The Politics of Place in Urban Landscapes:

Boundaries, Exclusion and Belonging

Three Case Studies from São Paulo, Boston and Oslo

Jenny Glenton Prescott

Master's Thesis

Department of Social Anthropology

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Abstract

Space is a physical location, but also a material manifestation of our social world, continuously shaped by and producing human practice. As globalisation processes have enabled more people to seek opportunities in cities, they have also put pressure on and created urban landscapes characterised by issues such as spatial scarcity, socioeconomic friction and environmental pollution. These problems shape how people use, experience and act towards their local surroundings.

In this thesis, I explore how sociocultural structures become spatialized through urban boundary making, impacting residents' feelings of belonging and influencing their well-being. Through three cases, gated communities and favelas in São Paulo, gentrification in East Boston and pandemic restrictions in Oslo, I discuss how processes related to urbanisation and globalisation have triggered issues of friction and put pressure on the spatial organisation of these cities in different ways. In each case, I illustrate how this friction has resulted in a need to order and categorise urban "chaos" through the creation of social and material boundaries.

In all three cases, these boundaries are experienced by residents in unequal ways. Residents with access to social and economic capital are able to use boundaries as sources of protection and to concentrate goods and services in an exclusive area. Residents who lack such capital, however, are often excluded from space that provides material and social infrastructure. As a consequence, lower-class residents describe issues of social displacement and material deprivation as negatively impacting their physical and mental well-being. By focusing on these experiences, I demonstrate that space is never "neutral" but is produced by and reproduces specific social structures. I aim to show how social processes can be made tangible by studying them as embodied experiences and spatial manifestations.

My research question, choice of fieldsites and methodological framework has been shaped by the ongoing spread of the coronavirus, limiting my ability to follow my original fieldwork plan. As a consequence, the material drawn on in this thesis is based on published anthropological literature from urban Brazil, unpublished interview-based datasets from East Boston collected by *The Barcelona Lab of Urban Environmental Studies*, and interviews I conducted in Oslo.

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1. Introduction: Planning a research project when a pandemic strikes

March 11th 2020 was one of those days when you recall all the details because something extraordinary happened. Although spring had come to Oslo, I was still wearing my winter jacket. I was excited about leaving the cold weather and to be in Barcelona next week, carrying out fieldwork. I had been emailing back and forward with the research institution *The Barcelona Lab for Urban Environmental Justice of Sustainability* (BCNUEJ)*,* with whom I was going to collaborate. We were finalizing dates and topics to discuss when I checked my phone and saw an email from Isabelle, one of the BCNUJE project leaders:

[…] maybe we can wait until the 31 for our phone call and also to see how things evolve with the Coronavirus? Jenny, you might also hear from your university that they want you to postpone your trip until a bit later in April... Hopefully because you have until September to collect the data, by the middle of the Spring things will look a bit clearer and a bit more calmed down here. It's just that too many things seem up in the air now… *(e-mail, Isabelle Anguelovski, personal communication, 11.03.2020).*

Although conversations about the Coronavirus had been going on for a while, I never imagined what I know today. I initially thought the virus was mainly confined to China, but on the day I got Isabelle's email, news started pouring in about how it had spread across the world. About a week later, Corona had become a global phenomenon, and Spain was one of the first European countries to become severely affected:

[…] I hope you are staying safe. It seems that Spain will be on lockdown for a least a month at this point, so probably best not to come until we know more …. We'll let you how things evolve. It is also true that the system will take a while to recover… These days our work and personal life is completely changed in relation to the Coronavirus. Speaking in relation to our project, our collaboration remains on stand-by. Probably until mid-April the situation will be like this. Jenny, until further notice, people cannot leave home like normally; just to buy food or go to the emergency doctor. I will inform you about news *(e-mail, Isabelle Anguelovski, personal communication, 16.03.2020).*

My original research plan

The e-mail conversation above illustrates the beginning of how my master's thesis evolved into what it is today, which both differs from and shares similarities with my original plan.

I started developing my plans in the autumn 2019. My focus had been inspired by my experiences during two exchange semesters in Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires. My perception of both cities had changed drastically throughout my time there. At the beginning of my stay, streets and corners were alien and fascinating. Towards the end of my stay, however, these same spaces made me think of people I had met and things I had done, making them seem familiar. I was also increasingly aware of the cities' social and spatial segregation. This made me reflect on how different "worlds" could exist in one city and how people experience the same city in highly different ways. I recall reflecting on this, as a friend was telling me that she had never seen the sea, as she was unable to afford the short trip to the beach. I, on the other hand, had been to the beach several times during my six months stay.

These thoughts sparked my interest in how humans shape and are shaped by their material and spatial landscape. I was subsequently drawn to David Harvey's (2008) remarks on "The right to the city". Harvey is concerned with inhabitants' abilities to shape their way of living by modifying the city in response to their needs and desires. Harvey argues that cities are strongly moulded by the desires of those in power. Consequently, urbanisation becomes a class phenomenon, where the needs of those with less resources become repressed by dominant classes, continuously reproducing unequal social structures. In light of this, I was curious to explore how unequal access to power becomes materialised as social and physical boundaries that include and exclude people within restricted spaces, influencing their experiences of their spatial surroundings.

I also wanted to continue to explore topics from my bachelor thesis within medical anthropology. Here, I studied how the spatial environment impacted residents' health and their sense of well-being. Inspired by Paul Farmer's (2004) theories about structural violence and how the organisation of society can systematically harm certain groups by rendering them vulnerable to health risks, I planned to focus on how structural violence was enacted through spatial and material form, with detrimental consequences to the health of individuals (Rodgers & O'Neill, 2012, p.405).

In sum, I aimed to investigate how social structures are materialised in urban settings, producing and reproducing embodied experiences of the city in unequal ways, and impacting physical and mental well-being. The case I chose was gentrification processes in the former working-class neighbourhood of El Poble-Sec, Barcelona. Throughout the last decade, this

area has been subjected to gentrification, with ensuing social and physical boundaries between affluent newcomers and long-term residents. Gentrification thus seemed to be a prevalent contemporary manifestation generating urban boundaries, demonstrating how space shapes and is shaped by human practice. I chose Barcelona because it has been strongly affected by gentrification, but also because I am familiar with the city and speak Spanish. BCNUEJ is a research group in Barcelona that focuses on topics related to the social sciences, public health and urban planning. Prior to the pandemic they had been developing research that coincided with my topic of interest, so I contacted them about a possible collaboration. I hoped that they would help me get in touch with relevant informants, and provide a qualified forum for discussing findings, and was excited by their positive response. The COVID-19 pandemic changed all of these plans.

Overcoming challenges: Developing a new research plan

By May 2020, after months of waiting for the Spanish borders to re-open and the pandemic to recede, I was forced to accept that fieldwork in Spain was unrealistic. At this point I was frustrated at the prospect of my lengthy preparations coming to nothing and disappointed at the prospect of not conducting fieldwork. I sought new solutions, but they all seemed inadequate in response to an unpredictable situation. The pandemic was an anomaly, something Mary Douglas (1984, p.38) defines as any "element which does not fit a given set or series". The anomalous pandemic disrupted my "taken for granted" order of things, including how and where to conduct fieldwork. Nevertheless, I decided to find alternative ways of doing research and to handle the situation, as Douglas put it, in a "positive" manner:

There are several ways of treating anomalies. Negatively, we can ignore, just not perceive them, or perceiving we can condemn. Positively we can deliberately confront the anomaly and try to create a new pattern of reality in which it has a place *(Douglas, 1984, p.39)*.

When developing a new research plan, I wanted to use my previous preparations and theoretical perspectives, including my focus on urban space, boundaries and individual health and well-being. I also wanted to maintain the relationship I had established with researchers from BCNUEJ, as this could potentially provide practical support, and contextually relevant methodological and theoretical input. More urgently, I needed to find a way of collecting empirical material despite the pandemic-related restrictions. I spent weeks exploring what empirical data that could be accessed or realistically gathered during a pandemic. I

simultaneously focused on how to re-construct the research question, adapted to my changed context and ability to collect data.

My adjusted topic of research and strategy

I chose a comparable research question: In what ways do sociocultural structures become spatialized through urban boundary making, impacting residents' feelings of belonging and exclusion and influencing their well-being? I also continued along the original theoretical path related to issues of urban space and especially boundaries, and the ensuing exclusion and inclusion processes. I have, however, changed my research strategy in response to the circumstances imposed by the pandemic. I have thus broadened my geographical scope, moving away from the sole focus on Barcelona, and instead explored topics concerned with space, exclusion and well-being in three different contexts.

My aim is to elucidate how social structures related to urbanisation and global flow become spatialized as physical and social boundaries between people and places. I focus on how such boundaries affect residents with different socioeconomic backgrounds, their experiences of their neighbourhoods, perception of belonging, and the effects all this has on their sense of well-being. I thus intend to demonstrate how overarching social structures become tangible and material by focusing on how they are physically embedded in specific areas and embodied by individuals.

I have chosen three sources of data. First, I include data from published monographs about gated communities in São Paulo, Brazil. Second, BCNUEJ generously shared raw and unpublished interview-based datasets from their research on gentrification in Boston, USA. Lastly, I include data I collected through interviews, supplemented by media reports, about the COVID-19 restrictions in Oslo, Norway. I also use a good deal theoretical literature to demonstrate how issues of space, place and boundary-making manifest themselves in similar ways in the three settings. Here, I find Tereza Caldeira's remarks on urban spatial boundaries inspiring:

From Johannesburg to Budapest, from Cairo to Mexico City, from Buenos Aires to Los Angeles, similar processes occur: the erection of walls, the secession of the upper classes, the privatization of public spaces, and the proliferation of surveillance technologies are fragmenting the city space, separating social groups, and changing the character of public life in ways that contradict the modern ideals of city life. In the same

way that these ideals have shaped cities all around the world, transformations of that ideal, similar to those occurring in São Paulo, are not affecting the character of urban space and public life. Thus it is important to broaden the discussion and include some comparison. *(Caldeira, 2000, p.323)*.

In my case from São Paulo, I discuss how social inequality and widespread fear of violence and crime have been shaped by and created a segregated urban landscape. This has become spatially manifested as boundaries, materialised as gates, fences and walls. The physical boundaries are used by wealthy individuals to separate and protect themselves from public threats and "polluting" individuals. In the Boston case I examine how gentrification affects the previously working-class area East Boston. This process has resulted in privatised public space, evolving to fit the needs of new, affluent residents. Resulting in physical and social boundaries, long-term working-class residents are increasingly pushed out of the area, while affluent newcomers are increasingly immersed within it.

Finally, I explore experiences of COVID-19 restrictions among inhabitants of Oslo. These restrictions include preventing individual mobility and access to public space. I focus on how these limitations have been experienced differently depending on households' access to private space. I have approached the Oslo study as a "laboratory" that provides insights into how existing social structures of inequality and boundary making have been confirmed and/or heightened during the pandemic (ref. Singer, 2020, p.23).

The cases demonstrate how the three cities are embedded with social structures that create and reproduce physical and social boundaries between people and places. These boundaries shape residents' mobility through processes of exclusion and inclusion. The "included" have access to space, safe infrastructure and membership within a social community. Those on the "outside" frequently lack such benefits and resources. Access to or exclusion from such benefits dramatically impact people's sense of belonging, as well as mental and physical well-being. By shedding light on this, I hope to contribute to our understanding of how urban residents have unequal "rights to the city", determining and depending on their social and physical mobility (Harvey, 2008).

When referring to "the politics of place" in my thesis title, I use "politics" in a broad anthropological sense. I explore a range of practices and ideas concerned with actors' abilities to negotiate their social positions and to control and influence their surroundings and, thereby,

their own living conditions (ref. Gregory, 1998, p.13). Here, politics are embedded in our everyday lives and society, impacting how we organise and categorise our spatial and social surroundings, and taking shape as boundaries, symbols and rituals.

About the chapters

This thesis is comprised of eight chapters divided into two parts. In part one, I present my theoretical framework, which I use to outline topics dealt with later. *Chapter two* outlines my methodological framework and ethical considerations. In *chapter three* I describe how space is entangled with human practice, both being produced by and reproducing specific sociocultural structures. The urban landscape with its physical spaces invoked with meaning, clearly demonstrates this. *In chapter four* I discuss how boundaries are produced and become spatially manifested, impacting residential experiences of belonging, exclusion and mobility within a given space. Additionally, I discuss how experiences of and use of space impact people's well-being. The purpose of the two latter chapters is to show that inhabited space is never "passive" but is shaped by and produces historical, cultural and political forces that become embodied by individuals.

In part two, I present my empirical findings. The *three chapters* present case studies of gated communities and favelas in São Paulo, gentrification in East Boston and pandemic restrictions in Oslo. These cases illustrate how social processes become materialised as boundaries, shaping the spatial and social landscape. My aim is to demonstrate how these processes affect residents' experience of their neighbourhoods, as well as their physical and mental well-being. The theoretical framework from part one is used to organise and make sense of the cases. This demonstrates how overarching, global spatial and social structures and forces become localised, shaping local spatial surroundings and their use in different and comparable ways.

In my final chapter I conclude with a discussion and a summary. Here, I discuss similarities and differences between the cases and return to topics I have explored throughout my thesis. In addition, I describe how my empirical cases speak to my theoretical framework in comparative ways. I then conclude with post research reflections on methods used, as well as experiences and thoughts on "being ethnographic" during a pandemic.

2. Methodological framework

Henrietta Moore (1999, p.4) maintains that anthropology differs from the other social sciences because of its methodological framework, which has participant observation at its centre. This involves partaking in the everyday activities of a community while observing and recording data (Strang, 2009, p.5). Traditionally the ethnographer is situated in a single fieldsite for a prolonged period of time. This is an intimate method used by researchers to immerse themselves in the daily, lived experience of others (Hasbrouck, 2018, p.47). By doing so, the ethnographer seeks to collect thick descriptions[1] about a phenomenon (Geertz, 1973). Although my original plan had been to carry out fieldwork and apply this methodological framework, the global spread of COVID-19 forced me to reassess my approach.

I was confronted with several challenges concerned with capturing people's lived experiences through the means of participation. How would I do this when people's daily activities had suddenly changed? How could I obtain access to "intimate" experiences, when physical contact was discouraged and possibly dangerous? Could I attempt to do this from a distance or online? Should I do fieldwork in my hometown of Oslo? What if institutions shut down or people were reluctant to meet me because of social distancing? My main concerns were not being "ethnographic enough" and deviating from parts of the classical anthropological approach. According to Bronislaw Malinowski (2012, p.70) this approach must contain "proper conditions for fieldwork", including "remaining in as close contact with the natives as possible, which really can only be achieved by camping right in their villages". According to Malinowski (p.79), the goal is "to grasp the native's point of view".

The pandemic pushed me to move beyond Malinowski's classical approach, and to create a new "pattern of reality" (Douglas, 1984, p.39) under a lockdown while salvaging as much as possible of my preparations and maintaining the BCNUEJ-network. As referred to in my introduction this led me to carry out a multi-site study, using empirical data gathered from three localities, supplementing my own data with data gathered by others. I also made extensive use of theoretical literature, i.e., theory on universal processes as an explanatory framework in the exploration of local cases.

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[1] Concept developed by Clifford Geertz (1973) concerned with describing a phenomenon in relation to its larger context, rather than solely stating that it took place. The researcher will then be able to explore what this movement might symbolise and signify beyond what it explicitly conveys.

Using a multi-sited, comparative and urban framework

George E. Marcus (1995) has suggested a methodological shift, moving away from classical single site research towards multi-sited fieldwork. In this approach, ethnographers collect and analyse data from several fieldsites that are not limited to a single geographical area. This approach shows how different fieldsites are connected and can inform us about widespread practices, usually related to globalisation. I found this approach especially appropriate when developing my topic of different urban subjects and places, and with the added goal of exploring how the cases might share similarities and reflect universal processes. I especially identified with Fernando Monge's descriptions of his fieldwork:

Boston, Barcelona, Cape Town and San Francisco are among the port cities where I have carried out fieldwork; a fieldwork which does not follow all the requirements traditionally associated with good, sound fieldwork. Mine is a fieldwork that can be partially considered multi-sited, comparative and in the city; one place raising questions to research in other places […]. By asking key questions in other sites, I not only seek interpretative answers to what is going on in each specific site, but I also try to develop an ethnography of the city […]. Public spaces, old and new, the interaction of the built structural form and urban planning policies with the way in which people live the cities are some of my ever-returning areas of concern in the field. *(Monge, 2012, p.215)*

Multi-sited fieldwork has been criticised for being too broad and unable to deliver thick descriptions (Marcus, 1995). I have therefore been wary of approaching globalisation and urbanisation as two totalising forces, trying to avoid too broad generalisations. I have instead attempted to focus on how processes described as universal take shape when locally situated, affecting individuals and places in both similar and different ways (Tsing, 2005, p.4). I have attempted to not lose sight of "the native's point of view" (Malinowski, 2012, p.79).
I have also been attentive to how local realities are embedded in widespread global trends related to urbanisation, migration and the flow of capital (Monge, 2012, p.222). I will now elaborate on what methods I have used within this framework.

Conducting interviews in Oslo

I conducted five interviews with five informants in Oslo between September and November 2020. I ended up using four of these interviews in this study. I was able to keep a physical distance when meeting my informants, as well as have the option of conducting interviews via digital media, if necessary. This approach allowed me to collect empirical data in a viable manner during an uncertain time.

Although I did not conduct participant observation, which would have given me better insight into my informants' lives, I did share many pandemic experiences in "real time" (Singer & Rylko-Bauer, 2020, p.23). Though conscious that the pandemic was experienced in unequal and individual ways, I believe this helped me better understand and reflect on my informants' experiences.

Finding and choosing informants

I got in touch with my first informant by posting a message on a Facebook group for locals helping each other during lockdown in Oslo. I also used my personal social networks, asking friends and acquaintances if they knew people with particular socioeconomic backgrounds, living in different households and certain neighbourhoods. I attempted to minimise possible personal biases by only contacting people I didn't know personally. As the pandemic was ongoing and all-encompassing, it was easy to get in touch with informants who had feelings and experiences on the topic fresh in mind. As most people were working from home and had fewer social obligations, they conceivably had more time to speak to me.

Using semi-structured interviews

I used a semi-structured interview guide as my primary data collection tool. This enabled me to cover specific topics, in addition to giving informants the opportunity to digress from questions. As I did not combine this method with participant observation I was, able to gather data about informants' views and perspectives but was unable to supplement it with observations of their actual behaviour.

Ethical considerations

Before conducting the interviews, I informed the informants about the aim of my work and the implications of their participation and sent them an informed consent to sign. I also anonymised the data and ensured that it would be unattainable for third parties. However, as Philippe Bourgois (2012, p.304) argues, complex social situations do not always fit into an "ethically" correct framework. I reflected on this when interviewing one of my informants, Else, about her pandemic experiences.

Else suffers from a chronic physical illness that limits her ability to manage daily activities and affects her mental wellbeing. She described Oslo and various situations in very negative terms that often collided with my own understanding of phenomena. Although I did not express it, I considered dismissing her descriptions as unreasonable, triggered by her own personal issues.

This experience made me think of Nancy Scheper-Hughes' (2000) description of her first fieldwork, which led to her monograph about mental illness in an Irish community in decline. Scheper-Hughes admits that her work humiliated and upset several of her informants. She therefore stresses the importance of ensuring that informants understand what is being written about them, as well as being attentive to how they might react to it. Scheper-Hughes (2000, p.132) also argues that researchers need to be sensitive to how descriptions of the "other" are always entangled with one's own subjective viewpoint.

This made me consider how my own views and descriptions could cause harm to informants. It also made me attentive to how my experiences of Oslo could influence my interpretations of, and potentially supersede Else's experiences. This is one potential challenge with doing ethnography at home (Madden, 2010, p.46). I have tried to keep this in mind in order to avoid letting my familiarity with "the field" overshadow my informants' descriptions. However, I agree with Joanne Passaro (1997, p.153) when she stresses that: "[…] "objectivity" is not a function of "distance"; that "Otherness" is not a geographical given but a theoretical stance".

Else was eager to express her frustrations about socio-political issues to me, often linked to her circumstances as disabled, unemployed and dependent on welfare benefits. There may have been several reasons for her wanting to meet me. People often enjoy talking to interested listeners about their life stories, which is a great advantage for curious anthropologists. I was, however, also sensitive to the possibility that she was opening up to me, hoping that my academic work would somehow make her voice heard and possibly better her situation. Else also made it clear that she was lonely and had often felt neglected. After this conversation, she frequently wanted confirmation that we would meet again. These circumstances made me unsure about the nature of her expectations to our relationship. I therefore felt obliged to ascertain that she understood my role and recognised my inability to provide emotional support (see June & Mulcock, 2004, p.20).

Analysis of publications from Norwegian media outlets

I decided to complement my interview data by analysing articles from Norwegian news sources as well as a government press release[2]. This has been a useful way to map the ongoing pandemic and to analyse my informants' experiences in the context of public actors' discursive portrayals of the situation. This provided me with a broader outlook and better understanding of how restrictions are unequally experienced and portrayed.

Analysis of raw interview-based datasets from East Boston

As I mentioned in the introduction, prior to the pandemic, I planned on participating in a research project run by BCNUEJ about how gentrification impacts health and health care delivery in the neighbourhood of El Poble Sec in Barcelona. When this project was put on hold due to the Corona-pandemic, BCNUEJ generously shared their raw, unpublished interview-based datasets from a similar ongoing project. The Green Locally Unwanted Land Uses (GreenLULUs) project examines the relationship between gentrification, urban greening and social equity in 40 cities in Europe, Canada and The United States.

BCNUEJ is funded through Horizon 2020 and the European Research Council and is a partnership with the Institute of Environmental Science and Technology (ICTA) at the *Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona* (UAB) and a research group from *Hospital del Mar* (IMIM) in Barcelona. Through the development of new methods and theories, and the establishment of a data repository, the project aims to further research concerning the racial and social impact of urban greening projects (BCNUJE, 2021).

These data were a good thematic fit with the topic I was working on prior to the pandemic and the set included empirical data on residents' experiences of space and place. In addition, I wanted to stay in touch with BCNUEJ and to continue to receive their advice and insights. Lastly, by using their data I got the opportunity to personally analyse raw data despite experiencing limitations around collecting my own data. I was therefore very grateful for the opportunities BCNUEJ offered.

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[2] I have translated my own interviews and sources from Norwegian media outlets from Norwegian to English.

