposite, as previously detailed, the relations to the past are actively negotiated into the present by local actors, producing a sense of continuity despite socio-spatial transformations. Importantly, this felt sense of historical authenticity was the case both amongst older and newer residents. There are, however, important materialisations of change which the older residents are more familiar with than the younger. An example of this is the catering service Gunnar Ruud, which most informants regarded as one of Kampen's 'neighbourhood institutions', intrinsic to the 'authentic' identity of the urban village. Nevertheless, an old-timer who has lived in Kampen since 1985 remembers when it was a store and the village was a different place:

> Butcher Ruud was the meat shop – where we could buy proper pea soup with ham hocks on Tuesdays and *fleskepannekaker* [a traditional Scandinavian dish with pork and pancakes] every other Wednesday – and Butcher Ruud was a meeting place. … So, now that we no longer have Butcher Ruud, where you greet neighbours and… Well, we quarrelled about the EU in '94, you know, and the staff behind the counter split in

two and so did we in the queue, right, and then we laughed a bit and it was always some remarks – and you always met someone you knew in there, or that you at least nodded to. And it's obvious that when you lose those meeting places… Prix isn't completely the same, and its too many people who's not from Kampen on the Rema down there… (Female, 68)

This is a whole different story than the auratic qualities that were usually ascribed to local businesses by most informants, and especially recent in-movers. Whilst Gunnar Ruud is still there, still a family business, in the same building with the same signs and façade as it has been for many years, the existential meanings of it in residents' lifeworlds are clearly different. This exemplifies how the temporality of place affects people's sense of belonging and place differently. Notice the very specific materialities and atmosphere the informant recounts of the butcher shop, recalling the weekly menu and intensive yet joyful EU debates, as part of the village life of the past. It was 'something different' – "Prix isn't completely the same" – there were something 'more' to it which contributed to her sense of belonging. Accordingly, if belonging can be understood "as materially performed by messy, complex, human and more-than-human assemblages of things, people, beings, processes and affects" (Wright 2015: 402), the local butcher shop might be interpreted as one of the assemblages belonging were practiced amongst old-timers. On the one hand, by no longer being a "meeting place", it may cause a sense of loss of place for long-term residents (see Marcuse 1985; Shaw & Hagermans 2015): As elaborated by Linz (2017), old residents are affected by changes in the visible assemblages of people and things that used to provide a sense of place and belonging. On the other hand, Gunnar Ruud still exists – with the same façade and location – so it is unlikely a complete disruption of the relation to the past either. For instance, the informant above still felt a strong emotional attachment to Kampen, whereby parts of this topophilia (Tuan 1974) are of the affective memories of the village of the past. In this sense, "[l]ooking back does not have to be seen as nostalgia but can confirm identities and belonging in the present" (Bennett 2014: 669). This highlights how gentrification and relations to place pivot around particular interrelations of continuity and change, by which an attention to historical temporality nuance notions of gentrification as a mere exclusionary and disruptive social process, evoking Yarker's (2018: 3431) term 'tangential attachments' to describe how residents subject to gentrification develop and maintain new relations to their place, including a "simultaneous feeling of insiderness and outsiderness", in contrast to the blunt forms of symbolic or physical displacement 'typically' attributed to gentrification.

The temporality of place is also manifest in the informants' notions of the social diversity of their neighbourhood, through an awareness that many of its residents had lived there for many years – something that was appreciated by several of the relatively recent in-movers:[31]

> I think it's pretty cool, yes, to have some roots to where you are. People live here for a long time when they first move here, I think that has a lot to say. (Male, 42)

> I think the most important thing for a residential environment is that there's variety: When I pick up my kids in kindergarten, that there's also fathers who are construction workers and taxi drivers and mothers who work in shops and kindergartens. That's a very important quality for me – and probably something I'm most afraid of in an urban development perspective, and what's happening to the inner east, that it becomes gentrified, as they call it. … I would claim that will ruin a lot of the well-being here. (Male, 42)

> You have families with small children, you have older people, you have all sorts. I believe that if gentrification does so it's only medium-sized apartments and young people with a lot of money living here, then the whole soul of Kampen is lost, then it won't be the same anymore. (Male, 32)

This appreciation of local diversity has *some* similarities with Brown-Saracino (2004: 135) theorisation of 'social preservation' – "the culturally motivated choice of certain people, who tend to be highly educated and residentially mobile, to live in the central city or small town in order to live in authentic social space, embodied by the sustained presence of 'original' residents." These preservationists differ from 'typical' gentrifiers by engaging in activities to ensure the continued local existence of those deemed 'original/authentic residents', by attempts to reduce pressures of displacement. In the context of Kampen, many of the practices of place and community discussed in chapter 6, are characteristics of social preservationists (Brown-Saracino 2004: 147): privately consuming locally to sustain neighbourhood businesses, politically defending their village aesthetic from unwanted changes, and symbolically celebrating local histories of place. Nevertheless, they do recognise the limits of their abilities to reduce gentrification in the context of a commodified housing market:

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[31] This appreciation underscores their overall affinity towards the social diversity of the East End. Extending what discussed here, most of the informants did not like the 'blunt' form of gentrification currently occurring in Tøyen, namely because of fears that it will reduce this diversity.

[*Is there anything you feel is negative about Kampen?*] That has to be that the tendency to become a bit sort of homogenous has already come pretty far. I really hope one is able to curb that. Given the housing prices and how few political means left to do something about it, it's incredibly important that there's public housing here. (Male, 42)

Whilst it is difficult to discern from the empirical data the degree to which the informants completely fit Brown-Saracino's concept of social preservation, there seems at least to be certain tendencies in Kampen that resembles the concept. Based on Kampen residents' practices of place and community, it may be argued that the maintenance of Kampen as an ostensible 'unique' neighbourhood in Oslo, mitigates old-timers' sense of loss of place and thereby "pressure of [symbolic] displacement" (Marcuse 1985: 207f.). Underscoring "the role of time" (Lawton 2020: 274), since the middle-class in-movers joined the local resistance against demolition in the 1970s, this particular form of gentrification seems constituted by two parallel trajectories of continuity and change: Continuity in the sense that the place of the past is constantly negotiated into the present, whilst change in the sense that this has gradually increased its attractiveness for and share of middle-class in-movers. However, many of these new residents care for the place as it is and contributes in making sure Kampen remains 'special', which arguably soften the apparent antagonistic tension between new and old residents that sometimes seems to be explicitly or implicitly asserted *a priori* in the gentrification discourse. It is reasonable to suggest that this 'soft tension' reduces some of the symbolic displacement of the old-timers, when particular elements of the neighbourhood 'remains the same': For example, the wooden houses and neighbourhood in general are cared for, the football club Forward is active, Gunnar Ruud is still there, Kampen Bistro/Bydelhus is still an active meeting place for many old-timers, some neighbours – old and young – regularly get together, which in combination adds to the overall preserving of the auratic village atmosphere. All in all, these local particularities may be interpreted as slowing down the process of gentrification with respect to symbolic displacement. In short, becoming a local enthusiast for the place and caring for the neighbourhood through formal and informal practices of place and community runs across class divides, and this arguably matters for understanding how gentrification actually materialises and is experienced in everyday life.

