Making Senses of Nordvest

Tracing the spaces, bodies and affects of a gentrifying neighborhood in Copenhagen

Linda Lapiņa

Roskilde University, PhD thesis

On the cover: The last "dormant" construction site in Nordvest (Glasvej)

"FYR DIG SÆL": "FIRE YOURSELF"

Above: January 16, 2017
Below: February 1, 2017

Photos by Linda Lapiņa

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PhD Thesis

Cultural Encounters

Department for Communication and Arts

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"All of us shaped by all of us and then other things as well."

(Spahr, 2005, p. 31)

Rainbow over a construction site and a blank billboard on Tranevej, Nordvest, September 2015

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Contents[1]

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[1] The articles appear in Italics in the list of contents, and are set in Times New Roman in the text. I have retained the original formatting of the articles (as published or submitted).

Chapter 1. By way of entering

Unraveling the body of thesis

This PhD thesis emerges from an ethnographic study of Nordvest in Copenhagen. I embarked on the research project and fieldwork expecting to find and analyze inequalities, conflicts, violence, injustices and struggles for presence in a contested urban area. A feminist decolonial perspective—which interrogates the role of intersecting markers (pertaining in particular to race, ethnicity, and class) in processes of inclusion and exclusion and the emergence of majority and minority positions in Nordvest—informed both my approach to data generation and my conceptual framework.

However, as the research project commenced, I realized that I needed to investigate the origins of the social spaces that I encountered in Nordvest as well as the emergence and movement of bodies in these spaces. This led me to the formulation of two research questions:

> *How are the changing spaces of Nordvest experienced, enacted and understood by residents, and how do they, in turn, constrain residents' experience?*

> *How do social inclusion and exclusion and minority and majority positions emerge across spaces and across intersecting markers of difference in Nordvest?*

Nordvest can be perceived, conceived and experienced as an entity: a district of Copenhagen. At the same time, it encompasses a multitude of different, specific local places. Both "Nordvest" and the local places one encounters when venturing into this area of the city are experienced and understood in multiple ways by bodies that move across and inhabit these spaces. Each place is invested with ambiguous and divergent meanings, feelings and materialities. These spaces are made in different ways by differently marked bodies.

This thesis consists of four research articles and a body of text that wraps them together (the thesis "cloak"). Each of the articles briefly locates Nordvest as a district with regards to the complexities of the area; but each has a primary focus on particular spaces, people and processes of inclusion and exclusion. The text that encloses the articles includes reflections on the methodology, empirical material and conceptual apparatus of this research. These reflections elaborate and clarify empirical, methodological and theoretical points from the articles or examine them in a different light.

On the other hand, the cloak includes additional empirical material, methodological considerations and conceptual explorations. These additional elements sometimes materialize as eruptions or interruptions, for example voices from Nordvest that highlight the heterogeneity of embodied

experiences and overspilling qualities of the data and the district. Sometimes they are guided by conceptual tensions that help situate the thesis in feminist theory, as in my discussion of modes of knowledge-seeking in Chapter 4. At other times, more conventionally, these additional elements develop core elements introduced in the articles. Chapter 2, for example, builds an affective, embodied methodology, while Chapter 4 discusses the enactments of bodies, spaces and affect.

The four articles featured in the thesis are sequenced in reverse order from their date of publication or submission. The first (last written) article forms part of Chapter 2 and examines the intersectional character of the researcher's passing as a majoritized (Danish) person during the conducting of fieldwork, drawing on autoethnography and memory work. Having moved to Denmark from Latvia in 2004, I became a young, uneducated, Eastern European love migrant of limited social value. In subsequent years, I increasingly passed as a well-integrated, desired migrant, closer to (Western) Europeanness and Danishness. When I started my fieldwork in Nordvest in 2014, I found myself majoritized, passing as Danish. In my capacity as researcher, I was never asked where I came from or assessed as a migrant in noticeable ways. Based on an analysis of my fieldwork encounters, I conceptualize passing (as Danish) as a material, discursive and affective process. The article sets out to develop an affective methodology, an undertaking substantiated and elaborated in Chapter 2. The chapter opens with a discussion of what it has meant, within the framework of this thesis, to conduct empirically driven research, arriving at pathways to analysis and conceptualizations through data production. To build an embodied, affective methodology, I draw on feminist perspectives that emphasize the relationality, situatedness, and embeddedness of knowledge production.

The next research article opens Chapter 3. This chapter highlights mutual enactments of bodies, spaces and affects in Nordvest. The chapter is composed of four empirical snapshots two of which are represented by research articles, the other two providing further empirical insight on the emergence of bodies, spaces and affective processes in the district. Focusing on Integration Gardens, a user-driven association that aims to combine gardening and "integration," the second research article identifies and analyzes two distinct modes of migrant space-making. One of them, the Integration Grid, manages space in the association, arising through and enforcing a Dane–foreigner binary. The second mode of space-making, the Web of Gardening, emerges between people, plants and gardening practices, evoking presences and memories and branching out to practices from multiple elsewheres.

The third article included in Chapter 3 highlights another mode of space-making that pertains to the widespread and potent enactment of Nordvest as a "diverse" district. This article develops the analytical figure of the diversity tourist based on interviews with white, middle-class, majority Danish residents. The diversity of Nordvest that is experienced, articulated and embraced by informants is

racialized and/or deprived; it is associated with minoritized people and places. The figure of diversity tourist emerges at a privileged distance from this "diversity," gazing at "local" places and people. In Nordvest, this figure engages in various practices of diversity consumption (from entertaining spectacle to transformative pedagogy) and longs for a "reality" and a "break from Copenhagen." In Chapter 3, this article accentuates mutual enactments of bodies and space, showing how the figure of the diversity tourist emerges vis-à-vis the "diverse" Nordvest.

Together with the other two empirical snapshots from Nordvest (three residents' enactments of a square; Smedetoften; and a sensory, embodied autoethnography of an urban walk in gentrifying spaces), these articles underscore the overspilling multiplicity of spaces and modes of space-making that comprise Nordvest. These spaces emerge through embodied, affective and discursive encounters with differently positioned bodies, and in turn, they constrain these bodies' freedom of movement, modes of being present and taking shape. In discussing the mutual emergence of bodies, spaces and affective circulations, Chapter 3 introduces some of the theoretical work central to Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 reflects on the conceptual devices that this thesis employs and develops. The chapter opens with a discussion of the workability and performativity of concepts as forceful devices for thinking, becoming and world-making, asking where conceptual work can and should take us. Following this discussion, the chapter interrogates conceptual prisms that stem from the four research articles. The first prism arises from the final research article in the thesis, which examines social interactions in a resident-driven community park through the lens of conviviality, and charts the concept's travels in studies of urban diversity. The article analyzes the modus operandi of the notion of "conviviality," applying it to the processes of inclusion and exclusion that unfold in the park.

The chapter moves on to elaborate and clarify the analytical figure of the "diversity tourist" and the related notion of "diversity". Next, it explains how this thesis theorizes space, bodies and affectivity, and their mutual entanglements and enactments. Finally, the chapter revisits the notion of passing introduced in the first research article.

The second part of Chapter 4 examines affective ecologies of knowledge production, a discussion foregrounded in the Introduction. I explore different modalities of knowledge generation and critique from a feminist perspective, pursuing the potentialities and directionalities of paranoia, negative critique, desire and hope as knowledge-seeking strategies. Finally, Chapter 5 picks up, but also loosens, important threads from the thesis, including revisiting the research questions and elaborating on affects of a generative ecology of knowledge.

A body full of knots?

The thesis presents the multiplicities and complexities of Nordvest by elaborating on selected saturated themes from the empirical material. The district emerges as a peripheral, marginal "not-quite-place" outside Copenhagen; as a "municipal garbage bin" for unwanted presences; as a district of stigmatized and desired "diversity" that "sticks to" (Ahmed, 2000, 2004c, 2012) non-white, subaltern, eccentric bodies and places; and as an "authentic" place about to be "lifted" and/or destroyed by gentrification. Drawing on the empirical material, the thesis theorizes these enactments of bodies, places and affective circulations in Nordvest. At the same time, Nordvest implodes and explodes into a multiplicity of heterogeneous local places. These places are, to some extent, embedded in the social fabric of Nordvest ("diversity", gentrification, authenticity, "municipal garbage bin", etc.), but they are also their own. Finally, Nordvest and its multiple places cannot be contained, breaching out to processes that pertain to, for instance, urban diversity management and city branding, the contours of Danishness, and bordering practices of the nation-state.

This research is largely empirically driven, which means that the development of the thesis's analytical pathways and conceptual lenses has been fuelled by the process of data generation through interviews and fieldwork. On one hand, my ethnographic work was situated and partial from the outset: attuned to exploring intersectionally mediated inequalities through a feminist decolonial lens and my own embodied experiences and histories as a migrant in Copenhagen. On the other hand, the continuously generated empirical data has been instrumental in driving the interpretative and conceptual work of the thesis. First, it has propelled the elaboration of an affective, embodied methodological approach that is intertwined with, and constitutes, knowledge production. Secondly, the process of data generation and methodological reflection has shaped the make-up of the conceptual framework—which, while multifaceted and loosely assembled, gestures towards decolonial feminist theory and embodied, emplaced materialism (Braidotti, 2002, 2011, 2013).

Through fieldwork I became increasingly aware of both the embodied labour of data production and knowledge as a product of localized, sensed experience. This sharpened my focus on situatedness and partiality, relationality, and the instrumentality of researcher positionalities in research encounters. These factors not only constrain the research process, they constitute it. Chapter 2 of the thesis traces the inseparability of data generation, analytical pathways and knowledge production, taking steps towards the development of an embodied, affective methodology. The methodological discussion is grounded in feminist emphases on locatedness, situatedness, relationality and embodiment in knowledge production.

In following pathways from the empirical material, I found myself engaging with concepts and perspectives borrowed from various fields and disciplines. These include studies of urban diversity, cultural and feminist geographies, poststructural philosophy and non-representational theory, literatures on intersectionality, critical race and whiteness studies, urban studies, feminist science and technology studies, gentrification research, scholarship on affect, and even research on tourism. While I approach concepts and knowledges from these fields from a feminist decolonial perspective, they are too numerous and varied to afford integration. Consequently, the general theoretical framework can best be conceived as an assemblage of devices that serve different tasks in different situations for different purposes. This toolbox is loosely assembled and full of unsolvable tensions of approaches to research and knowledge production. Consequently, Chapter 4 of the thesis does not aim towards an integrated, state-of-the-art theoretical approach. Rather, it selects conceptual devices that have been particularly instrumental and reviews their mutual tensions and complementarities in conceiving the entanglements of bodies, places and affect.

In addition, the thesis is borne of, and structured by, an ongoing inquiry into various affects, potentialities and ecologies of knowledge production, drawing on feminist theory. This discussion, introduced in the next section, unfolds in the second part of Chapter 4.

Simultaneously, due to its empirical nature, the thesis is propelled by tensions and multiplicities pertaining to 1) the enactments of spaces in Nordvest from various and conflicting material and subject positions; 2) the tension between an embodied, affective methodology and what can be articulated or "made sense of" through (academic) writing; and 3) the juxtaposition of various divergent conceptual lenses. These tensions are instrumental and productive for the research process, just as the tuning of strings is needed to make a piano work as a musical instrument.

The thesis takes shape by revisiting these tensions, empirical prisms, research articles, concepts and ways of thinking from slightly different locations. These spiralling movements can be thought of as transpositions, "retelling, reconfiguring, and revisiting the concept, phenomenon, event, or location from different angles" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 225). They rethink not just conceptualizations, encounters, affects or enactments, but also the alignments and relations between them: like refrains, iterative movements (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) between conceptualizations, methodological reflections and empirical data. Repetitions multiply and add nuance to the processes they pertain to, highlighting difference and not sameness (Braidotti, 2011).

The thesis concludes by elaborating a particular tension that is a driving force in the research process. On one side, feminist decolonial research, and the empirical, methodological and conceptual work done by this thesis, are propelled by a negative critique emerging from an experiential awareness that

violence, injustice and inequality are constitutive of social worlds. On the other side, this work has been driven by an experiential awareness that "there is always more:" a positive critique characterized by open curiosity, hope, affirmation, love and care, and an orientation towards new modes of knowledge production that open up unknown futures and ways of becoming. These affects are instrumental driving forces for other scholars working within a feminist decolonial perspective. In the conclusion of the thesis, these tensions propel an inquiry into various affective modalities and possibilities of engaging in critique and knowledge-seeking, moving towards a generative ecology of knowledge. I revisit the potentialities of paranoia and negative critique, examining these pathways to knowledge through the prisms of endurance and care. Finally, I discuss the directionalities and potentialities of a generative ecology of knowledge by juxtaposing the affective pull of desire and hopeful openness to the multiple becomings of "here and now."

Because tensions between divergent but complementary modes of research and theory generation are formative for this work, I would like to present them from the outset. The following section offers initial reflections on what constitutes and triggers the apparatus, affects and energies of my research, addressing central tensions and forces in the thesis. These reflections take shape through an engagement with Eve Sedgwick's (2003) proposed duality between paranoid and reparative modes of seeking knowledge.

Affective ecologies of knowledge: thinking beside(s) paranoia

"Everyday theory qualitatively affects everyday knowledge and experience; and suppose that one doesn't want to draw much ontological distinction between academic theory and everyday theory; and suppose that one has a lot of concern for the quality of other people's and one's own practices of knowing and experiencing. In these cases, it would make sense—if one had the choice—not to cultivate the necessity of a systematic, self-accelerating split between what one is doing and the reasons one does it." (Sedgwick, 2003, pp. 144–145)

As a researcher and a body in the world, I am driven by a consciousness and experience of the social and material world as a place replete with forms of injustice and violence. I perceive, and feel, violence as foundational to social life. Its directionalities might be shifting, but it is, and always will be, present. This mode of feeling, thinking and being contributes a sense of ongoing crisis and emergency. The course of time is experienced like a continuous unfolding catastrophe. It resembles the destruction unfolding before the eyes of Walter Benjamin's angel of history:

"Where we perceive a chain of events, he sees one single catastrophe which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it in front of his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and

make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise […] . This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned, while the pile of rubble before him grows skyward. This storm is what we call progress." (Benjamin, 1970, p. 249).

Driven by this mode of experience and its affects, this research aims to contribute to mapping and exposing forms of injustice and violence that shape, constrain, and destroy some bodies and places. While violence is often effected by actions that seem to emerge from particular bodies, the villains I seek to expose are not people—for instance, middle-class residents or gentrifiers in Nordvest. Rather, I shed light on structural dynamics that constrain (our) lives, agencies and places. These could be material, situated and emplaced manifestations of racism, gentrification, neoliberalism and sociospatial inclusions and exclusions that propel ongoing changes in Nordvest and Copenhagen.

This stance has shaped my research questions, which from the outset have featured notions of inclusion and exclusion, and minority and majority positions. It has also constrained data generation. Perceiving Nordvest as a contested terrain of conflicting power relations replete with injustices has been instrumental in elaborating an interview guide and conducting fieldwork. Moreover, an attunement to intersectionally-mediated and experienced injustice has shaped, and been shaped by, my choice of analytical and theoretical frameworks.

In a chapter included in the 2003 collection of essays *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*, Eve Sedgwick (2003) distinguishes between paranoid and reparative epistemologies of knowledge. In Sedgwick's lens, the mode of being a researcher and a body in the world that I have just described comprises a paranoid strategy of seeking, finding, and organizing knowledge. According to Sedgwick, a paranoid ecology of knowledge is a strong theory propelled by negative affects. It anticipates finding disasters and places faith in exposure (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 130).

Sedgwick does not aim to disqualify these paranoid modes of being, doing and knowing. However, she highlights the limitations of a "paranoid consensus" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 144). A commitment to a paranoid mode of being and knowing can obscure other possibilities. "Paranoid strategies […] represent *a* way, among other ways […] . Paranoia knows some things well and others poorly." (Sedgwick, 2003b, p. 130, emphasis in the original).

As a possible alternative to paranoid ecologies of knowledge, Sedgwick sketches, but does not elaborate, a **reparative** mode of reading, knowing and being driven by additive and accretive practices (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 149). A reparative position is plurally and openly organized, undertaking "a different range of affects, ambitions and risks" and "extracting sustenance" from violent, unjust, exclusive spaces and social worlds (Sedgwick, 2003, pp. 150–151).

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For me, the choice of the term "reparative" seems driven by an underlying consciousness that something is broken and needs to be mended. The word *reparative* seems to address the same experience of injustice and violence that breeds paranoia. However, Sedgwick's (2003) gestures towards a reparative practice inspired me to elaborate on an alternative mode of being, experiencing and knowing that, while acknowledging injury, violence and catastrophe, does not *grow out of* these social realities and their related affects. In contrast, my modes of presence and conducting research beside(s) paranoia flow out of a sense of a present that is beautiful and complete—already branching out into a multitude of possibilities and not in need of fixing or intervention.

This mode of engaging in research, and life, is driven by the affective energies of curiosity and openness; hope, love and gratitude; care and the desire to nurture people and places. These other modes of engaging in research and knowledge production have driven, and continue to propel, this research—empirically, methodologically and analytically. They do not discredit paranoid strategies and the knowledges they bring. Rather, they form a dynamic counterpoint in research, constituting a productive tension, instrumental in knowledge production. For now, I might conceptualize these affects as gesturing towards a **generative** ecology of knowledge and critical practice.

Curiosity and openness have been formative in the process of data collection, analysis and theory generation in my project. The research article on Integration Gardens makes this clear. Focusing on social inclusion and exclusion allowed me to see a particular mode of space-making unfolding in the gardens—the Integration Grid—built on the foreigner/Dane dichotomy. However, as my fieldwork progressed, I discovered there was more at play. For my migrant informants, being able to do gardening, and all the affects, practices and materialities that were a part of this process, seemed to constitute more important elements in their experience as members of the gardening association than the instances of exclusion and violence. In this mode of space-making, which I conceptualize as the Web of Gardening, injustices and violence were present, but they were not foundational. A shift in perspective enabled me to discover that something completely different and important was going on, and to theorize alternative processes of space-making, embodiment and affectivity.

Hope, love and gratitude are more challenging for me to articulate in the context of my research. I might conceptualize them as survival strategies or ways of "extracting sustenance" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 150), enabling me to carry on (to live and research) in situations where violence and ongoing injustices are foundational to social life. But I think this would not be the most accurate or fruitful understanding of how hope, love and gratitude motivate this work. Hope and love are not compensatory or reactive but foundational to a mode of operating in the world and conducting research.

They manifest in an underlying *certainty, a knowing in advance* that there is more to a scene than meets the (paranoid) eye built to see and seek injustice. Paranoia knows in advance that something is terribly amiss. The generative mode of knowledge production knows in advance that there is hope and love. It senses a beauty in life, in Nordvest, and in research. Perhaps it is this beauty that I find myself attuned to perceive and experience and which affords gratitude, hope and love in my encounters with informants, spaces and conceptual frameworks. This beauty is an embodied experience, a relationality, **a sense** of vibration and glow, and a sense of meaning *besides* violence.

I separate **care and the desire to nurture** from love and hope because they are more intervention-oriented and instrumental. They pertain to research ethics, and, in a way, balance and add nuance to paranoia's faith in exposure (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 138). For instance, in writing my article on diversity tourism, it was important to me not to blame my informants for the injustices unfolding in Nordvest. I was exposing informant sentiments that read as racist, commodifying and violent. Even so, I tried to care for informants when analyzing the interviews. What was said was said, and I take responsibility for my own participation in the utterance of these sentiments. I also take responsibility for pursuing analytical strategies that can be related to paranoid ecologies of knowledge, seeking to expose injustice. However, these configurations did not have to unavoidably implicate informants in a moralizing dichotomy. Care was a part of an array of affects in knowledge production that motivated me to (try to) conceive the "diversity tourist" as an analytical figure that sheds light on our embeddedness in, and enactment of, structures of oppression. This affectivity was instrumental in enabling a different kind of analysis, proposing the diversity tourist as an analytical figure instead of a classification.

Finally, I am driven by, and perhaps sometimes seduced by, a **wish to understand**. This wish seems to be embedded in, but also to work in conflict with, paranoid and generative ecologies of knowledge. With regards to paranoia, a faith in exposure can lead to the pursuit of "the truth": an understanding of "what really is going on." This can provide comfort and a sense of accomplishment. But this can also be a movement of closure, of eliminating interpretative possibilities. With regards to generative critical practice, the drive to understand might instead materialize through the search for a plurality of perspectives that will not, and cannot, lead to conclusive answers, linear research processes, grand theoretical frameworks, or "truths." Consequently, it seems that the drive to understand works both as an **imploding and exploding, narrowing and expansive force** in this research process, through different affective ecologies of knowledge.

I was propelled to elaborate these divergent affective ecologies of knowledge production, modes of critique, and modes of being a (researcher) body in the world because they continue to inform my

generation of data, methodologies, analysis and conceptual work. At the same time, these affects can be divergent and conflicting, producing tensions at the core of my thinking. In addition, the need to explicate these ecologies of knowledge arose from my search for an alternative to "the necessity of a systematic, self-accelerating split between what one is doing and the reasons one does it" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 145).

I will return to a discussion of affective ecologies of knowledge, the politics of knowledge production and modes of critique in Chapter 4 of the thesis. But before I proceed to discuss my methodologies, I would like to invite Nordvest into the thesis—or rather, allow it to erupt into, and interrupt, the text.

Nordvest erupts: a motley crew of voices and places

The following cacophony of voices expresses the multiplicities and complexities of how Copenhagen's Nordvest is understood, enacted, felt and experienced. These multiple entangled spaces, bodies and affects, and the inclusions and exclusions they signify and co-produce, are the main analytical foci of this thesis. The voices speak from various embodied, intersectionally mediated locations, in divergent timbres and tones, presenting conflicting claims and perspectives. They carry tensions, resonances and affective circulations present in the negotiation and enactment of urban spaces—symbolically, materially and affectively. They echo and enact Nordvest as a ragged, constantly reshuffling multitude.

Peter[2]: a backyard cat

I really like the image of Nordvest as an untamed backyard cat. It surprises and it's not easy to approach.

Actually, right here, around this corner, there was a backyard toilet that the residents used almost until moving out … the apartments stood empty for a couple of years before they moved out. There was a winter when their own sewage exploded and they went down to the yard. The toilet was at the end of a long shed that was totally collapsed. This small backyard toilet with a tiny heart engraved on the door. Just the way it should be.

I have taken a photo of it with a huge fat cat sitting on the top of that shed, on the top of that collapsed shed. Someone had placed an old pot there and thrown in some scraps of food. And the cat was just sitting there, that huge, huge cat. To have found a toilet in a Copenhagen backyard, I thought it was amazing, and someone actually used it, and the cat was sitting right there. I've heard these stories of

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[2] The informants' names and sometimes personal details have been changed to ensure anonymity. In addition, sometimes the same informants appear with different names and/or personal details in the research articles and thesis cloak. In addition to concerns for anonymity, this thesis does not claim to represent informants or portray them as consistent characters, instead being interested in the performativity of their statements.

Vesterbro and Nørrebro, simply unbelievable. Yes, Vesterbro was full of wild cats 20 years ago. I haven't seen a single wild cat there since. I thought it was funny.

Zane: a death of a rat

I have a story for you. Casper woke up early this morning, and it was Jose's turn to sleep in. So I was out with him in the playground (on Hulgårds square)*, you know he loves the slide. I think it was before 8 a.m. that the family showed up, you know, a proper family, two grandparents, two parents and two children. The grown-ups took out bottles and sat down on the benches, and the kids came to play with Casper. Sweet kids, a bit older than Casper, but gosh how they were reeking of cigarettes! Of bodega.*

And then this rat comes, running by the side of the sandbox, and I don't think the kids pay much attention, but the dad stands up, and he goes to the rat, and kicks it! Just like that. The rat is laying there, bloody and twitching and he takes it by the tail and carries it off to the garbage bin, and just returns to the bench and reaches out for his beer.

I don't think the kids noticed.

Morning run

It is 5:43 a.m., a Tuesday in September of 2015, the sun is rising and the researcher is going for a run. The air is chilly. Stepping out onto the pavement, she turns on music and an exercise app on her smartphone that she places in a sleeve made to be fastened around the upper arm. She runs out to Frederikssundsvej. This early there is barely any traffic, but she twitches and jumps sideways to avoid running into a drunk man appearing from around the corner. She turns right into Blytækkervej and continues to the left on Frederiksborgvej. A man is smoking in a bus stop. There are shards of broken glass on the pavement by a gaming hall on the corner of Birkedommervej, a stale smell of nicotine and muted voices and music from indoors. She has never been inside. She continues uphill to run rounds in Bispebjerg cemetery.

The app measures 7.66 kilometers in 45 minutes 44 seconds. She does not see anyone else running that morning.

This is not Copenhagen, part 1: Claus's photos

Claus has lived in Nordvest since 1976 in a rented two-room apartment he took over after his grandmother died. It did not used to be this way, but now he is the only resident above 35 in a staircase occupied mostly by students. In the 1970s and 1980s he worked as a porter in Bispebjerg hospital. Since then he has been out of jobs, receiving unemployment and early retirement benefits.

Claus used to have many friends in the area. They would meet and sit on benches drinking beer. He shows on my map where they would sit, and the routes he would walk from bench to bench. He cannot walk that far anymore, and his friends are dead. The benches are gone, too. Claus tells me Copenhagen municipality transferred them to Dronning Louises bridge in the center of the city, after the pedestrian area of the bridge was broadened. The bridge, sunny almost til sunset, has become a spot for young Copenhageners—drinking beers, listening to music, seeing and being seen. "It's clear who the city wants to see, doing what, and where," Claus remarks bitterly.

Claus tells me he took some photos on the other side of Bisiddervej before new condominiums were built some years ago. He finds a photo album and removes a few photos, his hands shaking slightly. Would I like to take copies, he asks. I take the photos in my hand and look at them, barely seeing what they depict. It is clear I should say yes.

Bisiddervej, prior to the construction of condominiums. First photo from Claus.[3]

A few days later I stand by the scanner at the university and examine Claus's photos. They feature a tall chimney in the distance, a part of a building that is still standing and reveals the location, but the scenery is otherwise unidentifiable and unremarkable. I see a patch of lawn, a few trees, a wooden fence. Green and peaceful, to me it appears to be an empty space. It could be anywhere. It's not a Copenhagen I recognize or value. I dutifully scan the photos.

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[3] I would have liked to credit Claus for these photos, but I chose to prioritize his anonymity.

Bisiddervej, prior to the construction of condominiums. Second photo from Claus.

Municipality garbage bin, volume 1: dissolution

Ole: Those three blocks belonged to the municipality and were used as a garbage bin. That's why you got problems in the start of the '90s. And because the buildings hadn't been upkept the rent was very low. That's why the municipality used it for re-housing. And those were small apartments.

In the course of renovation the number of apartments was reduced from about 550 to 350. So that was quite a due process.

Interviewer: Who was rehoused at the time?

Ole: Well, those apartments had to be emptied completely to be renovated and brought up to modern standards. Very few [of the old residents] *could afford moving back, with the increased rents they'd have to pay. Well, folks had been housed elsewhere, so many, they just remained living where they had been more or less temporarily rehoused.*

Interviewer: Do you know where [they had been rehoused] *to?*

Ole: No, well, [people were] *spread out. Also outside Copenhagen municipality.*

Municipality garbage bin, volume 2: Daniel on life, anger and biodynamic agriculture

You encounter lives [in Nordvest] *that you don't meet in Nørrebro or Vesterbro. Yes, also the garbage bin, or a place that the municipality has used to—OK, we have some vulnerable groups that we need to place—who can live here.*

There is often most life in a garbage bin because it provides a base for many people. If you have a district that's not very well kept, and it's cheap to live there, and there is a bunch of latepayers and an opportunity to meet a lot of crazy people and an opportunity to be afraid and scared and—all the things that a living city has.

I think these small conflicts create the dynamics of the city. Copenhagen suffers from too much agreement about how things should be done. We have a lot of houses that shape the city, and a lot of pathways laid out by the municipality, and ways of moving about in public space that don't give much room for the citizen. And make us forget that we all have a say in the city. What's interesting about Nordvest is the many conflicts, the different ways of looking at life, different ways of being.

It's like biodynamic agriculture, you have some places with weeds, and weeds are a part of it all. Because there aren't only good things, there are also bad things, but if you mix it together in the right way it gets to be a dynamic mass. I really think that there have to be some places that are ugly, some places where one can get hurt, where one in anger or positivity is pressured to form an opinion about where one is. I think Nordvest has that."

"Such a fine flower you have there"

It's a sunny afternoon in late April 2016, and the researcher is walking across Hulgårds square. She is struggling with two bags filled with smaller potted plants and three bigger pots she is carrying in her hands. She is amused imagining herself joggling clumsily, and she is delighted, having reclaimed the plants, being able to provide a space for them. A friend of hers, living in the newer black condos behind the square, has been taking care of the plants for a few months, while the researcher had no permanent address. Now she has just moved into a two-room apartment on the other side of Tomsgårdsvej.

As usual there are the Greenlanders drinking beers on the square, their hangout is closer to the road than the benches that the white Danish people use to drink beers. A man looks at the researcher as she is passing by, he is smiling broadly and blissfully. She is smiling, too. "Such a fine flower you have

there," he says, even though none of the plants are flowering. "Thank you," the researcher responds as she continues.

A few days later, the researcher relates this encounter in a research seminar, speaking about conviviality. She shares it because she wants to disclose that she can feel the temptation of the idea of feel-good encounters across difference in public spaces. Right kinds of mixing in the right doses.

Lars, take 1: True Nordvest, "the lowest of the low"

Many apartments in our block are used by the municipality, when people become vulnerable, or when they have been homeless and need a place to transition. Some people are having a hard time. Some are mentally ill in a way where you're not in doubt, they are standing and yelling out on the street and are aggressive. That's the typical image of Nordvest. Before I lived in Nordvest I knew what Nordvest was like. The true Nordvest, "the lowest of the low of society," the most vulnerable part of society.