I was sent a large body of data. I read a range of interviews from various cities, including Copenhagen, Dublin and Washington. This data generally focused on professional opinions on gentrification and urban development. I was, however, primarily searching for people's lived experiences of processes taking place in their neighbourhoods. The interviews from East Boston seemed fitting as they consisted of in-depth descriptions of residents' experiences. I therefore assembled and singled out relevant data from this set. All of the material was raw data consisting of semi-structured interviews. Each interview contained casual conversations between an informant and a researcher. The interviews were collected by different researchers from the GreenLULUs project. The data was transferred via the NVivo software program.

Ethical considerations

I was aware of potential pitfalls and other implications of teaming up with a third party, particularly whether BCNUEJ's concepts of ethics might differ from mine. I was, however, informed about their ethical guidelines through their interview guide. This included having the respondent read and complete an informed consent sheet prior to the interview. I also aimed to use the material in a way that reflected BCNUEJ's wishes, as well as those of the informants. I have therefore continuously discussed my use of their materials with the research institution. We concluded that I would anonymise individual names and certain descriptions about informants and private companies, making them undetectable.

Extracting empirical data from published ethnographies about São Paulo

When I began restructuring my fieldwork plans, I was unsure about the extent which I could do fieldwork in Oslo and if BCNUEJ would share their project data. I therefore decided to include material from published literature, knowing that this would be a reliably accessible data source. In addition, as I had written about social segregation in Brazil during my bachelor thesis, I was familiar with monographs and articles that included in-depth empirical data that thematically coincided with my topic of interest.

My empirical findings were largely gathered from Caldeira's (2000) monograph *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and citizenship in São Paulo*. The book is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted by Caldeira between 1989 and 1991. It includes various stories about and conversations with informants, as well as descriptions of the city's historical, demographic and spatial structures. I was first introduced to the book when reading excerpts

from it in one of my bachelor classes. I remember finding Caldeira's descriptions engaging due to her vivid portrayals of the city and its residents.

Analysis of luxury housing advertisements from São Paulo

I decided to complement the data from monographs and articles on urban Brazil with luxury housing advertisements from São Paulo. Here, I was inspired by Caldeira (2000), who did the same in her monograph. Rather than using her cases, and in order to update the examples, I focused on advertisements from 2021 in housing sites and magazines. This allowed me to analyse Caldeira's findings in the context of the current urban landscape and housing market.

Using data collected and/or analysed by a third party

As described above, the pandemic forced me to use data collected by, and in some cases analysed by third parties. This restricted my capacity to explore and create my own interpretations of the context being researched. With the raw data sets from Boston, I was at least able to carry out my own analysis. However, when using processed and published data, including material gathered from monographs and articles, I was aware of how the texts were shaped by the writer's authoritative authorship. This relates to how the authors' framing of the text had shaped the portrayal of the data:

There is a difference between ethnography as a text and ethnographic experience. Beyond a work of description or personal interpretation, an ethnography is a concerted attempt to convince readers of certain conceptual claims using the evidence of fieldwork.

Even writers who emphasise the subjective stance from which they write build for themselves an authoritative persona (*Blasco & Wardle, 2019 pp, 99-136)*

In sum, the published material I have used has potential inherent limitations, as it was collected and portrayed for a different purpose than mine. I also paid attention to these phenomena when analysing raw sets of data. I focused on how issues of purpose, context and audience had influenced the process of data collection. As the material never appeared in a final publication, I did not have to take in account a final "authoritative authorship".

3. Space, place and the urban landscape

The concepts *place* and *space* are often used interchangeably to describe a wide range of phenomena in different ways, making it hard to land on a single definition of these phenomena (e.g., Creswell, 2015, p.6; Harvey, 2006, p.119; Hayden, 1995, p.15). I will therefore situate these concepts within a specific framework and use Pierre Bourdieu's (in Low, 2016, p.27) conceptualisation as a starting point, by viewing space as primarily having meaning when actors invoke it in practice. I will in other words approach place and space as physical locations, which through their embeddedness with sociocultural processes gain specific significance and become shaped in particular ways. I will focus on how spatial locations take part in creating and reproducing social structures[3] (Low, 2016, p.32).

In the social sciences, space is often used to describe areas and volume, while place usually denotes a socially produced space: When we attach meaning to a space it becomes a place (Creswell, 2015, pp.15-16). Bourdieu (1996, pp 11-12) discusses this in light of what he calls physical and social space: The former is the locus where people and things are situated, while the latter is a set of invisible social relationships which are transferred into physical space. Here, Bourdieu highlights how our social world is physically manifested through space, making our social and geographical landscape entangled with each other.

Through the process of making space into place, place making, we render the world around us meaningful, ascribing and shaping our surroundings with everything from personal needs, economic considerations, history, associations, memories, desires and relations. This process influence how we operate and experience the world, as our surroundings continuously play a part in shaping our daily lives. This speaks to my experiences from Buenos Aires and Santiago and how my perception and use of the cities changed as I ascribed streets and corners with feelings of familiarity. Human sociocultural processes and their spatial surroundings are, in other words, embedded and reciprocal.

In anthropology questions around how culture is spatially manifested have been explored by several scholars (Pellow, 1996, p.2). Still, Margaret C. Rodman (1992) stresses that place has often been a neglected phenomenon within anthropology. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson

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[3] Relates to Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) concept *habitus* about how structures are produced within specific social frameworks, shaping them in particular ways and enabling them to reproduce the conditions that gave rise to them initially.

(1992, p.6) similarly claim that anthropological approaches in many cases regard space as a given part of our society, ignoring its historical and discursive construction. Rodman (1992 p.1) stresses that places are "[…] not inert containers. They are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions".

Contemporary research has increasingly explored a range of spatial aspects (Low, 2016, p.6; Appel, Anand & Gupta, 2018, p.11), focusing on the anthropology *of* the city, rather than *in* the city, researching urban processes rather than cities' material and spatial forms (Low, 2014, p.16). Gupta and Ferguson (1997a, p.5) emphasise that "reading" cultural products and public representations (i.e., the spatial and built environment) is a good way for anthropologists to collect in-depth information about daily routines and lived experience.

Space as embedded with social structures

Exploring spatial organisation becomes a way to uncover forms of social injustice and exclusion by denaturalizing surroundings that are often taken for granted (Low, 2016; Hall 1969; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). This is connected to recognising that our spatial surroundings are man-made; generating, as well as created within, specific sociocultural structures (Hall, 1969). Gupta and Ferguson (1992) accordingly argue that we need to stop thinking of phenomena such as locality and community as given facts, but rather as social and political processes of place making. Sherry Ortner (1972) emphasises this by drawing on examples of how space is entangled with gender inequality. An example is how private and domestic domains such as the home are often represented as feminine, while public spaces like the workplace are frequently perceived as masculine. Ortner (1972) argues that these outlooks reproduce and naturalise specific gendered hierarchies. Shedding light on how space is embedded with social structures is therefore a way to work towards denaturalizing particular social discourses (Hall, 1969, p.15; Rodman 1992, p.643).

Urban growth and global flows

The creation of cities is one example of how space is both shaped by and shapes human practice. Although it is hard to provide a clear-cut definition of the urban spaces we call cities, I will attempt to situate this vast phenomenon within a shared framework which can apply to the cities I explore. i.e., Boston, Oslo and São Paulo.

Cities have historically been spaces where political and judicial systems, international and national commerce and diverse cultural trends have been centred, creating social and economic opportunities (Friedman, 2014, p.241). Cities therefore attract large groups of diverse people, often resulting in dense, culturally, ethnically and socially mixed landscapes (Orum, 2004, p.1). Although urban sites are not alone in having these specific traits, they are as Saskia Sassen (2012, p.1) argues "a necessary part of the DNA of the urban". Along with an increase in globalisation these traits have created worldwide urban growth.

Although globalisation is not new, it has accelerated in response to technological innovation. This can be seen as a consequence of what David Harvey (1989) called "time-space compression". The term refers to how technologies and commodities (e.g., social media, vehicles, production overseas and global networks) enable people to move faster and further than ever before, creating a compressed experience of time and space. As a consequence, we are increasingly able to imagine, as well as travel and migrate to worlds detached from our own. As opportunities are concentrated to urban setting, individuals on the move are often drawn to these areas, resulting in an even greater mix of people and cultures to cluster in cities. In addition, global commerce is largely concentrated to the cities, which, according to Richard Florida (2008, p.19) makes "higher-level economic activities (…) cluster in a relatively small number of locations".

Global mobility as heightening urban friction
Today more than half of the world's population lives in cities, a figure that is expected to reach 70% by 2050 (United Nations, 2020). Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2016, p.90) explains that although cities have been centres for opportunities and development, their continuing uncontrollable growth has made urban living less sustainable. Increased globalisation amplifies these trends. Eriksen relates this to how the world is "overheating" resulting in a scarcity of urban space, creating unsustainable cities reducing systemic flexibility and generating pollution, waste and epidemics. The result is cities filled with friction, tension and competition for space and resources. Eriksen alludes to the effects by pointing to traffic jams in Brazil:

São Paulo has been a cosmopolitan crossroads and a dynamic metropolis for more than 100 years, […] Today, the city has more than 20 million inhabitants […]. Paulistas are proud of their metro, but the lines extend only for 75 km. Many car drivers spend the time in the car watching TV, applying make-up,

shaving, talking on the phone or sending email, while watching the bumper ahead. A lawyer who spends between two to three hours getting to work every day, says that he feels like a prisoner. The traffic jam is one of the most poignant and telling images of overheating, starkly revealing a paradoxical side-effect of acceleration: a technology of speed and modernity such as the car helps people accelerate until it reaches a point where it flips into its opposite, namely slowing down *(Eriksen, 2016, p.82).*

According to a United Nations report (2020) "[t]he speed and scale of urbanisation presents challenges in ensuring the availability of adequate housing, infrastructure and transportation, as well as create a conflict and violence". These issues take part in creating increasingly segregated urban landscapes, visible through the social and physical separation of different groups of areas, reinforcing issues of social inequality (Dubois. 2014, p.347).

My case about gentrification in the former working-class immigrant neighbourhood East Boston illustrates the point. The case shows how new tech-industry has attracted affluent residents to the city, adding increased interest for and pressure on the housing market. Investors race to capitalise on areas like East Boston, leading to rising housing prices and space to become privatised. Wealthier residents gradually dominate the area, while long-term residents are left vulnerable, unable to meet the new economic and sociocultural demands in their neighbourhood. Miguel, a long-term resident from the area, explains how this has caused local immigrants like himself to re-experience displacement:

[…] many people came from there [Colombia] running from Pablo Escobar and everything going on. They came here, they found a neighbourhood where they could find a new life, and suddenly… We're back to being displaced. And I think the problem is that above all young people live here, and then they have to move to Revere [different part of East Boston], and it's a much more conservative area where they don't want any immigrants, so they're displaced again… Over and over again. So, it gets even more complicated for people to survive, because they don't have a car. There's no public transport like here. We're privileged here in East Boston with public transport *(Miguel, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019)*

Here, residents with sufficient social and economic capital have a better opportunity to experience urban living as enabling interconnection, leisure and prosperity. Among vulnerable residents the situation is experienced as creating competition for housing, exclusion and friction; situations they had hoped to escape when they migrated to the area. Appadurai (1990, p.296) fittingly points to how global circulation is increasingly making

some people imagine partaking in worlds far from their own, while other vulnerable groups "can never afford to let their imagination rest too long, even if they wished to".

Broadly speaking, both globalisation and urban living are filled with dichotomies, as they can both provide and deprive places and people access to resources. For some, the world is made more accessible (through access to mobility, diversity, consume and technology), while others (e.g., poor residents or undocumented migrants) experience what Cunningham (2010) terms "a gated globe". McDonogh (2014, p.34) similarly argues that "flows" create a double-edged sword, facilitating opportunities but also endangering cities through hazards such as AIDS and Ebola. Private and public actors have therefore become concerned with regulating the unwanted parts of this process, resulting in the production of increasingly territorial spaces. A recent example discussed in my case from Oslo (chap.8) is how the rapid and extensive spread of the Coronavirus driven by global mobility, has led to a call for boundaries and restrictions on global, national and even inter-urban movement.

According to Eriksen (2016, p.103) global boundaries are often shaped by a neoliberal approach that encourages mobility as long as it is financially profitable. Appadurai (1990, p.305) argues that this trend presses countries to stay "open". However, this openness can also overwhelm governments, as it creates a risk of losing control over the nation and people. Gray Alberet Abarca and Susan Coutin (2018) emphasise that such disturbance of cultural order can lead to strict exclusionary practices. This is aimed at marking boundaries between insiders and outsiders in an attempt to re-gain control, leading to a spiralling emphasis on identity and "classification" in an increasingly global and "limitless world".

This ambiguous situation echoes Douglas' (1984) theories on how humans perceive liminal phenomena as dangerous and polluting. Douglas explains that an ambiguous status can be seen as a threat to an established classification system. Classification is put into place to inscribe boundaries and limits, constituting what is to be included and excluded within a community. When something or someone lingers between these categories, they are perceived as alien and incomprehensible, creating a need to categorise and place them within sets of bounded structures in order to control them.

Eriksen (2016, p.102) continues to explore this topic, stressing that accelerated globalisation and urban diversity has made it easier for different groups to cooperate and understand each

other, but that it also creates boundaries and tensions. He argues that the latter has created an increasing need to demonstrate uniqueness and separateness. According to Fredrik Barth (1969, p.15), spatial entanglement between different groups often makes members feel a greater need to emphasise group affiliation, out of fear for being mistaken for an opposing group. He argues that this is linked to how group affiliation forms when distinctions between "insiders" and "outsiders" are emphasised, rather than "the cultural stuff" the group encloses. Thus, within hybrid landscapes the use of clearly defined boundaries is crucial to avoiding affiliation with neighbouring groups. Boundary making can therefore seem to be an especially likely occurrence in contemporary cities, with their spaces filled with anomalies and dichotomies generated by intensified globalisation.

Chapter summary

This chapter discusses how space can be understood as a physical location both shaped by and shaping human practice. I argue that by approaching space in this manner, we are better equipped to denaturalise our often taken for granted surroundings and understand how space both produces and is produced by social practice. I emphasise that cities are a prominent example of how this takes place, as widespread social infrastructure and a range of opportunities are centralised to and within them. Consequently, cities attract large, diverse groups of people. This trend has accelerated as new technology has facilitated people, information and commodities to move faster and further across space (Harvey, 1989).

Although urbanisation and globalisation have created opportunities for the resourceful, these processes have also led to increased competition, more hazards and "fear of the other". This has strengthened a need to categorise and create order in hybrid and mobile urban landscapes. This categorisation readily becomes spatialized through boundaries between residents, leading to exclusionary and inclusionary practices between groups, depending on their membership in a community.

4. Space, place and urban boundaries

I now turn to the subject of boundaries as taking shape when perceptions of resident categories become widely accepted and are translated into objectified forms of spatial and social separation of people and places (Lamont & Molnár, 2020, p.168). Categorisation emerges when a set of shared values enable us to divide phenomena, such as people or areas, into groups of "insiders" or "outsiders". These separations are culturally and historically relative and shape how urban residents relate to each other (Caldeira, 2000, p.213). This continuously reproduces the way people make sense of the world around them, also among those who do not benefit from that categorisation (Caldeira, 2000, p.78).

Simón Uribe (2017) argues that physical separations are created by specific power relations and need to be understood as such. Drawing on his ethnographic fieldwork, Uribe describes how boundaries become spatialized through infrastructure, specifically as roads built by the Colombian government. He explains that prosperous parts of the country have access to well-connected and built roads, while neglected areas inhabited by marginalised people do not. Access is determined social and geographical membership, and he argues that this illustrates how issues of social inequality, spatialized as roads, takes shape as boundaries, reproducing and exacerbating inequalities in the Colombian population. Boundaries can thus be understood as continuously produced, changing, maintained and reproduced by sociocultural processes that also shape them. Deborah Pellow accordingly describes how:

Space is classified, and this classification is accomplished through the creation of boundaries. Whether the focus is on the separation between lineages, rooms in a house, or fields to be plowed, the process of boundary making is a cultural act. It represents a decision of what or who is to be included or excluded, as based on a particular criterion. A boundary is a principal categorization and also a symbol of it" *(Pellow, 1996, p.215).*

Pellow's argument echoes Douglas' theories on our need to categorise phenomena. According to Douglas (1984, p.37), we use rituals to create boundaries, aiming to control, understand and maintain social structures. Douglas uses dirt to exemplify our process of classification, explaining that the perception of dirt is a matter of context. For instance, when a pair of shoes is placed in the hallway they are "clean", but when put on the dinner table they become "dirty" and "matter out of place". What is seen as dirty and clean depends on how a phenomenon is classified and where it is located. When put into the "wrong" category the

shoes become "dirty", as they enter into a space where they do not belong, creating disorder and contamination. One could also argue that urban planning is a type of "ritual" used to create boundaries to categorise people and spaces, creating spheres of exclusion or inclusion based on membership, in order to better control, understand and maintain structure in the urban landscape (Campkin, 2013).

With these perspectives in mind, I will now draw on excerpts from my empirical cases to explore how sociocultural and economic categorisation and divisions are translated into spatial and material boundaries. These examples demonstrate how social processes related to urban living and global flow are localised and materialised as urban boundaries.

Urban categorisation and boundaries

A city's dense, multifaceted fabric enables diverse groups to be physically close, but still segregated, experiencing opposing social and spatial "worlds" depending on their social background (Wirth, 1938, p.14). Spatialized boundaries between people and places, readily become pronounced in urban settings.

Barth (1969) argues that group identity and shared social systems become strengthened when unfolding in a bounded area. Reciprocal ties and solidarity can be reinforced when residents are in social and geographic proximity. Local networks play an essential role in residents' lives by facilitating exchanges of important things like information, loans, practical help, social support and healthcare (Obrist, 2006, p.93). Social networks can be particularly important among vulnerable and impoverished residents, as these groups often have difficulty attaining support from formal actors (e.g., governments or employers).

Social segregation can also evolve in response to socioeconomic differences as wealthy residents separate themselves from the less affluent, through measures like walls and privatisation of spaces. This is especially common in large cities with high crime rates and social inequality, like Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo. In these types of landscapes segregation will be experienced as fostering safety and symbolising prosperity among those able to pay for security measures, as it largely detaches them from poverty and possible threats (Caledira, 2000). Among those with less financial resources such measures readily limit their social activity and geographical movement. This relates to how urban benefits and services

commonly are situated in areas where residents have purchasing power and are "off limits" to those who do not. This can lead to further concentration of detrimental structures among impoverished groups and within neglected places, reproducing structural problems such as unemployment and poverty, and exacerbating mental and physical health problems (Bolt et al., 1998, p.86).

Urban boundaries can also be shaped by what they symbolically represent rather than as material security. Although this form of exclusion is not as explicit as the use of walls and fences it is still highly effective and communicative. These boundaries may evolve within public spaces that in principle are open for all. An example of this is how long-term working-class residents in the gentrified East Boston withdraw from public spaces, feeling they no longer fit into "upgraded" areas adapted to affluent newcomers. Such upgrades may include building exclusive property on public space or changing communal areas like parks and plazas. The consequence is the production of amplified divisions between spaces and people based on socioeconomic membership. Magda, an informant who has worked and lived in East Boston for the last thirty years explains how she experiences this trend in her neighbourhood:

I mean for me the heartbreak is that it's a value system that is not of value to me, so I'm seeing a very different type of value system, it's a very materialistic and self-focus, and just even, nothing against them but right behind us is a new CrossFit gym, it's been there for year and a half, it's a fortune to become a member of that gym and it's basically like a private gym where you get personal boot camp training […] it's this obsession with being sexy, being young, being strong, being fit, being perfect, being fashionable and then I'm sure they're all getting drunk and having parties and getting laid, like the concept is very self-centered […], that's very different from the working class concept of we work hard, we work hard, we do good by our community, we join our churches, we help our children go to school, we're humble but we work hard so just the kinda cultural vibe has been hard for me to feel ok with *(Magda, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

Unlike the examples of gated communities and gentrification, boundaries imposed in Oslo as a result of COVID-19 have initially not been intended or actively used to emphasise urban inequality. Increased levels of global flow and urbanisation contribute to the spread of the Coronavirus, as people interact in denser and more connected spaces. Governments across the world have countered the spread of contagion through strict restrictions, and these have become materialised as boundaries, limiting residents' physical mobility, social interaction and use of public space. In Oslo, all groups run the risk of contracting or carrying the virus

and restrictions are *imposed equally* on all groups in the region. The crisis has thus often been portrayed in terms of collective impact and ensuing appeals have been for social solidarity.

Although boundaries are imposed on all residents, they are still *experienced unequally*, largely depending on residents' social networks, working and housing conditions, – factors that also condition their ability to adapt to a new "normal". Not only has this created new social concerns, but it has revealed and aggravated problems triggered by existing social structures.

An example of how COVID-restrictions are experienced unequally can be seen in how residents who are reliant on public services and spaces are more vulnerable than wealthier peers with access to private facilities and services. Kristian, an informant who lives in a student apartment, with a shared kitchen and bathroom, describes his experience of spatial inequality during Oslo's first lockdown like this:

From my window in my student dorm room in St. Hanshaugen I could see big apartments where people have a lot of money […]. Then when I saw that there was no light in the apartments or cars parked in the parking lot, I understood that these people have travelled somewhere, they had home offices and maybe left the city to go to their cabins. So, it was a big contrast from my situation when I sat there in my small room and looked at the empty houses of those who didn't need to deal with this *(Kristian, 28, lives alone in a single room student apartment with shared common areas in central Oslo).*

Residents living in small and crowded homes will often have difficulty finding space and peace to rest and/or live. Living in crowded places with shared kitchen and sanitary facilities is furthermore likely to make individuals more exposed to the virus. Kristian continues to describe his initial experiences with the pandemic restrictions, in light of having to share common spaces with other students:

It was a hell of an operation to bring disinfectant with me every time I was going to use the shared spaces. First [you needed] to spray everything you use and touch, like the dishwashing brush and everything. We were very scared in April. I remember that every time I showered, I took the shower head and disinfected it and washed my hands afterwards. When I touched the shower curtain, I thought, 'if there has been a person who touched it before me then I will get it too'. So yeah, it was difficult, because you don't have your own space *(Kristian, 28).*

In sum, boundaries are experienced unequally among residents depending on their socioeconomic background. Residents' capabilities to function within these boundaries conceivably influence their experience of their neighbourhood and affect their sense of well-being.

Chapter summary

Above, I outline how value systems can contribute to categorizing and separating people into groups of "insiders" and "outsiders". Boundaries are created when these narratives become widely shared and translated into objectified patterns of separation (Lamont & Molnár, 2020, p.168). According to Douglas (1966), boundaries are commonly imposed to control, communicate and maintain social structures. These conceptions of inclusion and exclusion are reflected in how urban spaces are organised, materially and symbolically separating people and places in reference to their socioeconomic background. The intention and consequence of this is to maintain a given social structure. Urban boundaries can take shape as explicit material security measures, such as walls and gates. They can also include implicit boundaries, symbolically communicating through physical space that certain residents do not socially and economically belong.