But how does this happen? How and why do some in-movers emphatically take part in caring for the 'uniqueness' of their neighbourhood? As elaborated in chapter 2, a suitable perspective is to

approach place as a gift. Bennett (2014) argues that the way some people engage in practices and activities that sustains or strengthens the perceived qualities of a place, is engendered by a reciprocal relation to the place and its former/long-term residents: Others have made it a good place to live, so the in-mover feel a moral obligation to contribute in nurturing it as such – 'returning the favour', so to speak. This cultivates a moral project of negotiating the past, present and future of Kampen, extending on the previously discussed ways in which local actors partake in atmospheric practices of historical continuity. This means, as Bennett (2014: 661) argues, that "change over time does not have to preclude continuity: history is not then past but is pulled into the present by these ongoing inalienable relationships through the material aspects of the place." These forms of gift exchange may add to a sense of affective-atmospheric social cohesion, precisely because of how this process is nurtured through time in place. This perspective is useful regarding gentrification, because it contributes to the understanding and nuancing of the relationship between working-class old-timers and middle-class in-movers in a gentrifying neighbourhood such as Kampen.

One of the younger residents highlighted how being affected by the collective care for place (see Relph 1976: 37-38) shapes her reciprocal relationship to the neighbourhood and its people:

> Since its so well-taken care of, I would like to take care of what I have too. If I only had lived here and everything looked completely derelict [*skrantent*], then I would have just wanted move as fast as possible! I wouldn't have had the same interest to take care of it, because no one else does either. It certainly contributes to people's well-being. (Female, 32)

Echoing Thibaud's (2015: 43) notion of "maintaining spaces over time" through the "upkeep" of an ambiance, this informant expresses how experiencing Kampen as well-taken care of motivates her to contribute in this upkeeping. For instance, her housing cooperative had applied for grants from *Tøyenløftet* to build a bike shed and playhouse in their backyard.[32] It is important, however, to underscore that this form of gift exchange is not the outcome of environmental determinism; the people involved have the interest, resources and capacity to engage in such practices and activities. It is thus necessary to recognise the cultural middle class and their composition of capital and aesthetic reflexivity when analysing some of these atmospheric practices of upkeeping. As returned to, classed dispositions can shape *how* place is treated as a gift, whereby some interpretations of the

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[32] The apartment block is located at Kampen, but fairly close to Tøyen.

place and its relations to the past may become dominant over others, meaning this can also be an exclusionary process creating pressure of (symbolic) displacement – despite aims at the opposite.

Nevertheless, the point here is to illuminate that the middle-class in-movers that has arrived through the years and joined in on the socio-spatial practices aimed at maintaining the 'uniqueness' of their urban village, base this on what previously described as a 'Kampen-of-the-mind' outlook, actualised in place- and community-oriented practices and activities meant to make the neighbourhood a good place to live together. This process is summarised by one of the old-timers, who proclaims: "Here in Kampen, there are sufficient local enthusiasts who nurture something that creates both meeting places and belonging and community – that's for sure. That's something that's unique about Kampen" (Female, 66). The degree to which this is actually unique is debatable, but the assertion that residents 'care about their neighbourhood' was mentioned by most informants, thus indicative of reciprocal relations between neighbours (Bennett 2014).[33] Kampen is a relatively small and territorialised neighbourhood, where most of its local activities have been created and is being upheld on a private initiative (some with public funding), such as the local football club, the organic children's farm, ping-pong tables in the park, a chess club, street festivals, an all-female ukulele band, the history and residents' associations, a men's choir, the local newspaper, and a range of cultural events/concerts in the church and the local cafés, to mention a few. All of these localist ways of nurturing the neighbourhood's perceived distinctive qualities, both in its symbolic and practical dimensions, can be understood as treating the place as a gift, founded on a collective care for place (Relph 1976) – across class-divides between new and old residents – of maintaining Kampen as a distinctively 'special' urban village.

It is thus reasonable to interpret this gentrification process as characterised by a more stable relationship between the place as perceived, conceived and lived (Lefebvre 1991), contributing to a 'harmonious' reproduction of the territorial 'identity of Kampen, than what is the case in other neighbourhoods subject to more 'blunt' forms of gentrification. It must be emphasised that this does not mean that there is an abundance of social interactions between old-timers and in-movers in the neighbourhood, but rather that the affective atmosphere of the urban village appears to be maintained through treating place as a gift. This particular form of gentrification, as constituted by the localist ways in which trajectories of continuity and change are negotiated by formal and informal actors, does not share the same degree of tensions amongst its new and old residents, whereas extra-local 'ideological' actors (e.g., property developers and/or the municipality)

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[33] See Pløger (1997: 200) for a similar analytic interpretation of Kampen.

attempting to transform Kampen's aura, are being met with 'ideological' local resistance. It can therefore be argued that the slow gentrification of Kampen, which emanated with the resistance against demolition and urban redevelopment in the 1970s, should be understood in the context of old-timers and in-movers attempts at maintaining the auratic qualities of their neighbourhood as a form of gift exchange. Kampen may be gentrifying, but its 'uniqueness', its affective atmospheric 'something more' apparently endures. It is the process of maintaining this atmosphere, actualised in a communal care for the place amongst a sufficient share of its residents, that might engender a sense of cohesion despite classed differences – thus arguably complicating how gentrification is practiced and experienced.

7.2 When gift exchange goes bad and tensions rise to the surface

The purpose thus far has been to nuance the gentrification of Kampen by inserting it in a wider historical context and a relational understanding of place (Maloutous 2018; Lawton 2020), with an emphasis on how affective practices and experiences of maintaining its village atmosphere intersect with gentrification. In this part of the chapter, an urban development project is analysed to explore how the process of treating place as a gift is imbued with power, thus shifting attention towards the 'blunter' exclusionary forms of gentrification, particularly regarding symbolic displacement.