My colleague Maria lives on the other side of the street where people own their apartments. One day she tells me: "Look, in our yard there are only spelt families with kids[4]." I'm thinking—do they really live here, just next to us? I knew it was different on the other side of the street. My son, he's five, he said just recently: "The cars are bigger on the other side of the street, Dad."

I don't know any people who live in a staircase like ours. None of my friends live in such a staircase. If you live in Vesterbro, it has been pushed out, in Nørrebro it's been pushed out. A new family just moved in, she is on early retirement, and he is a plumber. It's other kinds of families than I normally meet in my social circles. So in that way, there is this "true Nordvest", or "the real," there is something true and real left in this district.

Lars, take 2: "I'm on tape with all my prejudice"

I find it hard to discuss in that way, it becomes very stereotypical. Laura's friends, when she was going to school here, they were, they were other kinds of children. (Laughing.) *Other kinds of children than Karl's friends. Karl has made friends. They are middle-class chaps just like us. People with white man's problems. While Laura's friends, the kids she knew at school, had other kinds of problems. Other kinds*

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[4] Spelt is a type of wheat marketed as more healthy, authentic, sustainable and local; most spelt products are organic. "Spelt families with kids" (speltbørnefamilier) is a term used to refer to middle-class parenting and family lifestyle characterized by a focus on health, organic food, balanced life, and taking time for one's children.

of families with other codes. I don't like to talk about it in this way, I'm on tape with all my prejudice. But there is something, all the socioeconomic things. It simply was different.

(Frustrated) *What is it we are talking about here? Are we simply reproducing an idea of who the others are, and who I am? I feel it's sad that I fall into it myself. There are objective differences, there is something about income, there are differences. But is that interesting to talk about? I don't know.*

I don't know what your perspective is—maybe we could talk about it afterwards … I would be critical about the terminology, extremely careful about these notions and what constitutes them, and that's why I'm careful with my choice of words right now. It's what we talked about before, what diversity is.

Stine: Nordvest as the un(der)told

Nordvest requires closer acquaintance. (Laughing.) *It requires investment from you. I think maybe that's what many* [people] *can't deal with thinking about this district, that it demands something from you, or … Either you decide it's just for transit, or you need to invest.*

There are so few people who tell stories about Nordvest, few people who fight for Nordvest. But I think maybe there is an emerging counternarrative to the idea of Nordvest as this dismal, gloomy, depressing district.

Nordvest is an undertold place. There aren't that many people who have had an interest in telling Nordvest, or articulating what it should be [like]*.*

This is not Copenhagen, part 2: "What are you doing here?"

I am freezing, and I feel lost. It's cold the Copenhagen way, not by degrees but by wind and humidity in the air. It is late morning in mid-February 2014, two weeks after the start of my employment as a PhD student. It's the first day I am in Nordvest to start fieldwork.

Everyone seems on their way somewhere, while I am wandering around with no sense of purpose. I enter the public library (titled BIBLIOTEKET, always capitalized—THE LIBRARY), but soon feel I should get back on the streets to get a sense of the place. I walk down Rentemestervej and turn left into Provstevej. I have read about a citizen-driven park in Provstevej. I remember spotting a sign on Frederikssundsvej, white on black, stating "Kaffe," with an arrow below, directed towards Provstevej.

The café seems very hip, and I sense discomfort entering it for the first time—but it is also soothingly recognizable. It could be a café in Norrebro or Vesterbro where someone would suggest to meet for a coffee, or where I would sit for an hour working or reading. The Americano is reasonably priced (20 kr) and strong. I sit down in an armchair and pull out my laptop to check emails, wrapping myself into

my woollen cardigan. People are chatting at the table next to me. I am enveloped by the pleasant sounds of their voices, a conversation too detailed and specific for me to be distracted by it. I finally know where I am. No one seems to notice me. My 20 kr have bought me at least 40 minutes of warmth and familiar anonymity.

"What are you doing here?"

I lift my glance and see one of the men managing the café addressing me from behind the counter. His face is open, friendly and curious. I hesitate for a moment. Then I explain that I am about to do a PhD project on Nordvest. The regulars at the table to my left have been listening to us, and start offering experiences and opinions about Nordvest. I realize there is no anonymity in this café on Provstevej.

I didn't know where I was after all.

Li: "There are still people here"

Luckily we have this big district, there is the Islamic society and different Islamic schools that barely exist in other districts. There are small mosques, there is the Youth House, places that there are not so many of in Nørrebro anymore. There are still people here in Nordvest, they endure a bit longer. If you go to Blågårdsgade, it's full of majority ethnic Danes, smart cafes, it's very expensive. It's beginning to happen here, too. You can see it around Lygten, the new condos being built. They attract people who can pay more in rent or buy an apartment.

It's a question of everything, I think. It's intersectional. People who don't … if you are queer or minority ethnicity, or in other ways outside the norm, and have access to higher positions and being part of the middle class, the higher educated … It cannot be distinguished. You see more people who are majority ethnic students, they have easier access to capital than people who are less educated, haven't had as many opportunities or have migrated from someplace else, or have an accent like I do.

It's sad that people are displaced. Because it doesn't mean that the people who used to live here disappear. It means that they are pushed further out. It impairs the lives of people who have fewer opportunities. If you already have lower status, less access to capital and not as much access to education, and you have to move out to suburbs or someplace where you can't find a job, where you have to use a lot of time and money on transport, it gets even harder.

I feel safer here in Nordvest than I do other places in the city. OK, also in Nørrebro, but it's the two places I feel most safe. There are more people who deviate from the norm. If you walk around there are more people from the Youth House, and people who come from different places. I think it's because

there are more people who visibly deviate from the norm, and there are more norms. […] There are more norms, and maybe that creates more space to be outside norms.

This is not Copenhagen, part 3: Linda, tea and baklava

The researcher is sitting on a bench outside Favori Baklavaci with a cup of strong black tea and a piece of syrupy baklava. It's a scorching hot afternoon in June, 2014. Next to her by the wooden bench are three heavy plastic bags from Istanbul bazaar. Five grapefruits for 10 Danish crowns, even though they're not in season. Two cauliflowers for 10 crowns, a huge pineapple for 10 crowns, two bags of dried chickpeas for 20 crowns, fennel and sweet potatoes for the lowest kilo prices in Copenhagen. She cannot resist these bulk deals, although the cauliflowers could have been fresher. She'll need to cook them soon, or hopefully someone in the co-op will have an idea of what to do with them. Having skipped lunch, she is exhausted after a lengthy interview that took many turns, and the subsequent noise and crowdedness of Istanbul bazaar.

She is acutely aware of appearing to be the only woman, the only one under 45, and the only white person sitting outside the café. Everyone else is sitting with someone, looking like regulars to her. She is acutely aware of not having a daily life in Nordvest, of coming there to do research, of being a privileged (paid!) intruder; never just being there, not now, not ever. Yet she does not feel out of place at this moment. The bench has no backrest, and yet she is leaning into something. She finds herself struggling to remind herself that this is not her place, that she is an impostor.

Suddenly she remembers the shopping trips to the market in Rīga with her grandmother and little brother in her childhood. They would walk from pavilion to pavilion along a set route, vendors her grandmother had known for years, with the best prices and most consistent quality. Hot and drowsy in the summer, bundled up in layers and layers in the winter, their breath steaming. "You don't want the smoked mackerel today," the fish vendor would discreetly tell her grandmother.

After shopping, carrying multiple bags, they often had cake in the café in the dairy pavilion. She always chose the layered honey cake, thin layers of soft golden brown biscuit and white cream. Her grandmother had coffee, chatting with the proprietor, standing by the counter; there were no chairs. And she realizes she hasn't been to any other café in Copenhagen where she would feel comfortable with three semi-transparent plastic bags overflowing with not-perfectly-fresh vegetables.

Where is this heading? The modes of operation of the thesis

The cacophony of voices in the previous section presented a multiplicity of Nordvests. Through the voices, speaking from different intersectionally marked locations (for instance with respect to age, place of residence in Nordvest, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and class), Nordvest emerges in shapes that are not aligned. A district that is, among other things, gentrifying, diverse, a pocket of authenticity, a place for convivial everyday encounters, a municipality garbage bin and the "lowest of the low," a "real," local place, a "not-Copenhagen," un(der)told and anonymous. Nordvest also appears as a place where a body jogging early in the morning senses its own presence as anomalous and intrusive among shards of glass, the smell of nicotine and drunkenness. It emerges as a place where a rat is kicked dead instead of calling the municipal authority responsible for pest extermination.

One way to emphasize the multiple, mutually contingent becomings of spaces and bodies in Nordvest, as expressed by the motley crew of voices, emerged through my enactment as a polymorphous, polyvalent body. I was, and am, an ethnographer, researcher, interviewer, visitor, privileged outsider, resident (since August 2015), and customer engaged in, and shaped by, different kinds of bodily, affective labor. I am also passing in ways marked by the combination of intertwined markers, for instance as a white, middle-class, academic woman, relatively young but not too young, often presentable but not too presentable, somewhat queer but not too queer. I become emplaced in different ways, and the spaces of Nordvest afford particular modalities of movement and situatedness that take shape in these encounters. These multiple modes of being located, and locating, oneself in Nordvest also pertain and lend shape to other bodies.

The voices show how embodiment and affect comprise essential data, and I have indicated their centrality to methodology, pathways to analysis and conceptual work. However, sensed, embodied experience is difficult to convey in a genre—academic writing—that emphasizes, and might seem to depend on, articulability and intelligibility. Thus the voices from the introduction, as well as other instances in this text where the empirical material enters in ways that might resemble fictional writing, represent ways of inviting affect, senses and embodiment of various positions *into* the thesis— bursting out of the text rather than just being written *about*.

Despite my engagement in affective writing strategies, strategies that aim to convey and elicit affective atmospheres from places and presences in Nordvest (Ahmed, 2014; B. Anderson, 2014; Closs Stephens, 2016; Militz & Schurr, 2016), the cacophony of voices also highlights the shortcomings of academic writing in coming to terms with lived experience, embodiment and affect. The title of the thesis plays with this tension. The thesis attempts to make sense of, or at least about, Nordvest—it

has to—but it cannot possibly make senses (sensory experiences) of its spaces. In addition, the more the text tries to make sense, the less room there might be for touching on the irreducible complexities of lived experience. The thesis does not approach this tension as a problem to be solved, but tries to live with(in) and through it by "making senses" about Nordvest in multifaceted, spiralling ways.

The voices erupted into complexities, multiplicities and heterogeneities of becomings of spaces and bodies in Nordvest. On one hand, the thesis cannot cover or map the multiplicities of emergence of spaces and bodies in Nordvest. On the other hand, these complexities continue to haunt the thesis, materializing as implosions/explosions of the empirical material. While the empirical material offers inexhaustible complexities, it also offers points of anchoring or saturation that I visit repeatedly through different lenses and from different angles—for instance Nordvest as "diverse," authentic, "real," a municipal garbage bin, peripheral, or gentrifying.

Thus the thesis enacts Nordvest in a particular way—as ungraspable and overspilling but still examined through visiting material, discursive and affective points of saturation. Through movements that simultaneously seek to open up irreducible complexities and evolve around transpositions of reoccurring points of saturation, the thesis, including its methodological and conceptual apparatus, mimics the Nordvest that it brings forth: a loose but inseparable, heterogeneous assemblage of ways of thinking-feeling-enacting the district. This way of writing Nordvest emerges through circular to-and-fro movements between points of saturation from empirical data and theoretical and methodological perspectives. It reflects and applies the empirical material but is also supported by, and supports, the dissertation's conceptual and methodological approaches.

My two research questions inquire into the mutual becomings of bodies and spaces in Nordvest and into the emplaced emergence of inclusion and exclusion, and minority and majority positions, mediated by intersecting markers of difference. Each of the four articles grapples with these research questions from the perspective of specific places and presences in Nordvest. Thus each paper comprises a different prism through which to grasp Nordvest and its dynamics of inclusion and exclusion.

The theoretical framework that the thesis applies and generates is full of tensions, and (like the empirical material and body of methodology) does not comprise a solid, coherent edifice but a collection of devices for thinking. These tools serve different purposes in different instances of knowledge production, and some of them cannot be used simultaneously. While the theoretical and analytical framework grapples with Nordvest as fragmented and multiple, its lenses are better equipped to reflect particular multiplicities over others. This highlights how conceptual toolkits and

analytical lenses work (and refuse to work) in specific and limited ways, affording and facilitating certain pathways to knowledge production while obscuring others.

Wilfully and purposefully (and, at the same time, tensely, ambiguously, anxiously, as it implies a rejection of the tempting academic ideal of mastery) setting out to produce an incomplete, multiple and fragmented PhD thesis accords not only with the empirical material and methodological and conceptual apparatus, but also with the political dimensions of knowledge production that this thesis ascribes to. Knowledge is always generated from particular standpoints, embodied and affective, and shaped by intersecting markers and their travels across situations (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; J. Butler, 2016; Haraway, 1988; Parker, 2016b; Rose, 1997). Committing to research that insists on partial perspectives and knowledges requires reflexivity about the specifics and consequences of researcher positionalities and analytical choices. Conducted from particular locations and constrained by analytical and conceptual frameworks, research is performative—it enacts the realities it claims to represent and obscures realities of other bodies, other places, other analytical lenses and other interpretations of justice and politics. Consequently, my chosen array of multiple, incomplete lenses and conceptual devices throughout the thesis that pertain to the empirical material, methodologies and theoretical perspectives necessitates a reflection on the affordances and constraints of these lenses. Partial plurality cannot be reduced (or elevated) to grand coherence. Instead, from the perspective of feminist knowledge production and standpoint politics, the partialities and situatedness of knowledges must be explained to the limited extent that is possible.

In other words, I am asking, with Eve Sedgwick:

"*What does knowledge do— the pursuit of it, the having and exposing of it, the receiving again of knowledge of what one already knows? How, in short, is knowledge performative, and how best does one move among its causes and effects?*" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 124)

I return to these questions in Chapter 4. Firstly, I ask what concepts and theory, as affective devices for thinking and becoming in the world, can do. I then interrogate the workability of conceptual devices from the four articles. Finally, I discuss affective ecologies of knowledge production, viewing concepts as moveable bridges (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994) that represent ways of thinking, feeling and becoming in the world.

As an assembled body of work, this thesis has methodological and conceptual ambitions besides conceiving the emergence of spaces, bodies and affect, inclusion and exclusion (in Nordvest). I develop an affective, embodied methodology in Chapter 2. In doing this work, I build on feminist politics of location (Rich, 1984), situated ontologies (Haraway, 1991; Rose, 1993, 1997), "sweaty concepts"

(Ahmed, 2014) and work from a standpoint of embedded, emplaced materialism (Braidotti, 2002, 2011, 2013) as applied in my own research and the research of others. In addition, the second part of Chapter 4 picks up the thread of inquiry into the potentialities of different affective forces and pathways in seeking knowledge. Juxtaposing paranoia, negative criticism, desire and hope, I propose a generative ecology of knowledge.

Before proceeding to Chapter 2, Nordvest enters the thesis once more, this time in the form of a walk. The walk conveys some senses of Nordvest: its spaces and presences as experienced on a summer afternoon in 2015.

A guided tour: walking into wilderness

It's just past 4 p.m. on a Thursday afternoon in June 2015. I am taking a walk in Nordvest with Lena.

It's a grey and chilly day, with intermittent drops of rain. Arriving from Frederiksberg, we park our bikes on the corner of Frederikssundsvej and Frederiksborgvej. It is one of the noisiest, busiest street corners in Nordvest. We are stand next to Favori Baklavaci, the Turkish bakery selling, as far as I know, the best baklava in Copenhagen. At that point in time, a take-away cup of strong, dark black tea costs 10 crowns and a rectangle of walnut baklava, dripping with thick syrup, 5 crowns. Despite the chill of the afternoon, the regulars, men of colour above middle age, are sitting by wooden tables outside the café, some playing a game, some simply talking. The rush hour for off-work traffic is setting in. There is a steady stream of mostly white people on bicycles passing by, heading away from the city centre. Many could be on their way to detached houses in the suburbs.

Lena and I start walking in a big circle throughout Nordvest. We turn right on Ørnevej in Fuglekvarteret, threading among red brick buildings. We pass by a construction site on the corner of Lærkevej and Ørnevej, where an activist community and cultural centre, the Candy Factory, used to be located. The users had to vacate the house to make space for new condominium buildings in 2013. Now the site seems empty and abandoned. Or rather, it is occupied by plants, weeds and flowers, lingering presences from what used to be the garden of the Candy Factory. Among the growth, various objects protrude: broken furniture, a rusting bike, empty bottles, faded plastic wrappers, a shopping cart, scraps of wood and metal.

Having walked for a while farther northwest, we arrive at the park at the end of Ørnevej. The park was constructed around 2010, at the same time as the black condominiums beside it. The black buildings have tilting roofs, floor-to-ceiling windows and long balconies. There is an eerie quality to the buildings, a dark looming in the greyness of the afternoon. Someone I interviewed compared them to a spaceship. Behind the condos, there are even taller apartment building blocks, white and

rectangular, social housing with small, square windows. I recall they featured in a Danish film set in socially deprived Nordvest.

The park we walk through is adorned with star-shaped, white concrete objects the height of a bench. Multi-coloured, star-shaped lights illuminate the grass and asphalt at night. Someone said that the light design of the park was awarded a prize, that it's a magical view at night after snowfall, reminiscent of Narnia. Others have told me that with the paths lit, they more frequently walk or bike through the area at night. Yet others speak of the park as a harbinger of gentrification, an artificial transplant of alien landscaping and urban branding into the rugged fabric of Nordvest. On the paths, there are poems by students from the local public school, inscribed on the grey asphalt in white letters the size of a football. Several poems are about drinking in public spaces, a common sight in Nordvest, but not in this very spot since the park was opened. There are a few new, solid benches, but I have never seen them occupied by people that might be characters from these poems.

We proceed to Hulgårds square, bordering on the park, green and relatively unkempt. There are more trees and shadows here than any other square I know in Copenhagen. Two groups of people, middle-aged or older, are chatting and drinking beers on sets of benches about 40 meters apart: a group of white Danish people that includes two women, and a group of Greenlanders.

We cross Frederikssundsvej and walk uphill to the library building. BIBLIOTEKET opened in 2011. It was built following negotiations between local activists and the Copenhagen Municipality, after the latter proposed allocating an old school building next door to the new Youth House. Since 1982, the Youth House had been a political, cultural and community hub for various leftist and autonomist groups, located in a squatters' building in Nørrebro. In 2007, the Youth House community was evicted in a large-scale police action involving helicopters and tear gas. The eviction propelled ongoing protests and demonstrations. It became clear that the city had to offer the activists a new building, but no district or local community was open to having the new Youth House in their backyard. Also in Nordvest, there was opposition. However, local activists and politicians used the relocation of the Youth House to obtain various benefits, including funding for new infrastructure and spaces for community and culture, most notably BIBLIOTEKET.

As we approach it, BIBLIOTEKET looms like a fortress overlooking the district, a concrete and glass structure with huge, golden coloured rectangular chunks covered by woven metal threads. The construction resembles slightly misaligned Lego blocks. The building, designed by COBE architects, has won multiple prizes. Lanky, 10-meter-high drawings by well-known Danish street artist HuskMitNavn (RememberMyName) decorate the façade. HuskMitNavn's images are humorous, deliberately crude,

and occasionally political, adding a curved dimension to BIBLIOTEKET's golden adornments and straight lines.

I tell Lena how the previous summer, someone had written in white chalk on the concrete by BIBLIOTEKET "I do not fit in your boxes," letters already fading as I encounter them on the ground. A year later, the ground-floor windows of BIBLIOTEKET feature large-scale photos of Nordvest residents of different ages, styles, genders and colours.

"A library for whom? Apparently not for me, or others that do not fit in their boxes." May 23, 2014.

The people of Nordvest, made fit the box. August 14, 2015.

I noticed the inscription in chalk a few days before the official opening party of the square in front of BIBLIOTEKET. Before BIBLIOTEKET's construction there had been a gas station on the square. Now the toxic soil has been cleaned up, a project costing several million Danish crowns—another part of the (compensation) package that Nordvest received with the relocation of the Youth House. There were plants, a tiny, a rectangular area covered in soft material for play and jumping, and some benches.

The boundary between the square in front of BIBLIOTEKET and the Youth House in May 2014. The barbed wire was removed by Youth House users the following month, at BIBLIOTEKET's request.

The celebration of the new square included performances and complimentary food. Youth House users boycotted the celebrations because the Mayor of Leisure from the Danish People's Party (DF, a right-wing, anti-immigration populist party) was invited to give a speech. A public announcement, plastered to the fence separating the Youth House from the square, explained that the presence of the DF politician as an invited speaker showed disrespect to the diversity of the area. Mostly families attended, children of various ages and colours running around, dancing, singing, eating, playing, cheering.

We walk downhill along Rentemestervej, passing a Muslim private school, two pole dancing studios, a mosque, a radio station run by people with developmental delays and disabilities, the office of an exclusive handmade cosmetics company ("Danish skincare made in England"), an unfinished Berlinesque mural, a crossfit centre, a colourful youth theatre building adorned with scraps of metal and old relics, an old factory gate in metal that still states "*Schous Fabrikker*," although the factory has long since closed. We turn left upon reaching Frederiksborgvej, away from our bikes. I want to show my friend something.

We walk around the gas station on the corner and take another left on Bispevej. There is an area the size of a football field, overgrown in patches with bushes, flowering weeds and tall grass. The space is fenced in, but there is an opening broad enough for a car to go through. We walk through the opening. Clothing, furniture, scraps of wood, empty bottles and cans, soiled wrappers and mattresses are

scattered around an improvised fireplace. I take care not to step in excrement—it looks human. We don't see any people.

Farther ahead, down a path through the overgrowth and debris, are the remains of a skate park: concrete ramps and constructions covered in colourful graffiti. Built largely of discarded materials, people using it called it Skraldespottet, the junk spot. I never visited this place in its time as a DIY skate park, but I retell the stories I have heard to Lena. How it was just kids, perhaps just one person, who cleaned up the lot and constructed the ramps; how people came here to grill and talk in the evenings. How, three years ago, the property owner hired a bulldozer to dismantle the constructions and erected a fence around the lot.

Lena is looking around. Only the top floors of distant apartment buildings are visible above the greenness and junk that surrounds us. There is suddenly a stillness. "This is not Copenhagen," she says.

Wilderness revisited, March 2017

Chapter 2. Towards embodied, affective methodology

"*We need to provide accurate cartographies of the different politics of location for subjects-in-becoming. …*

"*I consider this cartographic gesture to be the first methodological move toward a vision of subjectivity as ethically accountable and politically empowering.*" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 14 and 216).

Feminist politics of location, along with situated ontologies (Haraway, 1988; Rich, 1984; Rose, 1993, 1997) emphasize (shifting, partial) subject positions as foundational to data and knowledge production. We experience, conceive and make sense of the world by becoming and being located in it in particular ways. The politics of location has been envisioned as a struggle for accountability, as elucidating one's positionalities while at the same time struggling to keep moving (Rich, 1984). Such politics can also be employed as a prism for considering the conditionality of one's movements- where, and how, a knowledge producing body emerges, moves and operates, what and whom it encounters and recognizes. Where I '"happened to"' be doing fieldwork, or what '"happened to"' happen to me was no accident (Rich, 1984). The unfolding of events depended not only on my ability to move and encounter, but also on my capacity to notice and recognize their eventfulness (Povinelli, 2011) and significance. Drawing on these lines of thinking, and conceiving knowledge generation as an embodied and affective process (Braidotti, 2011; J. Butler, 2016) highlights how mapping researcher positionalities instrumental in knowledge production takes steps towards reflexivity and accountability (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013; Bondi, 2004; Faria & Mollett, 2016; Humphreys, 2005; Lobo, 2010; Rose, 1997; Whitson, 2016). The affective, embodied methodology that I develop in this chapter examines how certain things "happened to happen" and became data during this research.

Rosi Braidotti (2011, p. 216) argues in favor of "accounting for multiple differences within any subject position" and locations in terms of time and space, contributing to a "practice of accountability for one's embodied and embedded locations, as a relational, collective activity of undoing power differentials." While I do not claim that power differentials are undone within the framework of this research, I hope that my work can contribute to collective efforts in this direction. For instance, generating awareness and reflection about passing and gradations of proximity to Danishness can contribute to relational, collective efforts to diminish inequality, violence and injustice. However, examining researcher positionalities matters to the exercise of power in research. Examining figurations of feminist subject positions, or sketching how (researcher) bodies relationally emerge, is an essential step towards accountability, tracing the constraints on knowledge production (Braidotti, 2011, p. 217). "Truth" is an effect of power (Grosz, 2011, p. 76). While I do not pursue "truth," I do

present strong claims about what reality might feel like and how it might shape some bodies, from a perspective of embodied, embedded materialism (Braidotti, 2002, 2011). An embodied, affective methodology inquires into these politics of knowledge production.

The title, and the tense, unfulfillable ambition of this thesis to "make senses" of Nordvest can refer to a plurality of partial, situated and partially knowable perspectives (Haraway, 1988). At the same time, it indicates a striving towards what seems to defy comprehension: embodied and affective elements of experience, as well as the openness that might exist at the margins (hooks, 1989). Affective and embodied methodology might hold potentialities for (situated, relational, partial, empathetic) attunement and sensitivity to how material, affective and discursive processes enact (other) bodies and spaces.

This chapter discusses the modes of data generation and pathways to analysis that propel knowledge production in this research project. The methodological framework emphasizes the following three interconnected elements:

1) partiality and situatedness, including a focus on the politics of location and shifting, contingent, multiple researcher positionalities;

2) relationality, referring to how researcher positionalities and data emerge through encounters with research participants and places; and

3) embodiment and affect, with a particular focus on the instrumentality of discomfort in fieldwork as marking moments of saturation.

This framework, which comprises an embodied, affective, feminist methodology, is built on the premise of feminist knowledge production, emphasizing that our emplaced, embodied, sensed presence in the world constrains what can be known to us (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1997). First of all, how bodies pass and what they encounter, and their ability to enter social spaces, are mediated through intersecting embodied markers—and this process continues to mold the body (Ahmed, 2000, 2004b, 2007, 2012; Crenshaw, 1991; hooks, 1992; Wynter, 1994). In terms of conducting qualitative research, this highlights the importance of embodiment in data production with regards to *what* happens. Secondly, viewing consciousness as corporeal (Sheets- Johnston, 1999) and thus mediated by intersecting markers (Ahmed, 2014) shows how embodiment influences *how* we are aware of what happens. Finally, researchers' feelings orient us and direct the process of knowledge production. "The 'aboutness' of emotions means they involve a stance on the world, or a way of apprehending the world" (Ahmed, 2004: 7).

My commitment to this methodology has, on one side, constrained my use of interviews and fieldwork. At the same time, the resulting pathways for analysis and knowledge production have both been guided by and themselves shaped the conceptualizations emerging from the project.

For instance, this methodology offers a specific angle from which to consider the research questions of the thesis. Consequently, these methodological lenses have influenced the phrasing of the research questions. In examining the emergence of spaces and bodies, an embodied, affective methodology highlights how Nordvest is sociospatially experienced, sensed and represented from partial, relationally situated points of departure. Besides emphasizing multiplicity, this methodological lens implicates embodied and affective dynamics in the constitution of spaces.

The first research question inquires into emergence of social spaces in Nordvest; the second research question asks how social inclusion and exclusion, minority and majority positions, arise through intersecting markers of difference. Here, a focus on embodiment and affect explores how different places carry, work on, embrace, yield to and eject differently marked bodies. Environments allow for, and mediate, inclusion, exclusion and the continuous emergence of bodies.

I generated the empirical material through semi-structured interviews and ethnographic fieldwork with an emphasis on sensory impressions, embodiment, affect, and researcher positionality (Ahlstedt, 2015; Fisher, 2015; Militz & Schurr, 2016; Pink, 2008; Whitson, 2016). Explaining these intersecting positionalities and their role for emerging relationalities with informants and places necessitated an engagement with autoethnography and memory work (A. J. Berg, 2008; Billo & Hiemstra, 2013; Ellis, 2004a; Lobo, 2010; Militz & Schurr, 2016; Myong & Andreassen, n.d.). While the chapter reflects on the different modalities and occasional tensions of data production through formalized interviews and less formal fieldwork encounters, affective circulations and embodied researcher positionalities constrained the material generated in similar ways. Moreover, the interviews were conducted in "the field," and thus embedded in the material, affective and discursive landscapes of fieldwork.

The chapter opens with a research article about passing as Danish. This article, which draws on autoethnography and to a lesser extent memory work, was written last of the four articles that make up the body of this thesis. I chose to place it first in the thesis because it begins to develop an (embodied) affective methodology that this chapter builds upon. In addition, the article offers a discussion of both intersecting markers and the notion of passing that is central to my grappling with processes of inclusion and exclusion, minoritization and majoritization.

The rest of the chapter further develops the methodological framework of the project, drawing on the article and additional moments of saturation from the empirical material. First, I elaborate on the

instrumentality of embodiment and affect in the collection of empirically driven research by engaging with the notion of "sweaty concepts" (Ahmed, 2014). Next, I focus on discomfort as an affective marker of moments of saturation (Ahlstedt, 2015; Militz & Schurr, 2016) in the generation of empirical material. I demonstrate how these uncomfortable moments provide analytical pathways, drawing on examples from interviews and revisiting the research article. The chapter concludes by discussing four co-existing and divergent researcher positionalities that have been central to the production of the empirical material and still constrain my approaches to "making senses" of Nordvest. Finally, I relate these shifting positionalities to the notion of attunement, examining how we respond to, and are affected by, some things and not others (Ahmed, 2014).

Although this chapter elaborates a general methodological framework, it does not aim to force a messy, multi-layered and multifaceted process of data production into a coherent research narrative. Rather, I propose a methodology built on ambivalence, tensions, multiplicities, situatedness and partiality. These characteristics of the methodology have shaped the chapter, for instance by guiding my selection of unavoidably partial, incomplete moments of saturation from the empirical material.