Urban spatial boundaries can have positive and negative effects on residents' well-being. On the one hand, community ties and reciprocal networks can become strengthened when people share a bounded space. On the other hand, urban segregation can reproduce the status of marginalised groups as 'outsiders" and can limit their social and geographical mobility as urban resources and services are often concentrated to areas from which they are excluded. These processes demonstrate how conceptualisation of residential categorisation can take on spatial form as material and symbolic boundaries between different social groups, unequally affecting their capacity for mobility and sense of well-being.

5. Space, place, belonging and exclusion

Belonging and exclusion are commonly understood as opposing phenomena, separated by boundaries (Ballinger, 2012, p.393). Belonging refers to the act of being "in place" and part of a community built on membership and acceptance. Being an "insider" enables individuals to gain a "local" position, provides agency to participate and make use of resources associated with a bounded space. Exclusion, on the other hand, refers to being "out of place", resulting in a reduced ability to interact with people, use facilities and draw on resources.

Barth (1969, p.15) and Douglas (1984) argue that communities attain shape through what they exclude and that members primarily gain common identities when opposing something or someone defined as outsiders. Uribe (2017, p.214) argues that Colombian residents who historically have been marginalised by the state, are intertwined in a relationship of inclusion-exclusion with the latter. This relates to how the state is dependent on reinforcing binary oppositions such as "order" vs. "chaos", "civilization" vs. "savagery", "white" vs. "Indian" etc. in order to legitimise the state's hegemony. The state first needs to incorporate marginalised groups into its society, and then exclude and displace them to demonstrate hierarchical power and hegemony (Uribe, 2017, p.10). A similar point is made in Abarca and Coutin's (2018, p.8) work on the US government's bid to mark its sovereignty through exclusion of non-citizens with its immigration policies. This creates a paradoxically inter-reliant relationship between the state and non-citizens. Belonging and exclusion can thus be seen as binary opposites, *as well as* mutually constituting.

Spatial and social communities can also be understood as constituted by relations shaped by common interests and/or identity. Citizenship is an example of a part of person's identity, which enables inclusion or exclusion within a state territory. Benedict Anderson (2006) argues that national communities are socially produced and "imagined". Imagined communities take shape as ideas of membership and exclusion are naturalized. According to Anderson such processes are initiated by those in power, in order to create structures they can readily govern. By creating structures such as citizenship, authorities can trigger strong emotional forces among members, making them feel protective and attached towards a bounded space and other citizens - even though they are often unknown to each other. These feelings of belonging and the related practices of exclusion are usually viewed as natural by members and outsiders alike.

Anderson's focus is on the use of nationalist rhetoric as a way to generate an emotional force making citizens willing to protect the nation state. This perspective is explicitly applied in my discussion on COVID-19 restrictions in Oslo and the government's appeal to solidarity rooted in national self-perceptions. "Imagined communities" is also relevant in regard to how urban planning creates structures, like the separation of social classes and neighbourhoods that are perceived as natural.

Boundaries, belonging and exclusion

A person's ability to belong to a community may be based on identity politics, related to factors such as class, sexuality, faith and age (Tošić, 2012, p.114). Individuals' experiences of belonging and/or exclusion thus depends on what their identity means and entitles within different communities. This shapes people's experience of their surroundings as something they can relate to, use and benefit from, rather than observe from the "outside".

On the other hand, identity can also hinder access to local membership and resources. An example of this is how residents in gated communities often perceive individuals from favelas as "polluting". This relates to how favela-spaces are seen as liminal, as they "house people but, they are not considered proper residences" (Caldeira, 2000, p.78). The "unofficial" status of the favela is reinforced as many residents do not pay rent and taxes to the authorities, but rather to unauthorised local establishments/gangs. Furthermore, most favela inhabitants do not have official addresses or own their own property and they inhabit houses made from discarded material. Caldeira explains how this shapes the excluded status of favelas and their inhabitants, discounting them as "proper" citizens and places:

As somewhat anomalous residences, that is ones that do not fit the classification of homes, favelas […] are considered unclean and polluting […]. Excluded from the universe of the proper, they are symbolically constituted as spaces of crime, spaces of anomalous, polluting and dangerous qualities. Predictably inhabitants of such spaces are also conceived marginal. The list of prejudices against them is endless: newcomers, foreigners, people who are not really from the city […]. They are said to have broken families […], to use bad words, to be immoral, to consume drugs, […]. […], anything that breaks the patterns of propriety can be associated with criminals, crime and its spaces. These generic categories of crime and criminals result from a clear opposition of bad and good *(Caldeira, 2000, p.79).*

In short, favela residents become "matter out of place" when confronted with members of an upper-class neighbourhood. Having an "outsider" polluting the space of the "insider" readily triggers fear of the "other"– even if the perception of the threat is exaggerated. Exclusionary processes and boundaries will then predictably be enacted to stop the pollution, restoring order and safety (Cousins, 1994, p.63). Douglas describes this as fundamental to human culture, arguing that:

I believe that ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgressions have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the differences between within and without, above and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created *(Douglas, 1966, p.5)*.

Caldeira (2000, p.90) makes a point of how several of her informants who provided negative descriptions of favela residents were themselves poor, often living nearby and interacting with them. In rich communities, descriptions of marginalised residents were less detailed. According to Caldeira this relates to how individuals who themselves suffer from marginalisation, have a greater need to distance themselves from the even less fortunate than their wealthier peers. This is grounded in concerns lower-class residents have about being affiliated with criminals and stigmatised communities, thus naturalizing and reproducing discourses about the poor. Caldeira (2000, p.54) elaborates: "people dealing with stereotypes that discriminate against them do not question the stereotypes but instead disassociate themselves from the images and try to associate them with others". Such forms of dissociation also relate to people's needs to express and set boundaries and membership when being in close proximity to groups they do not wish to be affiliated (Barth, 1969, p.9).

Ideas of pollution are often justified through rhetoric about how the "other", smells, looks or acts, and then materialises as exclusionary patterns. This relates to how place-making occurs when we attach meaning to space and how boundaries take shape when social categorisations become widely agreed upon. Ortner (2018) put forward examples of this, including some societies' discouragement of practices like eating together, intermarriage, and the creation of public facilities that separate the "dirty" from the "pure".

As diverse social groups, both perceived as "dirty" and "pure", live side by side in cities the use of boundaries is often intensified - interaction and proximity generate boundaries, not pre-

existing essentialist qualities (See Barth, 1969, p.9). Rowe makes this point, arguing that homeless people are often excluded and "hidden", as their visibility make them painfully close to one's own "world":

The otherness of homelessness has its special stigmata, derived from history, from observation of homeless persons, and from out pity disgusts, and fears. We mentally place homeless individuals at our symbolic border and see them as living apart from us, perhaps because of our uncomfortable feeling of closeness to them *(Rowe, 1999, p.156)*.

Practices of exclusion and displacement can undermine people's basic rights: shelter, mobility, security, healthcare and work, and marginalise (Uribe, 2017, p.212). The marginalised find themselves forced to find unauthorised ways to survive, leading to circular reproduction of negative stereotypes. *Structural forces, in other words, both produce and reproduce individuals' status as "outsiders"*.

For displaced and excluded groups in an anomalous state of living, finding a "place" can be experienced as providing stability and protection, eliminating hazards and insecurity (Ballinger, 2012, p.392). Belonging is therefore a vital part of our ability to escape perils, indeed survive. Things like protection, human interaction, social welfare, food, clothing and housing become more accessible. All of these components have significant impact on health and sense of well-being - access to, use and experience of our surroundings become embodied, shaping our physical and mental state. I will now focus on anthropological approaches concerning the relationship between the environment and well-being by examining how residents' status as excluded or included within urban communities' factor into well-being.

Belonging, exclusion and well-being

In anthropology, the relationship between the environment and well-being is commonly seen as conditioned by more than biological processes. Instead, the field focuses on how our bodies are understood in terms of social and cultural expressions, structures and individual experiences (Singer & Baer, 2007, p.11). An example in the context of the present study is how exposure to health risks and benefits must necessarily be seen as distributed unevenly among residents due to their unequal access to socio-economic resources. This is particularly important in critical medical anthropology, where focus has been on how dominant cultural

constructions in health care have mirrored the interests of particular social groups (Singer & Baer, 2007, p.33; Singer, 1994), creating and reproducing health inequalities (Farmer, 2004).

This relates to Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) theories about capital, and how both cultural and economic resources will shape and reproduce people's health opportunities and choices within stratified societies. For example, my case study from Oslo demonstrates that certain social groups are more at risk of contracting the Coronavirus, due to where and how they live. Thus, the virus not only creates new social issues, but also sheds light on existing structures.

Organic medical anthropology is a part of medical anthropology that deals with the relationship between environment and health. This approach sees health as a part of a holistic ecosystem built up by physical, biological and cultural components. Health phenomena must therefore be understood as part of a larger whole where, for example, cultural changes will affect biological realities. Health status will therefore be conditioned by a person's ability to adapt to their environment - ecosystem - in a positive or negative way. Residents' capacity to adapt is connected to their ecosystems' ability to produce a health promoting environment, "tailored" to the needs of residents, rather than a "sick" and imbalanced one (Singer & Baer, 2007, p.184).

Harvey's (2008, p.23) concept of a person's "right to the city", concerned with residents' ability to change and modify a city to fit personal needs, can be tied in here. Research from East Boston shows that local residents largely are unable to adapt to the area's gentrification processes (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). In the wake of communal and economic change, they express a sense of displacement within what they perceived as their "own" community. Consequently, this situation raised stress levels and reduced local well-being (Anguelovski, 2018). Magda describes how this process evolved as developers transformed the social fabric of the neighbourhood. Similar to terms used in organic medical anthropology she describes this as a disruption of the ecosystem of East Boston:

[…] one of the ways I've described East Boston is as a coral reef in the ocean, a healthy coral reef has a diversity of kinds of things growing on it […]. like a beautiful coral reef in the way that it should be, which is that there's pieces of it that are weird and sometimes fish eat each other, and things happen but in general there was a balance. There were people fighting for their rights, there were rights being given, there were

people starting businesses and improving the school systems and getting engaged and knowing their neighbors and sometimes arguing and all that stuff happening and slowly we saw a community coming up but where everybody was coming up. […] now development wants to take advantage of all the work we did, and I think that that development is bad for the ecosystem, I think it is killing the beautiful coral reef, I think it is filled with big sharks (Magda).

Scheper-Hughes and Margaret M. Lock accordingly explain how sickness and the physical body must be understood in relation to one's social environment:

Sickness is not just an isolated event, nor an unfortunate brush with nature. It is a form of communication - the language of the organs - through which nature, society, and culture speak simultaneously. The individual body should be seen as the most immediate, the proximate terrain where social truths and social contradictions are played out" *(Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987, p.31)*.

As cites are populated with diverse groups of people such "social truths" are played out in highly unequal ways. Groups living in health promoting areas, with working sewage and transport systems, will for instance experience a "different" city than peers who are excluded from such communal services. Lack of such facilities might strain a person's mental and physical health, shortening life expectancy among those living in excluded neighbourhoods. Local levels of well-being therefore need to be seen in light of communal inclusion, enabling access to safe and functioning infrastructure (Harvey & Knox 2012).

An example of this is how access to infrastructure is highly unequal in urban Brazil, due to privatisation of urban services and benefits like security, healthcare centres and transportation. In a study from a favela in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil (Castiglione et al., 2018) this is exemplified. The research shows how lack of local health services and means of transportation, have had negative effects on resident's well-being. One informant for instance describes how he refrained from using public healthcare facilities to operate his injured leg. He explains how the clinic was situated far from his home and that the cost to reach it would exceed what he would pay to use a private local clinic. He therefore ended up using the latter, resulting in him being unable to afford finishing his treatment:

[To go to Maracanã] I would have spent much more, so I had to pay in order to do the physiotherapy, so that I could start walking, and I paid a lot. [....] I think the poor, or the middle class, have a lot of difficulties in accessing healthcare. But a person that has money, soon handles it. Just as my situation: If I

had money I would be walking perfectly, but since I do not have it, this goes on, slowly, until you manage to get better *(Castiglione et al., 2018, p.166)*

Similarly, the exclusion from basic infrastructure is highlighted in a study conducted in a public school in city in south-eastern Brazil. A teacher describes students' local neighbourhood like this:

The conditions in the small community just down the road where a lot of our students live are not very favourable. There are alleys and passageways and the houses are built too close together, resulting in poor conditions of hygiene. Garbage piles up and all this has a negative impact on health (Graciano et al., 2018, p.4).

Farmer's (2004) theories on structural violence and the naturalisation of social inequality are applicable to the cases above. Structural violence and inequality are enacted through excluding residents from urban communities and limiting access to safe and functioning infrastructure, impacting their well-being in a negative manner.

Chapter summary

I have argued that belonging and exclusion can be understood as opposing phenomena, separated by boundaries that mark which groups are included or excluded within a bounded space. Belonging can be seen as the act of being "in place" and part of a community built on membership and acceptance, facilitating access to social and structural resources. In order to obtain membership a person needs to share traits which fit into the given community (e.g., ethnicity, nationality, gender, class, etc.). Exclusion, on the other hand, refers to being "out of place", having the "wrong" identity, resulting in a reduced ability to interact with people and enter and use facilities within a bounded area.

The distinction between community members and non-members is often naturalised through the use of narratives about the latter as "polluting" the "clean" space of the former, and further justified through rhetoric concerned with how the "other", smells, looks or acts. This rhetoric is used, for example, to justify the use of gated communities or the privatisation of space. The distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders" can also be driven by the need for communities to exclude someone or something in order to mark their own given position as "included" within a system of categorisation.

I now turn to my case studies from São Paulo, East Boston and Oslo. Here, my aim is to illustrate and explore how theoretical discussions presented in the three previous chapters, related to space, boundaries and belonging are relevant to these cases.

6. Gated communities and favelas in São Paulo: Boundaries, Exclusion and Belonging

380 years of colonisation and slavery shaped and reproduced social structures related to marginalisation and stigma of exploited groups in Brazil. Contemporary spatial structures have been shaped further by the abolishment of slavery in 1888, as liberated slaves in need of housing and unable to pay for formal residencies, occupied land. This evolved into what we today know as favelas (Barber et al., 2018, p.68), driving settlement patterns and the organisation of the urban landscape.

The urban fabric of the country has also been shaped by massive industrialisation throughout the 1930s (Caldeira, 2000, p.215). During this period, Brazil opened its borders in response to the need for labour after the abolishment of slavery, and millions immigrated to the country. In addition to this, migration from rural areas to cities accelerated. Centred in big cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, urbanisation and population growth has been extreme in these areas. More people needed housing, they occupied land, and the favelas grew. This led to a continuous burden on Brazil's urban infrastructure and landscape (Barber et al., 2018, p.68), an example of Eriksen's (2016, p.92) contention that "a major problem in the overheating city is the discrepancy between a growing population and a stagnant infrastructure".

Waves of international immigration and a lack of housing, transportation and public services, combined with problems arising from unregulated labour conditions, violence and the marginalisation of ethnically and economically stigmatised groups have reinforced major social and spatial divides. Still prevalent problems in contemporary Brazil (Bortz et al., 2015, p.2), this is expressed in the boundaries separating private upper-class and public lower-class areas. The forced dislocation of working-class residents to peripheral areas in a bid to "clean up" and meet the requirements of the wealthy (Caldeira, 2000, pp.217-220) has accelerated segregation.

An ongoing and widespread side-effect of this inequality is the occurrence and fear of violence and crime linked to how marginalised groups and neighbourhoods lack access to functioning infrastructure. In total, inequality, crime and violence promote favela inhabitants' participation in criminal activities as a way to make a living and create "unofficial" protection systems (Wanzinack et al., 2018, p.14). Police violence towards marginalised groups is also

an issue that reflects systemic racism police corruption and gang affiliation (Goldstein, 2003, p.188).

Today class divides are explicitly materialised as privatised security measures to protect the properties of the upper classes from the "polluted public". These trends do not only create boundaries, but also spatial hierarchies of safe and unsafe parts of the city (Penglase, 2011). São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are currently among the most populous cities in the world, occupying the 4th and 21st place globally (World Population Review, 2021), and problems are pronounced in these two cities.

The development of a segregated landscape: Categorisation and marginalisation

The development of precarious, unequal and violent cityscapes has, according to Caldeira (2000), led people to feel a loss of control and disempowerment within São Paulo. Individuals therefore seek categorical explanations and narratives to create order in the chaotic cityscape and out of their situation. Caldeira (2000, p.216) comments on how this trend took off during industrialisation in the 1930's: "[i]n such a concentrated city, which has grown and changed so fast, concerns with discrimination, classifying and controlling the population were strong". Ben Penglase has also observed escalating problems during his fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro and the city's annual carnival:

From a city which has revelled in transgression and mixture—made most famous in Rio's annual carnival—Rio is increasingly characterized by attempts to limit zones of unpredictable boundary-crossing. The mixing of difference, the transgression and boundary-crossing of spaces such as the beach or carnival, may no longer be seen as thrillingly pleasurable, but as dangerous (Penglase, 2011, p.434).

This demonstrates how increased globalisation and urbanisation can be experienced as "overwhelming". As a consequence, individuals may fear a loss of order and thereby an urge to categorise and order a seemingly ambiguous landscape.

Narratives of crime and violence: ordering the incomprehensible

The most common categorisation used to understand the "messy" and troubled landscape of São Paulo is built on narratives of crime and violence. As these problems are widespread and visible in the city, they are easily referenced and become recognisable symbolic characters, often used to explain issues of national social despair. Crime and violence are classified as

"bad", opposing everything "good". By extension the former symbolises poverty and laziness, the latter refers to serenity, class and wealth:

The talk of crime deals not with detailed descriptions of criminals but with a set of simplistic categories: a few essentialized images that eliminate the ambiguities and categorical mixtures of everyday life and gain currency at moments of social change *(Caldeira, 2000. p.33)*.

This distinction between "good" and "bad" can be understood in terms similar to Douglas' (1984) "pollution" and "purity" – both are categories made to create systems of order. As mentioned before, this categorisation facilitates the exclusion of "alien" groups, as their "unclassifiable" status threatens the system of order (Bear et al., p.84, 2020). Negative stereotypes will therefore often be created and narratively reproduced to classify and situate anomalous groups and actions perceived as threatening, and favela residents are often perceived as "dirty" due to their "anomalous ways of living" (Caldeira, 2000, p.32). Poor and marginalised groups will therefore often be blamed for polluting "good" upper-class spaces with crime and violence. In sum, *crime and violence are often described as the root of the country's socioeconomic issues, rather than a product of it*, and inherent to stigmatised groups.

This outlook is exemplified by a Brazilian news article, quoted in Penglase's article (2011) about crime and violence in Rio. The article describes an incident with a male student who was shot by a *bala perida* (lost bullet), when partying with friends in the bohemian and trendy area Lapa in Rio. A *Bala perdida* is a bullet which is aimed at a specific target, but instead hits an unintended victim:

Friends told reporters that Vitor, a university student, had been celebrating having passed a final exam when he suddenly fell on the ground. They said that they thought that he'd passed out from drinking too much, but soon realized that he'd been hit by a bullet. One friend told the reporter: "As much as we are used to violence in Rio, we never thought that something could happen to someone so close to us. He went to Lapa to celebrate and died. Several readers posted messages on *O Globo's* site calling for police action against favelas. One reader noted, though, that there was no indication that the bullet came from a favela and that there was no way of knowing whether it had been fired by a drug-dealer, a policeman, or a "*traficantezinho de classe média*" (a little middle-class drug-dealer) *(O Globo 2009, in Penglase, 2011, s.427)*.

This example demonstrates how the "proper" order and distinctions between violent impoverished areas and safe wealthy areas were disrupted when the "wrong" person is killed. Stray bullets contribute to disturbing "fixed" boundaries related to social and spatial hierarchies. As Penglase (2011, pp.422-426) argues, violence is seen by middle- and upper-classes of Rio as an "epidemic", spatially located within the neighbourhood of the urban poor. Scheper-Hughes (1993, p.220) accordingly argues that events primarily become noteworthy when happening outside their "correct" bounded spaces, making them "extraordinary" as "violence tactics are turned against "respectable" citizens".

This speaks to Douglas' (1984, p.41) comments on how "[u]ncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained". Violence primarily becomes "dirty" when entering a space it does not belong in, thereby creating "chaos". Random acts of violence like the above distort the clarity of boundaries between the dangerous and safe areas of the city. As a consequence, residents often turn to familiar categories and symbols, making sense of disruption by blaming an alien actor who symbolises negative stereotypes, to re-establish these boundaries. In general terms, Douglas points out:

In a chaos of shifting impressions, each of us constructs a stable world in which objects have recognisable shapes, are located in depth, and have permanence. […] The most acceptable cues are those which fit most easily into the pattern that is being built up (1984, p.37).

Blaming the poor and marginalised to make sense of despair
Several of Caldeira's (2000, pp.28-34) informants stigmatized and blamed low-class residents for social decline in São Paulo. A common tendency among these groups was to describe migrants from the north as lazy, dirty, promiscuous and prone to crime and violence. This was expressed with the term *nordestinos,* a term initially used during colonisation to describe the working classes and African slaves. Caldeira describes the word as a:

[…] category meant to symbolise evil and explain crime […]. It is a product of classificatory thinking concerned with the production of essentialised categories and the naturalisation and legitimisation of inequalities *(Caldeira, 2000, p.31).*

Such categorisation and discourses are linked to ongoing racialised oppression of the country's black and brown population[4] (e.g., Barber et al., 2018; Goldstein, 2003; Scheper-Hughes, 1993; Anunciação et al., 2020). Scheper-Hughes' (1993) descriptions of everyday experiences with death and illness in the northeast of Brazil speaks to the origin of this abuse. She explains how this region is shaped by its history as one of Brazil's centres for African slave trade and sugar cane industry. According to Scheper-Hughes, there is a link between the past and present, and the history of oppression has evolved into contemporary suffering and structural violence. An example of this is how, in the 1980s, several epidemics thought to have died out or be under control re-flourished in the northeast due to the area's widespread poverty, poor sanitation and lack of health care (Scheper-Hughes, 1993, p.31). Such epidemics can be described as diseases of the poor (Farmer, 2004). Health injustices were nonetheless often seen as caused by individual agency, triggered by the reckless behaviour among those infected.