Locals, with the residents' association in front, have especially the last five years been engaged in a project of transforming Thorbjørn Egner's square into a more defined 'piazza' with cherry trees, benches and tables, paved in cobblestone.[34] This involves making the square car-free and consequently changing the bus route and reducing parking spaces. Although local actors initiated this project, it should also be understood in the context of the current city government and their environmental policies under the banner of 'car-free city life', and the overall planning regime of sustainable urban development (see Luccarelli & Røe 2012). The district and city councils and Agency for Urban Environment (*Bymiljøetaten*) have therefore been supportive of this project. However, when it began to be known in the neighbourhood, protests emerged both by private residents and local businesses, including fairly heated debates on social media, for instance causing a group of old-timers to create their own Facebook-group as a sort of 'protest group'. Whilst most of these debates reflects the typical discourse surrounding 'car-free city life' on a more practical level (e.g., local businesses' fear of losing customers, accessibility to car, traffic security, etc.[35]), there

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[34] Transforming this site has been mentioned irregularly in Kampenposten through the decades, earliest in an edition from 1980 (see http://kampenposten.no/arkiv/1980-3.pdf, page 13). An architectural rendering of the project can be accessed at: https://grindaker.no/nyheter/item/238-thorbjorn-egners-plass

[35] See https://vartoslo.no/bymiljoetaten-christian-boger-gamle-oslo/full-nabostrid-pa-kampen-etter-at-thorbjorn-egners-plass-ble-vedtatt-gjort-bilfri/191137

is a relatively distinct social division between those for and against this project. This seems, as detailed in the following discussion, to be partly related to classed lifestyle differences (Bourdieu 1984). This is interesting regarding gentrification because by being initiated by locals and the residents' association, the project and its ensuing dispute results from divergent interpretations of the same place: Residents for or against this project are confronted with questions where the answers may have for a long time been taken for granted; doxa becomes a contestation between orthodoxy and heterodoxy (see Bourdieu 1977: 167-171): What kind of place is Kampen, what should it to be, and how is this project (de)legitimised? Thus, the dispute reveals how power infuse gift exchange, by depending on particular classed (albeit not necessarily recognised as such) interpretations of the 'identity' of the neighbourhood.

Figure 5. The contested Thorbjørn Egner's square (as of 22.10.19). Source: Kristian Tveiten

An interesting aspect of the dispute, is how some informants perceive the proposed town square *in relation* to their notions of Kampen as a peaceful urban village – as illustrated by this middle-class resident, who has lived in the neighbourhood for 23 years:

> I've always thought "idyll, idyll in Kampen, and everyone are so good friends" … There's these tensions, and that's partly those old-timers who have their roots here and say: "Don't come here, you're new and wants to decide? And no one asked us" – although I would say there's been a quite good flow of information. So that's a pity. … We've kind of thought that everyone agrees on this, but as soon as the bus route changes, which is necessary, then suddenly… And some are really hateful towards something that isn't really Kampen Vel's matter, but like, attitudes towards car traffic in cities, you know. This is passed unanimously by the city council and its totally in line with their politics, of course. So I have a feeling Kampen Vel is blamed for that in a

way. … [*So this breaks with Kampen as a sort of harmonious place?*] Yes! It really does. Something is probably seething, and that's... Yeah. … [I] believe a car-free square would be a change making Kampen more like Kampen, hehehe! Not letting cars buzz around here and park in all the streets. [*A square builds up under the village character?*] Yes, right, I think that would be completely natural. Well, that's how it is. So there's some scratches in the paint then, hehe. (Female, 75)

The informant describes the local dispute as a break with the communal atmosphere of the village, thereby claiming the old-timers to be especially against the project. This division was often mentioned in the interviews, as for instance:

The resistance amongst those who have lived here for a long time, is the older generation, right, who maybe aren't that happy about change, they want things to be as they have been. And you notice it, for instance in the meeting concerning crime and stuff like that. The older generation talks very loud and about how it's always been, in a way – as if Kampen is a place that stands still in time whilst the rest of the world rages on. (Male, 32)

The old ones who have grown up in Kampen against the new, there's some friction there, hehehe! A little bit, but not a lot. But you notice it in some issues, such as the square… That's the limit. (Male, 76)

Consequently, the 'soft tension' between in-movers and old-timers which arguably nuance gentrification in Kampen, especially related to symbolic displacement, appears to have hardened due this project – "that's the limit." The proponents have likely thought that transforming the site and reducing the presence of cars is in line with treating the place as a gift, by reinforcing it as an 'idyllic urban village' – "a change making Kampen more like Kampen". Consequently, the dispute may be interpreted as what happens when gift exchange goes bad, when what was supposed to be a communal and reciprocal act, is perceived by some of the old-timers as 'stepping over the line', so to speak: "My husband is in Kampen Vel, and when this initiative came, they thought they did something everyone wanted, and there were lots of petition campaigns and everyone was happy – until it in a way said bang!" (Female, 57). The dispute therefore seems to provoke the 'moral ownership' of place (Zukin et al. 2016), likely related to Kampen's historical continuity and territoriality: "Where there is a historical connection, where the place has been received as an

inalienable gift embedded in social or ancestral ties, there is likely to be a stronger sense of ownership" (Bennett 2014: 669). Thus, the process of reducing cars, changing the bus route and transforming Thorbjørn Egner's square, appears to constitute a loss of moral ownership amongst some of the old-timers, whereby middle-class in-movers are perceived of as 'taking control' over the neighbourhood and its further trajectory.

In other words, the perceived public value of these place transformations actually depends on a *particular* interpretation of the identity of the neighbourhood, which underscore how treating place as a gift can be an exclusionary process in which certain classed notions of Kampen's 'identity' are used to legitimise this project over others (see also Robertson 2013; Jackson & Benson 2014), consequently advancing gentrification by engendering pressure of indirect displacement and causing a sense of loss of moral ownership and belonging amongst the old-timers. As such, there is arguably a degree of symbolic power (Bourdieu 1989) involved in this place as gift-process, whereby what is actually positive changes for *particular* residents with certain classed lifestyles, was misrecognised by the proponents as being positive for *all* of Kampen's residents, and "completely natural" (Female, 75) for its village atmosphere. Subsequently, whilst these changes have been or are being implemented,[36] the local dispute reveals how the project is not as much a manifestation of a 'Kampen-of-the-mind' as it is a 'Kampen-of-the-*middle-class*-mind'. An old-timer expresses her dissatisfaction with this development, precisely because it breaks with her sense of what kind of place, and for whom, Kampen should be:

> [I] think it has something to do with the caffé latte-generation that has moved into Kampen. Those of us who've lived here the longest, we're also starting to get old. … [It's] clear that it's a generational difference. And I think that generational difference is reflected in the fact that if I want to meet Kampen residents, then I go to the community house [*bydelshuset/Kampen bistro*] or join the history association – I don't sit drinking coffee at the café and spend money on that. And I'm not sitting on the church stairs watching people. … So transforming that site into a square, for the few… Without being organised in any way… I think that's problematic. (Female, 68)

What this informant is experiencing is how differences in the space of lifestyles (Bourdieu 1984) actually materialise in the neighbourhood (i.e., physical space). Interestingly, it shows how class