Recruited into Danishness? An affective autoethnography of passing as Danish

Abstract

This article examines emergence of Danishness via an autoethnography of passing as Danish. Drawing on feminist thinking, I conceptualize passing as an embodied, affective and discursive relation; simultaneously spontaneous and labored, fleeting and solid, emergent and constrained by past becomings.

Once a young female uneducated Eastern European love migrant, I now usually pass as an accomplished migrant. However, conducting fieldwork in Copenhagen, I found myself passing as Danish. My changing positionings from (un)wanted migrant to un(re)marked majority provide a unique boundary position for examining Danishness. My body and Danishness become aligned, while other bodies are ejected. These fluctuating (dis)alignments mark gradations of proximity to Danishness.

Using autoethnography and memory work, I develop an affective methodology to convey the encounters' affective circulations. These momentary affects are simultaneously collective capacities illuminating material-discursive-affective contours of Danishness. The article contributes to feminist-inspired research on race, whiteness, embodiment and affect in Nordic and European contexts.

Keywords: affect; autoethnography; Danishness; embodiment; intersectionality; passing; race/whiteness.

"Diverse" or un(re)marked: the author's changing positionings

I moved from Latvia to Denmark in July 2004, at 18, together with my Danish partner. I had previously visited Stockholm, Oslo and Copenhagen, my teenage gendered insecurities and sense of alienation

exacerbated in the strikingly clean and bright public spaces of these Nordic capitals. Everything was absurdly expensive and absurdly flawless. I remember brightly lit stations, shops and cafes, smelling of citrus detergent or freshly ground coffee. Ingrained ideas about East, West and true Europeanness that had permeated the sociopolitical spaces of my childhood, were trailing with me as I walked the streets, hoping to be unnoticed.

My becoming Eastern European was completed after moving to Copenhagen. I learnt what people thought of 'us' from Eastern Europe- specifically, me, a young female who had left Latvia fresh out of high school because of 'love' for a Dane. I had even gotten married! What had felt romantic and rebellious became interpreted as a marker of class, old-fashioned traditions and gender roles, calculated in order to benefit from Danish social welfare. The frame of 'love migration' intensified gendering and sexualization of young Eastern Europeanness. Moreover, my body became shaped by discourses linked to the recent expansion of the European Union, Latvia being one of the ten new countries having joined the EU in May 2004. There was fear of mass labor migration, and the media featured stories about 'Eastern workers'. I became a young female uneducated love migrant.

My positionings have shifted since 2004. I am older, educated, employable, fluent in Danish. Danish people compliment me on these achievements, contrasting me to less integrated foreigners. I have become an accomplished migrant. However, I usually remain 'diverse', particularly in Danish-only social spaces- for instance, my habits being attributed to Latvianness or foreignness. Therefore, it was remarkable that I came to consistently pass as Danish conducting fieldwork in Copenhagen in 2014-2016.

Nordvest, the Copenhagen district I am researching, is articulated as multicultural and diverse, referring to lumped-together racialized, sub-middle class bodies and spaces (Lapiņa, 2016). Eastern European presences, such as 'Polish neighbors', are included in this diversity, although not as central to it as 'Muslims' or 'Arabs'. Yet I was never positioned or articulated as 'diverse'. No one asked me 'where are you from?' (which often happens outside fieldwork situations). I 'came from' Roskilde University and lived in Frederiksberg, often perceived as an upper middle class, conservative district. There, the questions stopped. I had become un(re)marked as a(n Eastern European) migrant. I had become

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'normal' in a way often impossible for people of color living in Denmark (Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen, 2014).

In this article, I explore the modalities of my passing as Danish, drawing on autoethnography and memory work. I trace Danishness as emergent in embodied, affective encounters, analyzing the role of racial, classed and gendered markers and other signs on the body. While my analysis springs out of my experience in an urban Danish context, it speaks more generally of material-discursive-affective enactments of Danishness, shades of whiteness and racialized, gendered etc gradations of proximity to Danishness (formulation proposed by JP Catungal, 2016, personal communication).

In the following section, I situate the contribution of this article with regards to Danish and Nordic feminist-inspired research on race/whiteness and intersectionality. I then conceptualize passing, with focus on embodiment, affect and tensions between contingency and continuity. I also explain how I use autoethnography, supported by memory work, as an affective methodology. I proceed to analyse my passing as Danish based on two fieldwork episodes: an interview with a white, middle class majority Danish couple and an encounter in the municipal library in Nordvest where I was hailed to perform as Danish by a person of color. I conclude by highlighting the contributions this article makes to studies of race/whiteness, embodiment, affect and intersectionality.

An autoethnography of passing as Danish

Nordic whiteness and Danishness, examined from its boundaries

This article discusses embodied and felt Danishness as it arises in everyday interactions, and related processes of inclusion and exclusion. Passing has originally been evoked to address racialized positionings, e.g. passing as white (Ahmed, 1999; Butler, 1997a; Larsen, 1994). A growing body of research addresses unmarkedness and hegemony of Nordic whiteness (see, for example, Andreassen et al., 2008; Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Andreassen and Vitus, 2016; Hübinette and Lundström, 2011; Myong, 2009; Svendsen, 2013) . It has been argued that the hegemonic performativity of Nordic whiteness coincides with and facilitates, a belief that Nordic societies are exceptionalist and inherently anti-racist (Andreassen, 2015; Hübinette and Lundström, 2014; Mainsah

and Prøitz, 2015; Svendsen, 2013). This highlights how the unmarked invisibility of whiteness in the West increases its potency as a technology of domination in establishing racialised hierarchies (McDowell, 2009). Consequently, voices addressing race and racism in the Nordic have often been silenced (Myong and Andreassen, in press). This article contributes to the growing conversations on race and racism in Nordic countries, especially highlighting embodiment and affect (Andreassen and Vitus, 2016; Hvenegård- Lassen and Staunæs, 2015; Svendsen, 2013).

While contributing to an ongoing conversation, this article also addresses a less explored angle in the Nordic context and generally, examining Nordic whiteness and Danishness from a liminal position- as a body-subject that can pass as various migrant figures or un(re)marked as Danish. Nordic researchers have analysed race and whiteness drawing on autoethnography and memory work (Ahlstedt, 2015; Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Berg, 2008; Koobak and Thapar-Björkert, 2012; kennedy-macfoy and Nielsen, 2012; Mainsah and Prøitz, 2015; Myong and Andreassen, in press). I contribute to these analyses by examining the various, fluctuating shades of whiteness and Danishness that I pass in as an upwards socially mobile, 'integrated' Eastern European migrant living in Denmark. My body has journeyed to *become* a whiter, more Western body. This journey invites an analysis that illuminates emergence of race and whiteness as simultaneously always-already there *and* re-established and negotiated from context to context (Hvenegård- Lassen and Staunæs, 2015). Explored through autoethnography and memory work, my changing positionings vis-à-vis Danishness highlight the intersectional relationality of race and whiteness. My passing as Danish speaks of how a body might take shape as Danish, while simultaneously tracking contours of emerging Danishness.

Passing as Danish: a conceptualization

I elaborate passing as discursive, embodied-material and affective process. Passing is negotiated discursively, for instance, drawing on already established racialized figures of 'immigrants' and 'diversity'. Secondly, passing is embodied- it occurs as bodies resonate with and enact each other in particular spaces, becoming aligned and set apart. Thirdly, passing is experienced affectively, while simultaneously constraining possibilities for action. Before addressing these levels in more depth, I explain the use of Danishness in this paper.

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By Danishness, I denote an un(re)marked majority positioning. My positioning as migrant in other contexts ("Where are you from?") and my research participants' emphasis on 'diversity', located on bodies and spaces, contributes to ethnic identification being an important element of unmarked majority position. However, Danishness is not only or primarily a matter of ethnicity or nationality (Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen, 2014). Rather, Danishness emerges as various markers and circulations intersect, combine and feed into one another.

By evoking the concept of passing, I aim to convey the performative, relational, ongoing nature of emergence of subject positions, bodies and boundaries (Doshi, 2016; Hvenegård- Lassen and Staunæs, 2015; Kern, 2012; Parker, 2016). As Judith Butler (1988, 1993, 1997b) has written about gender performativity, there is no 'doer behind the deed' in passing. It is not my decision to come across as Danish, or the decision of others to allow me to pass. Rather, Danishness constrains and is renegotiated in the space between me and research participants, it envelops us or sets us apart, bodies recognizing and enacting each other as located in particular ways with regards to race, class, gender, sexuality and other intersecting processes. This highlights how passing arises in-the-moment but is simultaneously constituted by past histories and becomings (Ahmed, 2006, 2007).

Passing is negotiated discursively, for instance, by referring to diverse others, or one's own majority privilege or tolerance (as a white Danish 'host' in position to extend hospitality to others). While the figure of the other is articulated in the moment, it draws on historically contingent racialized notions of stranger or immigrant (Ahmed, 2000; Schmidt, 2015).

Secondly, passing is embodied and *'produces on the skin, through the gesture, the move, the gait (…)'* (Butler, 1993:317) as bodies journey through social spaces. On one hand, passing arises from (historically contingent) meanings assigned to bodily markers and ideas of difference and value that have come to stick to them (Ahmed, 2004b). On the other hand, it brings these signs on the body into existence, reifies them, through assigning meaning to them. Thus bodies that take part and place in passing encounters are both material and discursive, both existent and emerging. Subject positions arise from continuous production of bodies and their labor in space, and these positionings in turn mould and

constrain the bodies that pass through them (Braidotti, 2003). Bodies emerge and are continuously enacted through encounters, affecting and being affected (Anderson, 2006; Blackman, 2012).

Affective circulations in instances of passing form the cornerstone of my analysis. As explained above, passing constrains bodies' movement and conduct in space, and the shapes that bodies take; but passing is first and foremost felt and experienced. While emotions reflect attunements of bodies, they are also transpersonal, affect emerging as '*simultaneously [a] (...) bodily capacity and collective condition*' (Anderson, 2014:17). Affective circulations trace entanglements and mutual constitution of bodies in these encounters and branch out to bodies and collectivities elsewhere.

By discussing passing, I explore the relational emergence of Danishness. My passing as Danish constitutes a standpoint from which particular knowledges arise and are articulated (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1997). Feminist intersectional scholarship recognizes the researcher as a situated, partial, embodied knowledge producing subject (Doshi, 2016; Faria and Mollett, 2016; Kern, 2012, 2015; Parker, 2016; Peake, 2015; Schurr and Abdo, 2016). However, even within this scholarship, researcher positionings sometimes figure as listings of categories (e.g. women, white, privilege). In contrast, this article offers a detailed analysis of the author's changing positionality, addressing how it constrains fieldwork encounters and knowledges articulated. Partial, situated knowledges are grounded in places and/as bodies, tying together emplacement and embodiment. Like emotions arising in fieldwork encounters reflect '*scholars' entanglements in broader political geographies of communities, norms and institutions*' (Catungal, in press), through its very partiality and situatedness my passing as Danish provides a broader perspective on emergence of Danishness and exclusions and inclusions that it produces.

Towards affective methodology: autoethnography and memory work

While autoethnographic accounts of fieldwork encounters comprise the main empirical material for the article, I have used memory work to contextualize my passing as Danish against a backdrop of various migrant positionings. Memory work is conducted by writing down of memories of events related to the research topic (Berg, 2008). For this article, I wrote of moments of saturation with regards to my beginning to perceive myself as Eastern European shortly after arriving to Denmark, and of moments

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of becoming aware of myself having become positioned as a more privileged, whiter migrant. Memory work has been traditionally used in feminist analyses of gender; however, it can also be applied to race and racialization (kennedy-macfoy and Nielsen, 2012; Myong and Andreassen, in press). Through tracing my intersectionally mediated positionings, memory work destabilizes un(re)marked majority positions through examining everyday interactions and social processes (Berg, 2008; kennedy-macfoy and Nielsen, 2012). Additionally, it facilitates reflexivity about researcher positionings and standpoints in production of partial knowledges (Haug, 2008; Lapadat et al., 2010; Myong and Andreassen, in press). Consequently, memory work grounds my use of autoethnography in developing an affective methodology (Militz and Schurr, 2016).

The chosen episodes from fieldwork relate moments of saturation, condensation and heightened intensity (Militz and Schurr, 2016) with regards to my passing as Danish contrasted to passing as (Eastern European) migrant. I write of these encounters to make them resonate with the reader, contributing to a sense of being implicated in relations that produce social markings, inclusion and exclusion (McCormack, 2003).

Affective methodology enables me to trace passing as Danish as a material-discursive-affective process through readings of emotional circulations and embodiment in these encounters. Feminist scholars have highlighted feelings as co-constructive to the research endeavor (Ahlstedt, 2015; Billo and Hiemstra, 2013; Bondi, 2005, 2014; Lobo, 2010; Militz and Schurr, 2016) and the emotional entanglements of researcher and the researched (Catungal, in press; Schurr and Abdo, 2016). However, my main motivation for developing an affective methodology is the instrumentality that embodied emotions have in passing. Letting affective circulations from encounters resonate in the text and with the reader can highlight how emotions also outline collective bodies and conditions (Anderson, 2014).

Danishness emerges along different routes in the two encounters retold in this paper. Interviewing a Danish couple, my passing as Danish unfolds mostly non-verbally, through alignment of our bodies in shared space. In another interaction, my Danishness is (re)marked and articulated explicitly through being hailed to do things that (only) a Danish body can do. Consequently, these encounters convey

multiple modulations of passing: friction and smoothness, rupture and coming-together, alignment and dispersion, proximity and distance.

Loving 'diversity'- together, from the outside

I was interviewing Karen and Jens, a couple in their 40ies, on a weekday after their children's bedtime. It was a warm May evening, daylight still entering their apartment on the second floor of a detached house on a quiet street. The table was set with tea and coffee, chocolates and liquorice candy. I felt like a welcome friend whose visit they had looked forward to, unlike the more formal air of most of my other interviews. This was going to be a cosy evening.

I immediately felt us aligned as 'like one another', likeness '*as an effect of the proximity of shared residence*' (Ahmed, 2007:155), of coffee and snacks on the table, added to by the expectation of liking each other, mutual understanding, having a good time. We had briefly met before, introduced by their neighbour. They knew of my appearance and academic affiliation; perhaps they read me as a younger, 'hip' person, 'creative' like them. We seemed to occupy 'shared positionality' (Mullings, 1999:341) in terms of class, whiteness, creativity and open-mindedness. It seemed that they had chosen to discount my accent and the lines of differentiation it could lead to establish.

The script of 'good time' and likeness was upheld throughout our conversation, although I felt uncomfortable at times. This happened, for instance, when Karen and Jens expressed anger and frustration about oppressed 'immigrant women' '*giving birth to children, not at all integrated, although they are only 21 and have lived here all of their lives*'. These children would grow up understimulated and deprived, in closed 'universes' of immigrant families. Karen and Jens simultaneously described 'immigrants' as colourful and 'fantastic', rejoicing at the strange spices in 'immigrant shops' and their unintelligible 'shouting' on the streets. I remember shifting in my chair, but I still felt aligned with them, still invited in a privileged, intimate space that I did not want to risk ejecting myself from.

Karen and Jens also told me about how their son's schoolmates from these deprived, racialized families were always welcome in their home. They were proud of their son's kindness towards homeless people and residents drinking beers on benches. Throughout the interview, I felt we were mirroring each other

as decent, tolerant people. I was supposed to recognize and value majority embraces of social and cultural difference and 'diversity', whether they manifested as enthusiasm about exotic people, places, smells and sounds or care for the disadvantaged. Their (our) 'care for the Other' could be interpreted as an emotional, symbolic and material investment contributing to a sense of belonging to the neighborhood and an enactment of a progressive, tolerant, benevolent majority (white middle class Danish) position, built upon racializing, gendered and classed logics (Ahmed, 2007; Fortier, 2010; Hage, 1998; Lobo, 2010).

This extension of cosy, progressive Danishness to me constituted an affectively entangled position. I experienced relief and gratitude at being majoritized, and shame and guilt at being allowed to pass at the cost of others being ejected as 'diverse'. My being positioned as unmarked majority felt generous and kind, even as, and *because* it depended on exclusions of others. I felt safe and welcome. Moreover, I remember a visceral bodily feeling of spilling out into my surroundings, enveloped and consumed by the comfortable Danishness of this space, the minimalistic furniture, the light in the room. Simultaneously, I felt stuck into our comfortable majority alignment, glued into the chair I was sitting in.

Our entanglement was intensified by mutual power relations implicit in how we recognized one another. On one hand, I seemed to be not only majoritized 'like them'; I was positioned to evaluate their stances on 'diversity', to *like them*. On the other hand, Karen and Jens had power over me, established through earlier encounters where I had been marked and assessed as a migrant by people *like them*.

The articulation of 'diverse Others' and my being included into majority Danishness speak of already established discursive-affective-embodied tropes that signal gradations of proximity to Danishness. While other informants marked Eastern Europeans (Polish neighbours; Lithuanian construction workers) as 'diverse' (yet not articulating me as such), for Karen and Jens, the 'diverse others' were racialized Muslim 'immigrants'. It is telling how few references it took to activate these figures of otherness. Being '(progressive) Danish', 'we' already have a discursive, affective and sensory idea of, for instance, an 'immigrant shop'. When Karen and Jens tell about their enjoyment of the sensory impressions linked to these places, say that the restaurants in Nordvest are 'all kebab and immigrantsy',

or refer to deprived women and children, these statements trigger images already racialized, classed and gendered in particular ways. For example, all eleven times 'women' are mentioned in the interview, it refers to racialized ethnic minority women. Jens and Karen do not use words like 'Muslim', 'Arabic' or 'Middle East'; burka is mentioned twice and headscarf once, in passing. But it is still very clear to me whom and what places they evoke when they speak of 'immigrants'.

That Jens and Karen can say things without saying them to me signifies two aspects that highlight gradations of proximity to Danishness- the potentialities that different bodies have for becoming 'alike', liked and embraced. Firstly, my presumed knowing who and what Karen and Jens are referring to as 'immigrants', and their knowing that I will know, situates me within 'a white gaze' that constructs sameness and difference while positioning itself as unmarked and 'normal' (Kobayashi and Peake, 2000: 397). Whiteness coincides with Danishness, as the 'immigrant' of color is evoked as already 'diverse' and ejectable. The availability of this figure for being othered enables me to pass as Danish, or at least less 'diverse'. I was recruited into Karen and Jens' 'white gaze' and 'white care' through being read as a young, white, female, resourceful, progressive, open-minded, middle class researcher- and a likeable, decent person.

This encounter shows how my passage through space and time is enabled by ejection of other bodies from Danishness. My body becomes increasingly smoother with each passing encounter, more likely to pass again. It learns conducting itself in ways that signal entitlement. This highlights how passing is made by, and makes, material-discursive-affective routes and emplacements over time. Embodied markers and affective circulations are enacted into constellations of (un)Danishness, constraining bodies' trajectories to differentiated futures.

'Could you talk to the librarian in the Danish language?'

During fieldwork I often spent time in the public library in Nordvest. The library is also a cultural and community house, featuring a café run by an organization of people with developmental disabilities, workshop and creative spaces, exhibitions, movie screenings, local organizers' meetings, homework cafes, and activities for parents and children. Mostly I would sit there with my laptop, aware of my surroundings, yet also simply working. The library was a break from the field, in the field.

One afternoon, as I was sitting at a table among the bookshelves in the library, a remote-controlled car approached me. 'Hi, what are you doing?' the car said, in Danish. It had a mobile phone with a camera attached to it. Glancing around, I noticed a white child around 7, fifteen meters away, half hidden behind a bookshelf, equipped with a remote control. I remembered that a screen had advertised a robotics workshop being held that day. The child spoke to me looking at the remote control. We chatted, through the car, for a couple of minutes.

A couple of hours later I had moved up to the third floor, sitting at a table with several chairs around it. There were computers with public access placed along the wall. There was one other person sitting across the table from me, a brown man around 30.

Suddenly I noticed one of the people using the public access working stations, a Caribbean looking man around 60, muttering to himself. He was black, skinny, with tangled long hair speckled with grey, dressed in many layers of worn clothing and multiple parcels by his side. He spoke English, at an increasing volume.

'How can we live when NSA is everywhere? Our every move is being monitored! All these drones…' His voice grew louder, his distress more manifest. He approached our table, addressing the brown man, acknowledging me through actively directing his body away and not looking at me. I realized the man was probably reacting to the devices from robotics workshop roaming the library.

The young brown man sitting across from me shot sideways glances at the looming presence next to him. As he finally spoke he addressed me, in English. 'Could you go talk to the librarian in the Danish language? So they come.'

The brown man had assumed correctly from my looks. I could talk to the librarian in the Danish language, but this was about more than fluency in Danish. Like me, the librarian was likely to pass as white, Danish, and female. The librarian might react differently to someone appearing as a young 'Muslim' man than they would to me. Passing as white middle class female (he thought I was Danish) I was unlikely to provoke fear and suspicion that even a middle class looking brown young man could be perceived with. I was not approached to discuss steps to be taken, but hailed to do what needed to be

done. My table neighbour *knew* I was better equipped to do this, through my racial, classed and gendered positionings. This highlights the multiple workings of race, materializing in everyday encounters, shaping bodies' conduct in space, but also re-negotiated in the moment (Hvenegård- Lassen and Staunæs, 2015; kennedy-macfoy and Lewis, 2014).

The brown man had not engaged with the black man directly. And the black man, nonverbally but very clearly, *knew* not to engage with me, addressing a masculine person of colour instead. Perhaps the black man *knew* that I might respond to him as a (white, female, 'Danish') psychologist trying to calm down a 'delusional' person, which I might have done had he addressed me. Neither of them had known for a fact that I was 'from a university', that I could speak Danish, or that what I said to the librarian would more likely be heard - but yet they *knew*.

By heeding the brown man's request to 'speak to the librarian in the Danish language' I accepted and re-enacted intersecting, violent hierarchies that regulate Danish social spaces. He *knew* that I was more likely to be heard qua the intersections of my whiteness, gender and Danish language skills (although in Copenhagen, it can be presumed that a librarian would speak English, which was in fact the case). Our bodies orient themselves in, and are oriented by spaces, accumulating these kinds of knowledges. Experiences from earlier encounters become embodied knowledge that continuously shapes our bodies and possibilities of conduct open to them.

Conclusion: Unmarked labour of normalcy and shades of Danishness

In this article, I have conceptualized passing as a relational process, involving discursive, embodied and affective circulations; enacted in the moment and simultaneously shaped by other spatiotemporalities. I have then examined my own passing as Danish, or incorporation into un(re)marked majority, when conducting fieldwork in Copenhagen's Nordvest. The analysis has been based on autoethnographic accounts of fieldwork encounters. In addition, memory work has contextualized and signified these instances of passing as Danish, as opposed to various modes of passing as migrant.

The concept of passing can help understand how embodied markers, pertaining to race, gender, sexuality, class etc., are evoked and renegotiated in social inclusion and exclusion. Passing aims to

capture the mutual embeddedness of material, affective and discursive relations, underlined in feminist postcolonial theorizations of subjectivity, power and space (Doshi, 2016; Kern, 2012; Nightingale, 2011; Parker, 2016; Peake, 2015; Simonsen, 2013). Additionally, passing highlights the simultaneous immediacy and constant renegotiation in embodied, emplaced face-to-face encounters and the ways they are shaped by histories that branch out to multiple elsewheres (Ahmed, 2004b; Hvenegård- Lassen and Staunæs, 2015; Simonsen, 2013; Wilson, 2016). In addition to framing passing interactions as 'encounters with difference' (Valentine, 2008; Wilson, 2016) they can be analyzed to explore how difference and sameness are contextually negotiated. Thus, while an analysis of passing asks 'how things work' (Chun et al., 2013), it also concerns the conditions for their 'workability'. Furthermore, passing highlights how structures of power and violence manifest and are reinforced in mundane everyday spaces and encounters (Hunt, 2015).

Sara Ahmed (2004a: 122) has argued that '(…) *to pass through a space requires passing as a particular kind of subject, one whose difference is unmarked and unremarkable.*' Conducting fieldwork in Nordvest, I realized I had become this kind of mobile, smooth subject. This article grew out of asking how this subject position inside Danishness can arise, and for whom. In concluding, I will address this question by summarizing firstly, on the dynamics I have traced in passing and secondly, shades of Danishness.

Analyzing the encounters where I came to pass as an unmarked majority, I have discussed how passing is simultaneously spontaneous and laboured; achieved by a body and extended to this body; of-the-moment and always-already there. Experiences of passing are affectively, bodily and discursively laboured, involving navigation of, for instance, uncertainties, hierarchies of power and social codes. Writing on passing, Sara Ahmed (1999: 101), evokes the notion of 'techniques of the self' in order to capture how bodies reconstruct themselves to approximate particular images in order to pass. Ahmed underlines that these 'techniques of the self' do not necessarily involve intentional labour, but I think that this notion still does not quite capture the relationality and performativity (Butler, 1988) of passing.

Our bodies are continuously made by the meanings that are attached and extended to them through accumulated experiences and embodied encounters, whether we are aware of it or not. For instance, the

body of the brown man I met at the municipal library fit the space enough to take a seat at the table, but not quite enough to know he could speak to the librarian and be heard. The spaces we pass through, or are hindered from passing through, shape our bodies and movement in the world on material, discursive and affective levels in ways that immediately manifest in the particulars of a given encounter. The markers that are 'always already there' are (re)made through continuous accumulation of 'here and now' immediacies.

The second main point I would like to highlight concerns shades, or degrees of proximity to, Danishness. The analysis of my passing as Danish in Nordvest has been informed by my passing as various migrant figures. After arriving to Denmark, I became a young, uneducated female sexualized Eastern European love migrant. On one hand, this positioning speaks of shades of whiteness and hierarchies of Europeanness (Dzenovska, 2013, 2014). On the other hand, even when positioned as Eastern European, my body carried the potentiality of becoming liminally 'normal' often unavailable to bodies racialized as non-white (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014).

In other words, Danishness, while emerging in specific encounters, is differently within or out of reach for different bodies. I refer to these gradations as shades of Danishness, or degrees of proximity to Danishness. Even just after having arrived in Copenhagen, I might have been closer to passing as Danish than someone who grew up there. While shades of Danishness are constrained by markers pertaining to race, gender, sexuality, class, ability, age, body language, they do not always work in straightforward, articulable ways. For instance, the brown man in the library did not know that I was a doctoral student, or that I could speak Danish; and the black man who was distressed did not know that I might address him as delusional, from a position of white (Danish) female psychologist. Yet they acted as if they knew. Karen and Jens, the Danish couple, acted as if I did not have an accent. Degrees of proximity of Danishness inform the unverbalized, rapidly made interpretations of how bodies are aligned or clash with Danishness. Without knowing, we know.

Intersectionally mediated privilege works through unmarked mobility, gliding through space, and is maintained through not failing (to speak Danish; to carry oneself as though one knows the codes of given 'Danish' spaces, etc.). My passing feels like an unmarked relief, but it is enabled by ejection of

other bodies positioned as more foreign to Danishness. My body can now be incorporated into an imaginary of Danishness, while others are (still) foreign, strange, exotic and 'diverse'. Conditions for passing change over time, but its realities bend, break and shape bodies and lives. Talking to Karen and Jens, I felt stuck because of emotional ambivalence. Allowing me to pass was at once generous and unjust; contingent on what I was born with(-in) and sweeping feats of labour, labour that (often unknowingly) forms our bodies and conduct in the world.

My analysis of passing illustrates how intersectional processes, such as race, class, gender and sexuality (embodied markers of identity and difference), cannot be constituted save through one another (Butler 1997a: 267). A body emerges as desirable for Danishness not through, for instance, whiteness as something it (always) possesses. Even for bodies who can pass as white, 'real' whiteness and Danishness might sometimes be achieved through markers of education, employability, fluent Danish, resourcefulness, 'hipness' balanced with presentability, passing-as-female (perhaps conveying malleability and soft-spokenness), being young but not too young. Even then, one might find oneself most often passing as an 'accomplished migrant'. Passing is also strongly mediated by an embodied sense of entitlement: bodies' conduct in and across space. Despite instances of having been set apart, my body has learned that it will be tolerated and relatively able to move across 'Danish' spaces. This highlights how passing is material and emplaced, constraining embodied trajectories of movement and possibility.

Conducting empirically driven research: notes towards an embodied, affective methodology

The article on passing as Danish focused primarily on the second research question, discussing the role of intersecting markers in minoritization and majoritization processes, and emerging possibilities and constraints for bodies' conduct and movement in space. The article also gestured towards an embodied, affective feminist methodology that the rest of the chapter aims to develop. In this section, I take a step back to reflect on the centrality of embodiment and affect to empirically driven research and the intricate links between data and knowledge production.

On one hand, as I have mentioned, the research process was analytically and theoretically attuned from the outset, directed by a focus on inequalities and the role of intersecting markers for inclusion and exclusion in urban spaces. I set out to investigate the ambivalence, multi-layeredness, contradictions and multiple exclusions that pertain to and constitute social spaces, through the use of qualitative, ethnographic methods (Hiemstra & Billo, 2016; Parker, 2011, 2016b). I wanted to explore these contestations as they emerge from everyday interactions, and from unequal, partial and partially knowable, subject positions (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013; Fisher, 2015; Hiemstra, 2016; Hunt, 2015; Lobo, 2010; Rose, 1993, 1997; Whitson, 2016). At the outset of my project, these analytical and theoretical lenses had the status of vague but structuring anticipations. After beginning the labour of data production, empirical material emerged and became intertwined with the unfolding and refinement of interpretative and analytical prisms and theoretical lenses. These inseparable, reciprocal, pushing–pulling entanglements among data production, methodologies and conceptual work constitute the process of knowledge production of this thesis.

When I at the same time conceive of this body of research as empirically driven, it indicates the centrality of embodiment and affect in knowledge production. According to feminist decolonial perspectives on knowledge production, all knowledges are situated, relational, partial and embodied (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013; Bondi, 2005, 2014; Faria & Mollett, 2016; Haraway, 1988; Hiemstra & Billo, 2016; Lobo, 2010; Parker, 2016a; Peake, 2015; Rose, 1997; Yi'En, 2013). Modes and directionalities of knowing are constrained by our positionalities and standpoints, which in turn emerge through our embodied presence in the world.