Prejudices against *nordestinos* are emphasised in a conversation Caldeira had with an informant about her neighbourhood Moóca. She argued that "[t]he *nordestinos* infested Moóca, made Moóca ugly" (2000, p.27). This exemplifies a prevalent attitude among Caldeira´s informants concerned with creating boundaries between the "good" and the "bad". The past represents the "good" which has now been polluted by the arrival of *nordestinos*, poor people and those from the favelas. Such stereotypes are both shaped by and reproduce issues of social inequality. Two mechanisms limit marginalised groups' chance of upwards mobility. Marginalized and stigmatized groups are blamed for misfortune, but partially to survive given their exclusion, also partake in crime, hence reproducing perceptions and their status as "outsiders". A real estate developer in his forties, living with his wife and three children in Morumbi, São Paulo describes *nordestino*s:

I remember very well when São Paulo was a place where you would find many Europeans. When people from the north started to come, the customs were modified. They brought other customs. We used to be better educated. I am not against the *nortistas*, but that is what happens, the custom has changed, the respect that we used to have for what belonged to someone else has changed *(Caldeira, 2000, p.88)*.

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[4] Mistreatment of the black and brown population can be traced back to the country's history of slavery and today manifests itself as structural racism. This includes the disproportionate number of non-whites living in insecure and dangerous, and the associated racial health inequalities (Barber et al., 2018).

The *naturalisation of stereotypes* relates to my previous comments on how the social and built environments often are perceived as natural (e.g., national borders and citizenship, even biology), though produced within a hegemonic system of unequal power relations (e.g., Low, 2016; Hall, 1969; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Ortner, 1972; Bourdieu, 1996). Such naturalised discourses are visualised in Caldeira's (2000, p.87) conversations with informants who described *nordestinos* as inherently and biologically "bad". A thirty-two-year-old unemployed salesman who lives with his sister in Moóca (São Paulo) says that "what usually spoils the *nordestinos* is that they have hot blood. Sometimes they are neither robbers nor bandits, but if their blood begins to boil, they get a knife and kill".

Scheper-Hughes (1993, p.224) elaborates on this topic, explaining how crimes of the poor triggered by desperation are perceived as "natural" rather than social "[…] poor, young black men […] steal because it is thought to be in their blood, or race to steal. They are *malandros*, and they are described in racist terms as *bichos da Africa* [African bugs]". On the other hand, crimes committed by members of the wealthy classes are frequently forgiven and perceived as socially produced; "landowners must protect their patrimonies; politicians are "put into" totally corrupting situations. Lies and bribes are endemic to politics; they are part of the "game of power"". Deviance, crime and marginality are in other words categorised as opposing "appropriate" police and state violence. According to Scheper-Hughes (1993, pp.224-225) such categorisation is often naturalised and accordingly reproduced by large parts of the population, even those who do not benefit from them

Crime as polluting the "good": "Moóca regresses because of cortiços"
The distinction between "good" and "bad", Brazil's issues with crime and the stigmatisation of marginalised groups were portrayed in the following conversation from 1989 between Caldeira and her informant. The informant was a housewife in her late fifties. Before she got married she had been an elementary school teacher. Her husband was a relator and her son a dentist. The woman lived in Moóca in São Paulo. Her parents emigrated from Italy in 1924 and opened a tailor shop in the area when Moóca was industrial and mainly inhabited by European migrants (Caldeira 2000 p.21).

The woman describes the neighbourhood's transformation during her lifetime, due to economic and social decline. Caldeira (2000, pp.21-22) maintains that this is a result of de-

industrialisation: local industries closed or moved. Wealthier residents proceeded to move to other parts of town and the lower classes moved in. Long-term residents, economically suffering from the area's downfall were, however, unable to move, experiencing that their neighbourhood and personal social status declined.

The transformation included the development of public facilities and housing to fit the economy of the poor. Houses were, among other things, transformed to *cortiços*[5]. Similar to accounts of gentrification among residents in East Boston, changes in the neighbourhood were described by the informant as leading to loss of familiarity, safety and belonging. This became apparent when the informant explained how local transformations had disrupted her capacity to physically move and socialise within her neighbourhood. She described this in light of her past being "good", as opposed to the current "bad" situation of crime and "lack of class". She felt the root of these issues were linked to *nortistas* and other poor groups inhabiting and polluting her local neighbourhood. She describes it as follows:

Moóca had a lot of progress. […]. It has had progress in schools, progress in houses. The most beautiful houses used to be on Avenida Paes de Barros [her street]; they were called *palacete*. The street was residential; today it is commercial. The change started about fifteen years ago. Only chic people used to live on Paes de Barross. Moócas elite today lives in the new neighbourhood, Juventus […]. I have my roots here, I was born here, I have friendships here in the neighbourhood. What has spoiled Moóca are a lot of favelas [...]. There are a lot of cortiços in Moóca since the people from the north came. […] each one has fifty families with only three toilets - how is it possible to live like this? What is damaging is the poverty. The neighbourhood became worse since the crowd from the north started to arrive. Now there are too many of them. Gorgeous houses, beautiful houses of Moóca were sublet, and today it is impossible to enter them, they've torn them down. For the last fifteen years Moóca has been slipping in this respect. Moóca has had a lot of progress, but it slips back because of the poor population (Caldeira, 2000, pp.21-22).

According to Caldeira (2000, p.32) the economic decline of Moóca is probably caused by systemic changes, instead of increases in crime caused by *nortistas,* although it is likely that crime has been a ubiquitous side-effect of the area's economic regression. Caldeira explains that many of the "long-term" residents in Moóca are second or third generation residents, with territorial sentiments. They have, in contrast to their parents, experienced a social rise, which

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[5] *Cortiços* are one or more buildings divided into small and populated rooms and then legally rented. Families often share and perform private daily functions in one room, while communal spaces are shared with other residents. They are not the same as favelas which are entire areas, consisting of occupied land, unofficially owned by its inhabitants. Both residents living in *cortiços* and favelas are poor, often stigmatised and marginalised by wealthier counterparts.

was then threatened by national economic instability. During the area's economic decline, boundaries were put in place to separate "long-term" residents and newer, poorer immigrants.

Blaming *nortistas* for social decline could in this case be seen as a way to create a narrative and establish order, classification and separation between the "good" past and the "bad" present - and mark social supremacy (Caldeira, 2000, pp.30-32). At one point the informant explained that before experiencing social decline and robbery everything was "in order" "[b]efore I was happy – we were happy and we didn't even know it. The house was clean, beautiful, everything in order" (Caldeira, 2000, p.26). The desire to create "order" by blaming a foreign source of pollution becomes exemplified when she describes economic decline triggered by inflation, moving on to discuss Moóca's regression as linked to the establishment of *cortiços*:

Because I sold everything, I lost everything. I sold from one day to another, I sold for nothing and on the top of that there was the Plano Cruzado [inflation stabilization program] on the day after I sold. When we realized it the money had already turned into nothing.

Moóca regresses because of *cortiços*. This migration of people to here should be stopped, they [Brazilian state] should give them conditions to stay there. But people are also lazy. They don't want to know anything about work. The worst is the favela; bandits are inside the favelas. They earn little money, but if you enter a favela, you see a lot of televisions, videos, stereos, from where? Everything stolen…. (*Caldeira, 2000, p.25*)

In this case, we see how the informant has been affected and saddened by her own fall in social status, and changes and decline in her neighbourhood. Blaming newer residents for this might be a way to make sense of tragedy and demonstrate her own superiority, as Caldeira (2000, p.68) puts it "discussions about social decline become discussions about social difference and the maintenance of one's own place in the social hierarchy":

We used to go out wearing hats, the teachers used to wear hats. I used to wear gloves and hats. From when I was fifteen to when I was eighteen, I used to go out in the street wearing a hat. The Praça de Sé, rua Direita [local street] … it was so chic! Today we don't go there, it's not possible, you know how it is… (*Caldeira, 2000, p.22*)

The *cortiços* spoil Moóca's beauty. Today people sell their houses and move into apartment buildings (…). We had those things [swimming pool, barbeque area etc.] not to be snobbish, but to give comfort to the

family. Today's problem is that one cannot have the privilege of enjoying the fruits of one's sacrifice [the previous house with the pool was robbed] *(Caldeira, 2000, p.24).*

The informant also elaborates on her traumatic experiences with crime and violence. The strong emotional effect of these events has likely triggered her need to direct anger and frustration towards someone, and stigmatised groups are an easy target. Although Caldeira does not explicitly ask her about her experiences with crime, it becomes a big part of their conversation about her neighbourhood and daily life:

One day at 7 a.m my husband went out to the garage. A guy came, jumped on the top of him, covered his face and stabbed him in the heart. Since that day my husband has never been healthy anymore; he has a heart condition […]. We gave everything […]. They had "good face". One was short, kind of dark, you could see he was from the north. The other had a white face but was certainly nortista *(Caldeira, 2000, p.23).*

When I was robbed the second time, I had my brother-in-law […] in my house. He had been in Brazil seventeen days. He had a heart attack and died. He had been in my house for eight days when the robbery happened. He was sleeping. He had come to rest and to take care of himself. I tell my husband that it wasn't because of the robbery, but he doesn't think so, he thinks he was frightened… one of the robbers had a knife and he held it to my son's eyes.

They sat me down, then pushed me while I was kneeling, and threw me into the garage. I got a bad knee that day, a bad kidney… "I'll give you everything, don't do anything to me!" […]. I stayed two months in bed, urinated blood, took an X-ray of my knee, had to do a painful treatment *(Caldeira 2000, p.27).*

The woman explains how such experiences have shaped her resentment towards criminals:

I'm going to tell you right away: I'm in favour of the death penalty for people who deserve it. I know that the Church condemns the death penalty, but, in my opinion, there must be a real punishment for someone who does wrong. […] People should see the right thing, with consciousness. People who are sentenced to so many years of prison, how are we going to support the bum in prison for a cost of four hundred cruzados a day? In Moóca everybody is in favour of the death penalty […]. There wouldn't be so many children on the street, because there are mothers who put children in the world without thinking, either because of poverty or because of shamelessness *(Caldeira, 2000, p.25).*

These comments highlight how stereotypes and stigma are both created by and reproduce crime and violence. This, among other things, takes place spatially, as stigma, inequality,

violence and fear determine how people organise their perceptions of and movements in urban landscapes.

The internalisation of fear: My experience with urban segregation and mobility

The data and literature I have included has given med a glimpse of Brazil's urban landscape. However, I have not been able to include personal embodied experiences from the field. Anthropologists have argued that this lack of participant observation can be seen as a weakness, as the researcher's body and the sensations it records are central parts of doing ethnography. The aim of this observation is to use a "full set of senses" to better understand informants' lifeworlds (Madden, 2010, p.19). While writing about São Paulo, I attempted to partially address this lack of first-hand experience by reflecting on my six months in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2018, remembering how I experienced living in a dauntingly crowded city with significant crime and inequality. Although Buenos Aires is not shaped by the same level of segregation, constituted by gates and walls, as cities in neighbouring Brazil, it suffers from pronounced social and spatial divides.

As a student taking part in an exchange semester, however, I found it somewhat easy to "forget" about these divisions. The city's *villas* (slums) were a short drive from my neighbourhood, but I was told by my local friends to stay away from the *villas*, be cautious, and avoid listening to music and not use my phone in public to avoid getting robbed or assaulted. As a young woman from Oslo, accustomed to acting and moving far more freely, I had to change my habits.

During my stay I rented a room in a trendy area called Palermo. I mostly moved around central - middle- and upper-class- parts of the city. Here, life included partying and eating out in vibrant and young areas and forgetting about the risks of crime and violence. My obliviousness to the class differences and dangers of the city, led me at one point to get somewhat offended when entering the hallway to my apartment complex from the street. Neighbours would open the door from the inside, and then often shut the door firmly behind them, instead of holding it for me. They would also glare at me angrily when I tried to enter the hallway before the door closed. I came to understand that they were not "rude" but were simply navigating the city by constantly being wary of crime. As a white woman with a European accent, not embodying negative stereotypes, I am, however, positive that such encounters were far more hostile towards marginalised groups. This speaks to Caldeira's

(2000, p.297) comments on how "[e]ncounters in public space become increasingly tense, even violent, because they are framed by people's fears and stereotypes. Tension, separation, discrimination, suspicion are the new hallmarks of public life".

One evening I was with a friend in the local park "Bosques de Palermo", where people have *asados* (barbeques), organise artisanal markets, sell food, do yoga and go running during the day. At night one is advised to stay away as the boundary between the safe and unsafe parts of town become blurred. This is when gangs inhabit the space, selling drugs and sex. There have also been incidents involving murder and violence. Being somewhat naïve, my friend and I stayed in the park during the time that the boundaries of safety started to blur. After a short period, we were confronted by a man, demanding our money and phones, showing us his gun hidden in his inner pocket. A couple of weeks later I was at a party at night. I was told by a local friend to take a taxi home, but as it was only a five-minute trip from my apartment, I walked. During this short trip I was accosted by a couple of men trying to aggressively approach me. I sprinted to my door.

Although unharmed, it was after these incidents that I started to understand the wisdom of advice given by my local friends about how to move within the city. The panic I experienced during these incidents enabled me to assimilate a state of fear and it shaped how I went on to navigate the city. Strategies of protection and fear of crime, in other words, permeate how we use our surroundings[6]. This constructs how urban landscapes are planned and organised (Caldeira, 2000, p.19). I now turn to how issues of fear, violence, stigma and inequality in part shape São Paulo's urban landscape.

Spatial manifestations of segregation: Security and immobility

The widespread fear of violence limits the mobility of *all* social groups, shrinking their world and reducing their flexibility (Eriksen, 2016, p.87). Penglase (2011, p.413) argues that "[u]rban violence provides Brazilians with a "map" which they can use to interpret their daily lives and organise their social practices". Limited mobility and exposure to violence is, however, especially widespread among poor residents, excluded from the middle- and upper-classes' private enclaves and transportation that provide access to safe and functioning

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[6] Marcel Mauss (1973) argues that such "skillsets" are obtained as we incorporate culturally specific "techniques of the body", through various processes of socialisation.

infrastructure. Still, security measures also limit upper class freedom, as urban infrastructure designed to enhance prosperity enables cities to "overheat" and "slow down", creating reduced physical mobility, less flexibility, in addition to poverty and inequality (Eriksen, 2016). Caldeira points to how this takes place in urban Brazil:

[…] an everyday act such as a visit to a sister involves dealing with private guards, identification, classification, iron gates, intercoms, domestic servants, electronic gates, dogs- and a lot of suspicion *(Caldeira, 2000, p.257).*

The cityscape therefore becomes divided between the "poor and dangerous" areas and the "wealthy and secure". Martin Coy (2006, p.123) fittingly describes this type of space as dominated by "no-entrance-areas" and "no-go-areas". The manner in which such processes of urban planning and definition take shape, speak to Douglas's theories on classification and pollution, as infrastructure frequently works towards separating the "dirty" and "pure" parts of the landscape (Campkin, 2013, p.51).

According to Caldeira (2000, pp.215-216), this separation became apparent during São Paulo's period of industrialisation as urban functions like factories, houses and commerce became increasingly inter-mixed. Such urban diversity was largely perceived by wealthier groups as problematic, and they wished to distance themselves from the poor. The latter often lacked proper sanitation systems and were hence perceived as "dirty" and disease carriers. Impoverished residents were often seen as contaminating the space that they shared with wealthier peers who consequently wished to eliminate this "pollution", and richer residents began to leave mixed areas of the city, entering exclusive residencies, and re-establishing clear spatial and social boundaries (Caldeira, 2000, pp.215-217). This is illustrated by how an exclusive development in São Paulo was named *Higienópolis* (Hygienic City) (Caldeira, 2000, p.217).

These urban "sanitation" processes became especially noticeable in Brazil during preparations for the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio. This involved pushing low-class residents out of their local neighbourhoods in order to redevelop "shabby" areas and "hide" unfitting parts of the population prior to the event. Similar to my descriptions of East Boston in *chapter 7*, this led to raised property prices, gentrification processes and displacement of the working classes (Derks et al., 2020). Derks et al., interviewed a set of favela residents about their experiences

of displacement in the aftermath of the Olympics. One of the informants was sixty-eight-year-old Naldo:

Some years ago, they started with this urbanization project. The municipality wanted to make a new square, so I had to leave. They never built the square. And now I live here. I had no choice. It was obligatory for me to move out. So, I exchanged that house for this house. My old house has been destroyed, but there is no new square. Well, I could have accepted R$40,000 [as an indemnity], but you cannot buy a new house for that, so I had no choice *(Derks et al., 2020, p.193)*.

Naldo's experience speaks to my previous comments about how urban inequality, density and diversity can cause stigmatised groups (like the homeless and poor) to be seen as "too close for comfort", making neighbouring groups feel uncomfortable (Rowe, 1999, p.156). In some cases, this may result in exclusionary practices like eviction. Caldeira (2000, p.293) accordingly stresses that "architecture creates explicit means of keeping away undesirables, especially the homeless". She explains how this type of urban planning speaks to political elites' desire to create isolated clean spaces, in order to "soften" the urban "chaos", ambiguity and social tensions that have evolved with increased urbanisation (2000, p.217). This is also a way for investors to convert neighbourhoods and appeal to those with purchasing power, a trend which generally lies at the core of gentrification.

In sum, the processes and conditions that evolved in Brazil throughout history have created an urban landscape of strict spatial and social segregation. At the most extreme, this has materialised as divides between slums and gated communities. Both of these spaces can be characterised as geographical areas inhabited by social groups moving within a bounded part of the urban environment. Echoing Doulgas' (1984) concern with how communities take shape through what they exclude, gated communities and favelas mutually can be said to constitute each other, as the former primarily exists as an opposition and form of protection against the latter. Although Barth primarily focuses on divisions between ethnic groups, this also relates to his comment on how:

[…] one finds that stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across […] boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses'. […] ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built *(Barth, 1963, p.10)*.

The desire to display social membership is pronounced among the wealthy of São Paulo. Here, security and walls are exposed and consciously used as symbols of wealth and social status, in addition to security. These material representations of inclusion and exclusion contribute to maintaining and reproducing physical, symbolic and cognitive divisions in Brazil's urban landscape, further shaping how people use and navigate the city.

Living in a "city of walls": "In Moóca, everybody stays locked in"
In Caldeira's interview, the housewife from Moóca described how crime had come to define her use of local surroundings. According to this informant, the increase in crime and violence has forced her to withdraw from public spaces. As a lower middle-class resident unable to pay for a range of private facilities and protection, she felt "imprisoned" and vulnerable in her own house:

In Juventus there are gorgeous houses, but all with fences. In the streets there are guards in guard houses. In Moóca, everybody stays locked in: The robber stays out, and we are locked in. And not even this helps.

Moóca's residents are sad because of the lack of security […]. The schools look like prisons. Before it was wonderful, the children used to play on the streets, people would stay at the doors talking, there was more friendship, people used to visit each other.

Today here in Moóca one cannot even go out of the house. It has been six years since I have been robbed, and six years since everything seems to have lost its colour. Here in Moóca there isn't a person who hasn't been robbed. […]. The worst thing in Moóca is that people are afraid. There is too much crime, too much robbery. It has been more dangerous in the last eight years. Extremely dangerous. Nobody goes out at night, nobody wears a necklace, anything *(Caldeira, 2000, pp.22-24).*

A man in his late fifties, owner of a small foundry and living with his wife and two children in Moóca, described how he has withdrawn from using public spaces and ended up remodelling his house, due to the fear of crime:

It was on a Wednesday, twelve years ago, I had two new cars, one Maverick and one pickup. I used to leave the pickup that I used for work in the garage because the ownership papers weren't ready. At the time the living room was bigger: I've diminished the living room in order to fit the cars, to enlarge the garage. It was on a Wednesday…. They took the new car…. From that day on I started to enclose the house…. I started to do things… the iron bars which you see in the door. We started to close the house: We would

build a piece and then another…. And I was building, I was building it more secure, aluminium, concrete *(Caldeira, 2000, p.290).*

Figure 1: House façades with enclosed front yards in Moóca. *From City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo* (p.295), by T.P.R, Caldeira, 2000, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rebuilding one's house and withdrawing from public spaces creates experiences of confinement and restricts social and physical mobility. One informant in her late forties, also living in Moóca, describes her house as a prison "[t]here are bars everywhere and given the way things are now one cannot leave the door open, not even to wash the sidewalk in front of the house" (Caldeira, 2000, p.290). Use of security measures are, nonetheless, also seen as fostering mobility as they symbolise taste and wealth. This relates to how security is increasingly privatised, becoming a commodity for those with purchasing power. Living in a house surrounded by guards and fences marks boundaries between the rich and those living in favelas and *cortiços* –but also other impoverished groups without visible security measures (Caldeira, 2000, pp.291-295). Lower-class residents are left with increasingly inaccessible public spaces, while the wealthy retreat to their fenced houses and neighbourhoods.

Housing advertisements: The creation of "private universes"
The wealthy of São Paulo's gated communities also experience limited mobility and fear crime, but to a larger degree perceive security measures as creating "freedom", rather than "prisons". Gated enclaves are, as described previously, residential spaces separated from the

rest of the city through the privatisation of public space and security measures. Caldeira describes these spaces as:

Privatized, enclosed, and monitored spaces for residence, consumption, leisure, and work. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications. They appeal to those who are abandoning the traditional public sphere of the streets to the poor, the "marginal," and the homeless" *(Caldeira, 1996, p.303)*.

The upper classes have access to a range of benefits and facilities within their walled enclaves. Wealthy groups therefore usually do not experience the same sense of loss when withdrawing from public spaces as lower economic classes. The use and construction of gated enclaves thus creates a cityscape filled with physical and social boundaries, and residents experience "different cities". This became evident when I read housing advertisements and articles targeting the wealthy. These adverts provide descriptions of gated communities in São Paulo which stand in stark contrast to lower-class residents' descriptions Moóca as precarious and unruly:

House in exposed concrete and metallic Muxarabis specially designed for privacy protection, natural lighting and ventilation. It consists of a wide living room with a fireplace and a balcony that faces the garden, and a home theater, besides a kitchen with pantry. Upstairs, there is an intimate room, four suits, one of them, the master suite, has a walk-in closet and a large bathroom. On the roof slab, there is a wide deck solarium with shower and open view to the residential area. In the basement, there is a service area with two bathrooms and a driver's room. It has good finishes, light design, sound, plaster, central air conditioning and security system *(Sothebys International Realty, 2021)*.