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[36] Residential parking was introduced in 2018, and on 24 April 2020, after a long bureaucratic process, the complaints against the municipality were dismissed by the County Governor, meaning the project can ensue.

differences are 'retranslated', through notions of lifestyles, onto physical space (Bourdieu 2018): The proposed square is perceived as *by* and *for* Kampen's in-moving "caffé latte-generation" (arguably meaning the young, 'hip' middle-class residents). Especially interesting is how this old-timer interprets its future activities in relation to the adjacent coffee and wine bar, which combined with its vintage aesthetic, caters to the cultural middle-class residents' taste for high-quality ecological coffee, food and wine.[37] As such, it is reasonable to suggest that the dislike for these changes, are similar to Linz's (2017) discussion of how 'visible assemblages' in a gentrifying neighbourhood cause exclusion through affective-atmospheric interpretations and encounters. Obviously, whilst speaking of 'visible assemblage' makes little sense since the square does not exist, it nevertheless underscores how relations of human and non-human bodies and materialities conjoin in particular ways in producing a sense of loss of place: It is unlikely the car-free square *in itself* that is the problem, but rather the square *in mutual relations* to the coffee and wine bar and the reduction of parking spaces. This can be conceptualised as a larger assemblage reterritorialising Kampen in line with the consumption preferences and lifestyles of the cultural middle-class. In contrast to other instances of (successfully) treating place as a gift, this assemblage of changes seems to be perceived as a *visible materialisation* of gentrification; the changes are predominantly in the interest of the so-called "caffe latte-generation." Consequently, the gift is not returned back to the old-timers: "So transforming that site into a square, *for the few*... Without being organised in any way... I think that's problematic", the informant asserts, implying that the square will be commercially-oriented towards individual consumption, as opposed to some of the community-oriented activities characterising other initiatives of treating Kampen as a gift, and the 'collectivist' values conceptualised as a local structure of feeling of the East End in chapter 5.

By involving new ways of practicing place (Massey 2005) in terms of mobility and consumption, these changes are apparently not accepted by everyone, which may explain some of the division between those for and against the project: "Changes in the aesthetic and performative codes of neighbourhood places affect some people's abilities to participate in everyday life or mark them as 'other' and not belonging" (Kern 2016: 444). Accordingly, it is a restructuring of the place in correspondence with the mobility and consumption patterns of the cultural middle-class residents through an aesthetisation of the neighbourhood, based on certain notions of the 'authentic' urban village (as discussed in chapter 6; see also Duncan & Duncan 2004; Zukin 2008; Kern 2016), thereby believed to strengthen the overall tranquil atmosphere of the neighbourhood in what can

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[37] Except for briefly mentioned in the building permit application that local businesses can rent parts of the square (ViaNova Plan & Trafikk 2019: 2), there seems to be no specific plans for its usage.

be interpreted as an attempt at treating the place as a gift: "Kampen Vel … thought they did something everyone wanted" (Female, 57). In direct contrast to notions of the square "making Kampen more like Kampen" (Female, 75), it is argued in one of the neighbour complaints to the municipality that "criss-crossing traffic will do something with the whole atmosphere in the neighbourhood. It is a paradox that one is willing to change the whole of Cardamom City [*Kardemomme by*] by making Thorbjørn Egner's square car-free" (Huitfeldt 2019: 28). Notice how the changes are believed to "do something with the whole atmosphere" of the place, pertaining to an underlying argument in this chapter (and thesis overall), namely that urban change, including gentrification, are as much about the intersecting socio-cultural and phenomenological dimensions of everyday life – bodies, experiences, affects, emotions, encounters, interactions, memories, rhythms, materialities, and atmospheres – as it is the political-economic issues that, at least in Oslo, tends to dominate urban development debates. Whilst these are undeniably significant – most obviously reflected in the deindustrialisation of Oslo's inner-east in parallel with large public and private investments in the area (Andersen & Røe 2017) and a massive increase in housing prices – it needs to be embedded in understandings of how the actual materialisations of such political-economical processes are unfolding on the ground, by being unevenly *lived*, *felt* and *experienced* in people's lifeworlds, within specific socio-cultural, spatial and historical configurations.

It can therefore be argued that the dispute in Kampen has catalysed tensions in how the place is conceived, perceived and lived (Lefebvre 1991), whereby ideological representations of space related to the 'sustainability discourse' of 'greening the city', 'car-free city life' and 'liveability' (see Luccarelli & Røe 2012), are invoked to legitimise the project. The ideals of 'environmentally sustainable urbanism' appears to correspond with the municipal politicians and urban planners *and* the local proponents of the square. If focusing on indirect forms of displacement (Marcuse 1985), this project may then be understood as a type of 'selective neighbourhood advocacy' (Bacqué et al. 2015), reminiscent of what Håkansson (2018: 44) analyse as 'grassroots sustainability initiatives' in a gentrifying urban village in London. By emerging from and appealing to particular middle-class tastes and interests, these may, in turn, facilitate "more advanced forms of gentrification, suggesting that initiatives may be a manifestation of certain phases of gentrification, and underscoring how they are rooted in … processes of (re-)production of urban place in which they might 'fall victim' to their own success." This latter notion of 'fall victim' is noteworthy given that most of the informants did not want Kampen to become 'blunt' gentrified and commercialised because this would decrease the distinctive 'uniqueness' of their village – and thus arguably its ability to convey class distinction, 'at the edge of the island' (Douglas 2012). Moreover, there is here an interesting

parallel to Nogueira's (2019: 14) discussion of how middle-class residents in Belo Horizonte "use legality, in the name of morality and spatial order, to (de)legitimise uses of urban space according to their own ideas of how the city should be ordered." Similarly, with the case of Kampen, located in the so-called European Green Capital of 2019, it is probably difficult to successfully protest against initiatives aimed at making the city more environmentally sustainable – except, ironically, in some of Oslo's upper- and middle-class suburbs subject to densification around public transport hubs (Nedrelid 2018).

Interestingly, whilst protests against densification have so far been mostly successful in these affluent areas,[38] in the case of Kampen, environmental sustainability measures are not only being implemented, but actively sought after amongst certain inhabitants – thus indicative of a form a 'green gentrification' (Anguelovski et al. 2019). Although it must be noted that Kampen residents have protested against densification (as discussed in chapter 6), it is nonetheless striking how, on a metropolitan scale, spatially uneven measures of environmental sustainability are successfully implemented or repelled (or even initiated, as in Kampen) along lines of social class and ethnicity (Andersen & Skrede 2017). Paraphrasing Nogueira (2019), it appears Oslo's upper/middle classes are able, through the discourse of legality and morality, to either preserve or develop 'the right kind' of 'sustainable' city by and for themselves: Successfully preventing environmentally sustainable measures where they do not want them, successfully implementing them where they want them – consequently illuminating important issues of what 'sustainable urban development' actually is and who benefits from it (Røe & Luccarelli 2012; Andersen et al. 2018; Anguelovski et al. 2019).