Sara Ahmed (2014) evokes the notion of "sweaty concepts" to highlight how concepts and theoretical perspectives emerge from the labour and struggle of being out of place in the world. Drawing on the work of Audre Lorde, Ahmed stresses the analytical and conceptual potential of painful and tense "out of place" positionalities. I evoke "sweatiness" (the embodied and affective labour of knowledge

production) in a broader way. First of all, a "sweaty" process of data and theory generation might be conceptualized as pertaining to all researcher positionalities. Intersectionally privileged, majoritized modes of being in the world and conducting research, although not "sweaty" in an uncomfortable, effortful way, arise from an embodied, situated being in the world and involve partial pathways to knowledge production. Due to their privileged positionalities with regards to Western, positivist science (Braidotti, 2011, 2013, Parker, 2016a, 2016b), these knowledges tend to have an easier time being recognized as (objective) knowledges. Consequently, their incompleteness and partiality, their embodied and affective dimensions, have a tendency to be downplayed.

This highlights the importance of reflexively scrutinizing knowledges that arise from positions of "ease," or whose "sweatiness" might be hidden from view. It is important to unravel their partiality and specificity, contesting the idea(l) of objectivity. Moreover, majoritized (knowledge-producing) bodies' seamless and unhindered passages through space also convey insights into the mutual becomings of bodies and spaces. This underlines how seamless, comfortable fieldwork encounters and smooth gliding across social spaces hold analytical and theoretical potential. All modes of being emplaced and embodied constrain the ideas and worlds we are able to sense, grasp, live, and, to some extent, articulate.

Secondly, there is a particular kind of "sweatiness" to mobility and to "comfortable" passages through welcoming spaces *that could have been otherwise*. This comfort manifests as fleeting and ambiguous against a backdrop of less mobile positionalities, as illustrated in the research article. As the following discussion of data production will delineate, a central part of the analysis of empirical data is a growing awareness of modalities of embodied affect and mobility. These instances often manifest as polyvalent affective circulations, spanning discomfort, clashes and a deeply felt, unmissable sense of being out of place *as well as* a sense of belonging and comfortable, seamless, yet remarkable alignments.

My insistence and ability to focus on "sweatiness," labour and the remarkability of be(com)ing *in* place emerges first and foremost from a privileged researcher positionality where being *in* place has increasingly become an ambiguously comfortable possibility. Through conflations and readings of intersecting markers, I have been met by informants and spaces *as if* I belonged—I have become unmarked, passing as a majoritized body. This mode of seamless embodiment in research situations would not have been (made) available to differently marked researcher bodies. At the same time, it would perhaps have been unremarkable for, and passed unnoticed by, researcher bodies more used to being "in place." Almost by definition, being in a position of privileged mobility, being embraced, rather than ejected, by social spaces, tends to pass unnoticed (Ahmed, 2007). As was highlighted in

the article, feeling at ease and passing as Danish in my "cozy" encounter with Karen and Jens was remarked by me because 1) it could have been otherwise and 2) it was simultaneously full of tension, since in my majoritized position I was invited into multiple modalities of discomfort. Thus my insistence on the remarkability and analytical importance (friction and "sweatiness") of (also) seemingly effortless, painless interactions is not motivated by an intellectual insistence on a "broader" perspective. Instead, it emerges from the contradictions and uncomfortable ambivalences I felt in research encounters. My situated, multi-layered, relational, embodied positionalities in the process of data generation are equally specific and fractional as those of more consistently minoritized or majoritized, or differently interexchangeably minoritized/majoritized (researcher) bodies.

This uncertainty, a not quite knowing in advance how I will pass encountering social spaces in fieldwork, is thus a particular affordance of my modes of embodiment in fieldwork. It is an affordance of my shifting positionalities across time and social spaces that my concepts not only "come out of a bodily experience that is difficult" (Ahmed, 2014) but also out of bodily experience that is suddenly surprisingly, remarkably, and therefore tensely "comfortable." Consequently, I have become attuned to, and inclined to remark upon, instances of passing, smoothness and alignment. These ways of moving into and across spaces have not always been accessible to me, and thus they comprise important ethnographic data, pointing to how bodies can be(come) in these spaces. The "smoothness" of these interactions is experienced as "sweaty" and remarkable against my history of being out of place. Conversely, there are dynamics of my embodied positionality in research encounters that escape my attention, remain un(re)marked by me, and become barred from influencing my analytical and conceptual frameworks.

Consequently, when I conceive this research as "empirically driven," it refers to situated, partial knowledges emerging from shifting embodied positionalities in the process of data collection. The insistence on these positionalities as providing and constraining analytical and theoretical lenses flows from my ethnographic data and is in alignment with the thesis's methodological and conceptual framework, informed by decolonial feminist theory. By reflecting on shifting positionalities, I am not aiming for an ideal of transparency or a complete mapping (taming or ordering) of my situatedness. Rather, I want to provide a glimpse of the multitude of positionalities and relationalities, and their consequences for knowledge production that highlight uncertainty, ambivalence, complexity and tension (Rose, 1997).

Before proceeding to discuss the process of data generation, I discuss two texts, referenced in the research article on passing, that gesture towards affective methodologies.

Affective struggles: zooming in on research as affective labour

In building an affective, embodied methodology, I have been inspired, in different ways, by two recent ethnographic accounts. One of them is Sara Ahlstedt's chapter "Doing 'Feelwork': Reflections on Whiteness and Methodological Challenges in Research on Queer Partner Migration," included in the volume *Affectivity and Race: Studies from Nordic Contexts* (Ahlstedt, 2015). Ahlstedt (2015) traces multiple, divergent affects (shame, anger, comfort) arising from encounters between herself and her informants and revolving around (queer, migrant, middle-class) whiteness as a shared positionality and bodily capacity. On one hand, building on feminist and queer methodological literatures, she emphasizes the centrality of feelings to fieldwork, both related to the emotional labour of the researcher, emerging in, flowing through and shaping ethnographic encounters, and as possible pointers to analytical strategies. Yet, despite convincing arguments in favour of the importance of feelings, Ahlstedt's (2015) account is that of multiple, ongoing struggles to face them.

She writes: "I struggle with admitting how both positive and shameful feelings affect my research (…)", and

"I struggle to allow myself to actually scrutinise the feelings that move in the fieldwork room and what those feelings do to and with the material; it would be easier to ignore them and pretend that they have no effect on me or my research." (Ahlstedt, 2015, pp. 200–201).

I struggle with feelings in research, too. The chapter highlights a familiar paradox. It seems that the more intense the feelings emerging from research encounters (and the greater their potential importance to data and analytical pathways), the more powerful the impulse to wish them away, to try to ignore them. Reading about Ahlstedt's (2015) struggles motivated me to take deliberate, emotionally labored steps towards an embodied, affective methodology. It drove me to attend to exactly those feelings that might feel shameful and tempting to ignore. As a result, I chose discomfort as a sensed reading strategy in selecting empirical snapshots for analysis in this chapter.

The other ethnographic study that inspired work on affective, embodied methodologies is "Affective Nationalism: Banalities of Belonging in Azerbaijan" by Elisabeth Militz and Carolin Schurr (2016). While drawing on a broad array of studies, mostly within feminist geographies, to mine and their knowledge (e-mail communication with Elisabeth Militz, October 28, 2016), these authors are the first to use the term "affective methodology." While their elaboration of affective methodology within the scope of the research article is limited and assigned the status of an experiment, Militz and Schurr (2016) make important contributions. They emphasize "the various bodies of the researcher (for example the physical body, a gesture or thoughts) and their emotionalities as generative elements of affective

encounter" (Militz & Schurr, 2016, p. 57). Consequently, the empirical material presented in the article takes the shape of autoethnographic vignettes with an emphasis on affective experience. The vignettes aim to convey points of saturation from the ethnographic material, 1) situating the researcher in affective encounters and 2) evoking affective responses in the reader.

However, although the authors set out to employ affective methodology to situate the fieldworking body and its affects, its situatedness and positionalities remain relatively unexplored. While the vignettes offer glimpses of the researcher's affective states, they very rarely engage in mapping what it means for data and knowledge production that it is this particular body, with its particular emergent locations and accumulated past experiences, marked in particular ways (racialized, gendered, classed, geographically located), that moves about and is moved by the field. Only once is it highlighted that the researcher becomes aligned with an informant through shared femaleness, for instance.

These omissions expose a paradox in the article's methodology. On one side, the affective methodology proposed by the authors seems to be aligned with a politics of location, recognizing the partial perspectives and situatedness of knowledge generation (Haraway, 1988; Rich, 1984), although these literatures are not referenced. On the other hand, it seems that Militz and Schurr (2016) simultanously see the locatedness and specificity of researcher embodiment and affect as a limitation, and not precondition, of data and knowledge production:

"The places of the research and the presence of the researchers' various bodies shape the research narrative. This begs the question of whether the inevitability of different bodily capacities to affect and get affected makes researching affect impossible." (Militz & Schurr, 2016, p. 57).

This remark remains uncontested and seems to imply that the specificity of embodiment and affect is unscientific noise rather than the very foundation of the research endeavor. It seems to echo a positivist striving after an objective, generalized knowledge that exists beyond "different body capacities." By contrast, the embodied affective methodology that I aim to develop in this chapter is built on embodied subjectivity as accountable, legitimate, and also unavoidable, enabling and constraining knowledge production (Braidotti, 2011).

Militz and Schurr's (2016) experiments with affective methodology are a source of inspiration for this chapter, for instance their use of autoethnographic vignettes that relate moments of saturation from the fieldwork. However, drawing on a politics of location, situated ontologies and embodiment and affect as foundational to knowledge production, my methodology uses the specificity of my embodiment and affect in research encounters as an opening into, instead of hindrance to, a better understanding and analysis of emergence of bodies and spaces in Nordvest.

Having reflected on what "empirically driven" research means in the framework of this research project, and having highlighted the importance of affect and embodiment in the preceding two sections, I want to emphasize that just as knowledge is embodied, embodiment carries and is constrained by discursive frames. This is why I want to elaborate on my arrival in Nordvest, explaining how my physical becoming-present was shaped by what I already "knew" about the district. This highlights how discursive, embodied, affective modes of knowing cannot be separated and consistently cross-contaminate one another in the process of data production.

Taking place as an ethnographer: arriving into fieldwork

Just like the "field" in fieldwork cannot be neatly contained in space and time (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013), researcher positionality, prior to commencing ethnographic work, cannot be separated from events and processes that have shaped and marked the researcher body and its modes of moving in space (Fisher, 2015; Lobo, 2010; Myong & Andreassen, n.d.). Entering Nordvest, I carried, and was carried by, my embodied histories and entanglements with spaces. Similarly, the Nordvest that I encountered, and that has encountered me since 2014, emerged in interaction with other spaces and temporalities. A body's arrival into a space can be understood as a multi-layered encounter, with layers of experience surfacing, resonating, modulating and triggering one another. Consequently, this section, in a limited, coarse way, addresses the knotty "enigma of arrival' (Naipaul, 1988).

I might have written and framed this section of the chapter as an expanded introduction to Nordvest. By instead highlighting my becoming, or taking place, in Nordvest, the section aims to perform and enact the way this thesis represents mutual affective becomings of bodies and spaces, in this case through the ethnographer's encounters with the field.

Eager to "get to Nordvest," I started fieldwork two weeks into the research project, in the middle of February 2014. I had chosen to research Nordvest through exposure to discursive frames that presented it as a diverse district, full of contrasts, based on categories that were presumed to make a difference. These categories would be presented as statistics (facts about "diversity"), most often pertaining to ethnicity, income, education, housing prices and types and "social problems." I reflect on, and struggle with, notions and enactments of diversity at several points in the thesis. For now, I will remark that I have chosen to examine diversity not as a fact, but as something that emerges, for instance, through the alignment og racialized, classed or otherwise marked bodies, affective circulations and spaces.

In addition, the knowledges about Nordvest I was exposed to prior to fieldwork placed the district off the map of (known, relevant) Copenhagen and fluctuated in affective ambivalence among stigma,

fear, repulsion, fascination and pull. I expected to encounter Nordvest as a contested, changing district replete with injustices. At the same time, I hoped to encounter experiences and manifestations of community and alliances. These preconceptions, my knowledge of Nordvest prior to fieldwork, were informed by an embodied experience and a conceptualization of space as replete with inequalities and constituted through violence—relatable to Sedgwick's (2003) paranoid ecology of knowledge. Moreover, I had willingly exposed myself to discursive and affective frames surrounding Nordvest that directed my anticipation and consequently my encounters with the district.

I started fieldwork just before the mainstream media started articulating Nordvest as (also) an emerging, exciting, stimulating district. This gradual change in popular imagery became evident to me in an article series by Adam Sheikh that appeared in the newspaper *Politiken* in the summer of 2014 (Sheikh, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d). Prior to this series, newspaper articles usually evoked the district's social problems and (con)fused (Pred, 2000), stigmatized places and people. For instance, these articles called Nordvest "Denmark's Albania" (Holm Nielsen, 2009; Jarlov, 2009) (based on the statistics that gave the neighbourhood the lowest life expectancy in the country), and branded the district as the least popular in Copenhagen (based on housing prices and a resident survey from 2011) (Thiemann, 2013). In 2014, a Google Image search of "Nordvest" produced as its first results images from a 2011 feature action film of the same title: images of crime, racialized conflicts and "immigrant gangs" (a laden trope in Danish media, politics and public discourse). These photos, all of which seemed to be taken in the dark, carried affective atmospheres of insecurity and danger and positioned Nordvest as a distinct, desolate place "outside Copenhagen."

Prior to physically inserting myself in Nordvest, I had drafted a semi-structured interview guide that I continued to revise until I conducted my first interviews in March. It reflected my assumptions about the everyday spaces in the district as contested and conflictual.[5]

I had also mapped institutions and associations in the district. Most of these organizations—places of worship, religious private schools, cultural centres—contributed to Nordvest's multicultural image or were intended to alleviate social problems—groups or institutions involved in urban regeneration or catering to homeless people, drug and alcohol users, people with mental illness, and survivors of domestic violence, for example.

I had read about the history of Nordvest, about it becoming urbanized, industrialized, and incorporated in the city of Copenhagen; about it being a working-class district; about its history that echoed the development of the Danish welfare state and changes in the city of Copenhagen. Working-

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[5] See Appendix 2.

class families had been offered new, purpose-built housing in Nordvest between the 1930s and 1960s, especially in periods when the neighborhoods of Inner City, Nørrebro and Vesterbro were sanitized (Palm Larsen, 2000). The working class would, city administrators said, be able to lead improved lives full of fresh air, light and cleanliness, as opposed to the crowded, unhygienic, conditions in the older housing blocks in the centre of the city (Palm Larsen, 2000). As times and standards of living changed, those same housing blocks in Nordvest became less desirable for the working-class families they had been intended to accommodate, leading to a period of decline central to the material, discursive and affective constitution of Nordvest as the "municipality garbage bin." I read about earlier urban regeneration projects and familiarized myself with routes for urban walks designed by the local history association.[6]

I started fieldwork early in the research process so as to enter the field as purposefully unprepared and open-minded as possible. At the same time, as illustrated above, I was oversaturated with theoretically and experientially informed preconceptions about (urban) spaces, on one side, and discursive-affective tropes about Nordvest on the other. In a sense, I already "knew" (about) Nordvest.

My choice of Nordvest as a fieldwork location was constrained by my exposure to multiple enactments of the district that I then conceptualized as narratives, discourses or stories. Nordvest was known, and became known to me, as an unpopular, bleak, vulnerable area haunted by crime and insecurity. At the same time, it held appeal to people who appreciated post-industrial "authenticity" and the aesthetics of (limited) urban decay. Nordvest was weighed down by stigmatized diversity—but diversity and multiculturalism also provided edge and vibrancy. Cheaper rents attracted students, artists and start-ups, and it could be assumed others would follow in their footsteps.

Consequently, even prior to starting fieldwork, I would have recognized the saturated enactments of Nordvest discussed in Chapter 3: periphery and marginality; "municipality garbage bin"; "diversity"; and gentrification. These themes travelled through media accounts, selectively presented statistics and conversations among Copenhageners. However, I would not have been able to account for how these enactments were relationally, affectively and materially constituted and manifesting in Nordvest. In the first place, I did not experience and conceptualize them as enactments—a fact that highlights the reciprocity of data generation and conceptual frameworks in the research process.

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[6] I have since wondered who these walks were intended for. They were designed in the early 2000's, before Nordvest was on its way to be "discovered" by a larger middle class segment that could comprise the clientele for urban guided walks (this process of discovery is still ongoing and has perhaps gained momentum recently (Steensgaard, 2017) as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

My research design involved data collection through semi-structured interviews and ethnographic participant observations. The interviews would provide a more detailed insight into residents' understandings and (verbalized) experiences of the district. They would enable an in-depth analysis of their statements, fixed on tape and subsequently on screen and paper. Fieldwork would provide glimpses of interactions between people, guiding my focus to the constitutions of social spaces, bodies and affective atmospheres in space, rather than to my interlocutor and the dynamics of a given interview encounter.

Embarking on fieldwork, I felt uncomfortable in Nordvest and insecure and uncertain of my skills and methods as an ethnographer. This contributed to my urge to conduct interviews as quickly as possible instead of initiating less formal encounters and modes of presence. Interviews were easy to quantify and *felt like* data production, while I was full of doubts about the relevance and legitimacy of my field notes, so full of feelings, atmospheres and detailed descriptions. Conversely, after the first eight months of fieldwork, having conducted 30 formalized interviews, I was becoming uncomfortable with the mode of data extraction that I increasingly felt the interviews represented (this is also discussed in the research article on Integration Gardens in the next chapter). As a result, I opted for unstructured, unrecorded conversations instead of formal interviews.

Discomfort of various shades, shapes and intensities was a predominant feeling in fieldwork beyond my choice or use of research methods. Eventually, I would come to experience, understand and analyze my discomforts as necessary and valuable parts of my ethnographic work. Rather than being noise or disturbances/disruptions in the data, the unattainability of positionalities like ease and natural hanging out provided trajectories for analysis. The labour of being an uncomfortable body in the field also, in time, became the backdrop for my conceptualizations of spaces, bodies and affect. Before I turn to a more detailed discussion of situatedness, partiality, relationality and embodiment anchored in points of saturation from the empirical material, I elaborate on the instrumentality of discomfort in my process of data production and my pursuit of an embodied, affective methodology.

On modalities and instrumentalities of discomfort

"Discomfort can be read as a transformation of researcher subjectivity that occurs through 'the reorganization of a subject's relationship to knowledge and to the subject's self'" (Whitson, 2016, p. 6, quoting Moss, 2014, p. 807)

As mentioned above, my experience of moving in(to) Nordvest was characterised by a strong sense of discomfort and dislocation. In the beginning, I thought I was uncomfortable because I was *doing something wrong*, attaching the discomfort to insecurities about my performance and capabilities as

an ethnographer and researcher (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013). However, with time I became able to perceive and listen to these discomforts as relational, embodied, affective modalities of fieldwork, potentially holding valuable insights.

Instead of me *doing* something (research) wrong, I came to perceive discomforts as indicative of *being wrongly present* in Nordvest. If my body *was wrong* (present in ways that felt tense, forced, unpleasantly exposed), then what, who and how could be *right* in Nordvest? Moreover, the sense of discomfort enabled a relational capacity and attunement to the discomforts of some of my informants. For instance, the people whose experiences I draw on in the article on diversity tourism did not feel "right" in Nordvest. They talked about embracing the stimulating-and-stigmatized diversity that defined Nordvest from the position of an observer, a remarkable stance considering that they lived in the area. Their sense of being out of place was mediated by intersecting markers pertaining to race, class and majority Danishness, in particular. My ability to perceive, grasp and analyze these privileged positionalities was shaped by my own intersectionally mediated feelings of being a privileged outsider in Nordvest.

There are three central ways discomfort has been an integral and guiding affect for my ethnography and subsequent knowledge production.

Firstly, I came to perceive uncomfortable "messiness" as an integral part of ethnographic work driven by feminist ontology and methodology (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013). Billo and Hiemstra (2013) foreground uncertainty, dilemmas, mess and multiple modalities of discomfort as unavoidable parts of early stages of (PhD) fieldwork, for instance as a result of unforeseen circumstances that emerge in the field and in researchers' lives. This article inspired me to think of, and with time appreciate and utilize uncertainty and discomfort as integral to conducting research through a feminist lens. This shift in perspective enabled and normalized my arrival at a particular modality of conducting fieldwork. I became increasingly able to disentangle feelings of discomfort from my anxieties about performing well as an ethnographer and a researcher. This allowed me to, in a sense, externalize discomfort, to utilize it as a part of a register for embodied affective methodology while still being overpowered by it at times. In addition, the experience of being overwhelmed and overpowered by feelings in research situations (Ahlstedt, 2015) exposed my own openness and vulnerability in (research) encounters that have also comprised important affective modalities in analysis and knowledge production.

Secondly and as a consequence, I came to perceive discomfort, or, at other times, a somewhat striking and tense loss of discomfort, as embodied experiences that could offer analytic pathways to generating important knowledges on social spaces in Nordvest. I was researching inclusion and exclusion, privilege, injustice and processes of majoritization and minoritization. These phenomena

feel uncomfortable (Ahlstedt, 2015). Consequently, feelings of discomfort related to how intersecting markers of privilege play out in given situations, highlighting social and spatial dynamics that emerged and surfaced in research encounters.

I was often uncomfortable because I was situated in a privileged position. Taking (also this kind of) discomfort seriously enabled an analysis that revolved around something other than white, middle-class guilt. I put this discomfort to work as not (only) an inward-spiralling affective loop (shame and guilt, and shame about feeling (self-centered) shame and guilt about privileged positionality). Instead, I aimed to cultivate a curious discomfort that might enhance my understanding of the dynamics of a particular situation and situations where similar positionalities might emerge.

Finally, commitment to taking discomfort seriously is also an ethical choice that has political implications for the process of knowledge production. I think of the political and ethical potentialities of discomfort as conducting and writing research from where it hurts, or, rather, from where *someone, or someplace, is being hurt*. In an embodied way, this mode might also be thought of as conducting research from where it "itches." Consequently, feelings of discomfort in research encounters have informed my choice, for instance, of empirical material for the doctoral thesis.

Discomfort is a generalized term that I use to denote a broad palette of affects—anger, frustration, grief and sadness (related to a sense of injustice); the pain of being trapped or hitting a wall (experiences of exclusion); awkwardness and embarrassment (at having crossed a line one did not know was there); guilt and shame about being in a position of privilege; and feelings of insufficiency and inadequacy. Discomfort highlights an embodied sense of misalignment that might at first manifest as a vague feeling of something not adding up, of being out of place, out of line, or in too deep (Ahmed, 2006, 2007).

While discomfort provides directions for this chapter, other feelings also propel this research. These include open curiosity, a sense of beauty, hope, love and care, related to the generative ecology of knowledge that I sketched in the introduction and return to in Chapter 4. These affects are also strongly present in this chapter's tracings of discomfort, in how I hold, make space for, and approach uncomfortable situations. Perhaps the role of these other affects might be thought of as *from where* I scratch the itch represented by discomfort, and how I perceive the discomfort itself—not dismissing it but listening to it, giving it space, perhaps even allowing my own discomforts a strange sense of beauty and meaningfulness. This illustrates the complex, contingent entanglements of affects in knowledge production. A sense of beauty, curiosity and hope are not merely instrumental to alleviating pain and discomfort. On the contrary, they can enable and allow discomfort to unfold. There are not only tensions between different ecologies of knowledge, like the duality of paranoid

versus generative knowledge-seeking strategies (Sedgwick, 2003). Rather, perhaps we can think of the ways these different affective pulls circulate and resonate each other as tense and enabling complementarities, as the second part of Chapter 4 will examine.

Working through discomfort: relationality, situatedness and embodiment in data production

The moments of saturation from interview encounters that I discuss in this part of the chapter illustrate the instrumentality of discomfort in arriving at pathways of analysis and knowledge production. In addition, they provide ways into a discussion of shifting researcher positionalities in fieldwork. I discuss two examples of interview encounters and then revisit the dynamics of discomfort in "smooth," "at ease" encounters, like the interview with Karen and Jens analyzed in the article on passing.

"Isn't it too cold for the homeless people to be outside?"

I have arranged to meet Petra at 10 a.m. on Provstevej. It's April 1, but winter lingers in the moist, grey air. It's only my second interview. We buy drinks at the café, and Petra chats for a moment with the manager. They seem to know each other well, which makes sense, since Petra has been especially involved in organizing the resident-driven park on Provstevej in front of the café. At this point I already know that the café is a place where residents meet; it's also the place where signatures are being collected against the planned building of new condos on the lot that is now the park.

After buying tea and coffee, Petra suggests that we sit down in the park. I realize that it has been the plan, her plan, all along. Petra is a white Danish woman in her early 40s, and she tells me about the various forms of activism she has been involved with since she moved to Copenhagen from more rural area 20 years ago. She lives with her two children in a rented flat. She is wearing overalls and is dressed more appropriately for the weather than me, which I choose not to point out.

Around 40 minutes into the interview, we are talking about who uses the park.

Petra: "I know that also the homeless people, the ones who use The Morning Café[7] on Theklavej, spend a lot of time in the park. Actually I'm surprised that they are not here today. It might be it's still early, that they are going to arrive later.

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[7] A place for homeless people around the corner from the park, run by an NGO.

Me: It could be because it's colder today than it was yesterday.

Petra: Yes. Mhm. They've been out all winter.

I feel a sharp sensation of embarrassment and wish I could disappear. Of course, this April day is not cold for someone used to being outside all winter. Where did I think homeless people spent their time? Cafés?

The embarrassment sticks with me, immerses me, for a while. Petra continues talking about "other cultures" who have a tradition for sitting outside by the road, and she mentions Morocco, but I am struggling to pay attention. I am consumed by my feelings of ignorance and inadequacy.

After the tape recorder has been turned off and we are walking towards the café to return our cups, Petra asks me where I live. I tell her I live in a co-op in Frederiksberg, in an old building with a run-down, littered backyard. I describe our decrepit, moldy, poorly isolated building: the car mechanic's workshop on the ground floor and the different communal living arrangements on the first, second and third floors, which were originally designed as industrial spaces. I mention that our co-op might be evicted soon, because there are plans to convert the building into new condominiums. A metro station is being constructed just across the street. In the building facing the street, the shawarma eatery and the cheap bakery that we always joked was a front for money laundering, have been replaced by Nordic Noodle (wok dishes with a touch of Nordic kitchen), Fitnesso (protein sandwiches, freshly pressed juices and shakes) and Emmerys (an organic upscale bakery chain).

Petra looks at me thoughtfully and says she wonders if she would have responded differently to my questions had she known that I lived this way. By disclosing my residence in a co-op I have become a kindred spirit. It's as if she's discovered there's more to me than had met her eye. And in this moment of mutual recognition, in which my living circumstances matter to the person she can become in meeting me, I also see her differently. I can only guess what she might have said differently had I passed differently during our interview encounter.

How I passed during the interview made a difference to what Petra told me: as a (privileged, ignorant) middle-class academic, or someone committed to communal living in a run-down building threatened by gentrification, with all the politicized meanings both of these situations might evoke. Our conversation after the interview and Petra's remark about her impressions of me highlight the centrality of positionalities and relationality to conducting interviews and fieldwork. (Partial) recognition, identification and fleeting alliances shape research encounters and constrain the knowledges that are articulated through interviews (Ahlstedt, 2015), resulting in modulations of articulabilities, knowabilities and visibilities.

In addition, my feeling that I had committed a blunder by hypothesizing that it was too cold for the homeless people to hang out in the park on that April morning provided valuable insights into this particular interview and where it was conducted. It showed me that it was important for Petra, and perhaps others with an active role in maintaining the park, to acknowledge the social and material constraints for other people's lives. To me, it signaled a vague but strong commitment to recognizing the structural issues that might be part of the affective circulations and perceived obligations of the loosely-knit community of that street. I would come to think of this as a loosely practiced leftist attitude in the community around the park.

Moreover, my reaction to this "mistake" also revealed something about myself and my expectations of fieldwork encounters. If these encounters were opportunities for me to learn something new about the people and places I was researching, how could I expect to participate in them without committing blunders? I was feeling shameful because of the particularities of this mistake, but I realized that such moments of misunderstanding provide pathways to learn about my informants, their social spaces and their affective and discursive dynamics. In hindsight, this "misunderstanding" was instrumental to my perception of frictions, tensions and discomfort as valuable guides through the research process.

Irrelevance, claustrophobia and cookies from Lidl

A couple of months later I am interviewing Jørgen. We meet in his apartment, three rooms in a social housing block, stuffed from floor to ceiling with old radios, bundles of wires and furniture. Jørgen is a white Danish man in his 60s, slightly built, with sparse grey hair. We sit on hard, low chairs, closely surrounded by objects. Jørgen is serving strong black tea made with teabags from Netto, a discount supermarket chain. "As I say, life is too short for watered-down tea, mild cheese and bad red wine." He serves two kinds of cookies—orange marmalade in dark chocolate on a wheat biscuit and fragile sugar and cinnamon Bastogne wafers, like *Café au Lu* but a cheaper brand, set on a plate balancing on top of piles of stuff on an overcrowded table. The cookies are from the discount chain Lidl. Jørgen says they often sell them at half-price on Fridays—"or was it Thursdays and Fridays?"

The interview lasts two and a half hours, and I find it increasingly difficult to remain seated. The air in the apartment is dusty and stale, and I catch myself holding my breath as I try to concentrate. I am increasingly frustrated with how Jørgen is answering my questions. He is providing information: he has understood I have come to hear what he *knows* about the history of Nordvest. However, I am interested in his opinions, likes and dislikes and feelings about Nordvest. It feels as if he is force-feeding me his memories of "facts": the renovation dates of different buildings, conversions from communal to cooperative housing, the tedious details of board meetings, accounting and legal

regulations. At some point, sitting there, I feel that what he is telling me is irrelevant, and I am frustrated with myself, frustrated with Jørgen, and eager to breathe fresh air.