In the American *Architectural Digest*, the design company *Studio Arthur Casas* is interviewed about "The NVD" house, a centrally located property in São Paulo:

Located in the interiors of São Paulo is NVD house, designed to cater to the needs of a family that wanted refuge from their hectic, urban life […] The expansive property is completely surrounded by lush greenery and Instagram-worthy views. The exteriors feature clean lines and a neutral palette that help highlight the lush, verdant scape around. In fact, Studio Arthur Casas deemed it important to make the building disappear into the landscape. "This plot is placed in a privileged position—in front of a golf course and next to native Atlantic Forest reserve. The idea was to never lose contact with the landscape, but always keep the privacy," explains Casas *(Chatterjee, 2019)*
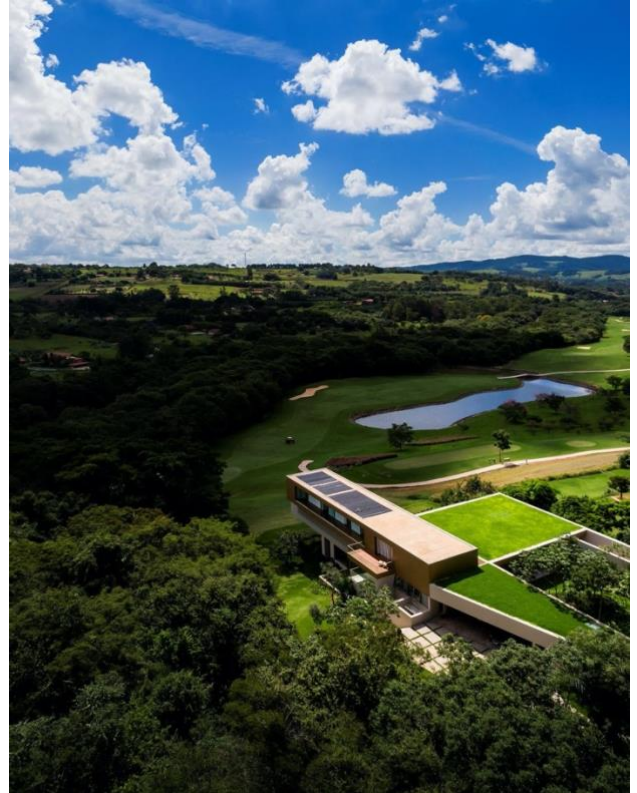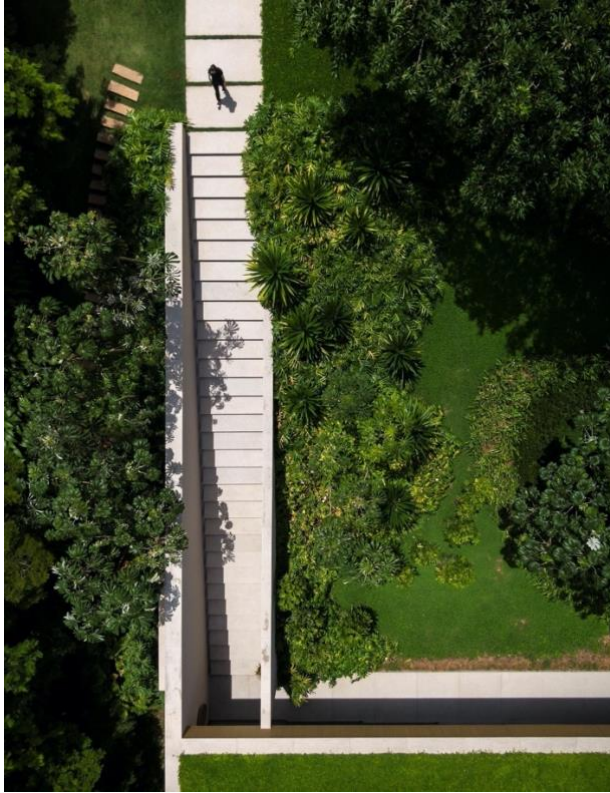
Figure 2 & 3: The NVD house, São Paulo. From: "NVD House / Studio Arthur Casas", by: Guerra, F, 2020 (https://www.archdaily.com/931615/nvd-house-studio-arthur-casas).

These descriptions show how benefits and facilities are made accessible, but, importantly, are placed within a private and protected space. The use of security measures as symbols of wealth and class in São Paulo can be seen in light of Stine Engen's (2020) article in the Norwegian newspaper *Dagens Næringsliv*. She argues that the home has become the number one identity marker during the emergence of the Coronavirus, as people are unable to show off social status through clothing and in public spaces. According to this journalist, social status is therefore increasingly shared via photos on social media. These photos showcase private homes that both can be enjoyed and used as protection during the pandemic, are separated from "dirty" threats and communicate wealth and privilege. The adverts above from São Paulo similarly demonstrate how luxury homes are marketed as secluded, safe and comfortable, representing social status.

In short, fear of violence and crime, as well as widespread class differences and expressions of affluence organise and define São Paulo's landscape with boundaries. People experience the same city very differently. Some might completely lack access to housing, transportation

or security, others feel imprisoned in their homes. The wealthy, although vulnerable, are able to take possession of spacious, well-equipped private spaces.

Segregation as affecting residential belonging and exclusion

The lack of proper infrastructure – sanitation, health services, transportation, schools - within impoverished areas does not only reflect how the marginalised are denied opportunities, but also concentrate and reproduce issues related to displacement (Arrigoitia, 2017, p.75). Melissa Fernández Arrigoitia's study from a slum in Rio illustrates how her informants experienced urban exclusion, in this case lack of working local transportation systems:

'Transport is complicated … for work, it's further away. For doctors it's further away … for school, it's far … [Takes me] an hour just to get to school … and walking because I don't have the money to be taking a bus'. (Pilar, RN in *Arrigoitia, 2017, p.88).*

This place is far, everything is far here. My daughter has to do some tests for a microsurgery on her nose, because she's bleeding … and I walked her down a path here with blood coming out … We don't have a doctor here for her because none of them will see her, here none will do it … so I'm gonna' consult another one in *Recreio*' (Laura, RN in *Arrigoitia, 2017, p.88).*

'We leave at the crack of dawn, those of us who work, then stop at 10 pm … have to take a bus, and get off there … Great [ironically] … at that time, Brazil [referring to *Avenida Brasil*] is like a desert. So, there should be a bus-stop out front, a pathway … I think that if the government, the municipality promised it, right? The day they handed over the keys here, they talked about putting a bus-stop, a path, a van for the children to go to school, a school for the children, but not anymore … No one talks about that now'. (Luis, RN in *Arrigoitia, 2017, p.90).*

Although the lower classes are largely excluded from formal infrastructure, they can still experience a sense of belonging and inclusion through strong local ties between neighbours. These ties are especially important among impoverished groups, as they often are excluded from formal social support. In Arrigoitia's (2017, p.81) study an informant expresses this by describing his former neighbourhood as hazardous, but still socially functional "all types of misery [were] back there … shootouts, flooding … but we could find ways to manoeuvre that misery and cohabit".

According to Caldeira (2000, pp.274-276) wealthy residents living in gated communities frequently lack such local reciprocal networks. This is grounded in how these residents have access to private help and spaces that create a form of isolation without a need or wish to make use of public space and neighbourly support. Caldeira (2000, p.275) stresses that this often becomes an issue, as residents start to treat entire gated communities as their private homes, not feeling responsibility or allegiance towards their peers. Lower classes have also become at risk of losing social networks within their neighbourhoods, but for other reasons. In Moóca this is played out as fear of violence forces people to avoid public spaces, obstructing interaction and the development and maintenance of social ties between neighbours:

My son's office is full of bars, closed windows, closed doors- can one live like this? … Nowadays people only meet at funeral services. The circle of friendship, of fellow countrymen, is fading away. Friendship is getting distant because of fear of going out at night *(Caldeira, 2000, p.27)*.

Unlike for their wealthier peers, this is experienced as highly problematic, due to their dependency on informal networks. Processes like gentrification and forced relocation, designed to "cleanse" stigmatised areas have also weakened feelings of belonging among vulnerable residents in urban Brazil. As Caldeira (2000, p.298) puts it "the built environment is not a neutral stage for the unfolding of social relations. The quality of the built environment inevitably influences the quality of the social relations that take place there". In Arrigoitia's study of Rio's revitalisation projects she describes how the restructuring of space to fit the needs of the privileged has led to displacement of the underprivileged:

"I'm not going to say I got used to the favela but we had our friends, our everyday life in there. You know who was from there and who wasn't, what one could and couldn't do, each one respecting the other's space. Those friends spread out, today we have friends in Campo Grande, we have friends still in social rent. … we don't have that conviviality anymore." (João, BC in *Arrigoitia, 2017, p.81).*

Another informant explained how he was evicted from his old neighbourhood due to a redevelopment project and how he is unable to find the same sense of community in his new area:

… if a neighbour of mine didn't have gas, I'd lend him the money, or a gas cylinder. If a neighbour didn't have light, I'd hook up my light to his house. Not here. Here if you hook up your light with the neighbour,

you may as well put a rope around your neck and pull, cause it's [the cost] absurd. (João, BC in *Arrigoitia, 2017, pp.84-85)*

In sum, marginalised groups in urban Brazil are often unable to access vital infrastructure as they are spatially excluded from areas where this is concentrated. In addition, they have become increasingly unable to take use of public spaces and local networks, due to redevelopment projects and fear of violence. Such spatial and social organisation needs to be understood as shaped by and reproducing discourses which exclude ethnic and socioeconomic stigmatised groups, separating them from their upper-class peers. This development of a segregated landscape speaks to Uribe's (2017) comments on how infrastructure is never "passive", but an outcome of specific historical and hegemonic discourses. Such inequalities are not only played out spatially, but also become embodied and impact resident's well-being.

Segregation as affecting residential well-being

Studies from Brazil have shown that the most serious indicators of health issues are found in the country's urban slums (Szwarcwald et al., 2011, p.517). Precarious living, triggered by economic uncertainty, lack of housing and widespread occurrences and fear of violence negatively affect the mental and physical health of vulnerable inhabitants. Denise Martin et al (2007) showcase this through their work from an impoverished area on the outskirts of São Paulo, focusing on women who have been diagnosed as depressed. Their study shows how this depression is often triggered by external events such as unemployment, financial problems, fear of violence, as well as the presence of drug dealers and turbulence in the neighbourhood. One of the women describes it like this:

I believe it is the worry, the financial life, it shakes you a lot, you see? Because, sometimes, you want to buy things, you are used to buying things and you know you cannot, having children, seeing your husband nervous because he does not have a job, you see? So I believe this is what causes depression» (Martin et al., 2007, s.4).

Stereotypes of the poor as "lazy and "dirty" often include and naturalise a perception of their health issues as self-inflicted. Coral Wayland (2002) sheds light on this in her study from an urban low-income neighbourhood in Brazil. She explains how the government has initiated various projects to strengthen public health among the poor, focusing on spreading information about how to practice good hygiene. Both local residents and health workers

reported that the project was perceived as unhelpful as the neighbourhood's health problems were mainly triggered by poor infrastructure, services and poverty rather than ignorance:

When asked what the local and state governments' health priorities should be, many caregivers in Triunfo responded better [curative] healthcare, piped water, sewage connections, and paved roads. In their view the real problem in Triunfo is poverty, not a lack of information *(Wayland, 2002, p.343)*.

The case above points to how health status in urban Brazil is largely determined by the individual's ability to pay to live in health promoting areas. Such issues have become magnified during the ongoing spread of COVID-19. Favelas have been especially vulnerable to the outbreak as their densely populated landscape is poorly equipped for social distancing. The groups here, although living separately from gated communities, have been able to enter the gated spaces when working for the wealthy. This changed when the spread of the virus resulted in cleaners, babysitters, guards, doormen and chefs being fired by their employers, who feared infection. In an article in *The Washington Post* (Mccoy & Traiano, 2020), interviews with locals working or living in favelas in Rio De Janeiro show how the Coronavirus has shed light on the country's existing issues with spatial and social inequality:

"Yesterday we didn't have water," said Raull Santiago, a community activist in Complexo do Alemão. "Social isolation is nearly impossible. Families of six live in one-bedroom houses... The rich people have bought up all of the hand sanitizer. We can't even take the minimum steps to do this."

"The people who brought this were the rich coming from vacations to Europe, but the people who will suffer much more will be the poor," said Paulo Buss, one of Brazil's leading public health doctors.

Community health worker Inês Ferreira, making her rounds in the favela of Borel, has come to the same conclusion. The problems were already severe: poor health, a high rate of disease, limited education, overcrowding and — perhaps most urgently — scant understanding of the Coronavirus. "Some people are beginning to understand that we have to stay in the house," Ferreira said. "But there are so many health problems. The children don't have nutrition. The old people don't have nutrition...We believe it will kill a lot of people *(Mccoy & Traiano, 2020)*.

These aspects of health are all central themes explored within critical medical anthropology and understood as an expression of hegemonic discourses and oppressive structures (Singer & Baer, 2007). This is linked to how material, physical and social factors are shaped by specific

contemporary and historical structures that partake in continuously reproducing and shaping people's experience of the urban landscape in highly unequal ways.

Chapter summary

In this chapter, I focus on how spatial and social boundaries have shaped the urban landscape of São Paulo and residents' experiences of this landscape. I argue that the country's history of slavery, corruption and industrial crises has contributed to the creation of a cityscape characterised by inequality, racism, social decline, crime and violence. In response to these issues, many residents categorise urban threats by blaming marginalised groups, historically black and brown lower-class residents, for "polluting" a "clean" city.

These narratives have become spatialized through the creation of urban divisions between "dirty" public space that lacks proper infrastructure and is inhabited by the lower classes; and privatised, gated space inhabited by the upper classes. This segregated landscape makes residents experience the same city and impacts their well-being in unequal ways. Strong local social ties can to a certain extent alleviate some of the problems these divisions create and may be particularly important for vulnerable groups with little social capital. However, residents' fear of violence and urban redevelopment have forced them to withdraw from local public space, making it difficult to build and access such networks.

7. Gentrification in Boston: Boundaries, exclusion and belonging

Although Boston and São Paulo are very different cities, they have interesting similarities. They are both port towns that attract commerce and facilitate social networks. They have received waves of global immigrants throughout their histories and are inhabited by a range of classes and ethnic groups. Both cities have been national industrial centres and have experienced economic growth. In Boston, this progress continues to be driven by tech, health and start-up industries creating job opportunities and attracting young professionals to the city. As in São Paulo, this has led to urban redevelopment projects that cater to new and prosperous inhabitants (BCNUEJ, 2019; Global Boston, 2016).

The neighbourhood of East Boston, dubbed "Eastie", has over the last decade been greatly shaped by the city's redevelopment projects. Previously, the area was listed as "a zone of emergence", known as an area where struggling immigrants first settled when they arrived in Boston, before moving to higher income areas (Global Boston, 2016). In 2016 it was documented that the neighbourhood had the highest percentage of foreign-born residents in Boston (Global Boston, 2016). Carla, a long-term resident, describes the settlement pattern of the area and how it has evolved throughout the last decades:

I've been living in East Boston since 1994, that's when I arrived here. It was a working-class neighbourhood, and most people in the neighbourhood were Italians, American… and that's when many immigrants were arriving from Cambodia, China, Brazil… and the Hispanic community was also starting to develop and arrive, above all Central Americans. Then, by the late 90s, more and more Latin Americans came, in particular Colombians, that was a huge community. *(Carla, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

When Carla arrived in the 90s, prior to the area's redevelopment projects, residents were struggling with severe air, water and noise pollution from industrial activities along the local waterway. In addition, the area lacked access to health promoting facilities like green amenities (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). Carla elaborates on this:

What I saw – I have two children, they were born here, in Boston – is that when we started coming here, they didn't pay much attention to East Boston in terms of amenities, or anything the community needed. That was because it was a working-class neighbourhood, and many of us were new immigrants, so they paid no attention to us *(Carla).*

Carla's point is concerned with the municipality's disregard for the area and its immigrant population. This relates to Barth's (1969) views on how residential boundaries are not made from physical distance. They are instead amplified through decisions about who is to be excluded or included, depending on social and ethnic status. This is often done in an attempt to categorise groups within hybrid landscapes. As argued by Uribe (2017) this process may be demonstrated through neighbourhoods' access to functioning infrastructure, marking the spaces and people who are included, and who are not.

In this case, as described by Carla, the immigrant population can be seen as spatially and socially excluded from safe and health promoting infrastructure. This contributes to marking the status of "Easties" as "outsiders" and thereby creating and reproducing a boundary between their neighbourhood and more affluent parts of the city. This is illustrated in a comment made by Luca who has grown up in East Boston. He describes how industrial air pollution has made his family seriously ill. Reflecting Farmer's (2004) theories on how sickness can be seen as a form of structural violence, Luca argues that his family's health issues have, together with lack of local transportation, shown the government's neglect of East Boston and its people:

I have grown up in this situation where I had a mixed European background but considered Italian in a disinvested neighborhood […]. We had nothing. I understand being meaningless in the state picture of the transportation justice, right? My dad has COPD [serious lung disease]. He'll be dead in a couple of years, right? That's been proven to be associated airport pollution. My kids have inhalers because ... And asthma associated. We're all victims of the same system in America *(Luca, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019)*.

Since 1995, there have been efforts to address industrial pollution. Cleaning up the waterfront and establishing parks and open spaces were begun to enhance the area and boost local well-being. The City of Boston, along with private developers, were responsible for these measures (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019) and local residents were initially pleased with them. However, this development in combination with the area's industrial growth, the arrival of new residents and subsequent growing demands for more and better housing, and the state's inclusion of private developers led to forms of green gentrification (Anguelovski et al., 2019). The displacement of the local working classes was previously

caused by infrastructural neglect, while it later was driven by socially and spatially excluding residents in conjunction with development. Eveline Dürr and Rivke Jaffe argue that:

Within the city, the urban poor and other marginalised social groups bear the brunt of pollution, and social movements seek to address such environmental inequality but sometimes end up crafting their own exclusive regimes of environmental knowledge *(Dürr &Jaffe, 2010, p.24)*.

Green gentrification takes place when initiatives seen as sustainable and environmental (e.g., low carbon technology or improved green amenities) are implemented to upgrade former working-class areas. This progress may not be in the interest of locals if these upgrades make the area more attractive and appealing to individuals with a higher level of purchasing power. This can lead to rising housing costs, displacing long-term residents who then become unable to benefit from the new green improvements. Displacement can furthermore take place if greening projects are developed or come to attract actors who aim to capitalise on the area's upgrades rather than to serve locals. This is illustrated in a comment made by a developer of a luxury complex in Boston, who argues that "I mean it's impossible to negate, it's the great air, the parks, I mean the outdoor culture of East Boston is so huge, and especially during this time it's easy to sell." (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). Carla, on the other hand, describes the area's "green uplift" negatively, as she will not benefit from implemented upgrades:

If you walk around you'll see loads of Mexican, Colombian, Honduran restaurants… Any kind! A community started to settle, and people felt this was their neighbourhood. And since it was a working-class neighbourhood they felt like they were home. Now, in the last 5 to 7 years that's when they changed things. They got rid of the library because it was in a deplorable state, so they set a new one, they did a green corridor, and all of us were so, so happy at first. We were so happy to see they were improving the train station too, both of them actually! All of us were truly happy. But what we didn't know was that they weren't restoring it for us, they were restoring it for people who are currently living in those luxurious buildings we can't afford. The houses where we used to live in are being destroyed to build new houses. We bought our first home in East Boston *(Carla)*.

As highlighted by Carla, these gentrification processes can result in economic and sociocultural changes, as the fabric of the area becomes adapted by developers to fit the needs of and capitalise on those with more purchasing power (Cocola-Gant, 2018, p.11). Magda

describes how this trend has become evident in the manner in which people perceive East Boston:

Nobody valued East Boston years back, I mean the people who lived here did but like people would laugh at me when I said I lived here, they would wonder why on earth I would live in such a crappy place and I was like 'it's not crappy, it's amazing, it is such a great little neighborhood, it's the most neighborly neighborhood I've ever lived in.' But at that time it was really hard to imagine that we would ever have the kind of flip that happened, […] where all of a sudden real estate, it's all about real estate […] You know and you get this fever pitch of amassing wealth, amassing wealth, amassing wealth, really at the expense of families, at the expense of neighborhoods *(Magda)*.

In East Boston, the displacement of long-term residents has been triggered by rising rent and housing prices, a result of gentrification. This has created fears of and actual forced resettlement of working-class residents. In addition, several locals express feeling out of place when choosing to stay, due to changes made to the social and spatial fabric of the area (Anguelovski et al., 2019). These issues consequently shed light on how urban planning often is driven by economic interests rather than local welfare (Arkaraprasertkul, 2017, p.1562).

In sum, lower-class residents of East Boston have historically been excluded from accessing safe infrastructure, leading to serious health issues among residents. The areas upgrades did not better the situation of the working-class residents, but instead created new forms of exclusion, as amenities were directed at the upper classes and housing costs rose. East Boston's history of working class displacement, first because of infrastructural neglect, and later due to gentrification, illustrates how space is entangled with hegemonic discourses of power. In addition, this contributes to strengthening of structural inequalities between social groups.

The capitalisation of sustainability

As described in *chapter 3* overheating driven by increased globalisation and urbanisation creates cities where a range of people and opportunities tend to mix. This can create spatial and environmental urban pressures, as ever larger groups of people cluster and compete for resources within densely populated spaces (Florida, 2008, pp.17-19). This may result in issues of urban friction as groups with disparate sociocultural values and needs live in proximity and see their identities as being at risk (Eriksen, 2016). This contributes to socially and

environmentally unsustainable cityscapes, where issues related to conflict, violence, social inequality and health hazards become concentrated (Eriksen, 2016). According to Miriam Greenberg (2015), these issues generate concerns about developing and organizing cities in reference to sustainability discourses and practices, with an aim to defuse threats of urban overheating. Greenberg points to trends in the US:

In the aftermath of 9/11, Hurricane Katrina, and the 2008 global mortgage and financial crisis – all of which may be argued to have been urban-based crises – the notion that we need sustainability of some sort makes enormous sense to broad cross-sections of stakeholders increasingly concerned with the survival of our cities and, with them, our planet *(Greenberg, 2015, p.101).*

The United Nations' *Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future*, "The Brundtland Commission", (1987, p.16) defines sustainability as "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". In the context of the present study, sustainable measures are used to diminish long-term issues related to urban overheating and to secure future well-being. This includes maintaining and improving natural, as well as social and economic resources (McGill University, w.y., p.1). Douglas (1984) argues that we use rituals to order and "purify" phenomena we experience as disrupting. Similarly, the implementation of sustainable measures can be seen as a ritual used to create safety and "purify" threats created by global and urban flow, polluting our natural and "clean" environment

The positive connotations that "sustainability" has come to convey, has made the term increasingly popular, and it is commonly appealed to in a range of situations. Both public and commercial actors frequently come to capitalise on seemingly sustainable measures to promote and organise cities to attract tourists, enterprises and residents (Greenberg, 2015, pp.107). Greenberg puts it like this:

With its promise of "future- proof" protection against all possible threats, the discourse responds to the anxieties of the current era. Here, clean, green urban lifestyles and investment opportunities afforded by "the sustainability edge" can weather myriad challenges – whether emanating from natural, social, or market forces *(Greenberg, 2015, p.111).*

Jennifer Hubbert (2015) points to how commercial involvement in seemingly sustainable trends often has unsustainable consequences, as its focus is on economic profit. "Sustainable"

measures consequently become directed towards the needs and desires of those with social and economic capital. This includes educated, cultured and wealthy individuals able to consume information and commodities which promote a "sustainable" lifestyle. Lower classes, culturally and economically outside of the target groups, often experience urban renewal and greening projects as exclusionary – as noted above, leading to displacement.