7.3 The ambiguities of gentrification

The main purpose of this chapter has been to elaborate how Kampen represents a particular case of gentrification. It must be recognised that the socio-spatial changes of this neighbourhood are unlikely solely related to gentrification; many of its residents, like those in similar deprived neighbourhoods in the inner-east, eagerly moved out to the new satellite towns of the 1950s and 60s (Hansen & Guttu 1998: 30). Moreover, gentrification must also be seen in relation to demographic transitions (see Hochstenbach & Boterman 2018), which complicates this process with respect to class, both in its political-economic (e.g., Smith 1996) or cultural (e.g., Ley 1996) explanations. Accordingly, the socio-spatial changes of Kampen should not only be understood as a coherent process of gentrification by which middle-class in-movers directly displace working-class residents. Furthermore, by interpreting the preservation of the 'uniqueness' of Kampen

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[38] Some unwanted densification affects the lives of Oslo's West Enders as well (see, e.g., Andersen 2014: 12).

through the decades as an expression of a collective care for place amongst both old-timers and in-movers, it is possible to argue that the ways in which formal and informal local actors treat Kampen as a gift, engender a form of atmospheric social cohesion, thus blurring the classed tensions between old and new residents. In turn, this may reduce pressure of symbolic displacement: The old-timers' phenomenological sense of belonging – their 'existential insideness' (Relph 1976: 55), topophilia (Tuan 1974), and tangential attachments (Yarker 2018) – may hence endure or redevelop in relation to such atmospheric practices (Bille & Simonsen 2019) of maintaining the auratic village atmosphere. Thus, an attention to the affective, temporal and material aspects of socio-spatial change and continuity, in conjunction with a relational conception of place, nuance the understanding of gentrification as something more ambiguous than a straightforward disruption of the urban fabric.

However, the dispute surrounding the square project can be interpreted as a materialisation of the uneven power relations and classed implications of gift exchange. As a 'grassroot sustainability initiative' (Håkansson 2018), the project of reducing parking spaces, changing the bus route and creating a car-free square, appears to be attempts at treating the neighbourhood as a gift, believed to increase its social and symbolic value by reciprocally contributing to its distinctive qualities as an 'authentic urban village'. Nevertheless, the project is highly contested, which can be understood as (partly) the outcome of different residents' sense of place, interrelating with different class dispositions (i.e., habituses) of taste and lifestyle, hence catalysing heterodoxic and orthodoxic positions between those for and against these changes – revealing a 'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004). This illustrates what Sahlins (1972: 195) describes as the 'negative reciprocity' of gift exchange, when there is a prominent degree of social distance between those involved: "The participants confront each other as opposed interests, each looking to maximize utility at the other's expense." The 'piazza' project was initiated from a belief that it will mutually benefit *all* of Kampen's residents, the ensuing dispute exposed that this was not the case. In contrast to successful efforts of treating Kampen as gift by balancing continuity and change, for the orthodox positions, this project apparently involves too much of the latter oppressing the former – consequently revealing how gift exchange can be communally motivated yet yield exclusionary outcomes.

To conclude, whilst Kampen's late history and the changes taking place over the last decades clearly resemble gentrification as described in the literature, the emergence and configuration of that process does not fit the dominant theories. This is a type of locally emergent, slow and civic process

of gentrification, in contrast to overt forms of exclusion and displacement driven by the intersections of the in-moving middle-classes and private and state actors in the interest of capital, as often described in gentrification research and discourse: This particular form of gentrification cannot be understood as simply the outcome of neoliberal redevelopment of residential areas as part of entrepreneurial urban governance, nor *completely* as the materialisation of a cultural phenomenon in which fractions of the 'new' middle classes move into working-class neighbourhoods. In other words, typical explanations of why and how gentrification occurs are not completely able to capture the particular form of 'middle-class reterritorialisation' that has taken and is taking place in Kampen. However, parts of this process are clearly reminiscent of Ley's (1996) famous 'cultural' explanation, especially because of the significance the pioneer gentrifiers had on the development of the neighbourhood, including their role in the physical improvements and resistance against demolition. Furthermore, in combination with demographic transitions (e.g., increases in share of single-person households), the aesthetical tastes and lifestyles of the cultural middle-class are undoubtedly crucial in explaining the factors underlying these socio-spatial transformations as well. This is evidently also related to wider political-economic changes, including the (uneven) local implications of economic globalisation and hereby the deindustrialisation and redevelopment of Oslo as a 'post-industrial city' (Andersen & Røe 2017). Nevertheless, the crucial particularities discussed in this chapter makes the gentrification of Kampen not as straightforward as it may seem. Notwithstanding important differences, this form of gentrification is more reminiscent of Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg than how it is often described in the Anglo-American literature:

> [P]oorer and wealthier sections of the population are living side by side for a long time, delaying the transition from a pioneer phase of gentrification … [T]he implied assumption that re-investments into the run-down housing stock are mainly conducted because of expectations of rising rents/housing prices … has proved to be simplistic. (Bernt & Holm 2005: 121)

Accordingly, this chapter can also be read as sympathetic to recent arguments for understanding gentrification as a highly variegated and context-dependent process (Maloutous 2018; Lawton 2020), meaning it must always be approached as situated within particular historical, socio-cultural and spatial configurations. Whilst this arguably contributes to its 'fuzziness', epistemology should accommodate precisely the contradictions and ambiguities of urban life, as Johnson-Schlee (2019) argues for using Ruth Glass's work as exemplar. Instead of viewing gentrification as having some

kind of overarching logic to be 'discovered' with scientific precision, recognising these contradictions and ambiguities as they unfold around the world – as illuminated in the case of Kampen – is arguably an epistemology more attuned to both the particular and universal in these inherently multifaceted socio-spatial processes.

8. Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore the qualitative aspects of the spatialities of class in a Norwegian urban context. By engaging with a theoretical and methodological framework for grasping how class identities, and hereby tastes and lifestyles, materialises in and shapes the urban fabric 'on the ground', the white middle-class enclave Kampen has been used as a case to analyse how practices of class interrelate with practices of place, in turn contributing to the relational construction of this 'urban village'. To understand the situated particularities of this process, it has been argued that it is necessary to insert it in the wider social geography of the city and the class-infused perceptions of Oslo's east-west divide, including people's feelings towards everyday life in these two co-constitutive parts of the city. This is especially important when analysing the intersections of space and class, because, as shown here, the Kampen residents' sense of place and belonging are highly connected to how they judge their 'Others' and the places they live, thereby affecting their practices of distinction and affiliation, informed by their embodied subjectivities and composition of capital. These subjective ideas about everyday life in the city are arguably as much about feelings, emotions and affects as they are the outcome of some rational, cognitive decision-making process. In short, this is about "a '*sense* of one's place' but also a '*sense* of the place of others'" (Bourdieu 1989: 19, emphasis added) – both in society's social space and in its materialisations in geographical space.