During this interview, I felt multiple modalities of discomfort. My own bodily sensations prompted a sharp awareness of the embodied labour of the interview situation. While talking to Petra, I myself was freezing, and perhaps the sensation was a part of what prompted my remark about it being too cold for the homeless people. In Jørgen's apartment, I had difficulty breathing and a headache was on its way, which exacerbated my feeling that I was *enduring* the interview. This way of being present in the interview was emotionally uncomfortable to me, because I wanted to appreciate and respect the time, hospitality and knowledge Jørgen was sharing with me. Instead, I found myself passing immediate judgments on the interview ("I will probably not use it for anything"), even before it was halfway over.

My immediate judgment of Jørgen's perspective as irrelevant shows that I had quickly grown used to, and had come to anticipate, particular ways of communicating with informants. With many of my other informants, the contract had been seamless—somehow we had negotiated, or they had understood, that I did not expect them to present "facts," but their opinions and experiences of Nordvest. In contrast, when Jørgen told me about urban regeneration, the conflicts related to vandalism around the nearby youth club, or the steeply increased rents in social housing following renewal, I did not get an idea of what he "really" thought about these events, even after asking follow-up questions: who he sided with, or how he *felt* about the ongoing changes in the neighborhood. I became much more aware of the central role that informants' affects, and my own embodied perception of these, played in the process of data generation. I also became aware that my attention to affect was structured and guided in certain ways by intersecting markers in interview situations. I was looking for, and attuned to, ways of expressing affect that were classed, gendered and otherwise constituted in particular ways. Perhaps my embodied mode of presence was ill-equipped to perceive otherwise-constituted affects. This interview also made me realize that I had come to expect my informants to utilize particular forms of expression, and that my ability to recognize information as "valuable material" was limited and strongly contingent on how I perceived this information to be told.

Just as Petra seemed to bond with me after learning about my living situation, I could have bonded with Jørgen about his practice of stocking up on cut-price cookies from Lidl. Through the histories I carry in my body, I am someone who strongly experiences the pull of promotions and bulk offers. But as someone passing (or perhaps aiming to pass?) as a white, middle-class researcher with a mobility towards Danishness, and as someone physically uncomfortable and struggling to breathe, I did not

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reciprocate Jørgen's hoarding of cookies by telling him about my own food hoardings. I did not experience, and did not verbalize, these practices aligning us.

Enacting reflexivity, enacting majoritized positionalities

And then there were interview encounters seemingly without a clash or sense of misalignment. Where "we" seemed to use the same codes and to understand, recognize and mirror each other. The interview with Karen and Jens, analyzed in the research article on passing as Danish, is an example this kind of interview situation. I also use several such interviews in the article on diversity tourism. Unlike the previous two subsections, this passage does not depart from the dynamics of a particular encounter. Rather, I want to add some methodological reflections on (self)reflexivity and majoritized alignments—their relationalities, situatedness and embodiment—that emerge in the interview encounters that I draw on elsewhere in the thesis.

In these interviews, "we" enact and recognize a Nordvest that is "diverse," "local," edgy, unregulated, invested with longing; aesthetically and morally appealing and worthy of preservation. Sometimes, we are self-reflexive about being "romantic," "sentimental" or "nostalgic" about Nordvest, as in the interview excerpts in the article on diversity tourism. Most often, we distance ourselves from the diversity of Nordvest even as we embrace its liveliness, authenticity and reality. The diversity pertains to other places, other bodies. As "we" enact the duality of "diversity" and the majoritized, unremarked, but somewhat distant being in place, there is often an ironic awareness of framing Nordvest in these ways.

I was surprised and taken aback by the reflexivity of my informants. On my first day of fieldwork, upon hearing someone passing as white and middle class say, "Sometimes I wonder if I am destroying what I most love about Nordvest," I became uneasy. I thought, what will I write about, when "they" are so reflexive? How will I, as a researcher, "lift" the level of analysis? For me, this reaction exposed a tension in how I perceived my role as a researcher. I wanted to see informants as co-producers of knowledge possessing embodied, partial knowledges of the everyday that I could never fully access (Haraway, 1988; Peake, 2015; Rose, 1997). At the same time, I was holding on to a superior image of myself with regards to interpretation and knowledge production, and feeling *an obligation to say something more,* to arrive at a deeper understanding than my informants had about their lives. I was holding on to, and reacting to, a distinction between everyday embodied knowledge and academic, analytic knowledge (Sedgwick, 2003)—and holding onto the idea that I, in my superior position, was supposed to generate the latter.

This hierarchic distinction is of course what an embodied, affective feminist methodology tries to move away from. Throughout my fieldwork encounters, I became increasingly able to engage with people and places I encountered as partners in analytic, interpretative knowledge generation; and I became increasingly attuned to how my own embodied, situated everyday experience generated knowledge. At the same time, as my analysis of affective circulations in the encounter with Jørgen showed, I was also increasingly aware of my limitations in recognizing events, affects and knowledges I was not attuned to perceive as such.

Encountering informants who performed reflexivity in certain ways at the start of my fieldwork also attuned me (even more) to expect, and recognize, certain affective modulations, intellectual presences and labour from informants. If the (classed, gendered, generational, racialized etc.) codes of communication in the interview situation differed, I sometimes struggled to see how the interview was useful or relevant, as the example with Jørgen showed.

However, I was most surprised and disturbed by the alignments, by the "us" that emerged in these encounters. It is the informants who speak, but I clearly feel implicated in their statements, for instance regarding subaltern, exotified diversity. In the diversity tourism article, I refer to this implication as "mirroring." On one hand, it illustrates the relational, situated, embodied nature of data production. Yet, this sense of being entangled disturbed me. My discomfort was exacerbated by my sense of (often) liking my informants, and being liked by them and like them, as we engaged in othering, commodifying, racist statements. In addition to relationality, the "we" highlights our emergence as embedded in structures that perpetuate multiple oppressions. These feelings of mutual embeddedness prompted me to propose the diversity tourist as an analytical, diagnostic figure that pointed beyond my informants.

The ease that "we" offered contrasted with my uncomfortable experiences of being a privileged (paid) outsider entering Nordvest to study "diversity." But importantly, it also signaled a near-absence of walls that I as a migrant body was used to encountering in Copenhagen. The people I met in Nordvest did not seem to evaluate me as a migrant body through comments on my Danish language skills or questions about where I was from. As discussed in the research article, this brought me a sense of proximity, a feeling that I was "like" my informants and aligned with them (Ahmed, 2004c, 2006, 2007). I seemed to pass un(re)marked, as "simply" a white, middle-class majoritized researcher, perhaps with markers (age, gender, dress, political orientation) that alleviated the distance that being a researcher might confer.

Beyond the characteristics of the situation, and the sum of informants' lived experiences, the interlocutors whom I became aligned with could be described as white, middle-class, majority Danish

people with academic or creative backgrounds, occupations or inclinations and "tolerant," open-minded attitudes. As a body positioned as differently, but quite white/Western, or differently diverse, I had become used to being someone quite easy for people like this to tolerate. Instead, I became one of them/us.

In passing, I felt free to glide across social spaces. But I also felt caught and trapped in a way that illustrates the "sweatiness" (Ahmed, 2014), discomfort and ambivalence of an emergent, not-taken-for-granted, comfortable being in place discussed earlier. This was a conflicting, ambivalent position, as described in the research article. On one side, I was relieved not to be read as "diverse." I felt as if these informants were being generous. I felt tempted to indulge and enjoy the relief of my passing. On the other hand, I felt strong discomfort in that I was being majoritized at the expense of others. Suddenly I was not only a part of an "industry of diversity researchers," academically positioned as someone who might evaluate and profit from "diversity"—I was also majoritized as an unmarked body who could pass judgment on intersectionally marked, "diverse" others.

By discussing these examples from research encounters I have highlighted how my data production through interviews and ethnographic work has been continuously shaped by emerging relationalities, situatedness and positionalities of bodies in social spaces. In the examples I chose, these relationalities manifested themselves through a sense of "we," alignment and proximity; or through a sense of clash, blunder and misunderstanding.

On one side, this highlights how qualitive material arises in specific meetings and moments in time (the contingency of what is being said, and what takes place between people). On the other hand, I have also reflected on the constraints and contingencies of what I as a researcher perceive and hear as "relevant material," and on the ways statements from informants enter into, and enact, pre-existing landscapes of meaning. (For instance, I was easily triggered to recognize certain statements and affects as "embracing diversity"). To some extent, these points might indicate poststructuralist, non-representational approaches to empirical work (Alvesson, 2011; Alvesson & Sandberg, 2013; Ellis, 2004b) and knowledge production (Thrift, 2007) that also emphasize relationality and situatedness. However, by highlighting the importance of intersecting embodied markers and positionalities, my approach to data production has been more informed by feminist approaches to knowledge production (Kern, 2012, 2015; Lobo, 2010; Parker, 2011, 2016b; Peake, 2015). Before discussing ethnographer positionalities in more depth, I would like to reflect on my choice of informants.

Tense choices: whom and what to research (with) in Nordvest

As mentioned above, when I entered Nordvest I came to see myself as a part of an "industry of diversity researchers." "We" were interested in everyday encounters with difference in urban spaces and chose to study these encounters in so-called diverse, multicultural, often gentrifying, districts or neighborhoods (M. L. Berg & Sigona, 2013; Blokland, 2003; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; Grünenberg & Freiesleben, 2016; Heil, 2014; Jackson & Benson, 2014; Jackson & Butler, 2015; O. Jensen, 2013; T. G. Jensen, 2015; Lapiņa, 2016; Neal, Bennett, Cochrane, & Mohan, 2013; Wessendorf, 2013, 2014; Wise & Velayutham, 2009). "We" produced critical analyses of power relations that addressed racism, gentrification and other forms of violence. Yet "we" seemed seldom to reflect about how our choices about where to study "diversity" echoed and contributed to the directionalities of policy interventions: which bodies and places should be governed through diversity management. There was a (con)fusion of intersectionally conceived problem places and problem people (Pred, 2000) that "we" risked exacerbating by reproducing ideas about which differences constituted "diversity" (racialized non-white; ethnic non-Western (non-European); classed below middle income or even "deprived").

My own choice to research Nordvest fitted this mould all too well (Lapiņa, 2016), and it made me uncomfortable. As a researcher, the directionality of my glance could be, would be, instrumental in locating "problems" (Bacchi, 2000) that could be targets for intervention. The problem-finding capability of a (white, middle class, majoritized) researcher gaze had consequences for my strategies of recruiting informants.

My unwillingness to direct a problematizing, stigmatizing, exotifying researcher gaze towards minoritized bodies and places to some extent deterred me from interacting with people who might be minoritized. I was afraid of committing violence, of giving informants' bodies "back to them sprawled out, distorted, recolored, clad in mourning" (Fanon, 1986, p. 113) by approaching them as "minoritized people." I was afraid I would "not hear the subaltern" (Spivak, 1988) by enacting someone, and someplace, as subaltern.

The easier and more comfortable solution was to recruit majoritized people as informants, directing a critical, interrogating gaze towards what might be conceived as majority norms. Consequently, in the beginning of my fieldwork, I disproportionately recruited residents who, by their own account, did not belong in "diverse" Nordvest: white, middle-class, majority Danish people. I wanted to examine the emergence and workings of diversity not by studying people who were ascribed and made to carry out "diversity," but by examining how "diversity" was enacted by bodies that positioned themselves outside of it.

Informants carrying majoritized embodied markers were also easier for me to access, reflecting how I was passing and moving as an ethnographer. In other words, these encounters did not "just happen," but they happened from, and continued to shape, an intersectionally marked, particularly located researcher body (Haraway, 1988; Rich, 1984; Rose, 1997). I recruited my first interview participants that morning, in the café on Provstevej detailed by one of the voices in the Introduction, because I was prompted to "out" myself as a researcher. As I moved in(to) the field, many of the places I went "happened to" be predominantly inhabited by bodies that could pass as white, middle class and often Danish—whether these places were apartments and co-ops of friends of friends who lived in Nordvest (snowball sampling), co-working spaces, or cultural events and meetings arranged by the urban regeneration office. The resident-driven park where I interviewed Petra was the focus of my first research article, included in Chapter 4, and while it was used by different people, it just "happened to" be managed mostly by people who passed as white, middle class, politically left-leaning, and majority Danish (Lapiņa, 2016).

I meticulously registered my interviewees, noting characteristics like nationality, age, gender, vocation and residence type. However, while this Excel document[8] initially offered me a sense of security as a container for quantifiable, traceable, categorizable data, it began to feel increasingly uncomfortable and violent. It essentially reified intersecting markers that I conceptualized as (also) fleeting, emergent, ambiguous, assembled, configured, emplaced and relationally situated. Even though I interviewed many people who could pass as majoritized, I was committing violence by categorizing them this way, forcefully distorting their bodies (Fanon, 1986), thoughts and feelings by assigning to them static categories. Registering the "properties" of informants in this way realized the idea(l) of collecting representative data—the idea that people's opinions were a fixed function of their "backgrounds," and that by interviewing people with "different backgrounds" I would produce more "objective" research. I had chosen to embrace what "happened" to happen, (mostly) recruiting informants who tended to pass as (relatively) majoritized. I planned to eventually venture out into different spaces and encounter informants with "different backgrounds." While generating data for my third research article on Integration Gardens, I talked mostly to people who had migrated to Denmark, but at this point I had abandoned formalized interviewing in favour of less structured interactions.

Consequently, the process of recruiting informants and conducting (and registering) interviews presented multiple dilemmas. First of all, it ran the risk of reproducing a static dichotomy of "diverse," minoritized Others against a majoritized norm designated by middle-class whiteness, majority

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[8] See Appendix 3.

Danishness and attenuated by other markers such as age, health, employability, gender, sexuality, modes of consumption and able-bodiedness. This challenge surfaces in the research articles, particularly the article on diversity tourism, where I grapple with it by proposing the diversity tourist as an analytical figure rather than a category of white, middle-class, majority Danish informants in Nordvest.

In addition, the positionalities and markers of the people and places I "happened" to, and chose to, encounter through fieldwork would constrain the knowledges I was able to access and generate. It was not just a question of *whom and what* I was doing research *on* (problematization through the directionality of the researcher gaze), but also of *whom and what* I was researching *with* (alliances). Informants and places are not just objects of research but also partners in knowledge production (Peake, 2015). While I was not claiming that my research could "represent" or "speak for" anyone or anything, apart from myself perhaps (Colls, 2012; Hawkins, 2015; Jones, 2011), the data, analytic trajectories and knowledges produced would be constrained by whom, what and how I encountered. The "partiality" of knowledge production (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1997) signals not only incompleteness, but also the impossibility of neutrality when choosing allies in knowledge production, and how the production of knowledge itself is conditioned by embodied markers such as race (Ahmed, 2014; Fisher, 2015; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Mignolo, 2010). While I wanted to critically interrogate white, middle-class embodied knowledges of Nordvest, this ambition was constrained by my own embodied positionality and partially internalized codes for thinking and affect around my own emergent privileges. I had learned to practice critical self-reflexivity and guilt from white, middle-class Danish people as I was acquiring a positionality closer to theirs. This kind of knowledge production might risk being stuck in a limbo, much like the figure of the diversity tourist, which attempts to use its own modes of critique on itself, reproducing itself in the process.

One methodological and analytical tool that I employed in distancing myself from these modes of knowledge production was a more active awareness of my histories and positionality as an (accomplished or undercover) migrant who is differently white (Fisher, 2015). As someone who had not always been privileged or proximal to a majoritized position, I embodied a particularized position for knowledge production that I utilize in the research article on passing as Danish. It is a position in constant becoming. On one side, it is reshuffled in each (research) encounter. (For instance, will my accent pass un(re)marked or not?). On the other side, the process of gaining awareness of this position is contingent on becoming aware of the feats of labor that are implicated in claiming space and voice as a (migrant) body, or, on the contrary, gratefully passing unnoticed or less noticed.

It has been important to analyze the role of intersecting markers, and the inequalities that their alignments diagnose and continue to enact, in fieldwork encounters and knowledge production. However, I wish that I had acknowledged, to a greater extent and earlier in my fieldwork, that I possessed a researcher gaze and presence *besides* the constraints of intersecting privileges and the "industry of diversity researchers." My becoming a researcher body in Nordvest also displayed openness, curiosity and collaborative ways of relating to people and places I encountered— researching *with*, as distinct from researching *on*. For instance, in encountering (likely) minoritized bodies from a privileged researcher positionality, I approached them not simply as representatives of "minoritized positions" or diversity, as the "industry of diversity researchers," including myself, had been in the habit of doing. I was curious to hear what informants had to say, not just focused on or stiffened by an awareness of our different and shared privileges and related injustices. In other words, I had an affective and embodied capacity to be and perceive more than a predetermined focus on unequally distributed markers of privilege. As a researcher, I not only possessed a critical, problematizing way of encountering informants and the field, but also a more caring, empathetic, and open presence. Unfortunately, in the earlier stages of fieldwork, especially when conducting my formalized interviews, I was not explicitly aware of the distinction between and consequences of these simultaneously enacted but different ways of engaging with people and places and their consequences for knowledge production.

Shifting, overlapping ethnographer positionalities

In the opening of this chapter, I quote Rosi Braidotti's (2011, p. 52) plea to provide *"cartographies of becoming' for (researcher) subjects, as means of elucidating and practicing a politics of location and making subjectivity accountable".* These cartographies cannot ever be complete. They are traced with (…) an awareness that *"one is the effect of irrepressible flows of encounters, interactions, affectivity, and desire, which one is not in charge of"* (Braidotti, 2011, p. 52), and, I would add, only partially aware of, and able to articulate. However, in this section, I offer tracings of four continuously evolving researcher positionalities that have been, and continue to be, instrumental to encounters and mutually constrained becomings in the field. In this section, I am drawing on data from fieldwork (the less formalized, less structured encounters) in addition to semi-structured interviews.

As I reflected in the section on taking place as an ethnographer, in many ways I had arrived in Nordvest, and Nordvest had come to me, before I formally started fieldwork in February 2014. This pertained to the inseparability of ethnographic data and discursive formations surrounding Nordvest, whether they stem from media accounts, policy makers, conversations with Copenhageners or popular culture. Moreover, besides having been exposed to meanings of Nordvest, I was carrying my own embodied

and felt histories and positionalities. My (experiences of) fieldwork encounters with and in Nordvest were constrained by these histories. As a consequence, particular positionalities, relationalities, situatedness or instances of passing in fieldwork became remarkable and remarked (Fisher, 2015; Lobo, 2010). These sensed and remarked positionalities, for instance becoming a privileged outsider, a majoritized person, or a local person, constrained embodied ways of knowing and pathways to interpretation and analysis. As discussed in the section on empirically driven research and "sweaty concepts" (Ahmed, 2014), for a differently historicized and marked researcher body, other positionalities or ways of passing would emerge and become remarked upon, generating different points of entry, situatedness, and insights into the field and its social spaces. This highlights how empirical data, and consequently pathways to analysis and knowledge, emerge and are mediated through bodily, affective labour.

This section of Chapter 2 briefly examines four researcher positionalities that have constrained and enabled pathways to data production and analysis in fieldwork. Like the interview encounters explored in the previous section, these positionalities emerge through multiple modalities of discomfort and/or its (uncomfortable, remarkable) absence. Ethnographer positionalities are and were fluid, heterogeneous and overlapping, but I analyze them in the order that they became grasped by and available to me through fieldwork.

My way of conceiving positionalities is inspired by the notion of figurations (Blackman, 2008; Braidotti, 2002, 2011; Haraway, 2004), particularly as evoked by Rosi Braidotti drawing on feminist politics of location (Rich, 1984). Figurations refer to mappings of situated, embedded and embodied processes of relational becoming (Braidotti, 2011, p. 13). The figurations I mention in this section cannot and do not aim to be exhaustive, but they do highlight the multi-layeredness and nonunitary becomings-with (Haraway, 2016; Manning, 2007) of a researcher body. Engaging in the effort of figuring these living maps holds transformative potential (Braidotti, 2011, p. 14), not just for the unfolding of researcher subjectivities, but also for the illumination of constraints on analytical pathways and processes of knowledge production.

One: a privileged (paid) outsider

The beginning of my fieldwork in February 2014 was marked by feelings out of place. Walking around in Nordvest, I was often freezing. As a body in space, I quite literally did not know what to do with myself or where I was going. But I felt out of place due for reasons other than being cold or unfamiliar with the area. I felt very privileged in my role as a PhD researcher. It seemed absurd that I was paid a salary to wander the streets and "hang out"—especially when I was failing to do the latter. Moreover, I had started my PhD just after working as a full-time lecturer, a position where I felt the need to dress

up and be more presentable. My dress habits had not yet relaxed when I started fieldwork, and I felt it would be unethical to purposely dress down in order to blend into Nordvest. I was a privileged person, and I felt more comfortable, although also more exposed, carrying my privileges openly.

Perhaps my discomfort in encountering myself as a privileged person vis-à-vis the spaces of Nordvest was linked to my emerging general awareness of the intersectionally bound, privileged position I was increasingly able to occupy as I moved across spaces. I was not only privileged in my encounter with Nordvest; I had become a mobile subject in most places in Copenhagen. The discomfort I felt in Nordvest made me notice the ease of movement and comfort I felt in already-gentrified neighborhoods. I had become a migrant body that felt more comfortable, more at home, in primarily white, gentrified, middle-class, "homogeneous," "Copenhagen" than it did in "diverse" Nordvest.

Where are you from?

One of the voices that performs the entry into Nordvest in this thesis speaks about how, freezing and awkward, I entered a café on Provstevej on my first day of fieldwork. I had read the café as an anonymous place, like a café in Vesterbro or Nørrebro. When after 20 minutes I was kindly asked what I was doing there, I realized that there I was an outsider—not necessarily because I was more privileged (the other people looked as white, middle class and "hipster" as I did), but because I did not live there and did not know them, and I was carrying an anonymous café-behaviour that did not belong in Provstevej.

Just a few weeks later, I was interviewing Jens in the same café. Jens lived around the corner and knew the managers, so he had arranged for us to sit in the back, in one of the rooms used as a co-working space in the afternoons. I was wearing a simple black woollen dress bought in a second-hand shop for the price of a cup of (expensive) coffee, but it was a dress that at some point had cost a lot of money. I had chosen to wear the dress because it was warm, and also because I was interviewing a home owner in Nordvest in the afternoon, and I had thought the dress might be appropriate for the second occasion.

After the interview was done and I had turned off the recorder, Jens asked me where I lived. In contrast to the detailed answer I gave Petra, I simply said "Frederiksberg." This answer prompted Jens to belligerently ask, "But then what are you doing here?"

Frederiksberg, for historic reasons comprising its own municipality, is situated between Nørrebro, Nordvest and Vesterbro. As a district, it carries quite different connotations from "Nordvest"—but just like Nordvest or any other district, Frederiksberg is multiple and contested. In the interaction with Jens, the discursive-material-affective formations that I felt emerging around "Frederiksberg" related

to it as a wealthy, expensive, conservative and perhaps sanitized district, uneventful in an upper-middle-class way. I imagine that "Frederiksberg," together with how I had come across during the interview, made Jens envision me leading quite a different lifestyle than the one I had described to Petra. Perhaps Jens saw me owning a Frederiksberg apartment together with a cis-male romantic partner who worked at Copenhagen Business School while I came to Nordvest to study exotic, deviant, dysfunctional "diversity." I felt majoritized not only with regards to class, whiteness and perhaps ethnicity, but also gender and sexuality.

This positionality was explicitly articulated after the interview had taken place. However, I conceive of the exchange following the interview as a manifestation of a tense affective atmosphere (a suspicion of me and my research) that had been building throughout the interview. For instance, Jens had hinted that I should interview people other than him—people with "immigrant backgrounds"—as more legitimate informants. He did it in a way that seemed less a display of humility and more a display of doubt about my choices in recruiting informants. Jens's slightly aggressive questioning of the legitimacy of my presence as a researcher might also indicate how I could have come across to others as a body marked by multiple privileges.

Two: a representative from an industry of diversity researchers—and a spectator to "diversity"

The interaction with Jens highlights how I could pass as an illegitimate, suspect (researcher) body through the conflation of intersecting markers of privilege. The question of legitimacy is connected to another complex researcher positionality that arises through the juxtaposition of my research interests and the private ideas I held, and still to an extent hold, about "diversity" and encounters with difference.

On one side, by entering Nordvest I was following in the footsteps of a body of research that studies diversity in multicultural, deprived and/or gentrifying urban areas, echoing policy discourses and the directionality of interventions. As the example of the interview with Jens demonstrated, informants' perceptions of my (researcher) body and its motivations conditioned data production. One of the informants whose voice appears in the Introduction of the thesis, Lars, very clearly situated me as a representative of an industry that produces notions of diversity and difference. During the interview, he warned me to be critical and extremely careful about notions like "diversity."

As opposed to Jens, Lars's suspicion seemed to be targeted less towards my (researcher) body and more at the "industry" and notion of "diversity." Lars suggested that we could critically interrogate "diversity" together (by, for example, talking about the notion after the interview). While Lars was

friendly, he definitely had an agenda on behalf of my research: he thought I should be (made more) self-reflexive and critical about the "diversity" research conducted by me and the likes of me.

The awareness that we are partaking in enacting "diversity" and the ethical and political implications of this process of knowledge production is present throughout the interview, circulating in the air and constraining the conversation between me and Lars. For instance, there are questions Lars hesitates to answer, and instances where he stops himself, frustrated, mid-sentence. His remark, "Now I'm on record with all my prejudice," prompts me to reassure him that the interview will be anonymous. However, he explains that he is concerned not about (lack of) anonymity but about recognizing ways of conceiving "diversity" in his own thoughts and words that he does not want to (re)produce.

Apart from being (positioned as) a representative of an "industry," I was holding personal views, and embodying affects, about "diversity" that I address in the research article on conviviality (Lapiņa, 2016) and that emerged in the brief encounter with the Greenlandic man who complimented my plants in the section with the voices in the Introduction. Articulated in a slightly exaggerated way, these included romanticized, naïve ideas about how fleeting encounters between "different people" can "work," and how differences do not have to lead to conflicts. These assumptions and hopes tie into ideas about (othered, exotified) "diversity,", since they tend to echo the idea that some differences matter more than others. For instance, I probably would have understood and enacted the episode from the Introduction differently if a person passing as young, male, middle class, white and Danish had exclaimed '"such a fine flower you have there'." I probably would not have beamed back in a huge smile. These reactions, and ways of enacting experiencing situations, unfold in immediate, embodied ways and have had powerful effects on my movements in the field and in data generation.

Due to my researcher positionality and these embodied ways of conceiving and enacting "diversity," I was also a spectator "embracing" diversity, similarly to many of my informants. And just like for my informants, these ways of relating to difference could be enlisted as claims to tolerance and openness. However (again, just like many of my informants), I also exercised critical self-reflexivity linked to feelings of discomfort about my "naïve and romanticized" embodied experiences of affective pull of "encounters with difference."

Three: differently white, differently "diverse"?

At the same time, unlike most of my informants, I was an (undercover) migrant in Copenhagen even when I did not feel them position me as such. Even in encounters where I seemed to pass as Danish, I felt differently white as a result of my histories in Denmark (Fisher, 2015)—and differently (suddenly un(re)markedly) "diverse." These markings, even when not verbalized in specific encounters,

influenced my modes of presence in encountering Nordvest. As highlighted in the article on passing, the traces of my histories contributed to my feeling out of place, even when it seemed I was allowed to feel in place. This lingering affective and embodied baggage of past-still-present positionalities was instrumental in working my way towards "sweaty concepts" (Ahmed, 2014). It prompted me to think about my multi-layered, uncomfortable embeddedness in my research topic as someone who might be seen as occupying a boundary position, as someone "differently" white, European or Danish, as someone who had become majoritized as a researcher. This led me to wonder, and explore in the articles, how whiteness could be conflated with other markers—in particular class—and achieved, performed and reinstated through classed markers. It also made me attend to the labor and knowledges that are implicated and arise through passing encounters and different experiences of (a lack of) mobility that I explore in the article on passing. This highlights how my embodied histories attuned my presence in the field, analytical lenses and conceptual undertakings.

In addition, my embodied histories of positionalities vis-à-vis "diversity" also contributed to a sense of anxiety, precariousness and unwillingness to be noticed in ways that might be ascribed to more minoritized positions. For instance, my only Latvian friend in Copenhagen lived in Nordvest. By visiting her and taking walks with her and her child, I could risk becoming an Eastern European migrant versus a Western, majoritized, middle-class researcher. This became clear to me one day in the summer of 2014, when we were walking with her pushchair, speaking Latvian, and my friend was drinking a beer. She was not breastfeeding, but onlookers could not know that. The discomfort I felt told me that I feared being seen by informants in a way that would alter and disturb the classed, passing-as-Danish positionality that I had attained.

Four: a hipster-gentrifier and a body at home

Prior to starting fieldwork, I was aware of how a "researcher's personal and field life bleed into each other to shape the conduct of research" (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013). However, in the first year of fieldwork I tried to control how my personal life entered the field with me, or rather attempted to control the ways I was read as a (researcher) body. I was visiting my Latvian friend and taking walks with her, speaking Latvian, but there were other things I would not do. For instance, I did not hold hands with my female partner in public in Nordvest.

When me and my ex-partner were moving out of the co-op in Frederiksberg, looking to buy an apartment, moving to Nordvest in August of 2015 was not a deliberate decision. We had been looking elsewhere in Copenhagen, and our desperation and sense of urgency increased along with realty prices in the city—which had risen by 10% in the first months of 2015. In the end, Nordvest was where we could afford to buy an apartment that we liked. The relocation had a multitude of consequences

for my researcher positionalities. From the outset, I had been aware that my interest in Nordvest, and my conditional recognition of the area as "authentic" and "a break from Copenhagen," was a signifier of, and in some way contributed to, the ongoing change and gentrification. Now I would become a resident gentrifier, full-time rather than part-time. This feeling of being implicated in gentrification overpowered other affects at the time, including the potentially dangerous prospect of losing control over my efforts to separate "(field)work" and "life," which I saw as futile anyway.