Although green redevelopment may trigger issues of displacement, it is nonetheless usually portrayed as inherently good. Melissa Checker (2011, p.212) argues that this is tied to how planners and investors promote projects as "socially responsible urban planning" and a "politically neutral approach to solving environmental problems", concealing the role they can play in exclusionary development. According to Paige West (2016), by studying these rhetorical representations we can uncover how they promote social inequality and are used as strategies to create surplus value.

Green development as creating exclusionary boundaries

The evolution of green gentrification relates to how the built landscape can function as a reflection of and a manner to create social and cultural systems of order (Campkin, 2013, p.51). In East Boston this has evolved as green redevelopment that helps create boundaries between newcomers and the working classes. These boundaries evolve materially through privatisation, for instance as luxury condos take over public space. In addition, they evolve symbolically by discouraging working-class residents from using spaces shaped to cater to newcomers. Carla highlights this, as she elaborates on how the socioeconomic mixed landscape of East Boston has created a demand for order and boundaries: "[…] a lot of these luxury buildings end up being right next to housing developments. And then the tension between the super upper-class. And you know maybe not wanting to be near [working-class] housing" (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).

Carla explains how she experienced feeling displacement from her local community, while working at an education centre in East Boston. The centre was largely used by working-class immigrants but gradually welcomed new, affluent and mostly white residents[7]:

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[7] Speaks to a trend in the US concerned with how greening commonly is sustained and aimed towards white urban residents. This needs to be understood as a reflection of the correlation between race/ethnicity and socioeconomic opportunities in the US (Connolly & Anguelovski, 2021).

So those newcomers benefit from everything we've built together […]. I was in the early education centre, and I organized parents, and I realized how most of them worked 3 shifts, they came with their children half-asleep and they had to leave them there, but at least it was somewhere they were being taught something, they were safe… And now if you go there you'll see most of them are white people. […] In the past it was 56/57% immigrants. Now the vast majority is white. It's a beautiful school because it has a sports centre… Sometimes I do wonder… you know, this feeling like you don't deserve it. I think it's something that people… Well… [respondent tears up, other respondents comfort her] *(Carla).*

Loss of access to local amenities, services and of social ties can severely impact vulnerable groups. In East Boston this has largely included immigrants who often are unable to gain legal paperwork and rights in the US. As "official" and private services may be inaccessible to this group, many immigrants depend on community networks, public spaces and social support to take care of themselves and their children. Public and semi-public spaces like libraries or cafés may be especially important for these groups, giving them a place to physically move and build social bonds, using these facilities as a "second home". Magda describes how the loss of local amenities among local immigrants has been severely damaging. She stresses that new residents have other needs than locals, as the latter do not struggle with the same sense of insecurity:

Some of these folks have been here for 15 years and they're just starting to have stability. A lot of these people come from countries that have […] you know very poor and health issues, social issues, human rights, all different kinds of global impacts. So, for them they're just happy to have a nice safe place to go and send their kids to a nice public school and that's success right? That's not success for a person [newcomer] who's come to the neighborhood. For them, they want everything organic and they wanna be able to bike down to the street and they wanna- so there's such a different need *(Magda).*

Another informant, Luca, expresses that the neighbourhood has changed. He argues that planners and developers shaping the neighbourhood today are neither familiar with, identify with nor understand what long-term residents need, thus driving processes of displacement.

The case of Luca: "We're not listening to you, because we don't know you"
Luca is from an Italian working-class family that has lived in East Boston for five generations. He rents out four apartments he has inherited from his family. He is part of a local community development organisation and describes himself as a "non-profit do-gooder and I wanna help people get access to healthy food". He explains that he has no education,

was fired from his last job and depends on his property and organisational work to provide an income and pension funds. During the interview Luca described his sentiments towards the East Boston's green development:

I would not go too far down the lines of thinking that environmental justice is something that, because those of us who work within that space in America believe that it doesn't exist. So, what it becomes is a way of paying lip service.

They would talk to us, all the garbage they talk about. The lingo and the culture of resiliency planning pretends like it focuses on communities. They put their information on Greenovate, you've heard of Greenovate? What is Greenovate? Look it up in the dictionary. What is a Greenovate? Green already has negative connotations, as you know *(Luca)*.

Luca expresses how sustainable measures are used by developers to portray their work as ethically responsible, although they do not act accordingly, exemplifying how "green" development often is geared towards creating profit. Luca's comments also illustrate how developers use language that locals are unable to identify with. This speaks to how green urban development may be experienced as exclusionary among the working classes, being shaped by and directed at the middle and upper classes. Jaffe and Dürr (2010, p.21) accordingly argue that "[e]nvironmental policies, legislation and regulations can be seen as expressions of power, favouring the economic or social interests of specific parties over those of others". Luca similarly stresses that the socioeconomic gap between residents and urban planners makes the latter unable to shape the neighbourhood to cater to people like himself:

You go to Harvard, you study your thing and then you get a Master's in urban planning with a secondary whatever in environment or whatever at MIT. […] You're the nice, clean person doing the internship in the city, next thing you know you're the administrator of something and then you're the director. […]. You never got into a street fight, you never got a bloody nose. You never lost anything, you never suffered […]. You don't know anything. You don't even know ... so when those people come to the neighbourhood, there's a funny question that they [community members] sometimes ask them. Where did you play Little League [baseball for youth]? With locals? This is a notorious question that's been asked […]. That's, again, the community members saying, and everyone else in the room knows exactly what they're saying. Who the fuck are you to come in here and tell me anything? We're not listening to you, because we don't know you *(Luca)*.

Luca shows how he sees outsiders entering East Boston as spatially and socially undermining boundaries between his community and the rest of the city. Upper-class people are perceived as "dirty" and "matter out of place" by community members when entering a working-class space, and they are not accepted. Urban diversity in this case leads to tensions between neighbouring groups, as locals sees their social order threatened by newcomers. Locals will in cases like this often feel a need to demonstrate uniqueness and separateness, opposing the identity of neighbouring residents (Eriksen 2016). In the example above this is made visible by community members asking developers where they played "Little League", to mark a distinction between their social statuses.

Luca continues to talk about how East Boston was prior to the redevelopment. He tells a story from when his parents were young about a man named Salvucci who was stationed in the area by the mayor to work as a manager for "Little City Hall". Although Salvucci was not from East Boston, he had an Italian working-class background, thus fitting into the social fabric of the area. Luca describes how his parents once approached Salvucci after a community meeting. They wanted to talk with him about a local redevelopment project they were concerned about:

He [Salvucci] talked to my dad and mom and said, "well, you know, if you'd like, I can go into the café. We'll get some pastries and we'll talk about this a little bit more." and my mom and dad said, "Oh you know listen, don't worry about that. You don't need to spend the money. Come over to our house". […]. It's the middle of the summer, its 95 degrees out, and Salvucci comes over to the house. My mom makes him coffee and pastries and we go out and it's really hot. So, he takes his shirt off and he has a t-shirt on underneath it. He takes his shirt off and sits there and talks in his t-shirt and that's when my father said he know he loved the guy because he was like a local. So, he had real people working in the neighborhoods on real issues with other real people at that time *(Luca).*

Luca sees his neighbourhood as previously being shaped by social ties between equals, leading to forms of solidarity and reciprocity. Luca expresses how Salvucci offered something he sees as missing among today's developers: the ability to communicate with locals and include them in the redevelopment of the area, rather than using what he sees as exclusionary language and practices. This demonstrates how Luca, like the housewife from Moóca, has experienced local changes as producing a loss of familiarity and belonging. These types of issues have recently played out in East Boston through the development of a waterfront

luxury complex, leading locals to feel displaced and excluded from areas they previously felt they belonged to.

A waterfront luxury complex: "if you just build a residential diaspora, there's no reason for anyone to go there"

East Boston's green gentrification has partly evolved due to widespread real estate development along the upgraded waterfront (Anguelovski et al., 2019). This includes a luxury apartment complex described as being "green without sacrificing quality". The complex is promoted as a "centrally-located sanctuary, with amazing views, thoughtful infrastructure and luxurious amenities". The complex consists of rental apartments, a shared pool deck, a high-end restaurant and bar, lounge, fitness centre, community room, soundproof meeting rooms, kayaks, dog wash, bike parking and maintenance, and direct access to the local public park.

Although less closed off from public spaces, the complex resembles gated communities in São Paulo. Both are private facilities within a bounded area that offer a range of services for privileged residents, designed to limit their dependence on public spaces. The waterfront complex is an example of Caldeiras' (2000, p.264) description of fortified enclaves representing a "total way of life" superior to that of the city, despite being inside of it. Julia, a long-term resident from East Boston describes how private facilities for those living in the complex enables them to avoid public parts of East Boston:

Something that I noticed about that [the complex] is now in front of this beautiful park which has you know it's just fancy and you have a really great park. But there is also a dock for water taxis right in front of the building which you know, when I saw it, me and my partner saw it. So they can go directly from the downtown finance district to their house and they never have to actually go through East Boston if they want to. But that's just an observation. *(Julia, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

Figure 4: Waterfront view, East Boston. Photo: Isabelle Anguelovski (BCNUEJ)

Julia's quote illustrates how gentrification creates spatial and social boundaries between residents, as locals and newcomers move within different and separated parts of the same neighbourhood. This type of development has been seen as problematic as it frequently leads to a concentration of opportunities and facilities (safe infrastructure, transportation, green amenities etc.) in areas inhabited by those with purchasing power. Luca points to this and describes how the waterfront complex' restaurant created a landscape where local services and activities are centralised, killing local diversity:

You're talking about having single 15,000 square foot restaurant space in your development of four city blocks. Why don't you consider multiplying that times five and breaking it up into each three, four, five different retail establishments? You create a real city neighborhood, which is in itself sustainable, because if you just build a residential diaspora, there's no reason for anyone to go there and there's no benefit for anyone to go there. All those people need to migrate to the Business District to get dinner. […] You create a diverse, lively, vibrant neighborhood. That suggestion applied to new development at least provides economic opportunity for regular people… *(Luca).*

Luca suggests that the sharing and spreading of residential opportunities can promote social sustainability while the centralisation of resources, even when developed in a green manner, can exclude a large portion of people. The waterfront complex is, however, described on its webpage as supporting the local community of East Boston and fostering sustainable living. This portrayal aligns with a common ideal of the modern western city as accessible to all, representing free circulation and spontaneous public enjoyment. Still, as Caldeira (2000, pp.299-300) points out, space has always been appropriated differently by social classes.

However, one of the developers stresses that their work is centred on the improvement of local living and opportunities:

We can build buildings that have the ability to create healthier work environments, living environments, that can build beyond just the sum of their parts to do something bigger and we've, since we started it's been, not just a big focus but a big pursuit to continue to drive that forward […]. we've done a number of firsts, we've got everything from wastewater, on site wastewater treatment facilities […] so we want to be accountable *(BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

The developer then elaborates on how residents of the complex have reacted to this vision. His description shows how sustainability can be sold to consumers as a way to a clean, ethical and prosperous lifestyle (Checker, 2011, p.212). The quote also illustrates how this type of space both is produced by, as well as produces a trend and desire to live sustainably:

From the standpoint of sustainability, it has a highly visible impact from the resident's [of the complex] perspective […] when people come over, they get to brag to their friends that they've got a crop raising farm on top of their building and it's quite in their face, it's quite there. […] making it the lifestyle of the building, I think you reap a greater benefit out of it because people feel it, touch it, see it, can react to it and have it react back to how they're using the building *(Developer, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

The luxurious building has nevertheless been seen by many locals as unsustainable, as the complex appropriated large open spaces when constructed, blocking residents' view of the waterfront (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). This privatisation of space is an example of Eriksen's (2016, p.89) argument about how urban flexibility for the individual can come at the expense of systemic flexibility, i.e., the common good. François Mancebo (2015, p.270-271) observed that when "a city guarantees its own sustainable development by making other areas pay the cost of it, this city is not really sustainable". The developer acknowledged this in the interview, commenting on how the complex had been seen by locals as a threat to the socioeconomic fabric of the neighbourhood: "I remember one time I'm walking down the street, two or three blocks and we see a woman who's got, one of those shirts that looks super grungy and I say hi to her and she looks at me and she says 'oh god the suits are here" (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).

The developer argues that he and his team continuously work towards a positive socioeconomic development for the neighbourhood. This includes eco-friendly technology and infrastructure, contributing to local activities, providing economic incentives to develop public green spaces and collaborating with long-term community cooperatives. He also argues that they want to include locals' opinions on redevelopment projects "we want people to engage with our properties, whether working or living or going to school, whatever they're doing, that building represents the values that they hold as well" (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). Kevin, a local working in the community, comments on the developer's desire to contribute locally. He specifically elaborates on how they donated money to upgrade a public park in front of the complex:

They gave money to improve the Park […]. So, and that's a fantastic amenity for the community. And had that development money not been included, that park would not be what it is today. Right? So, in the immediate term, that neighborhood, which is a mixed income neighborhood, affordable housing neighborhood, has access to a beautiful amenity that their children enjoy like crazy. You have multiple generations that are enjoying that space. […] At the end of the day, there's still a rooftop pool and then a luxury bar and all that stuff like that, which obviously only serves those who can afford it. So it's kind of this strange juxtaposition of wealth and everybody else, basically. *(Kevin, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).*

Figure 5: Local Park, East Boston. Photo: Isabelle Anguelovski (BCNUEJ)

Kevin articulates the complexities of gentrification, and explains how it produces urban upgrades and wellbeing, but also reinforces and enhances socioeconomic inequality. This is spatially demonstrated, as residents living in the roof top complex can look down on the park and those using it.

Feeling like an "outsider" at "home": "I was like 'oh god, I'm going to have nothing in common with these people"

The socioeconomic disparity inherent to the waterfront development has led several locals to express feelings of discomfort when using public spaces near the complex, including the park. The housing developments targeting young professionals have changed the cultural and symbolic fabric of the neighbourhood, generating alienation among long-term residents (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). Julia describes how she and her neighbour feel like "outsiders" in the areas they have lived in for decades:

My neighbor, who's Moroccan, or whatever, African American, to be able to walk to the harbor walk and not feel out of place, 'cause you gotta, you know, a very sort of trendy, you know, upscale little bar restaurant and you got people from outside coming in to eat, but it shouldn't change you being able to spend time on that harbor walk. […] it's funny, it's like they need to welcome us, but really, it's our neighborhood *(Julia).*

Chris, who works for a non-profit organisation that organises activities for local youth groups, describes how the luxury complex has changed the "atmosphere" of the public park:

Yeah it's a beautiful location [the luxury complex]. So when we have the soccer tournament, not the people who are in the park, but just like in that area. The looks are very, you know, it's kind of... Some of my youth mentions like, it's kind of weird how it feels like we shouldn't be here. That kind of thing. Which I hope that sentiment isn't a reality (Chris, BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).

Magda also comments on how the social fabric has changed. She describes her experience with the opening party of the luxury complex. Although likely aimed at integrating newcomers and locals, the event made Magda critical towards what the complex and its residents represented and valued:

It was an opening party when they were first getting started and they hired our kids to play [music] outside and so I went and I was like having a cocktail, sorta nice but it wasn't very nice, it didn't end up being nice, once they had our kids play at a party in the pool upstairs and that was actually really nice, meaning it felt like they really valued our kids, put them right in the middle, like they were the center piece on the table as opposed to the next times they were like 'oh here's some local kids doing some things but they're out there and you don't need to really listen to them', so that didn't feel so nice. I don't think that was by design but that's what it ended up feeling like *(Magda)*.

Magda's experience exemplifies how her local culture and community were excluded and unappreciated by newcomers. Ray, a long-term resident working as a security guard illustrates this, pointing to how the waterfront luxury complex is not what it is portrayed to be "[…] it ain't that green", arguing that "the developers here are killing us […]. They just pushing the little people out of the neighbourhood, they've been there all their life and now they're being pushed out" (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019). Magda elaborates on this point, describing feeling "out of place" at the party, while conversing with one of the residents from the complex:

I sat at a table with some of the people from there and some guy came in on his sailboat, docked and came upstairs and for 45 minutes was just talking about a pair of jeans, like red blue jeans, that he had purchased that were stretchy, blue jeans and how sexy and tight they had to be, but it was like 45 minutes of talking about nothing, like I'm like whatever, you're pants are tight and sexy, ok, like you paid this much money for them, ok, so what else do you want to talk about, so I just had this moment where I was like 'oh god, I'm going to have nothing in common with these people' and then the question comes how long are you willing to stay as the neighborhood continues to change and change and change if you're in a place that doesn't vibe with you anymore, do you just leave? *(Magda)*.

In *Chapter 5*, I elaborated on what Magda articulates - how identity can facilitate individuals' inclusion or exclusion within a given space (Tošić, 2012, p.114). Being an "insider" enables residents to access resources and experience their neighbourhood as a place they can physically and socially use, rather than observe from the "outside". Interviews with long-term residents like Magda suggest that their working-class "identity" does not fit the social and economic standards or values of upgraded spaces. By describing a conversation with a person who "only talks about jeans", Magda illustrates how her identity, values and interests do not match those of the newcomers, making her feel like an "outsider".

Gentrification, exclusion and residential well-being

East Boston's waterfront upgrade and green amenities were seemingly designed to better local well-being and counter industrial pollution. However, this sustainable lift has created new health issues driven by gentrification processes. According to Isabelle Anguelovksi (2018), gentrification can cause chronic stress, depression and suicidal thoughts due to fear and threats of eviction and displacement, also in neighbourhoods that have "become greener, more liveable, and more walkable". She argues that "[t]he most acute health and wellbeing impacts reported so far in our research relate to drug consumption, drug dealing, and violence in newly gentrified neighbourhoods". Such trends can exclude residents from using public space due to fear of violence or crime. Descriptions by informants illustrate how they see this as affecting East Boston:

He [a friend] was telling me was that the uber-rich young Millennials at the waterfront complex and others also have a drug consumption problem which they get now through the neighborhood. He was basically saying that may also lead to a different resurgence of drug traffic *(Magda)*

I've been hearing that with the waterfront complex and that restaurant over there, that people are ... Well first of all, I see a problem with, yeah, I heard that there's rich people buying drugs *(Miguel)*.

Magda also points to the issue of drug consumption and partying among newcomers and describes how this group often makes noise at night while using public spaces. Research show that such disturbance may cause health issues related to sleep deprivation and stress (Anguelovski, 2018):

Yeh. So he says they come in their Lamborghinis, they park, they go in luxury complex, then the restaurant and then they leave, they go down the street and get whatever and then they come back, they make noise at night, they get drunk, that is just next to a local space where we have kids, and it's interesting because it's counter to the theory of gentrification which is that gentrification actually brings safety *(Magda)*.

Magda continues to describe how she thought the neighbourhood was better prior to the arrival of newcomers:

We used to have 19 immigrants living in that building and never a problem, they went to work, they came back, they were friendly, they were very calm [...]. Super hard working cause that's what they're here for, occasionally they might have a little bit of like we're going to watch the soccer game and drink some beer

but never to the point that it was ever problematic outside and then as soon as that flipped and it was all students living in there I was like 'this is like a frat house, they're drunk all the time' young kids drinking on the front step publicly, puking on the sidewalk, making a big mess, like not people I want to live next to at all. I'd much rather live next to hard working immigrants because they just do their thing and are respectful and you do your thing and you're respectful and when you're in need, they are there for you and when you're in need they'll be there for you and these kids are very self-absorbed *(Magda)*.

As in São Paulo, East Boston is experiencing health hazards due to fear and crime. In Boston, however, it is triggered by wealth facilitating consumption and access to drugs, rather than poverty triggering robberies and physical violence. In both instances, long-term residents portray newcomers as "polluting" their neighbourhood, seeing the past as "good" and the present as "bad". Still, it is important to stress that stories by long-term residents might be shaped by local myths and frustration in the face of systemic inequality. Caldeira (2000, pp.30-32) comments on how locals might blame newcomers for "polluting" their space in an attempt to make sense of unfairness, establish order and separate the "good" past from the "bad" present. In addition, this is a way for residents to communicate a sense of social superiority.

Experiences of systemic inequality relate to how Boston's green uplift initially was seen by residents as representing innovation and prosperity. This has signified the government's urban involvement in the working-class area, previously excluded from health promoting amenities offered in prosperous parts of the city. However, this attempt resulted in processes of displacement, creating new forms of boundaries between the working classes and affluent residents. This trend is spatialized, as working classes still lack access to infrastructure which promotes safe and healthy forms of living, in addition to having lost pre-existing facilities. This becomes embodied among locals, creating new health hazards. These spatial and bodily issues can both be seen as product of and part in reproducing social inequality between urban dwellers in Boston.

Chapter summary

I have described how East Boston has changed throughout the last few decades. It was previously a working-class immigrant area that struggled with water and air pollution. Later, it was "cleaned up" and received new "health promoting" infrastructure. "Green" upgrades

made the area increasingly attractive for affluent newcomers, resulting in the gentrification of the neighbourhood and displacement of long-term residents.

Using solutions portrayed as environmentally friendly, planners and investors marketed and sold the development as "sustainable". I argue that these types of discourses and practices are used as a way to soften and address the negative consequences of urbanisation and globalisation, such as environmental pollution. The term "sustainability" has therefore come to hold popular and positive connotations. This has led businesses to capitalise on "green" infrastructure, targeting those with economic capital, making "sustainability" increasingly trendy.

Paradoxically these "sustainable" measures have also had unsustainable consequences. This relates to how residents who are unable to socially and economically partake in a "green" lifestyle, are excluded from local services and facilities such as green amenities or affordable housing. In East Boston real estate projects marketed as sustainable and directed at newcomers, have triggered gentrification processes. As a consequence, public space has been adapted and privatised to fit the needs of newcomers, leading to the displacement of long-term working-class residents. Ironically, crime is perceived as a threat here, too, but now driven by the affluent newcomers. Once again, physical and social boundaries ensue and locals are pushed out.