The middle-class informants' reasons for choosing to (s)electively belong (Savage et al. 2005; Watt 2010) in the social and ethnic diversity of the inner east whilst living in an enclave with people predominantly 'like themselves', reveal a relatively ambiguous and contradictory socio-spatial position: they are both drawn towards what they perceive as an 'authentic' urban village with its sense of community *and* the cosmopolitan urbanism associated with the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the East End. These two things, however, are somewhat mutually exclusive, meaning Kampen accommodates what the they perceive as 'the best of both worlds'. Moreover, by valuing the distinctive 'aura' of Kampen, which apparently lacks in other parts of the city, residents engage in practices of maintaining this village atmosphere. The social implications of this are likely to further reterritorialise Kampen as a white middle-class enclave and thereby shaping its particular form of gentrification.

8.1 Feeling the east-west divide

It has been argued that the informants' socio-spatially distinguish themselves from the West End on the basis of an interrelated set of notions about its people, places, and everyday life. To grasp what exactly these Kampen residents dislike about the neighbourhoods dominated by the economic classes (Ljunggren & Andersen 2015; Ljunggren, Toft & Flemmen 2017; Toft 2018), the concept structures of feeling (Williams 1977) has been used to interpret these interrelated classed notions of the West End and the East End respectively. Regarding the former, it can be suggested that the informants describe it in a relatively 'stereotypical' way, whereby conspicuous displays of wealth and 'snobbish lifestyles' are conflated with the dominance of economic capital. Based on these notions of the intersecting social and material dimensions of Oslo's wealthy neighbourhoods, a structure of feeling of the West End can be outlined, characterised by values of *conformity* and *homogenising individualism*.

In contrast, the informants' interrelated set of notions about the East End (which in most cases meant Gamle Oslo) can be interpreted as a structure of feeling constituted by values of *collectivism* and *heterogenising conviviality*. This is probably connected to the cultural middle-class residents' affinities towards the apparent insignificance of economic capital in this part of the city, believed to make people 'unsnobbish', tolerant and broadminded. Moreover, some informants were formerly from the West End and had gradually moved eastwards – indicative of how habitus as embodied dispositions can be partly altered through practices and experiences of 'learning the city' (McFarlane 2011). However, these 'west to east transgressions' are likely the exceptions rather than the rule: the residential patterns of the economic classes in Oslo tends to be confined to affluent areas ensuring the reproduction of their class position (Toft & Ljunggren 2016; Toft 2018), and in everyday life, Andersen (2014) details how East and West Enders mostly keep to themselves. Besides, in terms of social homogeneity, Kampen is more reminiscent of a West End than East End neighbourhood, which arguably mitigates the 'transgressiveness' of their transgressions despite moving from neighbourhoods dominated by the economic classes to that of the cultural classes. In short, there is a difference in moving to the East End in the form of homogenous Kampen than heterogenous Furuset.

8.2 The liminal ambiguity of the middle-class village enclave

When 'zooming in' on the neighbourhood, it is evident that the informants perceive Kampen as a unique 'urban village', both concerning its physical and social qualities, which ostensibly adds 'something more' (Duff 2010) to this place. Accordingly, focusing on affective atmospheres

(Anderson 2009; Bille & Simonsen 2019), which emphasise the implications of how the human and non-human intersect, is heuristically useful in order to grasp how the informants develop a sense of place, belonging and community in this 'urban village', through meaningful bodily encounters and experiences in and of their social and physical environment (Relph 1976; Tuan 1974, 1977). Thus, the distinct 'village atmosphere' emerging out of its architectural, material and communal features is something these informants are especially valuing. By describing it as an "unknown oasis" and a "hidden gem", it is reasonable to suggest that the middle-class residents are implying their neighbourhood's ability to convey distinction as a form of objectified cultural capital: Apparently undiscovered by the masses and untouched by the commercialisation of urban space, Kampen is located at 'the edge of the island' (Douglas 2012) as a sort of liminal space; "*in the city,* if not *of the city*", as Butler (2008: 143) describes a similar middle-class enclave in London. It is arguably in this way Kampen is perceived as an enduring 'authentic' neighbourhood, radiating an aura of historical continuity with its 'organic' and messy architecture, zigzagging streets, lack of corporate chain stores and cafés, and continued presence of old-timers. These qualities are highly celebrated by most of the informants and asserted as *distinct* compared to more 'run-of-the-mill' middle-class neighbourhoods (see Benson & Jackson 2014).

By becoming affected by these auratic qualities, the in-moving middle-class residents can also be said to affect them, through what has been labelled formal and informal practices of *maintaining the village atmosphere*. This is especially bound up with connecting the past to the present and future of the place (Massey 1995c), by ensuring the auratic authenticity of the village endures. Examples of such practices are resistance against unwanted property developments, supporting local businesses, celebrating their neighbourhood through street festivals, and ally with the police to secure it from people and activities deemed at odds with this 'idyllic' village atmosphere. This latter point illustrates how the social capital emergent in the 'neighbourhood community' is mobilised, thereby revealing a 'politics of the aesthetic' (Duncan & Duncan 2004): Although East Enders are believed to be convivial and tolerant, there is an inherent classed and racialised tension between the urban village and its surrounding social and ethnic diversity, highlighting an ambiguity amongst the progressive-minded informants who simultaneously value the social diversity of the East End *and* the 'village qualities' of a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by people 'like themselves'. Although several of them were conscious about its homogeneity and wanted Kampen to become more socially diverse, it is the intrinsic ambiguity in this relational construction of the urban village – part of the East End at the same time as maintaining its constitutive *difference* from it – that is especially evident here.

8.3 Preserving the right kind of neighbourhood

Certain parts of the everyday life in Kampen are undoubtedly positive: many of its residents truly care for this place and its inhabitants, creating and participating in activities confined to the neighbourhood, which seems to nurture a territorial sense of community and belonging; that their place is 'special' not only in their mind but 'in the flesh' (Simonsen & Koefoed 2020). It is thus reasonable to claim that Kampen has acquired some of the Jane Jacobs-esque qualities planners tend to idealise, such as the notions of 'community' associated with 'new urbanism' (for a critical review, see Talen 1999). However, the social homogeneity of the neighbourhood is striking, and its perceived qualities are highly related to socio-cultural and historical particularities rather than simply emergent due to its physical form. It may therefore be suggested that this urban neighbourhood illustrates the capacities 'ordinary' people with *secure* livelihoods have of creating a good place to live on their own and nurture these neighbourhood qualities.