However, after moving I realized we were arriving "too late" to gentrify this part of the district, which was relatively close to Nørrebro. Our street presented as predominantly white and middle class, featuring a mixture of privately owned apartments and housing cooperatives, with no social housing. Plenty of hipster bikes were parked on the street at all times. Walking down to our yard with empty cardboard boxes a couple of days after moving in, I saw a bearded white man in his 30s, working on a Mac computer and drinking Club-Mate. Club-Mate is a mate tea-based soft drink imported from Germany and sold on every corner in Vesterbro, an area often evoked as the ultimate example of gentrified Copenhagen. I doubt it can be purchased anywhere in Nordvest, even now in 2017. Vesterbro was there already, waiting for us in our yard, in the summer of 2015.

Living in Nordvest made a difference in multiple ways. I had increased access to "the field" at different times of the day. However, the most important differences pertained to changed modes of presence. I no longer would made trips to "research" Nordvest. Although still often self-conscious and aware of my existence apart, more and more I approached a state of "simply being there," biking, going for walks, shopping at the greengrocer's, frequenting the library or the swimming pool. These activities accumulated. In a fashion that seems both gradual and sudden, Nordvest started (first and foremost) feeling like a place I lived. This entailed being moved by and moving in the district in ways that altered the positionalities I had sensed before.

In the spring of 2016, I moved into a much smaller, cheaper apartment in a housing cooperative[9] at the furthest end of Nordvest, close to Smedetoften, BIBLIOTEKET and the Youth House. Mine was (and is) the last, ninth, stairway in a long, three-storey, yellow-brick building in the middle of a row of identical buildings constructed by the Copenhagen municipality in the 1930s for working-class families. Mine was (and is) the only not-quite-Danish/Scandinavian sounding surname out of six in our staircase. In my encounters with other residents in the large co-op apartment association, comprised

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[9] Housing cooperatives (andelslejligheder) are quite common on the Danish housing market. These apartments have traditionally been much cheaper than privately owned apartments, since a person moving in would purchase a bond in the cooperative, instead of owning an apartment. However, in the past years also this form of housing is becoming increasingly more costly, as the bonds of many housing cooperatives are reevaluated. If the bonds have remained relatively cheap, these apartments are often only accessible through personal networks, which also applied to my access to this apartment.

of over 200 apartment units, I could have felt I constituted a gentrifying presence, bringing in Vesterbro with my hipster bike and (second-hand) presentable clothes. Or I could have anticipated being read as "diverse." But I could not quite summon these ways of thinking and feeling myself living in Nordvest anymore. Suddenly my "personal needs and logistical realities" (Billo & Hiemstra, 2013, p. 314) became fundamental in how I encountered the materialities and affects of "the field"-cum-home. More than anything, I felt incredibly lucky and relieved to have found an apartment I could afford on my own, after months of insecurity, moving around, and not knowing where and how I would end up living. I could breathe more deeply again, I could stand (more) still. I wanted to be embraced by, to disappear in my new apartment and its surroundings. I seemed finally at ease.

These feelings extended to spaces beyond my apartment and its immediate vicinity. On a Sunday morning in April 2016, a week after moving into my new apartment, I was walking to a supermarket by Nørrebro station to buy a vacuum cleaner. I was speaking Latvian to my mother through my headphones, with ample traces of glitter and red lipstick on my face from a dance party the night before. I had not slept much or well that whole week. I was still jetlagged after returning from a conference in San Francisco, painting my apartment in the early mornings and late evenings, sleeping on a thin mattress enveloped by paint fumes, with the windows opened and heat turned off. But I anticipated a wave of relief coming—soon I would be settled into the space.

Crossing Provstevej, I noticed and greeted one of the people from the café I had met on my first day of fieldwork. He was in the café when I was asked, "What are you doing here?" He was the informant who wondered if his very presence worked towards destroying what he loved in Nordvest. I registered a remarkable and striking lack of discomfort or awkwardness, accidentally encountering an informant while being "off work," while my body was constituting an overspilling, remarkable presence, glitteringly and outspokenly Latvian on the quiet, deserted street. I felt at home more than in "the field." The street became an extension of my body. Suddenly the intersecting markers I embodied at that moment combined just right, aligning me with the space.

This shift speaks of a heterogeneous simultaneity of figurations rather than a linear replacement of one positionality in favour of another. The feeling of being at home remains intertwined with other embodied, emplaced, relationally emerging modes of presence.

On a dark, windy evening in January 2017, I was biking home through Vibevej. As I passed a white truck parking on the side of the road by the mosque that opened in the fall of 2015, I caught sight of a middle-aged woman wearing a headscarf and bundled up in a big coat, about to cross the street. She immediately froze at the sight of me, and I became slightly but instantly annoyed, having to make a bigger loop to pass behind her back. Why did she not just walk on? Of course I would slow down and

bike around her, rather than expecting her to stop to let me pass. Then I realized how I might look to her—a young white person in black on a racer bike, with big headphones and an air of entitlement and determination to get somewhere fast. Someone used to spaces parting in front of her. I could not remember anyone ever looking this bewildered and frightened upon encountering my biking body, not even people I perceived as tourists unused to bikes.

My ability to make a home in Nordvest seems to me to emerge partially through this heterogeneous mix of positionalities. On one side, the accumulation of privileges allows me to move through spaces, including spaces in Nordvest; it even enables me to own a space. On the other hand, I can be migrant enough, "diverse" enough, to sometimes alleviate the positionality of "privileged outsider," especially now that I no longer feel paid to be in Nordvest.

Polyvalent attunements

The embodied, emplaced, relational positionalities or figurations described above, and their combinations, shape my ways of perceiving, experiencing, enacting and researching Nordvest. While each of these positionalities takes and make spaces, they also interact, constrain and enable one another and their related modes of becoming-with (Haraway, 2016) the bodies and spaces encountered in the district. These positionalities are with me constantly, not just in "the field," but also in the process of writing this thesis.

Writing about "sweaty concepts," Sara Ahmed (2014) evokes the notion of attunement to explain how situations and bodies are oriented, referring not only to what is perceived but also to what escapes our awareness. Attunement, just like the positionalities I have described, does not simply "happen to" happen (Ahmed, 2014; Rich, 1984). It has a labored, embodied history. It highlights "how we become responsive to some things and not others; how we learn to be affected and not affected by what and who we encounter" (Ahmed, 2014).

In a sense, it feels as if my body and Nordvest gradually opened up to one another. Conceiving this gradually increasing openness as a process of becoming can be linked to Latour's (2004, p. 206) notion of articulation: understanding the body as "an interface that becomes more and more describable as it learns to be affected by more and more elements," more open to multiple connections (Blackman, 2008, p. 105). However, Latour explains articulation referring to wilful training and fine-tunement to be affected in particular ways, for instance, with reference to perfecting one's sense of smell: "bodies learning to be affected by hitherto unregistrable differences" (Latour, 2004, p. 209). While I would like to believe that I got to know Nordvest better in the course of fieldwork, my actual feeling, despite and besides my increasing sense of purpose and familiarity, was that of knowing the district less and less.

The course of fieldwork and accumulation of experiences and positionalities in Norvest did involve seeing new things from different angles, but I do not think it can be best described as fine-tuning.

Attunement, as used by Ahmed (2014), highlights the partial and perspective-shifting qualities of the tilted modes of being open to and aligned with the situations and affects one encounters. In becoming attuned to something, bodies perhaps become less capable of being affected in other ways. In addition, attunement is (often) not a question of the wilful, deliberate cultivation of desired modes of experiencing. Becoming attuned and molded in certain ways, for bodies that do not always pass smoothly, is something that they *have to* (learn to) live with and through.

At the same time, the complex interplay and intertwined becomings of shifting, emergent, partial and partially manifest positionalities highlight what I would denote as the polyvalence of attunement. Attunement is not simply a question of either-or, of being affected or not; rather, it entails being affected to various extents, in various ways, simultaneously, while these moments of affectation leave traces, their experience marking our bodies. While our bodies in non-accidental ways "happen to" be attuned to and affected by certain qualities and presences around us (Ahmed, 2014), their attunements are composite, multi-layered and intertwined.

Attunement, as a mode of assembled, polyvalent capacities to be affected (or not), emerges in codepenence with researcher positionalities. Moreover, attunement is also altered through the process of articulating (multiple, shifting) subject positions and their ways of generating knowledge, becoming and moving in the world. The four researcher positionalities I have highlighted in this chapter, while present to various extents, have all shaped the stances I can take when presenting, for instance, the empirical material and threading pathways to analysis in the next chapter.

Attunement, as an embodied orientation in and responsiveness to the world (Ahmed, 2014), operates affectively. In this chapter I have mostly focused on discomfort. I have highlighted how uncomfortable becomings and movements mold and attune the (researcher) body, bending it like a stream of water flowing over weeds. By tracing the contours of discomfort, I emphasized its transformative potential, reorganizing a body's modes of seeking knowledge and ways of knowing itself in the process (Moss, 2014; Whitson, 2016). Discomfort is one modality of attunement among others. Through the prism of discomfort, this chapter has explored changing, polyvalent ways of affecting and being affected (angles and modulations of attunement). This ongoing process of mapping relational, situated and embodied positions of becoming and knowledge generation has transformed knowledge production and moves towards accountability and political empowerment (Braidotti, 2011).

Embodied, affective feminist methodologies

"We find ourselves in moods that have already been inhabited by others, that have already been shaped or put into circulation, and that are already there around us." (Flatley, 2008, p. 5, cited in B. Anderson, 2014, p. 105).

I have argued in favour of embodied, affective methodologies as a way to elucidate a politics of location (Rich, 1984) of partial, relational and situated researcher bodies engaging in data generation and knowledge-seeking. I have highlighted the importance of reflecting on embodiment and affect for mapping researcher subjectivities and thereby contributing to the accountability and political potentialities of research. For instance, drawing on examples from interviews and fieldwork, I have highlighted how "data" is not simply there to be collected, but emerges through embodied, affective encounters with the field. While it is impossible to fully grasp, articulate or account for how situated, relational subject positions constrain ways of knowing (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1993), I have indicated and discussed how my affective, embodied modes of presence and becoming in the field (might) have constrained and enabled pathways to data generation and hence to knowledge production.

As highlighted by the quote from Flatley (2008, p. 5) above, affective circulations or moods do not emerge only from the relational dynamics of given encounters. There is an already-thereness to affective atmospheres (Ahmed, 2014; B. Anderson, 2014; Massumi, 2015) that our bodies stumble upon, are attuned to and shaped by in the process of conducting research. These moods make themselves differently felt and accessible to different bodies; and the bodies that encounter affective circulations are also already conditioned and shaped by how we have passed across, or been expelled from, affective spaces (Ahmed, 2004c, 2007, 2014). A body's force of existing forms through the re-composition of encounters (Anderson, 2014, p 82)—the embodied re-membering of all that was encountered before. However, as I have argued in this chapter, it is by addressing the specificities and relational situatedness of data generation that embodied, affective methodology can address the already-thereness of affective, material and discursive becomings-with and the workings of intersecting markers in these processes. This was demonstrated in the research article on passing, where I drew on autoethnographic data to trace gradations of proximity to Danishness and shades of whiteness that emerge and operate beyond and besides the particular encounters that the analysis emerged from.

Embodied, affective feminist methodologies are thus not about exercising solipsism and self-indulgence, but about enabling the ethical accountability and affirmative politics that takes as a point of departure embodied, embedded selves (Moss, 2014). Embodiment and affective circulations are

not noise hindering the process of knowledge generation, but rather the starting point and substance of knowledge (Braidotti, 2011; J. Butler, 2016; Massumi, 2015; Sheets- Johnston, 1999).

The affirmative politics of embodied, affective methodologies hold important potentialities. Addressing emotional resonance and making it work with research is aligned with a decolonial feminist project of knowledge generation, actively utilizing and legitimizing othered ways of knowing in academia (Lise Weil, oral communication, November 11, 2016) and drawing on everyday, embodied and felt knowledges that have been disregarded and deligitimized in Western positivist ideals of scientific practice (Hunt, 2015). Embodied, affective methodologies take a stand against notions of objectivity and the academic value- neutrality. The question is not whether to take sides, but whose side we are on (Becker, 1966); not seeking disengagement but making and explaining a deliberate choice about how, and from where, one engages (Braidotti, 2011; Faria & Mollett, 2016; Law, 2004; Parker, 2016a).

Chapter 3. Material-discursive-affective enactments of Nordvest: prisms from the empirical material

Modalities of multiplicity in emerging spaces of Nordvest

This chapter presents Nordvest as a district multiple (Mol, 2002) made up of the enactments of bodies, spaces and affects. This presentation of the empirical material simultaneously reflects and constitutes a way to conceptualize it.

This chapter is built around four empirical snapshots or glances at emerging spaces in Nordvest, of which two are presented through research articles. Together these examples conjure a mosaic of partial connections and divergences, conveying some of the various ways in which the spaces of Nordvest emerge as multi-layered and multiple. I chose these empirical prisms in part because the spaces they broach are differently distributed on spatiotemporal scales and encountered through different methods. I explore modes of space-making in a gardening association, enacted by its migrant members, through data from interviews and fieldwork. Then I discuss how residents I interviewed experienced and articulated a square (public space) in highly divergent, contradictory ways. Next, in the research article on diversity tourism, I examine interview accounts that relate the multiplicities and conflations of "diverse" Nordvest, a district that emerges as a multiple entity across locations. Finally, I cast autoethnographic glances at the transformations and disappearances of another square over time, from a public space to a commercial space-slash-municipal intervention.

Combined, these snapshots do not aim to exhaustively address the complexities of spaces in Nordvest. Rather, each snapshot offers a different prism and illuminates different modalities of multiplicity, at the same time signifying majoritization and minoritisation processes that these spaces constrain and allow. I elaborate less upon snapshots from the two squares than the spaces examined in the research articles. While providing insight into different modalities of the emergence of spaces, the snapshots also have the character of empirical material erupting into the body of the thesis.

The first snapshot of an emergence of space is provided by a research article that analyzes two modes of migrant space-making in Integration Gardens. Integration Gardens is a member-run association in Nordvest that combines organic gardening and "integration." It is a space that is, on one hand, structured by the association, which in turn is supported by the Municipality of Copenhagen and other funding bodies. This conditions explicit attempts to manage cultural, ethnic and social differences through spatial arrangements (i.e., by focusing on integration or by mixing and "breaking down" social

and cultural boundaries). On the other hand, it is a space enacted by its members in ways that foreground gardening rather than integration or the management of difference. The article examines the spatiality of the gardens by discerning two modes of space-making: the Integration Grid and the Web of Gardening.

The second snapshot erupts from three informant accounts of a square in Nordvest, Smedetoften. The three informants experience and tell the space in radically different ways that breach out to other affects, materialities and discursive formations pertaining to Nordvest. Their voices highlight the embodiment and situatedness of place-making and illustrate the imploding and exploding nature of a specific place in the district.

The third example of an emergence of space surfaces from the research article on diversity tourism. The diversity tourist is an analytical figure that takes shape by giving shape, or ordering and enacting, its surroundings as a "diverse" "break from Copenhagen." This example emphasizes the mutual constitution of meaning-making bodies and urban spaces (Grosz, 1995). The figure foregrounds various enactments of Nordvest: the district as peripheral and marginal, as outside "Copenhagen"; Nordvest as a "municipality garbage bin"; Nordvest as a hotbed of "diversity" and multiculturalism; and (the dangers and promises of) gentrification. These formations could be conceived as distinct, but through the figure of diversity tourist I show how they constrain and bleed into one another.

The fourth snapshot zooms in on transformations of Skoda Ground by Lygten, a square close to Nørrebro station. The ethnographer first visits the square from Vancouver, where she describes it in December 2016, drawing on fieldnotes, interviews and memory, unaware of how the place she is writing about no longer exists. These recent changes are illustrated through media coverage of the opening of a street food court and a cocktail bar, taken from a webpage that serves as a cultural and consumer guide to Copenhagen (*AOK*—"Alt om København"—"All about Copenhagen"). The guide quotes mayors of the city of Copenhagen, whose statements I reproduce to emphasize how the transformation of Skoda Ground comprises a policy intervention. Finally, notes from an autoethnographic, sensory urban walk in January 2017 highlight the material, embodied and affective dimensions of the changing space and its recent disappearances and displacements. This snapshot provides a pathway to the sensed, embodied multi-layeredness and multidirectionality of Skoda Ground, breaching out across time and space.

Conceptualizing "the body multiple," Annemarie Mol (2002) was writing about how a disease (artherosclerosis), and the body subjects seen as bearing it, were enacted in different ways in different sections of a hospital. These can be seen as, to some extent, parallel enactments. By contrast, this

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chapter presents Nordvest as multiple in messier, more disorganized ways. "Nordvest" is itself a material, discursive and affective formation that is enacted in various ways, but these enactments are unstable due to the district's contested physical boundaries, fragmentations and contrasting spaces. They are also interlinked, feeding and bleeding into one another, as demonstrated in the research article on diversity tourism. In addition, Nordvest implodes into a number of differently constituted "local" places, including (partially) institutionalized spaces like Integration Gardens, public spaces like Smedetoften, and commercial/interventionist places like the street food court on Skoda Ground.

On one hand, this selection of examples highlights the multiplicity of Nordvest that I encountered in the process of fieldwork and interviews, and that is represented in the empirical material. On the other hand, my interpretation of Nordvest as complex, multiple and fragmented is an analytical lens that I employ to make sense of the intertwined narratives, affects and materialities of the district, which I have encountered through the research process. This interpretation also ties into my selection of conceptual devices that will be presented in Chapter 4. Glancing at selected snapshots is one way of representing the district. This chapter serves as an introductory glimpse of the multiplicities of emerging spaces of Nordvest rather than an attempt to "cover" the perspectives on the emergence of space contained in the empirical material.

The term enactment, which Chapter 4 describes in more detail, refers to discursive, material, embodied, and affective entanglements in the relational emergence of places. Embarking on my research project, I set out to examine "everyday life": relationships among residents and their experiences of social spaces. However, I quickly discovered that the everyday was polluted by traces from various elsewhere, such as media accounts, popular culture, policy interventions, government language, generalized notions of gentrification, and the informants' life experiences from other times and spaces. In addition, there was an ongoing tension between verbal accounts (the data generated through conversation), and the elusive but immediate presence of affective flows and embodiment that could, and would, be only partially articulated. Consequently, felt experiences of particular places in Nordvest could not be disentangled from tropes about Nordvest as a "municipal garbage bin," ideas about "ethnic minority participation," Copenhagen municipality's focus on diversity branding and management, or informants' memories of these and other places. Evoking the notion of enactment is an attempt to foreground embodied experience and affective circulations as a cornerstone of the constitution of spaces and bodies.

Consequently, my four empirical examples function as doorways to variously located knots in a heterogeneous, intertwined assemblage of spaces, bodies and affect. Their selection is partial and reductive, but it simultaneously presents Nordvest as uncontainable and overspilling. This "spilling

over" unfolds across time, space, and embodied histories and presences. On one hand, it is a dynamic pertaining to the emergence of spaces and bodies as conceived in this thesis, signified by the following empirical examples and further conceptualized in Chapter 4. On the other hand, this overspilling highlights how Nordvest is everywhere and nowhere, breaching out into an abundance of imaginaries, affects and landscapes of meaning that echo other stigmatized and alluring "diverse," authentic, gentrifying places and districts in Western cities.

Simultaneously, the examples highlight how the district refuses this level of abstraction and generalization and rejects the notion of being viewed as "everywhere and nowhere"—or even being viewed as an entity, as a sum of parts—even as Nordvest is repeatedly articulated and enacted in these ways. The Nordvest experienced through the body, the Nordvest that one walks through and engages with is pulling one in, imploding and folding in upon itself as a mosaic of heterogeneous and fragmented, multi-layered places and space. Local places, as illustrated through the example of Smedetoften, seem to defy inscription into generalized landscapes of meaning or macro-level enactments, and resist being framed as representative of Nordvest. At the same time, these very landscapes of meaning and tropes pertaining to "Nordvest" constitute the embodied emergence of these local spaces. Local spaces *also* emerge through the surfacing of discourses, localities and space-times that suggest orders even more "macro" than "the district of Nordvest." For instance, the Integration Gardens, while opening up into multiple "local" spaces on their own, also contain and provide prisms through which to examine Danishness and its boundaries, the bordering practices of the Danish nation-state, and representations of migration and the changing political landscape in Denmark. The mappings of these overspillings also illustrate how all knowledge arises through entanglements of embodiment, affect and discursive formations or landscapes of meaning.

While the four examples offer various perspectives on (1) the entanglements and becomings of spaces, bodies and affective atmospheres in Nordvest, and (2) experiences and articulations of the district, they ultimately fail to "make senses" of it. This failure, insufficiency, and the blind angles of the knowledges produced make up a cornerstone of my general approach to writing and thinking about this thesis, which builds on partiality, situatedness and relationality.

"Cultivating integration"? Migrant space-making in Urban gardens

Abstract

Organized cultural encounters manage difference, conduct, time and space. Yet, alternative spaces emerge besides these scripts. This article discusses migrant space-making in Integration Gardens, an urban gardening association in Copenhagen aiming to 'dismantle social and cultural boundaries' through organic gardening. The space of the gardens is multi-layered. First, it revealed itself as an 'Integration Grid'- a homogenizing organized cultural encounter evolving around a foreigner-Dane binary. However, on further exploration, I grasped another mode of space-making- a Web of Gardening. This space evolves around plants and gardening, containing and breaching out to multiple histories, locations, relationships, materialities and practices. The article juxtaposes the spatiotemporal logics of the Integration Grid and the Web of Gardening, analyzing the possibilities for action and relating they afford. The analysis contributes to theorizations of multi-layeredness and multiplicity of space, as well as literature that expands and links notions of agency, bodies, affects, time and space.

Keywords: organized cultural encounters; space-making; multidirectionality; migration; memory; assemblage.

Migrant space-making as multidirectional practice

Integration projects typically aim at fostering social interactions seen as desirable, such as 'minority participation', 'social cohesion', 'mixing', '(active) citizenship', and 'social inclusion'. These interventions, often involving state and/or municipality stakeholders, can comprise paradoxical spaces, constraining the possibilities for interaction they aim to create (Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014; Fortier, 2010; Grünenberg & Freiesleben, 2016). 'Community gardens' have been proposed as particularly promising for cultivating 'community cohesion', participation and citizenship in the

neoliberal city (Blokland, 2013; Chitov, 2006; Eizenberg, 2012; Pudup, 2008). Moreover, gardens can be incorporated into agendas like food justice and access, 'sustainability', biodiversity and 'green spaces' (Ghose & Pettygrove, 2014; Kern, 2015; Quastel, 2009), contributing to city branding and gentrification.

Recent studies of urban gardens have aimed to evaluate their success (for example, in reducing inequalities), from enthusiastic accounts of 'grassroots community gardens' to critical analyses of 'organized gardening projects' (Classens, 2014; Miller, 2015). These more instrumental approaches tend to accept the premise of the gardening projects as neoliberal urban governmentality interventions, aimed towards improving 'participation', 'neighborhood relations', or 'integration'. However, there might be other processes and spaces unfolding parallel to diversity management. In gardening projects, as well as organized cultural encounters in general, participants are likely participate for other reasons than having their cultural differences managed. Consequently, I do not aim to evaluate 'success' of this particular gardening association. Instead, I explore divergent, but interlinked modes of space-making emerging in, and constituting, the gardens.

I am interested in mapping spaces and subjectivities unfolding besides the script of organized cultural encounter. Consequently, I center the perspective of migrants whose cultural difference the encounter particularly seeks to manage, highlighting their agency in space-making. Although acknowledging that migrants are involved in production of distinct urban spaces, migration studies have often left the question of (urban) space under-theorized (De Genova, 2014). Similarly, while there has been a focus on *place*-making (Gielis, 2009; Gill, 2010; Trudeau, 2006), space- making and spatiality are less explored (Amelina, 2012; De Genova, 2014). This paper seeks to address these gaps by analyzing practices and negotiations that comprise modes of migrant space-making. While visiting and describing actual places (the garden plots of my informants), I am interested in theorizing the modes of space-making that structure these places. I use 'place' to refer to informants' experience of shaping and giving meaning to particular locations and 'space' as structuring social practices and affects on a more abstract level (Cresswell, 2015; Tuan, 1977). Manifest through concrete practices and materialities, space-

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making constitutes negotiation, contestation and reshuffling of the conditions for being and relating in a social setting, as will be illustrated through analysis of Integration Grid and Web of Gardening.

More broadly, this paper is inspired by and aims to contribute to expanded conceptions of agency, affects, bodies, time and space to highlight multidirectionality, multiplicity and multi-layeredness (see, for instance, B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012b; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Mol, 2002). In addition, I explore what knowledges can be produced and articulated when the researcher gaze shifts from a preconceived script (organized cultural encounter, neoliberal governmentality and interactions between people) to agencies, bodies and affects that constitute other modes of space-making.

The article is based on participant observations and interviews conducted in Integration Gardens, a gardening association in a 'multicultural' district of Copenhagen. Firstly, I discuss how informants negotiate and navigate the gardens as an Integration Grid- a controlled, fragmented space, where mixing, proximity, cohesion and 'good diversity' are scripted and engineered (Ahmed, 2012; Fortier, 2010). Here, seemingly contradictory homogenizing logics of the nation state and heterogenizing logics of Copenhagen (branded) as a multicultural city (Löw, 2008) combine and reinforce one another, constituting a bordering encounter (De Genova, 2005, 2014).

However, the gardens also hold another mode of space-making- a Web of Gardening incorporating various spatiotemporalities, materialities and relationships. In this space, plants act as carriers of and companions in informants' migration (hi)stories. I discuss the Web of Gardening in relation to notions of space of representations (Lefebvre, 1991), smooth space, assemblages and multiplicities (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004).

These two modes of space-making are simultaneously divergent and interlinked. Just like lived experience is also mediated experience (Mol, 2002), the Web of Gardening is subject to, and conditioned by, grids, management, governance etc. Consequently, I do not suggest a normative and hierarchical relationship between the two modes of space-making with the Integration Grid representing

governance, (state) violence and homogenization, and the Web of Gardening typifying emancipation and resistance. Instead, I discuss how these modes of space-making afford different subjectivities, relations and possibilities for action.

Integration through gardening?

Integration Gardens aim to combine organic urban gardening and 'integration'[10]. Local residents founded the association in 2012, with soil and funding from authorities and private sponsors. The gardens are leased from the municipality for three years at a time. The annual membership cost of a garden is 500 DKK (around 70 euros), with additional 100 DKK sign-up fee (13 euros).

The gardens are square and measure $12m^2$. Municipality guidelines prohibit permanent structures (tiles, individual greenhouses etc.). Consequently, the gardens appear barren and overseeable, apart from shared tool sheds, compost bunks and a shelter (for a cartography of the gardens as an 'Integration Grid', see figure 1). Garden boundaries are marked by paths, strings or plant beds.

According to the association's statutes, half of the approximately 150 garden plots should be allocated to members "born in Denmark', and the other half to members 'born outside Denmark'. 'Born in Denmark' members are assigned gardening lots with even numbers, and "born outside Denmark'-uneven numbers. Consequently, garden lots belonging to the two categories of members are placed side by side, with the intention to facilitate mixing and 'integration'.

Signing up for a garden requires an address within a perimeter around the location of the garden lots. This 'multicultural' area includes so-called disadvantaged housing, classified by the Danish Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs. These problematized and (con-)fused architectural/material and human presences (Pred, 2000; Wacquant, 2008) are discursively mobilized when implementing interventions to facilitate mixing and cohesion (Grünenberg & Freiesleben, 2016; T. G. Jensen, 2015), including projects such as the Integration Gardens.

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[10] I evoke integration as an empirical notion, as it is enacted in the gardens.

While there are attempts at ensuring 'born outside Denmark' representation, there are also structural barriers. Information about the association and becoming a member is not easily accessible. Internal communication is conducted almost exclusively in Danish, by e-mail newsletters and on Facebook. The annual costs of having a garden, while low compared to more permanent gardening arrangements, equal many kilograms of vegetables. Simultaneously, some 'born in Denmark' members express frustration about half the lots being earmarked for people 'born outside Denmark': 'why should we try to include them at the cost of admitting Danish members, if they are not interested anyway?'

Methodology

This article is based on fieldwork and interviews, mainly with members 'born outside Denmark'. In addition, I refer to written sources, including the association's statutes, vision paper, the newsletters and communication on Facebook, and a published interview with a previous chairperson[11].

Most members 'born outside Denmark' are white, legally employed EU citizens. However, their migration experiences imply degrees of relative precariousness and distance; difficulties with language, infrastructure, social networks and access to employment and housing. Categories of 'foreignness', 'Danishness', and hierarchies within whiteness have to be maneuvered.

In summer of 2014, I conducted three semi-structured interviews -with Li and Jean, 'born outside Denmark', and Anna, 'born in Denmark'[12]. The interviews were transcribed and are the sources of verbatim quotes in the article. However, in the space of the gardens, sit-down interviews felt formal and finalized, while fieldwork facilitated repeated interactions. Consequently, instead of continued interviewing, I conducted around 90 hours of observations over summer of 2014 and April-July 2015. These involved recurring conversations with around 15-20 members 'born outside Denmark'.

Commencing fieldwork in the gardens in the spring of 2014, my focus was on the gardens as an organized cultural encounter. I wanted to explore how the 'proximity by design' (Fortier 2010) would

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[11] In order to anonymize the association and the previous chairperson, I am not including references.