8. Pandemic Restrictions in Oslo: Boundaries, Exclusion and Belonging

The spread of COVID-19 is an example of how global flows generate polluting threats. Echoing Douglas' theories on categorisation, a common government response towards such threats is to attempt to exclude sources perceived as polluting from national territory. The Coronavirus was identified in China and then spread globally through commerce and travel, disrupting local systems of order. Governments throughout the world accordingly categorised possible threats and imposed restrictions to control the spread of the virus.

Responses to and effects of the *global* pandemic became *local,* affecting areas around the globe in similar and dissimilar ways. A general trend is that issues of inequality and marginalisation prevalent prior to the pandemic have been reinforced and affirmed during the crisis. Below, I explore how these trends evolved in Oslo during the city's initial lockdown in the spring of 2020. I approach this period as a "laboratory" providing insight into how existing social and spatial processes of inequality and boundary making have been confirmed and intensified during the early stages of the pandemic (e.g., Singer, 2020, p.23). By focusing on the current pandemic, I hope to explore previously addressed issues in an explicitly contemporary manner.

Oslo's urban landscape and pandemic restrictions

Norway imposed pandemic restrictions in the spring of 2020 to slow the spread of COVID-19. Oslo has the largest and densest population in the country and was subjected to Norway's strictest interventions (Tvedt, 2021). These measures included penalties for socialising in groups over certain sizes, voluntary tracking of movement and social contact through the app *Smittestopp* ("infection stop"), compulsory quarantine and the closing of public facilities like schools, workplaces, shops, and gyms. Norway also enforced national border control and domestic travel restriction. These measures created boundaries between people and places, limiting residents' social and physical mobility.

These restrictions were experienced unequally by my informants, who live in different parts of Oslo. *Bjølsen* is in the east and was traditionally a working-class area that is now inhabited by a mix of residents, including young middle-class families. *St. Hanshaugen* is centrally located in the west and includes student housing. Teisen is a working-class, neighbourhood in

the eastern periphery that previously had substantial industry. I have also briefly included information from one informant who lives in *Gamlebyen*, an east- side neighbourhood located in the oldest part of the city.

Broadly speaking, Oslo's west side has traditionally been inhabited by the upper and middle classes while the east side has been populated by the working classes (Tvedt, 2021). However, central parts of the city have become popular and both sides of town are generally expensive, partly due to the gentrification of working-class areas. This has pushed many working-class residents and much of the immigrant population to more affordable and less central eastern neighbourhoods (Tvedt, 2021).

The development of and response to pandemic restrictions

Apart from the threat of penalties, people's willingness to abide by regulations appears to have been influenced by processes of social control, stigma and actions motivated by solidarity (De Lauri & Telle, 2020, p.2). The Norwegian government has seemingly attempted to strengthen these attitudes by appealing to civil morals, advocating a victory over the virus through *dugnad*. This concept refers to unpaid collective work done for the greater good (De Lauri & Telle, 2020, p.2), and is a referential Norwegian cultural norm in which "individualistic" actions and non-compliance are met with disapproval. Contributing to this type of informal, but socially mandatory effort is a way for citizens to partake in a shared community.

Nina who lives with her family in Bjølsen, fittingly explained that the pandemic and restrictions created cohesion within her neighbourhood "I felt like, now we have gone through this together, sort of "yes, you remember at the beginning, when we were there and that happened" and the other person probably has a similar story".

Figure 6: Bookshop close to Bjølsen communicating social solidarity by writing "Everything will be ok" outside the shop entrance. From "Slik holder de seg i gang: – Har lyst til å ha et tilbud", by Jacobsen, M.K, 2021 (https://www.ao.no/slik-holder-de-seg-i-gang-har-lyst-til-a-ha-et-tilbud/s/5-128-31528)

Stian who lives part-time with his two-year-old son in Gamlebyen, also expressed how he experienced that the pandemic and the restrictions promoted solidarity:

People put up signs on their fences and it said stuff like "we can go shopping for you if you need help. Call this number". People tried to volunteer and help [*dugnadsarbeid*]. I think that was very nice [*koselig*] and it was how it should be. And that kind of thing became a little more obvious during lockdown, because people needed support and not everyone could go shopping *(Stian, 38)*.

According to Gullestad (1989 p.49), contemporary norms in Norway are embedded in a romanticisation of traditional values, prevalent when the country was predominantly rural and society was to a greater degree built on informal networks shaped by reciprocal ties, cohesion and egalitarianism. In this context, acting individualistically was seen as immodest and contrary to a collective unity where "sameness" (Gullestad's term, 2002) was an ideal. The government seemingly drew on these ideals of sameness to encourage residents to act collectively, egalitarian and follow restrictions. This speaks to Anderson's (2006) theories of imagined communities and how nationalist rhetoric is used by states to create an emotional force among citizens to protect a common national identity and territory. The Norwegian

prime minister released a press statement just one week before the country's first lockdown. Here she focused on shared national identity and a duty to work together during the pandemic:

The generations before us have created a society where we trust and respect each other. In times of ups and downs, directors and industrial workers have stood shoulder to shoulder […]. When freedom has been threatened, Norwegians have fought for each other. This has given our country an advantage that is more powerful than any weapon and more valuable than any oil fund: That we trust each other. Without the high level of trust between residents and the authorities, we could never have got the whole of Norway involved in the fight against the Coronavirus. […] What unites us is more important than what separates us. […] this is not the time for "me". This is the time for "we" (*Prime Minister Erna Solberg, 2020*).

Blaming "the other" to make sense of despair
According to Gullestad (2002, pp.46-47), however, "sameness" is not necessarily the same as egalitarianism and cohesion. She puts it like this "Likhet" [sameness] is the most common translation of 'equality', implying that social actors must consider themselves as more or less the same in order to feel of equal" (Gullestad, 2002, p.46). "Sameness" is perceived as a specific set of Norwegian traits, and people without these traits can risk exclusion. The concept of "sameness" can therefore pose a threat to rather than bolster egalitarianism and cohesion. In fact, "sameness" and membership is created through marking distinctions between "insiders" and "outsiders", in order to protect and communicate a shared identity. Generally, this reflects Barth's (1969) and Douglas' (1984) arguments about how communities are strengthened when opposing outsiders, while in a Norwegian context Gullestad illustrates how this has been shaped by drawing on issues of immigration and the use of symbolic fences[8]:

Norwegian men and women want sameness, but in the process of creating sameness they indirectly organize symbolic fences between themselves and people who are not considered the same. The symbolic fences are not primarily established for shutting someone out, but first and foremost to protect and preserve social identity which is defined within a reference group (*Gullestad, 1992, p.195*).

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[8] Referring to more than real "fences", being forms of symbolic means (e.g., stigma and rhetoric's) to create social boundaries and separate people (Gullestad, 1992, p.195).

It is as though an outsider must be created, in order for the internal sameness, unity, and sense of belonging to be confirmed. History, ancestry, religion, and morality are intertwined in this form of nationalism, ethnicizing the state as an expression of collective identity. 'Immigrants' are asked to 'become Norwegian', at the same time as it is tacitly assumed that this is something they can never really achieve (*Gullestad, 2002, p.59*)

The global spread of the virus can be seen as threat to people's individual well-being and health, but also as a threat to the bounded national territory. The outreach of the virus exceeds boundaries put in place to mark separation from "outside" hazards. When these separations are breached, the defined reference group and territory is vulnerable, creating a source of anxiety. As Nina puts it, "[p]eople were afraid of a new situation, of something that we have never experienced before". The pandemic's "dirty" and anomalous traits disturb predictable, familiar social structures and generated a need to seek out systems of categorisation to restore feelings of order, resulting in Gullestad's symbolic fences, excluding those considered "not the same".

Here, "anomalous" individuals are easily blamed by peers for introducing external and polluting forces (viruses) into their inner circle. In a report on the impact of COVID-19, anthropologists from the London School of Economics argue that anxiety and lack of knowledge about the virus led people to individually categorise risks based on stereotypes, targeting stigmatised and marginalised groups (i.e., based on ethnicity, nationality, class, age etc.) (Bear et al., 2020, p.84). Consequently, stereotypes are reproduced and enforced, further excluding of marginalised groups.

Monica Schoch-Spana (2008, p.36) describes this as a "geography of blame", linked to how people try to make sense of tragedy by "implying a foreign point of origin for the pandemic against which the country can and must be secured". In Norway, an article written by the former leader of the political "Progress Party" Siv Jensen and the MP Jon Helgheim illustrates Gullestad's argument about how immigrants are treated as "different" to protect a shared Norwegian identity:

We could probably refrain from introducing the most intrusive measures if infection rates among the immigrant population had been more similar to the rest of the population […]. No matter what media, channels and language this group is following, they should have understood the seriousness of the situation. It therefore seems like there is a part of the population that is less concerned about the situation. If this is

true, we have a situation where the entire population is following measures that will break both individuals and companies, because one part of the population does not feel the same responsibility towards our community as the rest of the population (*Jensen & Helgheim, 2020*).

The current leader of the Progress Party Sylvi Listhaug (in Revfem & Torres 2020) followed up, "[h]ow can you live in Norway without realizing that you should not be kissing, touching and hugging in the middle of a pandemic? It makes you ask whether this is an example of Norway's integration problem?" According to Laura Bear et al., such rhetorical framing speaks to how:

Moral languages of pollution, hygiene and recklessness have been used to apportion blame to certain groups. Avoidance of stigmatised populations is often articulated through the oblique language of safety and protection, rather than illness or infection *(Bear et al., p.84, 2020).*

This is similar to what emerged from my discussion of stereotypes about favela residents, ("dirty" and "dangerous"). Blamed for São Paulo's crime (Caldeira, 2000, p.32), the exclusion of this group was framed in terms of safety. During crises, stigmatisation in both São Paulo and Oslo is thus confirmed and amplified, triggered by people's need to make sense of structural disorder through tangible explanations in reference to ubiquitous stereotypes.

Restrictions as experienced unequally

Ideas of Norwegian "sameness" and the "shared task" of fighting the virus were challenged by residents' unequal experiences of the boundaries imposed as part of the Covid-19 response. As in São Paulo and East Boston, residential inequality was reinforced as material and spatial manifestations during the pandemic in Oslo. Reflecting Bourdieu's (1996) comments on how invisible social relationships transfer themselves into physical space, Harvey fittingly claims that:

[…] what the virus has revealed in such gut-wrenching detail - is that "our urban areas are laced by invisible [?] but increasingly impermeable boundaries separating enclaves of wealth and privilege from the gap-toothed blocks of aging buildings and vacant lots where jobs are scarce and where life is hard *(Harvey, 2020).*

In my case, Harvey's observation relates to how restrictions in Oslo have encouraged and forced people to withdraw from public spaces. Several of my informants described their difficulties with following guidelines due to limited access to private space. Having access to the latter and not being extremely reliant on using public facilities is pivotal in shaping resident's ability to follow restrictions. According to Gullestad (2003) economic growth experienced by many Norwegian households has increased their access to private goods, while more sharply defining divisions between public and private space.

With rising general affluence came an increase in consumer goods in the home, rendering the home more attractive in relation the semi-private and semi-public spaces of the neighborhood. Household members work symbolically in order to transform market commodities into goods that belong to the moral space of the home.

The boundary between the private home and the neighborhood has been drawn more sharply. Whereas the home has become an even more important focus for privacy and intimacy, present conditions do not favor as much as before locally based social density, multiplexity of ties, informal information flow, practical support, or social control among neighbors. Thus the neighborhood is marginalized compared to the intensified intimacy of the home *(Gullestad, 2003, pp.15-16)*.

The division between private and public space was intensified during the pandemic, illuminating socioeconomic divisions between residents based on their financial capacity. Kristian describes how he sees spatial divisions play out in Oslo:

If you go to the "posh" parts of Oslo, libraries and parks and stuff aren't usually that packed. Because the people who live there, they kinda have their own "parks" or libraries they can use. But if you go to areas which aren't that "nice", then playgrounds and stuff like that are completely full on a Friday night, with all sorts of different people. It's because they need to leave their small apartments. And during the lockdown… I mean for us who need to use the public and get out, it's been a problem *(Kristian)*.

The act of transforming market commodities into private domestic goods is also made visible in my examples about gated communities in São Paulo and the rooftop complex in East Boston. All of my three cases demonstrate how spatial separation amplifies divisions between those who can access a "total way of life" and those "left to the public" (Caldeira, 2000, p.264). People who lacked access to adequate private spaces, who were forced to withdraw from public space during lockdown, described feeling confined to their homes. Residents who lived in "clean" spaces with sufficient access to services, goods and space, and experienced

minor problems with working at home, were far less affected by the virus-related restrictions. This resembles how threats of crime and violence forced residents in my Brazilian case to withdraw from public space, curbing their physical and social activity and experienced by lower-class residents as "imprisonment".

Despite Oslo's smaller size and population, less diversity and divisiveness compared to Boston and São Paulo, conspicuous ethnic and socioeconomic variations and boundaries shape the city. Boundaries are largely drawn between the west and east side of the city. According to statistics from 2018-19, large parts of Oslo's eastern neighbourhoods outside the city centre are inhabited by groups with relatively low educational and income levels (Oslo Kommune, Levekårsindikatorer, 2021). Research conducted on infection rates in Oslo's 15 districts shows that the east side districts Stovner, Grorud, Alna and Bjerke had the highest rates of COVID-19. These districts have high proportions of immigrants and living conditions are cramped. In contrast, three districts in the west (Ullern, Nordre Aker and Vestre Aker) and east side Nordstrand (which is socioeconomically mixed) have significantly lower infection rates. These areas have smaller immigrant populations and generally more spacious living conditions (Søegaard & Kan, 2021).

Researchers and commentators have previously discussed if infection rates are likely to be higher among groups who have occupations that force them to leave home and/or who live in crowded spaces (Arnesen, 2020; Dorholt et al; 2020). A newspaper article (Brandvold, 2020, p.4) about Somalis in Oslo explained, for instance, how people from this group often work as taxi and bus drivers, cashiers, cleaners and caretakers, and lived in crowded spaces. This consequently complicated working from home, withdrawing from public space and isolating from others, making Somalis more vulnerable to infection.

This is an example of Farmer's (2004) arguments about how health and disease can represent structural violence. High infection rates among low-class and marginalised residents can thus be an outcome of unfavourable house- and working conditions. Still, recent studies have failed to prove a correlation between infection rates and living conditions and occupations in Oslo (Søegaard & Kan, 2021). Whatever the cause, increased infection rates were an additional burden on people living in these areas and may have discouraged them from spending time in public places. There is a distinctly social element to the experiences of those who easily adapted to restrictions compared to those who struggled.

The case of Else: "it was a freedom that they had that I don't have, because I cannot afford to travel anywhere"

Else is a sixty-year-old woman who lives alone in an apartment on the east side neighbourhood Teisen, part of the district Alna (Søegaard & Kan, 2021). In 2018, Alna had the highest number of residents in Oslo with "reduced functional capacity" (Oslo Kommune, Levekårsindikatorer, 2021). Due to chronic illness, Else is unable to work and has received disability pension since 2002. Else and I arranged to meet near her neighbourhood. Cafes were closed due to COVID-19 restrictions, so we sat in the entrance of a closed museum. Else described her experience of the area before and during the pandemic:

I haven't used Teisen that much in my spare time, not before Corona and not now either. It's not because of the people or anything, but because Teisen is an area that is surrounded by three main roads. So, you don't really get anywhere, so I usually travel with my car, for example to Skullerud or Østmarka. I used to go to cafes in the area, but with the virus I have avoided it. I would also sometimes go to our nearest shopping centre, which is Tveita. I don't really go there anymore because I have avoided crowded spaces. But this Saturday I went with a friend and I was shocked, because people just walked all over as if there was no such thing as Corona. I ended up going into a shop and hiding between two advertisement signs to avoid people.

Like the same thing happened this summer. I was sitting on a bench with a friend outside on a narrow sidewalk and then people walked all the way up to us. It freaked me out so I had to tell my friend that I couldn't stay. Then I would rather sit like this [where we were sitting]. You can see how well they have set the tables [with distance]. This summer I didn't go to the beach that much either, but I took some evening baths. I stayed at home a lot during the lockdown period *(Else)*.

Else described how she previously felt isolated because of her illness and limited social network, and how this became intensified when she withdrew from public space. She emphasised that what frustrated her the most since the pandemic was how others complained about not being able to travel:

All these people who absolutely had to go to the cabin. I don't have a cabin, so it wasn't new to me. The fact that people didn't get to travel to Southern Europe or to their cabin, it was a freedom that they had that I don't have, because I cannot afford to travel anywhere. As I said, when I have my summer holiday I sit here [museum café in Oslo] a couple of times a month, that's what I can afford. So, when people complain, it's because they have the opportunity *(Else)*.

Else shows how the crisis contributed to confirming and consolidating existing forms of socioeconomic inequalities and boundaries in society. She illustrated this by describing how experiences of restrictions were shaped by people's access to private goods and space, thus being forced to sacrifice different types of freedom. Else argued that she did not see following restrictions as being "a shared task". Instead, she stressed that she felt the pandemic illuminated problems she already knew existed and that any ongoing "solidarity" was a "passing trend":

There was this Facebook group called "Oslo helps Oslo". I got the impression that people got help there. But I mostly experienced it as a hype. Like, yes, we are so kind to each other blah blah. I didn't expect anything to change when Corona started. Like the neighbourhood becoming more unified and stuff. Because I have been through a lot of difficult things before, broken my back, flooding in the basement, etc. And there has never been anyone who has helped me… *(Else)*

*The Case of Kristian: "It was like being out in the public all the time"*
I met Kristian in November 2020 at the University of Oslo. Kristian was 26 and had just moved into a new apartment from his student dorm where he had lived for years. We discussed his experiences of living in the 18 square meter dorm, with shared communal spaces – kitchen, bath, living rooms -, in the downtown area of St. Hanshaugen during the initial periods of the pandemic. He described his living space like this:

Inside my room I had a small refrigerator and sink. There was also a small French balcony. That was really nice, because without that I would probably have felt really claustrophobic. […]. Our floor was divided into two parts with fourteen people and so in each part, there lived seven people who had their own private rooms and then we shared the rest. So, the kitchen, and then luckily there were two toilets and two showers. But for seven people, I mean it wasn't that much *(Kristian)*.

When I asked Kristian about his relationship with the other residents, he described it as limited, due to lack of space and the frequent shifting of tenants:

There wasn't much of a community in that complex. I lived there for 5 years, so I'm definitely the one who's lived there the longest. None of the people I originally lived with were there for the last six months when Corona started. But before the virus there was in general just a lot of people coming in and out, so you didn't really end up having relationship with them. You just kind of said hello. And there weren't any spaces to hang out really. We would meet each other more randomly in the kitchen. But it was hard to hang

out there, because it was small and without a sofa. In our own rooms we didn't have much space. But I mean it's a complex with 5 floors and some hundred people, so it's kinda like, oh who are you ... have I seen you before? *(Kristian).*
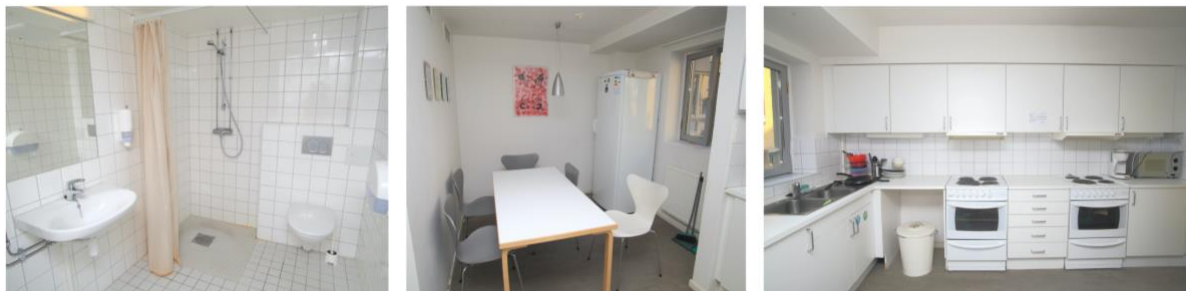
Figures 7,8,9,10,11. Examples of private and communal spaces in student housing, including a private dorm and balcony, as well as a shared bathroom and kitchen. From: "Boligoversikt", by Studentsamskipnaden (SiO) (2021).

https://sio.no/bolig/boligoversikt?fbclid=IwAR1DGz0fEG7E4QcbpfUQ5t0gIioo4YFSo5p52XzhTHmBUSATXs2tem-z0Ms

Kristian explains how he and his peers in student housing are dependent on public spaces to socialise and access facilities. He describes having to withdraw from this during the pandemic as challenging:

We needed to use spaces outside our own apartment, because it was small. We were completely dependent on that. Before I think I used the city space to make up for not having more of my own space. In my old neighbourhood [St. Hanshaugen] I used to walk around a lot. I would go to the local cafés, Fretex [secondhand shop] and to the park. And I would use the university to get work done. Just staying in that small space, that wasn't the original plan for those rooms. You can live in an apartment and be in lockdown for a year, but not in a room like that. When Corona came I couldn't use those [public] rooms and there was no reason to go out, because there were no lectures [at the university]. Nothing happened. So, then it was just that one room. It was really difficult (Kristian).

Kristian continued to elaborate on his experience of living in student housing and sharing a kitchen and bathroom with other tenants he did not personally know, during the pandemic:

I felt like a drug addict living in a hostel. I mean, not to compare how tough it was, but the situation was kind of the same. You have many people around you that you don't know, and you don't have privacy when doing really basic tasks that you need to get done every day and you are unable to do them. I mean the rental company should see if we are safe when living there. And during the pandemic we couldn't use the communal areas in the same way we did before and for people with underlying diseases they were practically banned from the common areas. So, then you just have to go and stay in the room all the time. I was a bit annoyed that those things weren't reflected in the rent. Of course, the company isn't responsible for the pandemic, but it was something I felt was a little unfair *(Kristian)*.

Kristian was on the one hand forced out of public spaces, like parks and shops that previously made his living conditions more tolerable. On the other hand, he was unable to retreat from "dirty" and "polluted" spaces such as shared bathrooms. Singer and Rylko-Bauer (2020, p.14) argue how "[i]t is impossible for people to isolate while living in a large group setting […], sharing bathroom facilities and eating spaces with many other people", demonstrating that Kristians's experience is not uncommon.

Kristian found himself in a mentally demanding situation in addition to his vulnerability to contagion. Comparing himself to a marginalised group (drug addicts) suggests that Kristian felt treated like an outcast, not granted the same level of protection as other groups that could comfortably withdraw from threatening situations. Kristian echoes Else when he expressed a frustration towards those publicly complaining about lack of mobility, when accessing far more private space than he could:

You notice differences when you talk to people who don't really mind being at home and they have nothing to say about it. For them it hasn't really made a big difference. Just the fact that they don't mention anything. Like, come on, we are in a pandemic! But I've talked to others who are upset too. And they live in an entire apartment and then I'm like I live in a small closet over here. So that has annoyed me a little. I felt like before Corona we all had freedom, but then the freedom became very different. Like it's me living in a student apartment and then there's those who live in a huge rooftop apartment. We somehow had the same conditions before the virus, but when it came, we no longer had them *(Kristian)*.