However, if interpreting these 'neighbourhood practices' as a form of gift exchange in which a reciprocal bond between new and old residents engenders a moral project of maintaining the village atmosphere and its associated human and non-human qualities, this also involves scrutinising the social implications of these practices. It has therefore been argued that whilst a sense of community between in-movers and old-timers can exist despite class differences due to their collective care for this place – including sustaining the historical aura which may mitigate pressures of symbolic displacement – these practices of treating Kampen as a gift can also advance its particular form of gentrification, infused by a peculiar dynamic of continuity and change. A *locally initiated* project of transforming an empty asphalt square into a car-free 'piazza' was by its proponents believed to benefit everyone, but a subsequent dispute revealed this to not be the case. It has been suggested that part of this has to do with the 'moral ownership' of place (Zukin et al. 2016) and the classed tensions in how Kampen is conceived, perceived and lived (Lefebvre 1991), related to different aesthetic tastes, modes of consumption and lifestyles. As a 'grassroots sustainability initiative' (Håkansson 2018), this project may hence be interpreted as a form of green gentrification (Anguelovski et al. 2019), misrecognised as an attempt at strengthening the 'authentic' village atmosphere, thus indicative of the middle classes' capabilities of preserving 'the right kind' of city (Nogueira 2019).

8.4 Summing up and thinking ahead

This thesis has attempted to empirically theorise the spatialities of class in an urban context. The aim has been to contribute in the literature about the significance of space, affects and feelings in

how class is lived and 'works'. This has been a highly qualitative analysis meant to complement a predominantly quantitative research field (in Norway), by exploring how class identities both shape and are shaped by the places of situated practices and experiences where everyday life unfolds, and some of the social consequences this have, by revealing the inter- and intra-class dynamics of both the relational construction of a white middle-class enclave *and* its particular form of gentrification. Extending on this latter topic, whilst 'environmental sustainability' dominates urban planning discourse and practices, its potential social implications seems to be mostly overlooked – namely to advance the upper-/middle-class reterritorialisation of cities and urban regions. As the case of Kampen indicates, green gentrification is one of the ways this reterritorialisation may occur. However, although Oslo 'bloom' (pun intended) in these multifaceted processes of urban greening, how this affects socio-spatial transformations of the (sub)urban fabric require further research.

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Appendix

1. Information letter and consent form

Vil du delta i forskningsprosjektet
«Kampen som urban landsby – tilhørighet og naboskap i indre Oslo øst»?

Dette er et spørsmål til deg om å delta i en masteroppgave hvor formålet er å undersøke Kampen-beboernes forhold til eget nabolag og nærliggende områder. I dette skrivet gir jeg deg informasjon om målene for prosjektet og hva deltakelse vil innebære for deg.

Formål

Hensikten med prosjektet er se nærmere på hvordan Kampen opprettholder et særpreg gjennom å undersøke beboeres oppfatninger om og bruk av eget nabolag. Dette dreier seg om både fysiske og sosiale aspekter, hvor fokuset er på hverdagslige holdninger, erfaringer og praksiser. Kort sagt er prosjektet opptatt av hvorfor man bor på Kampen og hvordan det er å bo der.

Dessuten er studien interessert i Kampen-beboernes forhold til nærliggende bydeler. En oppmerksomhet vil her rettes mot hvordan det er å bo i det etnisk og kulturelt mangfoldige Oslo øst, men også endringene som finner sted her, for eksempel gentrifisering på Tøyen og Grønland og Ensjøutbyggingen.

Masteroppgaven vil forsøke si noe om identitet, tilhørighet og nabofellesskap, og betydningen dette har i opprettholdelsen av et steds særpreg. Det er viktig å få kunnskap om hvordan sentrale bydeler fungerer sosialt og kulturelt, ettersom dette vil være nyttig i arbeidet med å utvikle sosialt bærekraftige boligområder i byen.

Hvem er ansvarlig for forskningsprosjektet?

Selve prosjektet utføres av meg, Kristian Tveiten, masterstudent i samfunnsgeografi ved UiO. Prosjektansvarlig er hovedveileder Per Gunnar Røe, professor i samfunnsgeografi ved Universitetet i Oslo. I tillegg er masteroppgaven en del av et forskningsprosjekt ved Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet tilknyttet OsloMet, som biveileder Bengt Andersen har ansvar for.

Hvorfor får du spørsmål om å delta?

Du har blitt kontaktet fordi du oppfyller prosjektets to krav til deltakelse: Bosatt på Kampen og over 18 år.

Du har blitt kontaktet gjennom medlemskap i en av Facebook-gruppene for Kampen, og/eller fordi du i en tidligere spørreundersøkelse (i regi av Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet ved OsloMet) har sagt deg villig til å bli kontaktet for et dybdeintervju.

Hva innebærer det for deg å delta?

Hvis du velger å delta i prosjektet innebærer det et intervju som lagres som lydopptak. Intervjuet foregår helst mens man går rundt på Kampen, men om det heller er ønskelig å sitte et sted er det også helt i orden. Spørsmålene er relativt åpne og omhandler din tilknytning til, oppfatninger om og bruk av eget nabolag og omkringliggende områder. Intervjuet vil ta ca. 40 minutter.

Det er frivillig å delta

Det er frivillig å delta i prosjektet. Hvis du velger å delta, kan du når som helst trekke samtykke tilbake uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle opplysninger om deg vil da bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Ditt personvern – hvordan jeg oppbevarer og bruker dine opplysninger

Jeg vil bare bruke opplysningene om deg til formålene jeg har fortalt om i dette skrivet. Jeg behandler opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket:

- Navnet og kontaktopplysningene dine vil jeg erstatte med en kode som lagres på egen navneliste adskilt fra øvrige data. Datamaterialet lagres på forskningsserver og kryptert harddisk.
- Som deltaker vil du ikke kunne gjenkjennes i den ferdigstilte masteroppgaven. Datamaterialet anonymiseres og identifiserende opplysninger vil ikke anvendes.

Transkribert og anonymisert datamateriale vil diskuteres med masterveilederne.

Hva skjer med opplysningene dine når jeg avslutter forskningsprosjektet?

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 27.05.2020. Ved prosjektslutt destrueres ovennevnt navneliste og kodenøkkel, i tillegg vil alle lydopptak slettes.

Dine rettigheter

Så lenge du kan identifiseres i datamaterialet, har du rett til:

- innsyn i hvilke personopplysninger som er registrert om deg,
- å få rettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få slettet personopplysninger om deg,
- få utlevert en kopi av dine personopplysninger (dataportabilitet), og
- å sende klage til personvernombudet eller Datatilsynet om behandlingen av dine personopplysninger.

Hva gir meg rett til å behandle personopplysninger om deg?

Jeg behandler opplysninger om deg basert på ditt samtykke. På oppdrag fra Universitetet i Oslo har NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS vurdert at behandlingen av personopplysninger i dette prosjektet er i samsvar med personvernregelverket.