[12] I also spoke to members 'born in Denmark', but seldom refer to these conversations in this paper, as I focus on migrant experiences and agencies in space-making.

influence the 'social and cultural boundaries' between members that the association sought to 'dismantle', according to the statutes. In addition, I was interested in possible frictions between scripted desirable ways of socializing and everyday interactions. I had unreflexively adopted an 'management of (cultural) difference' gaze, looking for how and when members would interact with and position one another; how the gardens would be negotiated as a racialized, classed, gendered etc. space. This analytical lens, set on a spectrum of outcomes from conviviality vs segregation and constrained by 'management of diversity' focus, is common in studies of urban 'diversity' (see, for example, Blokland, 2003; Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; Gidley, 2013; T. G. Jensen, 2015; Neal & Vincent, 2013; Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014; Wessendorf, 2013, 2014; Wise & Velayutham, 2014).

The focus for my fieldwork and analysis changed when, in the spring and summer of 2015, I started hearing more about gardening from my informants. My attention shifted from interactions between (categories of) people to relationalities in-between people and plants, involving gardening practices, memories and presences from multiple elsewheres. I moved from studying encounters with 'diversity' to examining different modes of space-making.

Conceiving multidirectional space-making

Space is concurrently socially produced and constraining social worlds (Lefebvre, 1991; Löw, 2008; Schatzki, 2002); 'simultaneously a social product (or outcome) and a shaping force (or medium) in social life' (Soja, 1989, p. 7). Examining various (contradictory; complementary; competing) modes of space-making affords an exploration of social practices and their spatiotemporal order(ing)s.

Massey (2005) has argued that the notion of 'space' captures juxtaposition and coexistence. However, capacity of space also comprises an ordering pattern for producing categories of difference and plurality through acts as the outcome and synthesis of positioning practices (Löw, 2008).

The two modes of space-making arise from the empirical material. However, examining their logics and effects, I draw on a toolbox of theoretical perspectives. In addition to thinking space as a fluctuating assemblage of multiple, entangled presences that it constrains and is shaped by, I employ Lefebvre's

(1991) conceptual triad on space and Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) notions of smooth and striated space.

Lefebvre theorizes space as

1) *Spatial practice or perceived space*, representing governed, repetitive everyday life, pervaded and prestructured by conceived space (see below).

2) *Representations of space or conceived space*: space as seen and created by governing practices of, for example, urban planners, architects, administrators and other bureaucrats. Conceived space relies on fragmentation as a means of control (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 320). The state produces representations of space and its citizens as reproductive forces.

3) While (1) and (2) are interlinked concrete spaces, produced socially and generating societal conditions, Lefebvre (1991) also discerns *representational or lived spaces*. These are spaces of expression, emerging through images and symbols. According to Lefebvre, spaces of representation undermine prevailing spatiotemporal logics and point to other ways of knowing and acting.

In contrast, Deleuze and Guattari (2004) elaborate smooth and striated space as two distinct spatial logics (their third spatial dynamic, holey space, will not be discussed here). Striated space refers to territorialized, homogenized, ordered and governed space of progress and State power, 'counted in order to be occupied' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 399). In contrast, smooth space is the space of nomads-acentered, deterritorialized, projective, vectorial space of becoming, 'occupied without being counted'.

Although Deleuze and Guattari (2004) write from a different point of departure than Lefebvre (1991), there might seem to be a resemblance between Lefebvre's spatial practice and conceived space and the notion of striated space; and the concepts of representational space and smooth space. However, Lefebvre (1991) conceives representational space as a space of imagination *and* a space of opposition and resistance (to prevailing capitalist logics and modes of production), thus occupying the same system of meanings as spatial practice and conceived space. In contrast, Deleuze and Guattari's smooth (Nomadic) space is constrained by and posesses a radically different logic than striated (State) space. Smooth space unfolds *besides*, rather than being constituted in opposition to striated space and its

governing bodies (State, capitalism, neoliberalism). The two spaces might be seen in opposition to one another, but Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) goal is to move beyond dualisms to dimensions in motion, to sketch potentialities rather than offer a taxonomy of space. Consequently, there are fundamental differences in Lefebvre's (1991) and Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) ways of thinking space. Yet both approaches are valuable for analyzing the modes of space-making unfolding in the gardens.

As discussed above, multidirectionality characterizes all spaces and modes of space-making. I evoke the notion to address the overspilling multi-layeredness of space, inspired by Rothberg's (2009) concept of multidirectional memory. This notion encapsulates how contested, divergent memories and narratives of violent past events, such as occupations, genocides and colonialisms, are interlinked, constrain and enable one another. Rothberg (2009) aims to combat 'zero-sum memory', the presumption that memories of atrocities compete for limited terrain. Instead, he proposes that memory works productively and interconnectedly- as, I argue, do various modes of space-making.

Multidirectionality characterizes modes of space-making in the gardens, emphasizing the coexistence and interplay between different spatiotemporal logics, agencies, affects, bodies and scripts, and the ways these presences are evoked. Multidirectionality also signifies how materialities and non-human presences (plants or demarcations of garden plots, for example) act as witnesses, assembly points and nodes of meaning for migration histories, societal discourses, governmental scripts, relationalities and desired futures.

The Integration Grid

The Integration Grid emerges through attempts at designing social interactions and 'integration'- the segregated waiting lists, board elections and distribution of plots where even- numbered gardens are assigned to 'members born in Denmark' and uneven- numbered to 'members born outside Denmark'. This mode of space-making encompasses control, management, fragmentation, sorting and bordering practices (De Genova, 2014; Lefebvre, 1991; Löw, 2008). While the physical structure of the Integration Grid is produced by the association, echoing scripts on 'integration', 'cohesion' and 'diversity', I explore how this space and its logics are negotiated, navigated and (re)made by informants.
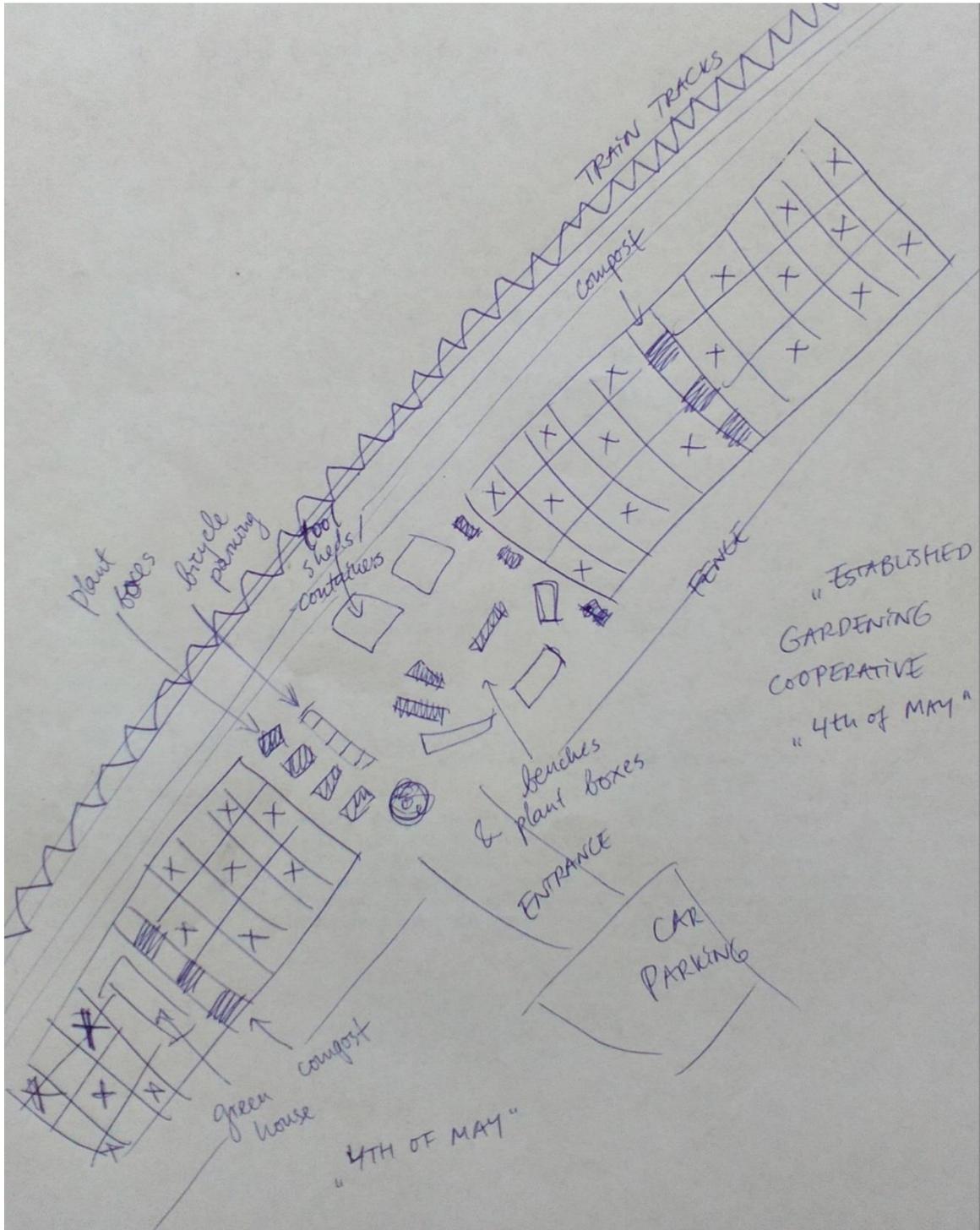
Figure 1. The gardens as an 'Integration Grid'- a cartography from above.

The vision paper of the gardening association emphasizes two primary objectives- organic, sustainable

gardening and community building and social cohesion:

'The association aims to dismantle social and cultural boundaries in order to create cohesion in an urban area with a lot of diversity. It is our experience that garden work and common projects make natural integration grow and enable new friendships.'

The vision paper contrasts 'cohesion' and 'diversity'. Social and cultural boundaries should be undermined (literally translated from Danish 'nedbryde'- broken down or decomposed, which also reads as an organic metaphor) to achieve cohesion. However, 'diversity' is also valuable- representation of 20 different nationalities is stated as a measure of success. Thus while 'social and cultural boundaries' are to be dismantled, they also constitute the gardening project's *raison d'être*. Moreover, gardening lends metaphors to 'naturally growing integration', in contrast to 'engineered' integration in other projects.

Most informants seldom directly address the 'integration' agenda unprompted. When asked, some voice criticism about management of the gardens (for instance, about 'unoccupied' 'born outside Denmark' lots being reallocated to the 'born in Denmark' waiting list). Generally, informants emphasize how lucky they feel to have a garden in the city. Gardening, rather than 'integration' motivates their involvement in the project.

Yet the Integration Grid surfaces repeatedly in informants' accounts, for instance, through dichotomy of 'Danes' and 'foreigners'. Natalia refers to her 'Danish neighbor' despite knowing his name (he e-mailed her when he thought it was time to harvest vegetables in her garden). When Anna's garden neighbor had tramped on her beetroot bed, she remarked to me jokingly- if they come today, you might witness a conflict between foreigners and Danes. Among the 'born outside Denmark', stories circulate about 'Danes' and 'foreigners' approaches to gardening. Allegedly, 'Danes' are organized, doing everything by the book, while 'foreigners' are more experimental and creative gardeners.

In conversations, 'born in Denmark' becomes 'Danish' or 'Dane' and remains mostly undifferentiated. Occasionally, adjectives like 'ethnic' or 'ordinary Danes' are used. Classed, gendered, geographical or other differentiations within 'Danishness' are seldom evoked, apart from Li who refers to 'born in Denmark' members as 'hipsters' and 'middle class'. However, when 'born in Denmark' combines with

signs on the body mobilized to support racializing logics, Danishness can be revoked. For example, Robert from England praises the garden of a 'Pakistani man', specifying- 'born in Denmark, but Pakistani'.

In contrast, the category 'born outside Denmark' is more differentiated. Informants usually refer to themselves as 'foreigners', sometimes 'aliens' ('fremmede'), differentiating on the basis of class and access to privileges. For instance, Li distinguishes between 'expats' and 'objects for integration':

'*How many people are there here, who, according to the municipality, would be actual objects for integration? Not so many. It's more expats, people who already... yes, are integrated according to Danish understanding, politicians' understanding. People with resources. People who come from countries that are not looked down upon, people who have a religion that is not looked down upon, people who prefer to dress like one does in Denmark (...)*'.

(Li, informant of color)

Indeed, most members 'born outside Denmark' I meet might conditionally pass as Danish (qua whiteness, class markers and 'Western' appearance), as long as they stay silent. Nonetheless, 'expat' is a contested category. Lila from Poland, working for the United Nations, tells me about how she recently spoke to a Russian colleague about who qualified as an 'expat'. Their agreement was that 'expats' could only be from Anglo-Saxon countries.

The predominance of 'Dane' vs 'foreigner' binary (despite the stratification of the latter) contradicts the association's goal of 'dismantling social and cultural differences'. The spatial practice (grid) of plot assignment and other structural arrangements separating members 'born in Denmark' and 'born outside Denmark' reinforce this duality. A spatiotemporal logic emerges where the precondition of 'integration' is segregation- a marked division to (know who has to) integrate (with whom).

In this respect, the Integration Grid can be discussed through the interconnected notions of perceived and conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991) and Deleuze and Guattari's (2004) striated space. The grid is a homogenized and homogenizing space, enacting simultaneous fragmentation, categorization and

standardization. All gardens are the same (size), but their alignment re-enacts the binary based on members' places of birth.

However, apart from reproduction of categories of the Integration Grid (and society at large), the 'Dane'/'foreigner' binary is mobilized to other ends by the informants. For example, it facilitates complaining about 'Danes'; awareness of inequalities regarding the distribution of the garden plots; claims to distinctiveness (for example, as less uptight people and more creative gardeners than 'Danes').

The following section discusses informants' views on 'integration' in more depth. These negotiations reflect ideas about who should be present/absent in the gardens ('integrated', deserving vs undeserving subjects) and on which/whose terms.

Tracing 'integration'

The Integration Grid, the space of the gardens managed as an organized cultural encounter, can be glimpsed through Lefebvre's (1991) duality of perceived and conceived space. However, the script is navigated by informants in different ways. Jean (person of color) regards the segregated waiting lists and layout of the gardens as

'(…) *providing possibilities or a platform for both parts to meet each other and have fun together. (…) integration means that people get to know each other and have the possibility to talk together and get close to each other without being afraid*'.

While recognizing that 'integration' is a buzz-word for attracting securing access to resources, Jean does not problematize it. Usually, 'integration' is only explicitly evoked when structural problems are perceived. For instance, Li is inflamed about how 'integration is a smart word to get money from the municipality', seeing it as tokenism, where 'non-Danes' are paraded for access to soil and money.

Li's account of 'integration' highlights an interesting duality. Li is critical of the 'integration word', but it simultaneously prompts expectations. The result is 'disappointing'- 'integration' manifests as an oppressive management technique without sufficient attempts at inclusion.

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Li criticizes the stratified distinction between 'objects for integration' and resourceful, always-already 'integrated' 'expats'. Simultaneously, Li evokes an economy where deserving people in need for this project (poor, racialized migrants) are contrasted to undeserving, smart hipster Danes. For Li, interactions in the gardens (and Copenhagen) are constrained by one's possibilities to pass as an (unmarked) majority person, vs a (marked) minoritized person. Distinction between deserving and undeserving members is rooted in a sense of (in)justice, inequality and intersectional privileges of 'smart hipster Danes'. This notion of deservingness opposes the dominant logic in the gardens, where members 'born outside Denmark' are framed as undeserving of half of the gardening lots due to their waiting list not being full.

These examples show how informants negotiate the Integration Grid drawing on societal discourses on 'foreigners', 'Danes', expats vs 'subjects for integration', good mixing and (un)deservingness. Production, management and ordering of concrete spaces like the Integration Gardens echo and feed into discourses, affects and materialities of other spaces.

Homogenization, heterogenization and bordering

The spatiotemporal logics of Copenhagen as a multicultural city (heterogeneity and inclusion) can be contrasted to the spatiotemporal logics of Danish nation state (homogeneity and exclusion) (Held 2005, in Löw 2008). The Integration Grid encompasses both logics of heterogeneity and homogeneity. While the gardening association celebrates diversity of its members as a success, it also declares the eradication of social and cultural differences as its goal. While members 'born in Denmark' and 'born outside Denmark' are sought treated equally (the standardized plots; the aimed-for 'equal' 50:50 representation), this binary of difference is constantly reinforced, with stratifications echoing other contexts and discourses. Consequently, the grid can be grasped as a striated space, territorialized in accordance with State logics (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of sorting bodies into ones that already belong and others that need to be incorporated or ejected.

The (re-)production of the binary signifies the Integration Grid as a bordering encounter (De Genova, 2005, 2013; Dzenovska, 2014b). Writing about Mexican Chicago, De Genova (2014, p. 6) found the border 'folded in upon itself, compressed, perforated and tangled, ruptured and scattered. (…) When

the border materialised in this space, it tended to be localised on migrants' bodies'. This happens in the Integration Gardens, when a brown body is labeled as 'born in Denmark but Pakistani'. Moreover, the division of space in 'Danish' and 'foreigner' gardening lots ejects white bodies from Danishness, exposing being 'born outside Denmark' to anyone familiar with the grid's logic.

Web of Gardening

This section explores the spatiotemporal logics of the Web of Gardening and the informants' negotiations of this space. I start with vignettes from three gardens I have been shown in the association. While these gardens appear very different, they all evolve around plants and gardening.

Charlotte's[13] garden has no rows of beds, instead resembling a cluster of plants around a patch of grass in the middle, where she tells me she sits down to relax and talk to her plants. Many plants in her garden originate from dumpsters; others she has grown from seed. The rhubarb, strawberries, blueberries, raspberry, asparagus and some of the flowers have moved with Charlotte several times over the past years, from a squat's garden to another squat's garden to various rooms in Copenhagen.

One of the traveling plants is a pink lily. Charlotte replanted it in her garden when she joined the association in 2014. It grew into a huge bush, with over twenty flowers in the course of the summer and shiny pink petals that Charlotte recalls as almost violent, sexual and artificial-looking.

Charlotte is also cultivating an herb and a strawberry bush that come from her father's family in France. Mentioning the origins of these plants leads her to relate family history and changing living arrangements, describing their present house and other plant and human presences in this location. For Charlotte, gardening started as a refuge, an experimental space 'not supposed to make sense', last and bear fruit (representing an oppositional space to other modes of being in her life), so she smiles talking about the lasting attachment she feels to the plants that have accompanied her.

Showing me her garden, Natalia proposes that gardens reflect people's personalities, and that her garden reveals she is an engineer. The garden is arranged in orderly rows- radish, spinach, potatoes, salad,

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[13] Names and biographical details of informants have been changed to ensure anonymity.

beans, except from flowers and a big bush of sage at the edges. She offers me some sage; she has salvaged the bush from the common compost pile. We hypothesize plants are discarded because people are clearing their gardens after the previous season when the plot belonged to someone else. Natalia says she understands people want to make the gardens their own. In her opinion, 12m^2 is too little space for growing strawberries or rhubarb. Natalia wants to use space efficiently. Beans are well-suited for this, because they grow upwards.

Later, as we are having some tea, Natalia talks about her parents who have a hectare of land in Slovakia. They mostly grow flowers and strawberries. The conversation turns to peonies which we both love. Natalia is especially fond of the white ones- their smell, she adds enthusiastically. Her mother has four large bushes. But planting peonies in the gardens would not make sense. Natalia explains they take at least two years to establish themselves, cannot be replanted, and take up so much space (she gestures with her hands). A bit later, Natalia exclaims she would love her garden to be wild strawberries, all of it. But then she would be afraid someone would pick them, as she has experienced vegetables disappearing from her garden.

Joe arrives at the tool shed where Natalia and I are having tea. We start talking, and Joe claims that foreigners are more ambitious gardeners, while Danes follow the rules. He tells about an Iraqi man who had built a greenhouse, installed a grill, and laid out a patio in the 12 m^2 of his garden. These structures had to be dismantled following a municipality inspection, since the gardens are not supposed to contain permanent constructions.

Joe takes us to his garden. He is building wooden structures for beans and cucurbits to crawl on and jokes about adorning the wooden planks with animal skulls. Joe is also growing corn and blueberries; and some rhubarb from his Danish garden neighbor, planted next to strawberries. He has no previous gardening experience but his parents had a farm. Several times Joe suggests that it would be nice if everyone was flying a country flag in their garden, but adds that perhaps it would be 'too much'. He refers to the erected structures and corn as 'American stuff'. Half-jokingly, he calls the garden 'Joe's ranch'.

Figure 2. 'Joe's ranch', May 2015. The erected structures are quite extraordinary compared to other gardens.

Informants evoke plants, places, times and people that become literally or imaginatively present in their gardens. For example, many plants in Charlotte's garden act as companions and witnesses from different periods of her life in Copenhagen. Rescued from dumpsters, they have journeyed across temporary locations to find their present home. In addition, plants from Charlotte's father's family trigger memories and stories about their lives and histories in France. Natalia is growing an autumn flower that she got the seeds for from her mother; 'the Italians' (which is how everyone refers to them, in plural) are cultivating tomatoes and basil, Ali is growing cress from Syria and for Joe, corn evokes memories of his childhood in the US. These plants act as presences brought or summoned from past, present and future 'elsewheres', shaping the social spaces the gardens become (Despard 2015).

Furthermore, plants embody 'local' Danishness or Nordicness. Several informants 'born outside Denmark' proudly tend a rhubarb plant, a flower, herb or a species of potato said to be local to Denmark.

Jeremy who works in a restaurant awarded Michelin stars, offers me various herbs from an organic Danish farm; although we speak English, he names most of the herbs in Danish. He also highlights a wine rhubarb bush in his garden, 'an old Danish kind'. These plants represent 'Danishness', anchoring the gardens and gardening practices in a material-discursive 'local' landscape.

Regarding racialization and class dimensions of recent food discourses in Denmark (Andreassen, 2015), cultivation of these plants can be interpreted as desire to approximate (white, middle class) 'Danishness'. However, growing these plants and positioning them as 'Danish' might also reflect striving for 'localness' and belonging. It can also be read as an attempt at domesticating/subjugating Danishness or colonizing Danish soil, as exemplified by 'Joe's ranch' with its erected structures and desired American flag.

The Web of Gardening emerges as a multidirectional space that is simultaneously *oppositional to* and *besides* the dominant logics of foreigner/Dane binary. It can be seen through prisms of a space of representations (Lefebvre 1991) and smooth space (Deleuze and Guattari 2004). For instance, the verticalities in Joe's ranch can signify a break with, and perhaps resistance to, the homogenizing Integration Grid. While Deleuze and Guattari (2004) describe vertical structures (walls, towers, fences) as marks of striated space, in the Integration Gardens, governmentality manifests itself through flatness, overseeability and transcience. Members shall mix across (ethnic, cultural, social) difference, hence no fences between the gardens. No permanent structures shall be built, according to municipality regulations. Verticality becomes provocative, mimicking 'permanent' structures and interrupting an inspecting gaze. In Charlotte's garden, the higher elements around the perimeter of the garden (the lily and towerlike structures for beans, peas and squash to crawl on) produce a secluded patch of grass in the middle, providing privacy that resists exposure to 'mix'. In the Web of Gardening, verticalities can form spaces outside/besides the homogenizing, binary logics of the grid.

In addition, the Web spans imagined, longed for, or dreamt presences, such as Natalia's peony bush and wild strawberries and other informants' longings for trees and bushes deemed too big for the gardens. Similarly, family members and friends from elsewheres enter the space of the gardens (and the space extends out to them) through memories, visits, phone/Internet conversations and photos.

The Web of Gardening also unfolds in imagination, memory and yearning, through dreamt spaces like 'Joe's ranch' or Natalia's wild strawberry field. These configurations of imagined and discursive-material plant and human presences enmesh and summon multiple 'elsewheres'. Assemblages arise where plants, spatiotemporalities and people '(…) are connected to form spaces through processes of perception, ideation, or recall' (Löw, 2008, p. 35). One might say that Natalia cultivates (a particular time in) Slovakia in her garden, while Charlotte tends to a demolished squat. Gardening practices can also be interpreted as claims to space, bringing other spatiotemporalities into the 12m^2 provided by the Integration Grid and countering its homogenizing logic. Charlotte proudly asserts that she recognizes her garden when passing by on the train; other gardens, for instance, Ali's and Joe's, stand out at the first glance.

However, in contrast to spaces of representation as conceptualized by Lefebvre (1991), the Web of Gardening is not a pre- or un-capitalist, non-homogenized, or non-fragmented space. Unlike the Integration Grid, the Web does not evolve around the foreigner-Dane binary. Yet it is constrained by neoliberalism and migration regimes- through the Integration Grid, municipality guidelines, diversity management, and priorities in urban governance that maintain the gardens as a temporary space. There is not enough space and time for peonies in Natalia's garden. Yet they exist as a dreamt presence, linking various spatiotemporalities.

Rather than acentered (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004), the Web of Gardening is multi-centered and vibrating, composed of floating nodes of meaning and affective circulations. The Web is constantly shifting beyond linear time as its various dimensions surface and align with each other (figures from family histories; seeds and plants associated with various locations; memories, images and dreams of other gardens; informants' visions for their lives in Copenhagen or elsewhere…). The Web comprises directions in motion, without a 'beginning or an end, but a middle from which it grows and which it overspills' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 23)- or rather, multiple middles.

Rather than being located outside one another, the Integration Grid and Web of Gardening comprise layers containing, wrapping and warped around, one another. Perhaps they can be envisaged as waves flushing over an embodied presence in the gardens, experienced interchangeably and simultaneously,

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laying down on the patch in the middle of Charlotte's garden, or picturing an aerial view of the Grid. The modes of space-making overlap, with pockets of relative stillness, interrupted by currents 'where each takes nourishment from the other, borrows from the other' (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004, p. 466). The different modes of space-making constrain, enable and bleed into one another. Striating currents are woven into smooth layers.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have explored two divergent but interlinked modes of migrant space-making in Integration Gardens, an organic gardening association in Copenhagen. As a scripted cultural encounter, the gardens manifest as an 'Integration Grid'- a simultaneously homogenizing, fragmenting and categorizing space and a border zone re(producing) binaries of difference, segregating in order to 'integrate'.

Besides the Grid, however, plants and gardening practices summon memories, spatiotemporalities and relations from multiple elsewheres into a Web of Gardening. The Web can be conceived as a rhizomorphous assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) of these multidirectional presences. 'Integration' scripts, related to mixing and ethnic categories, also constrain this space (for instance, when informants display 'local Danish' plants). Nonetheless, this mode of space-making primarily arises between people and plants, dreamt and imagined garden spaces, migration (hi)stories, gardening practices and memories.

Thinking with and through various modes of space-making underlines how Integration Gardens simultaneously represent a space of neoliberal governmentality (Pudup, 2008) and challenge and unfold beside the logics of this space as Web of Gardening. The article contributes to theoretizations of space by highlighting how modes of space-making are multidirectional and assembled, smooth and striated in different ways. It also speaks to literatures that expand notions of bodies, affects, spatiotemporalities and agencies and theorize their mutual constitution (B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012b; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Mol, 2008).

The processes of space-making unfolding in the gardens epitomizes the multiplicities of any social space, also localities appearing as neoliberal integration projects aimed at constituting and governing atomized citizen-subjects (Swyngedouw, 2005). Exploring alternate modes of space-making reveals a site of organized cultural encounter as '(…) heterogeneous assemblage of logics, co-existing languages irreducible to each other, interwoven with disparate practices' (Mol, 2008, p. 106), meanings and materialities that branch out to multiple spatiotemporal and relational elsewheres. It also enables examining how various modes of space-making constrain and bleed into one another.

Implosions and explosions: enactments of a square in Nordvest

A tree kicked down and houses broken into

The situation has improved, but it's because we are doing something about it. At the same time, if we didn't feel there was a common—something we were afraid of, or had an opinion about—then we maybe wouldn't have the community we have here.

We planted a small tree down there on the corner of Smedetoften, and it was kicked down, and kicked down, by the youths from Smedetoften. It's like Helle says: we can keep trying, but it's crazy doing it if everything gets destroyed anyways. So no, it hasn't gotten that much better. But we planted the tree twice—would they also topple it a third time? We don't know that. The question is, how long does one keep trying?

Of course, I don't know who broke into my house … Have you seen the movie Nordvest*? There is an episode about a pawn shop that sells stolen goods. It's set right on the corner here. The police are saying: if you give me the serial number of your laptop, we will go over to the corner and reclaim it. {Laughing.} Katrine told me about this other burglary. It was one of the youths, a newbie. He had stolen this bunch of foreign currency, Greek money that is not even in use anymore, and when the police got him five hours later he had gotten rid of the other things but that money, he still had it on him. And I thought, OK, they know when I'm walking by, they know when nobody's home.*

A lively way of being

I have a soft spot for Smedetoften. It's a cool place, it's simply lively. If the weather is just a little decent, there are the drinkers and young girls from the association, and kids playing football on the street. It's just life, it's just so cool.

Some time ago that street was a topic of a discussion in the local paper, about insecurity. (Sarcastically) *Nordvest was so dangerous, and old people did not feel safe. And Smedetoften was especially central for that kind of lack of security. They were simply annoyed by people hanging out there. It's not a Danish tradition. We're not a country where streets get used that much. But people who live in Nordvest are from all sorts of places in the world, and some places, as soon as it's a bit warmer, street life becomes really a central part of … the world. It's a way of being. And some people try to keep it alive although they now live somewhere else. And others feel it's totally insecure. But if you go by Smedetoften, you can't understand how it could feel unsafe.*

A no-place in need of more colour

There are not so many appealing places here, cafes to spend time in. That's what's cosy about the area by Nørrebro park, there are all sorts of specialized shops and cafes, some are Turkish inspired, others are just normally inspired. Jægersborggade is also a wonderful street, there is the gang activity on one side, but otherwise there are many cool shops and restaurants.

Nordvest is a little boring because it does not have this range. What it does have is mostly for immigrants. If you know the place across Blockbuster, a lot of the Turks go there, these kinds … I like eating there, but it's not a place I'd care to go every day, or every second day. If you like proper Turkish soup with bread and having tea then it's fine, but there's a lack of good eateries. It's very pauper-like.

And it would be nice if they painted the houses in different colours. I think it's all too homogeneous. Yellow-grey houses all over, especially here. (The interview is taking place right by Smedetoften.) *It would be good to have more colour, more regeneration. Otherwise it can seem dull and sad sometimes.* (Laughing.) *It would be nice if it was made more presentable*.