Kristian's remarks illustrate how the pandemic has accentuated existing structures of inequality. This becomes especially noticeable in the part where he stresses "we all had freedom, but then the freedom became very different". This shows how during lockdown,

mobility and the ability to withdraw from public "threats" was primarily available to those with sufficient means to pay for it:

At first, we didn't have any guidelines about what to do with the situation and we wanted to know what to do if someone on our floor had it. Did we have to be quarantined? It became really difficult, because you don't have your own house. It was like being out in public all the time. I used a lot of gloves and disinfected everything. What happened was that almost everyone went home to their parents because they were so scared. I stayed but I remember that I didn't use the kitchen during the worst period. I ended up buying a little portable stove so that I could make food in my room and all the rooms have a little fridge and sink too. So, then I didn't have to go all the way out and touch things and meet people *(Kristian)*.

In addition to the rental company not providing tenants with sufficient guidelines, a lack of social ties between tenants appears to have increased Kristian's vulnerability during the pandemic. As mentioned previously, belonging to a community can facilitate individual resources (care, protection, goods etc.) within a bounded space while a lack of such ties and being "out of place" can prevent this. For Kristian, a lack of communication about infection, poor cleaning and an absence of trust between tenants made the use of shared spaces challenging.

I could somewhat empathise with Kristian's descriptions, having lived in a student apartment during parts of the pandemic. I remember how tenants would avoid eye contact when meeting in the hallways and sometimes leave garbage and old furniture in the hallway. Like Kristian, I think this was connected to the many students who were short-term residents, feeling neither a need nor a desire to invest in a social community. While Gullestad (1992; 2003) highlights independence as a central value in Norway, she also stresses the importance of social ties. She describes how a lack of community between people living closely together, such as in apartment buildings, can have serious consequences:

Above all, residents depend on each other for personal safety. If one person in a building causes a fire because of carelessness, for instance, everybody in the building will suffer. If one person forgets to lock the backdoor all the bicycles may be stolen, or one or two apartments broken into. Cleaning and tending to the semi-private spaces within the building and the semi-public spaces outside, is a way for residents to tell each other that they are trustworthy in these matters *(Gullestad, 2003, p.44)*.

Kristian's lack of economic means and local social ties left him in a vulnerable situation during lockdown. He was unable to use public urban space, forcing him to stay in his small dorm. At the same time, he was "left to the public", as he shared communal spaces with tenants he did not personally know or trust. This made him anxious and more at risk of infection, and he responded by further withdrawing into his room, making him feel like a social outcast. Kristian's lack of private and safe space made him far less mobile and more dependent on community ties than peers able to withdraw from the public and access private facilities. This consequently intensified and highlighted social inequality prevalent prior to the pandemic.

The case of Nina: "that backyard has given us such a neighbourly feeling"
Nina is a thirty-two-year-old woman who lives in an apartment with her partner and three-year-old daughter. We met in November at a café near her home. She described her experience of the first lock down:

Everything completely changed. My office closed on the day, and we were told that everyone had to leave. The first two or three days we just sat inside. So, we became very isolated, the three of us. My partner still had to work, so he had to create a home office. At that time, everything was just put completely on hold. And the day care closed and one of us had to take care of her. He made his home office in her room. All the toys were pulled out into the living room *(Nina)*.

Nina explains how using her backyard helped her with the challenges she faced living in a small apartment, having her husband work from home and her daughter out of day care. She described her experiences of using communal spaces during the pandemic in a different manner than Kristian. She communicated with neighbours about trying to keep safe, while sharing the backyard and outdoor toys used by tenants' children. In Gullestad's (2003, p.44) theoretical terms, Nina and her neighbours demonstrated reciprocal trust in a time of crisis:

During lockdown when the kindergarten was closed, we would often go out to the yard and play with the other children and talk to their parents. It was really nice. But sometimes someone would make comments a bit jokingly, like "now there are a bit many people here, maybe we need separate into groups or like "make sure to clean all your toys", if the kids shared stuff. So, then we became more careful and aware *(Nina)*.

Nina explained that being a mother enabled her to build these social ties, communicate with her neighbours and other parents, and fit into a bounded communal space. She was, thus able

to physically move within and socially relate to her current surroundings, rather than observing it from the "outside":

When we lived in Tøyen we had a very nice, lush, shared garden but we didn't really use it. I don't think we felt like we had anything to do there when we didn't have children. It's a bit like people who have a dog. They often talk to each other because they have a common point of reference, like something to hide behind. Because it's unnatural as an adult. I wouldn't go up to someone in the yard, sit down and say hello what is your name. For me that would have felt strange, but when my daughter asks, then you get an answer and I say what my name is too and that makes you start a conversation naturally.

I was very grateful that we had neighbours who were in the same situation, who had children the same age. We would sit and have a chat on the bench while the kids played, and the parents could kind of hang out. We have a very relaxed relationship with each other. That backyard has given us such a neighbourly feeling, because we know the other families who have small children. The neighbour who lives above us also has a porch facing the backyard and she also had a home office, single and had no children and she was completely isolated. She was just sitting up there. She greeted us a few times. She obviously lives more isolated than us. The rest of us had to go out with our children and be active (*Nina*).

The above shows how Nina felt included, while her neighbour without children and a "relevant" identity, was excluded from this part of the community. Nina and her neighbour's affiliation were probably well-established prior to the pandemic. The importance of their membership has probably been intensified during lockdown, as they are especially dependant on social support during an emergency. Nina continues to demonstrate this:

There was one family who had just got a new baby and so the mother was inside with the little one and then the father had to be outside and entertain their other child. And I was in the same situation because my partner was sitting inside and working, so we found each other a bit in that state. Like "what are we going to do now that everything is closed, and our partners need space". And we were probably both a bit contact-seeking. And so, if I was standing by our window, I could hear if there was someone out in the backyard and then I would say to my daughter "now Marius is outside, let's go out", so our kids could play. *(Nina)*.

Lack of spatial and economic resources were thus not the only factors that shaped people's experiences of their surroundings during the pandemic. Communication with those they shared space with was also vital. Kristian also acknowledged this, arguing that "when everything closed down and people had issues, and were lonely, that doesn't get fixed with a

bigger apartment". Nina stressed that she did not feel the need to move during the pandemic to gain more space:

Houses usually have fences and gates. When you live close together in apartments and you have neighbours who you can talk to from the windows, it becomes easier to know each other than when you are outside the city with greater distances. I feel like in the centre of Oslo there is more focus on public open areas, while houses are more private. I'm from here, from the city, from Grünerløkka and I love the city. So, I had the opposite experience of those who talked about being happy about not living in the city during lockdown, because they had more space and distance. I was really happy that I could look out the window and see some life, see someone cycling and the backyard. You could go and buy yourself a cup of coffee, even if you couldn't sit there. You kind of got a sense of normalcy anyway *(Nina)*.

Nina's sentiments show how public space has qualities that private space lacks. It allows and encourages social contact. Issues related to lack of private space can be bettered through social bonds that enable individuals to obtain resources within a given space. However, as demonstrated by the case from East Boston, boundaries resulting from external forces can threaten communal spaces and thereby undermine such ties. Nina recognised this, explaining how she no longer felt a sense of belonging to her childhood neighbourhood that used to be a working-class area, but has over the last decades become gentrified:

I grew up in Grünerløkka, but I don't feel at home there anymore. Everyone has moved away now, and my father doesn't live there anymore. When I moved away from home, my father moved to the countryside. He grew up there too [Grünerløkka] and lived in the same apartment complex all his life, until he moved. My grandparents came there in the 50s. There used to be fairly low rental prices and you could get fixed contracts for a lifetime. But suddenly the complex was sold, and people had to buy their apartment to stay there. But the prices were really high. So, people moved. And then it attracted different types of people than those who had a lease there for 30 years. And my father, he is very working class and so he felt there was too much partying. And there was music pumping into his window after this new bar opened close to Birkelunden. And he felt like he couldn't relax. His car was always destroyed in the street. Maybe it was a little his age, that he was getting older and had that "angry old man" thing. But I also think he felt kind of pushed out. And I'm younger and I don't fit in there, either. Like I'm not cool or exciting enough. It's so weird to say, but yes. Now I rarely go back there.

I feel like Bjølsen is a bit like Grünerløkka used to be when I was little. People are very down to earth and relaxed. At Bjølsen you can go out with hiking pants and dry shampoo in your hair and nobody cares. But when I'm there [Grünerløkka] I can be very self-conscious. So, when I moved to the Bjølsen, it felt a bit like coming back home again, because it reminds me a bit of my childhood. I also had a grandmother who

lived a little further up the road from where I live now. It's fun, because you get to know parents in the kindergarten, so you are suddenly greeted by quite a few people in the neighbourhood. Like if you meet them in the park and exchange a few words, then you start to know a lot of people in the area. It gives me a real sense of belonging. It's just small things, like "hi" and "how are you?", but then you don't feel left out. *(Nina)*.

Nina's description shows how she experienced two urban areas differently, based on the fit of her identity and social background. Her status as a mother gave her membership within her local community, making it possible for her to receive and give social support to neighbours during lockdown. This shows how having economic means and space alone does not determine people's sense of well-being during a pandemic. Social bonds are important. However, lack of economic and spatial capital will often heighten and reproduce social issues, making low-class residents vulnerable in ways wealthier peers are not, as Nina and her father experienced. When "development" undermined their community's networks, their physical and mental well-being declined. They were economically and socially "pushed out" of Nina's childhood neighbourhood.

The observations and discussion above accentuate how social networks are strongly embedded with our access to and perception of urban space, and both are essential for our well-being - in positive and negative ways.

Chapter summary

Above I discuss the effects of the global spread of Corona on residents from different neighbourhoods in Oslo. The cases are clear examples of how increased mobility and global flow can have detrimental consequences, here resulting in a pandemic, and how national authorities respond by creating boundaries.

In Oslo, globalisation and the ensuing pandemic probably led to negative consequences in all parts of society. My emphasis is on how these consequences highlighted and strengthened prevalent, pre-Corona spatial and social structures among those with fewer resources. I do this by focusing on unequal experiences of pandemic restrictions.

I argue that unequal experiences of restrictions contradict Norwegian cultural norms concerned with egalitarianism and "sameness". Public discourses that blame marginalised

groups for reckless behaviour and high infection rates illustrate how people perceived as "different" are often stigmatised. This is an example of Douglas' contentions that order is maintained by excluding anomalous figures portrayed as threats to a social system. I would argue that the Oslo case challenges ideas of "Norwegian sameness" and instead underscores existing structures of inequality.

Norwegian ideas concerned with "defeating the virus" as "a shared task" are critically examined, as restrictions concerned with "shutting down" public space have been experienced unequally. This connects to how groups have unequal economic means and opportunities to access safe private spaces. However, I argue that being part of a local community can provide resources and soften the impact of emergencies. Economic and spatial capital alone does not confirm and increase people's access to mobility and is not the sole factor that determines a sense of well-being during a pandemic. Lack of economic means will, however, often heighten and reproduce social issues, making low-class residents vulnerable in ways wealthier peers are not. In short, I therefore argue that the pandemic has shed and intensified class differences in Oslo, materialised as access to private space.

9. Discussion

Throughout this thesis I have drawn on a theoretical framework concerned with space, place, urban boundaries, belonging and exclusion. I have aimed to show how sociocultural structures are spatially embedded and are both shaped by and shape forms of human practice. I have explored how these theoretical concepts can be used to analyse empirical processes in three different city landscapes: a) gated communities and favelas in São Paulo, b) gentrification processes in East Boston and c) pandemic restrictions in Oslo.

My cases show that urbanisation and globalisation have created opportunities, but also triggered issues related to excessive growth, inequality and friction. Consequently, urban living has become less sustainable. My aim has been to demonstrate how these issues have shaped the spatial and social landscape of the three cities. Drawing on anthropologists including Barth (1969, p.15) and Douglas (1984), I argue that communities are shaped by what they exclude, and that group membership is strengthened when opposing something or defining someone as an outsider. I argue that this trend has become intensified by urban and global friction. With reference to Douglas' theories about pollution and purity, I relate this to how residents often respond to pressure and chaos by attempting to create order. As a consequence, spheres of exclusion or inclusion have emerged within the three cities, impacting residents' spatial landscapes and their abilities to use them.

The extent to which theses boundaries are created deliberately to exclude certain social groups varies across the three cases. The use of gates and fences in São Paulo is an explicit attempt to physically exclude crime, violence and marginalised lower-class residents from a bounded space (Caldeira, 2000). These types of privatised material security systems are also actively used by residents to demonstrate community membership and to communicate their superior social status and wealth compared to stigmatised "outsiders".

In East Boston and Oslo, boundaries are more implicit, excluding outsiders in more subtle ways. Indeed, discourses concerned with "sameness" and "sustainability" are often used to portray boundaries as a way of creating local cohesion and welfare, a depiction that marginalised individuals in both settings describe as aggravating. In East Boston (BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019), the area's upgrade has been legitimised by reference to 'sustainable' and 'green' measures to improve local amenities. This rhetoric has

been used to attract buyers and create profit, while public space has become privatised and adapted to fit the needs of newcomers. These processes have created both material and symbolic boundaries between wealthy newcomers and working-class residents, resulting in the displacement of the latter.

In Oslo, pandemic restrictions led to physical and legal boundaries that limited the use of public space. Unlike the examples of gated communities and gentrification, these boundaries were imposed equally on all residents and were not aimed at economic profit. These restrictions have consequently been portrayed by the authorities as part of a *dugnad*, a collective and shared effort. Nevertheless, restrictions have been experienced unequally by residents, depending on their access and ability to withdraw to private space. In addition, stereotypes about marginalised groups have at times been used to blame these groups for high infection rates. These different narratives and experiences of restrictions have thus intensified and confirmed existing social inequalities between individuals with different socioeconomic backgrounds.

All three cases show that people with sufficient socioeconomic capital are largely able to benefit from, use, and shape boundaries according to their needs. This is illustrated by how the affluent use gated communities, roof top complexes and private housing as protection against public hazards and to concentrate urban resources for private consumption. On the other hand, residents who lack these economic and spatial means describe how local boundaries have made both their physical and social world smaller. These residents point to their reduced ability to meet friends, physically move in their neighbourhood and access services and spaces like transportation or parks. The cases highlight how the privatisation and "shutting down" of public amenities makes urban mobility a private good for those able to pay for it. Thus, relating to Harvey's (2008) remarks on how residents "right to the city" are distributed unequally, urban space is shaped by the desires of those in power.

While a lack of economic means can limit residents' physical and social activity, this can sometimes be compensated by strong community networks. For instance, Nina in Oslo, despite living in a small apartment, was able to be somewhat socially active during lockdown by using her back yard. She felt safe doing this as she and her neighbours trusted each other and established "rules" about how to use community spaces and limit risk of infection.

These types of community ties are often created and maintained through use of public space. When this space becomes inaccessible, for example as a consequence of violence, crime, privatisation or pandemics, residents also risk losing these important social networks. Working-class informants in both São Paulo and East Boston described how community ties helped them maintain a sense of stability and security despite living under hazardous conditions. These networks were threatened when urban reorganisation forced locals to relocate. Informants from all three cases described exclusion from public space, infrastructure and community networks as physically and mentally straining. Such issues can become especially harmful for those who are also excluded from care systems provided by public services or through private resources. It may furthermore reproduce problems, for example in regard to health and security, among vulnerable residents. These trends demonstrate how social structures both produce and are produced by the spatial and material landscape (Low, 2016).

Such processes reflect central topics within the field of medical anthropology concerned with how socioeconomic resources shape our ability to adapt to our environment in a healthy manner (Singer & Baer, 2007; Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987). Residents in São Paulo and Oslo described their exclusion from public space as creating feelings of immobility and loneliness. In addition, informants from all three cities described local changes, including crime and gentrification, as making them feel socially displaced when using public space.

An inability to access safe housing or transportation, fear of displacement, air pollution, public disturbances and physical violence are other issues shaping the neighbourhoods, as well as informant's well-being. These examples all show how social and spatial exclusion have negatively impacted residents' well-being and relate to Farmer's (2004) theories on how the organisation of society can systematically harm certain groups. Belonging, on the other hand, as illustrated by residents' descriptions of local cohesion, has a positive effect on their well-being, and can somewhat compensate for unequal distribution of services.

By focusing on these topics, I have aimed to demonstrate how space is more than a physical location, but embedded in our social practices (Bourdieu, 1996). By doing this I argue that we can become better equipped to denaturalise and understand our spatial surroundings as created by and producing specific social structures (Low, 2016; Hall 1969; Ferguson & Gupta, 1992).

To return to my opening question: in what ways do sociocultural structures become spatialized through urban boundary making, impacting residents' feelings of belonging and influencing their well-being? In sum, I explored this question by focusing on how processes of globalisation, including migration, travel and global commercial networks have been intensified (Harvey, 1989) and especially affected the dense, populated landscapes of the cities (Florida, 2008), sometimes leading to "overheating" (Eriksen, 2016). I illustrate how human practices related to urbanisation and globalisation have triggered friction and put pressure on the spatial organisation of Boston, São Paulo and Oslo.

I argue that this has resulted in a need to order and categorise urban "chaos". As a consequence, social and material boundaries have emphasised and created new physical and spatial divisions between people and places in all three cities. These divisions are experienced unequally, depending on residents' community membership. Residents with access to social and economic capital are commonly able to use boundaries as sources of protection and to concentrate resources in exclusive areas. Peers who lack such capital, however, describe being excluded from spaces that provide material and social infrastructure. As a consequence, lower-class residents describe issues of social displacement and material deprivation as negatively impacting their physical and mental well-being.

By focusing on how these processes are experienced by individuals in highly unequal ways, I have attempted to demonstrate that space is never "neutral" but produced by and reproducing specific social structures (ref. Bourdieu, 1996; Low, 2016; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992, 1997a; Uribe, 2017; Harvey, 2008). In addition, I have attempted to explore vast social processes related to urbanisation and globalisation (e.g., Eriksen, 2016; Harvey; 1989) and how they can be made tangible by studying them as local and embodied experiences (e.g., Farmer, 2004; Singer & Baer, 2007; Scheper-Hughes & Lock, 1987) and as spatial manifestations (Caldeira, 2000; BCNUEJ: Researchers in the GreenLULUs project, 2019).

Post research reflections and final remarks
It has now been more than a year since the Coronavirus changed our lives and sent my master thesis in a different direction. I am tired of social distancing, zoom meetings and not hugging friends. I am looking forward to the summer, getting vaccinated and starting a new chapter of

my life. However, one thing this last year has taught me is that our predictable systems of order are sometimes disrupted by "anomalies", forcing us to let go of expectations and plans.

Although I doubt that my professors expected a global pandemic, before the Coronavirus they reminded us that as we were studying real time phenomena and that our field site and access to informants might suddenly change. We were therefore advised to be open-minded and approach unpredictable incidents as a way of understanding our topic in new ways. While I was disappointed about cancelling my initial fieldwork plans and anxious about my less conventional choices of data, I now appreciate the reasons for this advice. The virus has forced me to understand and approach my surroundings, as well as reflect on how to "be ethnographic", in new ways. This process has been thought-provoking and instructive, but also limiting and challenging.

First of all, my change of site from Barcelona to Oslo let me experience my hometown from a different perspective. In my introduction, I described how my time spent in Argentina and Chile made me reflect on how space was shaped by the countries' socioeconomic inequality. However, "home" usually holds some taken for granted qualities (Madden, 2010, p.45), and I have rarely thought about how residential inequality shapes Oslo's landscape. Growing up and currently living in the city centre, I have largely thought of Oslo in terms of this bounded space. My observations of the pandemic restrictions in general and my interview with Else in particular made me aware of how Oslo consists of many "worlds". When interviewing Else about her neighbourhood in Teisen, I was introduced to an outlook and a part of Oslo which I knew little about prior to the interview. This has made me reflect on how my own position has shaped my experience and use of the city prior to and during the pandemic. In addition, it has made me more aware of how also Oslo's landscape is shaped by and reproduces social differences between residents and areas.

Secondly, my comparison of three cities has given me insight into how global and urban processes are embedded in different and similar ways across the world (e.g., Marcus, 1995). The pandemic has illuminated global interconnectedness and has made me see this multi-sited approach as more relevant than before. The use of these different data sets has also allowed me to explore different theories by applying them to data across time and space. I acknowledge, however, that by focusing on several fieldsites and on broad phenomena such as globalisation and urbanisation, I run the risk of producing "thin" description and of over-

generalising. Throughout my thesis, I have therefore attempted to find a balance between a focus on broad patterns or structures and an understanding of specific local findings.

After changing my research plans, I was concerned that my inability to carry out a more traditional fieldwork approach would weaken the ethnographic value of my thesis. Unable to carry out participant observation in Oslo and forced to rely on interview data, I was only able to gather data about what informants said, rather than observe what they did. In addition, my use of data from São Paulo and Boston had been collected and/or interpreted by others and only allowed me to analyse and read a selected part of the original context. Participating in a given setting and embodying and holistically observing a context would have enabled me to provide more detailed and vivid descriptions of all three places. In São Paulo and Boston, I would also have been able to gather material specific to my topic, providing me with more relevant data to choose from.

Although I was initially frustrated about not doing "proper" fieldwork, I am at least happy that I was able to conduct my own interviews and analyse raw data sets. This provided me with practical experience in data collection and analysis that I prior to my thesis had mostly been acquainted with theoretically. By working with BCNUEJ I have also gained experience in collaborating and communicating with professional researchers, and insights into problem-solving.

Thus, as stressed by Douglas (1984), and hopefully demonstrated in this thesis, our ability to positively adapt to anomalous situations can create new opportunities and knowledge. I am unable to predict what the post-COVID future of anthropology will be. Nonetheless, I imagine that this and future pandemics, as well as our awareness of climate change and our ever-increasing access to digital communication, will lead to further discussions concerning the conduct of "proper" fieldwork. In my opinion, this does not have to imply leaving behind classical approaches, but rather that we continue to adapt them to fit new contexts. In light of my own findings, I see the increase of both urban and global flows as essential parts of our contemporary context to be included in these considerations. I thus agree with Gupta and Ferguson when they argue that:

Anthropology's fieldwork tradition will manage to secure its continuity only if it is able to change to accommodate new circumstances. For that to happen, as Malinowski himself pointed out, such a tradition

must be aggressively and imaginatively reinterpreted to meet the needs of the present *(Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, pp.139-140)*.

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