Hvor kan jeg finne ut mer?

Hvis du har spørsmål til studien, eller ønsker å benytte deg av dine rettigheter, ta kontakt med:

- Universitetet i Oslo ved masterstudent Kristian Tveiten, på epost (krtvei@student.sv.uio.no) eller telefon: 90 567 166
- Universitetet i Oslo ved hovedveileder Per Gunnar Røe, på epost (p.g.roe@sosgeo.uio.no) eller telefon: 91 716 365
- Universitetet i Oslo sitt personvernombud: personvernombud@uio.no
- Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet ved biveileder Bengt Andersen, på epost (bengt.andersen@oslomet.no) eller telefon: 99 746 839
- NSD – Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS, på epost (personverntjenester@nsd.no) eller telefon: 55 582 117.

Vennlig hilsen

Kristian Tveiten   Per Gunnar Røe

Masterstudent i samfunnsgeografi   Professor i samfunnsgeografi

Universitetet i Oslo   Universitetet i Oslo

Samtykkeerklæring

Jeg har mottatt og forstått informasjon om prosjektet «Kampen som urban landsby – tilhørighet og naboskap i indre Oslo øst», og har fått anledning til å stille spørsmål.

Jeg samtykker til å delta i personlig intervju:

Jeg samtykker til at mine opplysninger behandles frem til prosjektet er avsluttet, ca. 27.05.2020.

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

2. Interview guide

1. Innledende om informantens forhold til Kampen generelt (før mer detaljerte spørsmål)

- Bakgrunnsopplysninger
    - o Alder
    - o Utdanning
    - o Yrke
    - o Sivilstatus
- Fortell litt om ditt forhold til Kampen
    - o Hvor lenge har du bodd her?
    - o Årsaker til at du flyttet hit
        - ▪ Flyttehistorie
        - ▪ Eie/leie
    - o Hva du liker best med dette stedet?
    - o I hvilken grad og på hvilken måte kjenner du på en tilknytning eller tilhørighet til Kampen?
        - ▪ Føler du at det å bo her er en del av hvem du er?

2. Spørsmål om Kampens sosiomaterialitet (nært knyttet til walk-along som intervjuteknikk)

- Hvilke holdninger har du til hvordan det ser ut her?
    - o Hvilke assosiasjoner får du av hvordan det ser ut her?
        - ▪ For eksempel: 'Landsbyestetikk'?
    - o Hva synes du om de nyere bygningene i området?
        - ▪ Spør nærmere om en 'indre differensiering': Er noen deler av Kampen mindre 'autentisk' enn andre deler? (Eiendomsmeglere refererer ofte til 'beste Kampen')
        - ▪ Er det noen deler av Kampen du liker bedre enn andre?
    - o Er Kampen et tydelig avgrenset geografisk område? Hva utgjør nabolagets grenser?
        - ▪ Sosiale grenser? Geografiske grenser? Hva med overgangen Kampen-Vålerenga?

- Hvilken betydning har det estetiske for ditt forhold til Kampen?

- Hva synes du om de offentlige rommene, og utvalget av butikker, kafeer og restauranter? Bruker du/besøker du dem ofte?

  o For eksempel Kampen Bistro og Blomsterenga – er dette nabolagsinstitusjoner det er viktig overlever?

  o Betydningen av fraværet av kjeder? Positivt/negativt?

3. Nabolaget Kampen – det sosiale livet

- Opplever du at det eksisterer et fellesskap blant de som bor på Kampen?

  o Hva slags fellesskap oppfatter du dette som?

- Hva slags type mennesker vil du si bor her?

  o Forskjell på de som har bodd her lenge og nyere beboere?

- Føler du at du har en viss oversikt over hvem som bor her?

  o Ser du de samme menneskene regelmessig?

  o Har du en viss forventing om å se de samme personene på samme tid og sted hver dag?

- Hender du er i kontakt med naboene dine/andre beboere?

  o Hva slags interaksjon er i så fall dette?

- Nettverk

  o Hender det sosialiserer sammen med andre i nabolaget, i så fall hvilke personer?

  o Hender du er med venner eller familie på kafeene og restaurantene her, eller drar du til andre deler av byen for sånt?

  o «Parallelle» fellesskap: Demografiske karakteristikker, livsfase, osv.

- Hvilken betydning har det sosiale miljøet her for din tilknytning til Kampen?

  o Er følelsen av et fellesskap en viktig årsak til at du valgte å flytte hit?

- Gatefesten Kampendagene – hvilken relevans tror du det har for det sosiale miljøet i nabolaget?

  o Om du deltar, er du i kontakt med naboene under denne gatefesten?

- Engasjerer du deg i saker som opptar nærmiljøet?

  o Deltar du på beboermøter, følger du med i Facebook-grupper, i lokalavisen eller lignende?

  o Har prosessen med bilfritt byliv preget Kampen på noen måte?

    ▪ Få informanten til å utdype eventuelle uenigheter: f.eks., hvem er for bilfritt Kampen, hvem er mot? (indikerende for noen ulike oppfatninger om selve stedet enn bare behovet for bil eller ikke)

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- Hvordan opplever du oppvekstmiljøet for barn (også relatert til utdanning)?
    - Er dette viktig for hvorvidt du/dere blir boende her?
    - Er det planer om å flytte om man får barn/før barn(ene) begynner på skole?

4. Kampen i relasjon til nærliggende områder

- Føler du Kampen har et særpreg som skiller seg fra andre deler av Oslo? På hvilke måter?
    - Skiller Kampen seg fra Vålerenga, og i så fall, på hvilken måte?
    - Opplever du Kampen som mindre gentrifisert enn for eksempel Tøyen og Grønland?
    - Synes du Kampen er en mer autentisk bydel enn andre deler av Oslo?
- Er det viktig å opprettholde det særpreget som kjennetegner Kampen, og i så fall, hvorfor?
- Er mangfoldet på østkanten viktig?
    - Ikke bare mangfold i form av ulike mennesker, men også forskjellige typer butikker, kafeer og restauranter (etc.)
    - Er det på en måte ulike atmosfærer i de ulike bydelene? Yrende folkeliv på Tøyen/Grønland kontra mer stille og rolig på Kampen?
- Drar du ofte til de nærliggende bydelene?
    - Hva gjør du der?
- Har du noen holdninger til endringene på Tøyen og Grønland?
- Føler du deg noen ganger utrygg enten på Kampen eller andre steder?

5. Avsluttende spørsmål

- Er det et eller annet du synes er negativt med Kampen?
- Hvis du skulle beskrevet Kampen til en som overhodet ikke kjenner til dette stedet, hvordan ville du beskrevet det?
- Eventuelt noe informanten vil legge til.