Smedetoften threetold

These three voices offer radically different articulations of Smedetoften, emerging from subject positions that are differently constrained and enabled by intersecting markers. The first informant, Anne, a white majority Danish woman in her 40s, owns a house a few hundred metres from Smedetoften. A few years ago, her house was broken into and robbed, which, as she remarks in the interview, continues to influence the way she feels in her home, and as a resident in Nordvest. In addition, she shares feelings of insecurity and frustration about how attempts at improving the public space have been vandalized.

Magnus, a white majority Danish man in his 30s, living in a housing cooperative apartment five minutes away from the square, cherishes Smedetoften as a lively place. Magnus's enactment of Smedetoften as "simply lively" partially counters the local paper's representation of the area. He emphasizes that he simply cannot understand how someone might feel insecure there, and relates these experiences to (ignorance about) cultural and ethnic differences. "Danish" people are not used to how ethnic others use public space, and that leads to (bizarre, ungrounded) insecurity. Magnus does not seem to reflect on how his own intersectional positionality—his gender, age, able-bodiedness, race, class, living situation, proximity to Smedetoften and appearance (stocky, bearded, streetwise)—might condition how his body is aligned with the square.

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The third informant, Sam, a black Danish man in his 30s, works very close to Smedetoften and lives in a housing cooperative apartment 10 minutes away. Sam does not remark on Smedetoften in particular, but speaks about Nordvest in general, and then the surrounding area ("especially here"). It is a significant omission—as if for him, Smedetoften barely exists as a distinct place. He experiences the surrounding area as "dull and sad," "homogeneous," and in need of a "lift" and "more colour."

Magnus and Sam's enactments of Smedetoften are contradictory. For Magnus, Smedetoften is all about liveliness; for Sam, it is "dull and sad." Both of them remark on ethnic/cultural difference, Magnus on "people from all sorts of places in the world," Sam on "immigrants." But for Sam, Nordvest lacks a "range," for instance of "normally inspired" shops and cafes. It's "mostly for immigrants" and consequently, not for him. Later in the interview, he suggests that if more (implicitly, majority white) Danish residents moved into social housing, they would "lift" Nordvest, for instance by teaching existing residents to recycle.

On one side, Sam's experience of the square as drab and boring might be influenced by his everyday presence for work. On the other hand, throughout the interview, Sam does not seem to recognize or value the "authenticity" and aesthetic appeal of Nordvest's "diversity," which the other informants highlighted (even Anne, although she did not find Smedetoften particularly charming in this way). For Sam, Nordvest is homogeneous. His characterization exists in contrast to those of most other informants.

Embodied and affective elements of experience, constrained by intersecting markers, seep through the informants' accounts and lend shape to the square. Despite laughing at an episode from a film and an anecdote about a clueless, inexperienced burglar, Anne is afraid. Her sense of privacy and security is compromised: she does not know who broke into her house; yet there is an awareness that "they" know when she is at home. Magnus has a "soft spot" for the liveliness of Smedetoften, for the street life that he sees as a way of being brought in "from all sorts of places in the world." This Smedetoften embodies a bigger, more cosmopolitan, world coming in to Nordvest and Denmark. By contrast, Sam finds the surroundings sad and dull, homogeneous, and lacking color.

As a snapshot, Smedetoften represents a point of saturation that illustrates how local places in Nordvest explode and implode into multiple, divergent enactments. Rather than conceptualizing these divergences as the result of various modes of space-making, they arise through differently situated, embodied experiences and affective circulations. Smedetoften surfaces as a concrete space that folds upon itself in multiple ways. At the same time, the square is overspilling, branching out to a movie about Nordvest, to a burglary experienced some years ago, to all sorts of places in the world, as a negation of the "wonderful" Jægersborggade. The informants' enactments of Smedetoften

emerge multidirectionally and rhizomatically (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004), just like the modes of space-making in the Integration Gardens.

Smedetoften, March 20, 2017. The graffiti ('SHERLOCK HOMELESS LOOKING FOR A HOUSE') has been on the wall in the background for as long as I can recall. The tree in front is a successor to the trees that were kicked down and that Anne mentioned in 2014. This tree, planted in the same spot, has, as far as I know, been left undisturbed since 2015.

However, what I found remarkable taking the photo is the sign GRØD on the right. GRØD is a Copenhagen eatery selling organic New Nordic kitchen inspired porridge for 50-60 DKK a portion. GRØD opened in Jægersborggade in 2011, as "the first porridge bar in the world". Noticing this sign on a sunny, late afternoon shakes me. I think of the interview with Sam, and the desire he expressed for a more colorful Smedetoften, more like "wonderful Jægersborggade", the "normally inspired cafés" by Nørrebro park.

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Smedetoften, May 23, 2014. *The bench on the right has since been removed. The blue (colorful?) kiosk, where one could buy beers to drink on the corner, has been closed. The building, painted white, housed a café/restaurant, Munchies (2015- 2016), and is likely soon to be the fifth GRØD location in Copenhagen.*

This is the corner Sara and Robert refer to in the research article on Diversity tourism, telling about how their son Oliver wanted to "invite all the homeless people for Christmas (dinner)".

On one side, the multiplicities of Smedetoften demonstrate how each street corner in Nordvest can be experienced in a multitude of situated, embodied, affective ways. Any attempt to grasp or represent Nordvest as a whole are therefore predetermined to fail. At the same time, the accounts of Smedetoften hint at, and include, enactments of Nordvest as a district, which I take up in the research article on diversity tourism: the area as peripheral and outside "Copenhagen"; as possessing a desired and stigmatized "diversity"; as a "municipality garbage bin"; and as in need of, but perhaps also threatened by, regeneration and a "lift." While the district features distinct, specific, multiple places like Smedetoften, and its physical boundaries and characteristics are contested and multiple, Nordvest simultaneously seems to emerge as an entity, at least occasionally. The entanglements that surface in the figure of diversity tourist serve as prisms through which to grasp this loose, complex, contested entity of "Nordvest."

Diversity tourism as a "break in reality": othering and white, middle-class longing

Abstract

While the notion of 'diversity' is frequently used descriptively, the term implies a distance between 'diverse' Others and unmarked, majority normality. This article develops an analytical figure of diversity tourist, shaped by stances, practices and affects of white middle class residents in Copenhagen's Nordvest. The paper draws on and contributes to literatures on race, whiteness and intersectionality, urban (super)diversity, 'mixing', encounters with difference and gentrification.

The diversity tourist moves at a privileged distance from racialized, poor and eccentric 'diversity' embodied by 'true locals'. This 'diversity' is consumed in various ways- from stimulating spectacle to transformative pedagogy and healthy vitamin pill. Moreover, informants invest 'diversity' with longing for 'reality' and 'break' from gentrified, ordered 'Copenhagen'. 'Nordvest' and 'Copenhagen' are articulated as oppositional, but mutually constitutive urban spaces. Consequently, the figure of diversity tourist signifies a limbo. The 'reality' and 'escape' sought from 'Copenhagen' white middle class life are conceived in terms defined by that very life.

Keywords: Race; whiteness; intersectionality; diversity; commodification; gentrification

Being a tourist in one's own neighborhood

> *(…) I am more of a tourist (…) I live in Nordvest, but (…) I am also an observer and maybe not really a part of it. (…)*

> *I think most people who live here have the identity, the district identity in one way or another. They are aware of, that if (…) they had another job… I think many are proud and happy to live here, but (…) it is more a place one ends up in. I think that's what fascinates me a little bit- it's more a place where people simply are. It's not something people have chosen. I don't think there are many who think: 'Now I'm moving to Nordvest because that's where I'd like to live', but that's what I've done myself (laughing).*

I don't know. Maybe it's such young, elitist tourists like me.

(Casper, 30s)

Even after having lived in Copenhagen's Nordvest district for 8 years, Casper perceives himself as an observer and tourist. He distinguishes himself from true locals with a 'district identity' who might be stuck there involuntarily. In contrast, Casper and other 'young elitist tourists' have the freedom to choose living in Nordvest.

Notions of Nordvest as diverse, 'wild' and 'real' kept accumulating in my interviews with white, middle class, majoritised Danish residents. 'Diversity' emerged from conflation of intersecting markers, evolving around racialized, classed and gendered notions of (dis-)advantage, (lack of) agency and (im-)mobility. Most often 'diversity' would stick to racialized immigrant or 'multicultural' bodies, places and objects (Ahmed, 2004b), or to images of deprivation like overt homelessness, drug and alcohol use. 'True locals' would embody the 'diversity', 'reality' and authenticity of the area, with informants positioned outside 'diversity', as observers, consumers and tourists.

The informants echoed stances and affects analysed in research on commodification of diversity, for instance, through metaphors of 'eating the Other' (bell hooks 1992) and 'stranger fetishism' (Ahmed 2000). In addition, studies of urban (super)diversity, 'mixing' and gentrification have explored white middle class residents' consumption of simultaneously feared and desired 'diversity', juxtaposed with desire for authenticity, 'real people' and 'real places' (Blokland and van Eijk 2010; Brown-Saracino 2004, 2009; Burnett 2014; May 1996; T. Butler 2003, 2008, 2010; Jackson and Butler 2015; Tissot 2014). This paper contributes to these research areas by developing the analytical figure of diversity tourist. In this figure, commodification of diversity is intertwined with white, middle class longing for 'reality' and a 'break from Copenhagen'. Through examining conflations and affects of race, ethnicity and class, the paper also contributes to feminist postcolonial perspectives on race, whiteness and intersectionality (Ahmed 2007, 2012; Bonnett 2000; Byrne 2006; Cho 2013; Frankenberg 1993; Parker 2016; Sullivan 2014; Valentine 2007).

While studies of urban diversity often aim to critically discuss social categories and related patterns of exclusion and inequality, 'diversity' and 'super-diversity' are frequently evoked as neutral descriptive terms (see, for example, Amin 2002; Berg and Sigona 2013; Blokland and van Eijk 2010; Jensen 2015; Wessendorf 2013; Wise and Velayutham 2014). As a consequence, the fact that 'diversity' implies deviance from (unmarked) majority norms (Ahmed, 2012; Lentin & Titley, 2011) can be downplayed. In addition, 'encounters with diversity' are often studied in deprived and/or gentrifying, 'ethnically mixed' urban areas (see, for example, Chimienti and van Liempt 2014; Danielsen 2010; Lapiņa 2016; Wessendorf 2014). Researching 'diversity' involves highlighting some differences rather than others and localizing it in certain places and on certain bodies. My study is no exception in this respect. The analysis of my informants' negotiations of 'diversity' provides an opportunity for 'diversity researchers' to reflect on our preconceptions about 'diversity' and places and people we visit to study it.

As an analytical figure, the diversity tourist emerges as a loosely assembled of modes of being present and relating, marked by privileged distance and mobility. I map diversity tourism referring to the figures of stranger (Simmel, 1950) and flâneur (Benjamin 1985) and literature on tourist gaze and performances (Edensor, 2001; J. Larsen & Urry, 2011; MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2002). This figure is filled out by examining the practices and affects that shape it in this particular spatiotemporal context- multifaceted consumption of 'diversity'; longing for 'reality' and escape. I conclude by highlighting the contributions of this analytical figure to feminist postcolonial perspectives on race, whiteness and intersectionality, as well as scholarship on urban (super)diversity, 'mixing' and gentrification.

Nordvest: a web of contested meanings

Nordvest is an area in Copenhagen. However, Nordvest is also a bundle of competing discourses, impossible to describe without invoking value-laden tropes: (celebrated or scolded) multiculturalism and 'diversity'; social disadvantage, crime and insecurity; post-industrial 'wild' authenticity; gentrification. Through conducting fieldwork and interviews, and later having myself become a resident of Nordvest, I am also exposed to and positioned with respect to these tropes in particular ways. Consequently, the following description of Nordvest is unavoidably partial, selective and mediated by

various discourses. However, it is needed to provide an idea of how the district can be grasped and experienced.

Nordvest is situated around 5-8 km Northwest from the city center, off the limits of tourist maps (Copenhagen is a relatively small city). The district appears fragmented and heterogeneous. There is social housing, much of it built between the 1930ies and the 1960ies in yellow and red bricks to enable enhanced lives of 'light, air and cleanliness' for the welfare society's working class (Palm Larsen 2000). There are private and cooperative apartments, car mechanic's workshops, construction sites and newly built housing, post-industrial, now creative spaces, expensive villas and fenced-off plots awaiting development. In addition, there are examples of city/district branding: a park elaborately and colorfully lit by night (combining art in public space with security concerns) and a library and community center, designed by famous Danish architects and decorated by a renown Copenhagen graffiti artist.

Nordvest also houses various institutions and associations. These include a community center for refugees and asylum seekers; a crisis center for women and children; a methadone distribution point; an NGO and café catering to homeless people; the Youth House[14]; two communist bookshops; an urban regeneration office neighboring several creative startups; two recently opened art galleries; seven Muslim private schools and the second purpose-built mosque in Copenhagen.

Despite gaining recognition as an emerging underground, 'hip' district (Fejerskov 2015; Sheikh 2014), Nordvest is still relatively unknown to many Copenhageners. This vagueness encompasses topographical boundaries. Occasionally, the outer part of the neighboring iconic Nørrebro district is referred to as Nordvest, Nordvest being perceived as Nørrebro's 'little sibling'. Furthermore, even people who agree on where Nordvest starts (at a passage under a city train bridge) are often unsure where it ends.

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[14] The Youth House (Ungdomshuset) is a cultural and community center associated with punk and leftist-autonomous subcultures. Founded in 1982, it used to be located in a squatted building closer to the city center. The squat was evicted in a police raid and demolished in 2007. Following protests, Copenhagen Municipality referred the users of the Youth House to a new location in Nordvest.

Thus a number of dualities emerge regarding Nordvest- undefined and (underground) hyped; stigmatized and celebrated 'diversity'; authentic 'wilderness' and regeneration; decay and gentrification. There is a tension between desires for conservation of 'authenticity' (Brown-Saracino 2009) and improvement and development. However, thinking through the figure of diversity tourism, the central tension is between proximity and distance, attraction and repulsion of/by 'diversity' and what it represents (Fortier, 2010; Tissot, 2014).

Methodology

This article draws on 25 semi-structured, transcribed interviews with white, middle class majoritised Danish residents of Nordvest, conducted in 2014 and 2015[15]. I evoke whiteness, class and majoritization when referring to informants because these were the central intersectional markers in their articulations of racialized, classed and minoritized 'diversity' that they distanced themselves from. Informants comprised a heterogeneous group with regards to age, length of residence in Nordvest, gender, sexuality, housing and cohabitation, income and where they grew up in Denmark. The informants were between 25 and 85 years old, a larger group in their 30ies and 40ies. Most had lived in Nordvest between 3 and 15 years, averaging about 7 years. Most informants worked or studied in more central parts of the city, in part reflecting lack of middle class employment opportunities in the area. Consequently, large parts of their everyday lives unfolded outside Nordvest. Income levels differed, and so did forms of housing and cohabitation: from rented rooms, including co-ops, to owning a floor in a two-household detached house.

However, informants were less diverse regarding level of education and political views. Most informants were university educated and left-leaning, self-defining as open-minded and tolerant. This partly reflects the composition and leanings of urban middle class in Copenhagen and partly the social spaces my fieldwork centered on (including a resident-driven park, urban gardening project, and forms of local organizing). Residents engaged in their neighborhood were also more likely to agree to being

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[15] I am drawing on interviews that feature practices and affects tied to diversity tourism- and these surface in encounters with informants who pass as white and middle class.

interviewed. Consequently, although many informants were recruited in public spaces, through Internet/Facebook and snowball sampling, these methods produced a skewed sample. Had my goal been to measure and quantify diversity tourism, this would have posed a significant limitation. However, I am not proposing the diversity tourist as a category attributable to a homogenized group of 'white middle class majority Danish residents' in Nordvest. Instead, the diversity tourist is an analytical figure that highlights ways of relating to contemporary (urban) inequalities from positions of intersectional privilege. While diversity tourism might 'stick to' (Ahmed, 2004b) certain stances and practices, the goal of proposing an analytical figure is to detach it from informants' accounts. The goal is to enable the figure to travel across various urban contexts where it can be used to examine ways of discursively and affectively navigating intersecting markers of difference.

Feminist scholarship emphasizes researcher positionings as co-constitutive in emergence of 'data' and knowledge production (Haraway, 1988; Hiemstra & Billo, 2016; Lobo, 2010; Parker, 2016a). It mattered that doing fieldwork, I came to pass as a white, majoritised, middle class (academic) person, with attributes of 'tolerance', 'open-mindedness' and left-leaning political orientation. Informants' narratives resonated with me in their emphasis on open-mindedness and preference for 'diversity'. I recognized myself as a diversity tourist of sorts. This position also pertained to my role as a researcher, as I had chosen to study Nordvest based on preconceived ideas about social disparity and 'encounters with diversity'. Through interviews' contents and affects, the informants and myself seemed to recognize and mirror one another as 'tolerant', 'progressive', 'self-reflexive' and- perhaps above everything else- decent people.

Conceiving the figure of diversity tourist

The analytical figure of diversity tourist emerges in circular movements between interview accounts and various theoretical perspectives. The tourism metaphor was chosen for several reasons. Informants themselves evoked tourism; for instance, Casper labeling himself an 'elite tourist'. Furthermore, as I elaborate below, the tourist is a figure that evokes notions of mobility, distance, privilege and choice, arising in meeting with fetishized 'local' bodies and places, implying desires for unattainable, different reality and break from everyday life.

'Diversity' emerged relationally, related to intersectionally conceived marginality and minoritization. Most commonly, 'diversity' reflected a conflation of markers pertaining to race and class (non-white, below middle class, exotified bodies and spaces), occasionally linked to notions of traditional, oppressive gender roles. However, 'diversity' also referred to manifest disadvantage (homelessness, drug addiction and alcoholism) across, but not independently of, racial, ethnic and gendered markers. Sometimes 'diversity' would include stereotyped masculine white working class figures drinking beers on benches or pubs; or intersectionally conceived positions of eccentricity, subculture and social deviance ('cat lady' or 'lesbian punk couple').

Lentin and Titley (2011, 7) argue that '(…) under neoliberal conditions, the issue is not one of accepting or celebrating diversity, but of examining who qualifies to be recognized as 'diversity' (...)'. Exploring how 'diversity' is articulated and what it is recruited to do through the metaphor of tourism highlights the mutual emergence of positions of majoritized privilege and othered, disadvantaged 'diversity'.

The figure of diversity tourist is shaped by various practices. However, these practices are enabled by and enable a particular mode of presence in Nordvest.

The article opened by Casper referring to himself as a mobile 'elitist tourist', contrary to disadvantaged and immobile locals. This way of relating to place and people implies privilege and distance, resonating with the figures of stranger, flâneur and tourist.

The figure of stranger, '*both being outside it (the group) and confronting it*' (Simmel, 1950, p. 402) speaks to the relational becoming of the diversity tourist. The stranger is at once distant and near, indifferent and involved (Simmel, 1950)- and mobile, free to go (Bauman, 1991).

The figure of flâneur, originally referring to bourgeois male practices of slow strolling, gazing and consuming in the arcades of early 20th century Paris (Benjamin, 1985; Buck-Morss, 1989), adds classed and gendered privilege to the proximity and distance captured by the stranger. The flâneur has been adopted to denote 'a particular experience of the city- a privileged and distanced experience, an *aestheticized* experience' (May 1996, 207). From these intersectionally constituted positions of privilege, urban spaces and people can become 'diverse' scenery.

Similar to the privileged distance of flânerie, tourism formalizes place into a landscape (Lippard 1997). The world becomes a fleeting spectacle to be glanced and consumed (Schivelbusch 1986). Although the informants live in Nordvest, their accounts share key elements with tourist experiences. These include searching authenticity and enlightenment (MacCannell 1999); being 'out of the ordinary', away from the everyday of (gentrified, ordered) 'Copenhagen' in a stranger place where 'indigenous' ways of being constitute (racialized, disadvantaged) kitsch (Urry and Larsen 2011). The informants present themselves as mobile vis-a-vis real 'locals' tied to Nordvest. These gradations of (im)mobility and belonging, and the informants' longing for authenticity and other ways of life, motivated my choice of tourism as a figure for analysis. The following sections illuminate the practices consumption and affects that shape the figure of diversity tourist in Copenhagen's Nordvest.

Consuming diversity: from spectacle to pedagogy

In the interview material, 'diversity' is consumed in multiple ways- from entertainment, amusement and stimulation to valued provocation, transformation, self-development and increased (self-) awareness. This section discusses these different modes of commodification of 'diversity' and examines what 'diversity' is articulated to consist of, which bodies and spaces it 'sticks to' (Ahmed 2000, 2006, 2012).

Stranger spectacles

Sara: one does not really go to a restaurant here, it's all kebab and such. It's all immigrant- ish and such, all of it. But it's OK, it's what we've missed when we were away. So now we're totally in!

Robert: We have missed the immigrants...

Sara: Immigrants is what we've missed...

Robert: Their mark and their shouting on the streets.

Sara: And smells and [imitates a shout] and such. The first six months [after returning] we went to a greengrocer's every day. [Laughing] It was so cool! And the women standing there, talking and arguing; and you don't know what half of the things are (...)

(Sara and Robert, 40s)

Sara and Robert, a couple with two children, reminiscence on returning to Nordvest after spending two years in rural Denmark for professional reasons. Immigrants constitute a key element of (re)experiencing Nordvest. 'Diversity' is localized to bodies and places (kebab eateries, greengrocers) and linked to sensory impressions. It is told as primitive (loud shouts, arguing); undecipherable and embraced as having been missed. It is 'cool', and they are 'totally in'.

However, 'diversity' is more than racialized bodies, shops and sensory impressions:

> *There are these types (...) nutcases or such, you know. There is H. (...) he is this type of character in the neighborhood, you know, that you meet here and don't meet anywhere else. (...) there's the cat lady who walks around and talks to the cats and ... You know, then there is the pub (...) there are these characters. (...) the lesbian punk couple that lives there, and the young students that live there, then there are all the Somalis, and that hangout, and it's like... a lot of adornments and lots of funny, strange, unusual people you maybe don't see in the rest of the city.*

<div align="right">(Hannibal, 30s)</div>

The motley crew of 'funny, strange, unusual people' of Nordvest includes minoritized subjects pertaining to ethnicity, race, sexuality, class, and subcultures, added a couple of eccentrics (the 'cat lady' and H who also happens to have a minoritized 'ethnic background'). The 'young students' Hannibal mentions have mostly migrated from Eastern and Southern Europe and are paying high rents for rooms in a run-down building.

The presence of these 'characters' ('it's people like that one would draw', Hannibal exclaims) contributes to Nordvest having a 'small town vibe'. Hannibal recognizes these people: 'it's always the same people who are here'. This reminds of Casper's perception of 'real locals'. In addition, the 'small-town vibe' signals lack of anonymity. This imaginary of a small town in a city relates to sentiments of white, middle class nostalgia (Bonnett 2000).

Casper (30s) jokingly describes Nordvest as 'a bit like Wild West in a small-town way'. This comparison evokes a host of meanings echoing other interview narratives- lawlessness, wilderness, unknown and undisciplined space to be 'discovered' and colonized. It also reinforces the distinction

between free, mobile 'modern' subjects (diversity tourists) and noble, authentic, but backward locals stuck in the past (Lippard 1997).

Like Hannibal, Liv (late 20s) explicitly mentions 'romantic' attachments to Nordvest. For them (Liv uses the gender-neutral pronoun 'they') it refers to 'a romantic idea about diversity, about all sorts of people meeting', the promise of encounters. However, also Liv does not quite belong to local 'diversity':

> *It's not really my hood (...) the whites can belong so many places, but Nordvest is one of the places with many non-whites, so I think it's a bit more the non-whites' place. But then I can sneak in a little bit by applauding this multiculturalism...*

Self-ironically, Liv poses embracing multiculturalism as legitimizing their presence in 'the non-whites' place'. Liv's reflections also point towards a mode of consuming 'diversity' as a tool for self-development through encountering difference.

Beyond "spice to life'- "diversity" as a vitamin pill

> *Sara: It's a value for us, also for our children, that things don't have to be in a certain way. (...)*
>
> *Robert: There must be room for differences.*
>
> *Sara: Diversity! It's more important to pick rags than to wear the right kind of clothes (all laugh). What we see as important is that our children don't put importance into that. That they don't attend a class full of fashionably correct children all the way through, but that [they get used to that] the world just looks speckled. It does here in any case [laughing].*

(Sara and Robert, 40ies)

Here, 'diversity' becomes essential for instilling the right values in one's children. While many informants highlight exposure to 'diversity' as providing opportunities for personal growth, this mode of consumption is more emphasized by informants with children. 'Diversity' allows learning that the world is speckled; that (certain) differences are desirable and good.

The couple talk about their nine-year -old son Oliver's playmates who (said hesitatingly, searching for words) 'don't have it as good at home' and who are welcome to visit 'as often as they want to'. Sara

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and Robert elaborate on how they provide food and care to these disadvantaged children. They proudly describe talking to homeless people together with Oliver: 'If it was up to Oliver we would be inviting all the homeless [people] for Christmas [dinner]'.

Disadvantaged and racialized 'diversity' (Oliver's 'disadvantaged' school mates have 'another ethnic background than Danish') is recruited to teach Oliver hospitality, helpfulness, open-mindedness. Meeting children 'from different backgrounds' becomes a significant advantage of the local public school, which is also attended by 'high-income' children from the villas in the surrounding area.

Exposure to 'diversity' bestows social skills. Peter's daughter Nora, aged 16, recently transferred from the local public school to a more prestigious school 'in the city':

> (…) she can navigate all sorts of different social codes and understand them, and be open and not afraid of the language or values that are tied to them, but rather just immerse herself in them and be curious. She has amazing preconditions for that.

(Peter, 40s)

For adults, perceived proximity to disadvantaged 'diversity' triggers reflection and promotes awareness:

> Yes, of course it's sad to see [social disadvantage], but in a way it is also very healthy to see, because it stands in contrast to our own lives, and gets one thinking about how well it's going and how very lucky one is (…)

(Robert, 40s)

Proximity to disadvantaged 'diversity' provides an opportunity for appreciating one's privilege: it works better 'than just seeing it on TV', reading or hearing about it. According to Robert, immersion in 'diversity' is 'exactly what's cool about living in Nordvest'.

Nordvest is also told as healthy with regards to ideas about urban space. For Hannibal, graffiti and undeveloped construction sites are 'signs of health', of the city being 'alive'. Andreas (30s) elaborates along similar lines:

There is often most life in a garbage bin (...). There is a possibility to meet a lot of crazy people and be afraid and scared and- all the things that a living city has. (...) There need to be places where [pauses] where one almost in anger or in positivity is pressured to have an opinion about where one is. And I think Nordvest offers that.

<div align="right">(Andreas, 30s)</div>

Here, the lively garbage bin of Nordvest represents an ideal urban environment with the potential to provoke and disturb, scare, antagonize and delight. Aligned with ideas of 'life' and 'living city', the diverse 'garbage bin' becomes attractive, energizing and marketable. Problems are transformed into assets (Kern 2015), and 'diversity' is recruited to perform labor in this process.

Informants also recruit 'diversity' to articulate themselves as self-reflexive, self-aware subjects glancing at (themselves glancing at) 'diversity'. For example, Tony (30s) contemplated whether he was complicit in destroying the very things he loved about Nordvest, linking his presence to gentrification. Hannibal expressed irony about his own 'love', calling himself a 'slum romantic'; Liv reminisced on their 'romantic ideas about diversity'. Simultaneously, self-reflexivity and irony serve as additional ways of establishing distance between 'diversity' and the informants' modes of being.

In this section, I have illustrated how 'diversity' is enlisted to perform various tasks for white, middle class, majoritised Danish informants, 'sticking to' (Ahmed 2000) 'stranger' bodies- immigrants, the disadvantaged, eccentrics. 'Diversity' entertains, stimulates, transforms, provokes and instils awareness. When the Other is eaten in Nordvest (bell hooks 1992; Andreassen and Ahmed-Andresen 2013), they can be consumed as candy, spice to life and a vitamin pill. Moreover, these consumption practices are intertwined with powerful longing for 'reality' and 'break' or escape.

Degrees, pieces and hierarchies of "reality"

Where we live now we see all kinds of people, also people doing really bad, both mentally and financially. There are the drunks and the addicts (...) But it's the reality, and you see it when you live here.

<div align="right">(Sanne, 60s)</div>

Sanne's articulation of 'the reality' of Nordvest reminds of Robert's emphasis on beneficial proximity to disadvantaged 'diversity'. These accounts reflect a predominant articulation of 'the reality', encompassing others' disadvantage, social problems, and tough lives. Here, the opposite of 'the reality' is socioeconomic safety and privilege.

Articulating disadvantage as 'the reality' produces different effects. Deprivation and inequality become normalized as the reality of others' lives, beyond informants' influence. Certain forms of suffering are articulated as non-events, 'ordinary, chronic and cruddy' (Povinelli 2011, 11). Labeling others' disadvantage 'the reality' distances informants from suffering, whilst supporting claims of proximity and immersion.

At the same time, this attempt at distancing might also indicate guilt, unease and ambiguity as to whether 'the reality' of inequality and suffering should be accepted as 'just the way it is'. For instance, Sara and Robert continuously reflect on their possibilities to help disadvantaged others during the interview. In this respect, labeling certain forms of suffering 'the reality' might convey a sense of powerlessness rather than indifference. It could be argued that when informants articulate suffering as 'the reality', they implicitly recognize it as grievable (J Butler 2003)- which necessitates distancing.

Other informants articulate 'reality' as more multi-faceted:

> *[Nordvest is] A break from Copenhagen. A break in [the] reality [used in definite form in Danish] for an academic, well-educated, young part of Copenhagen that defines [the city] a lot, as I think it does on Vesterbro and Nørrebro. [In Nordvest] There are also other people, there is a reality that I think is exciting and can be hard to grasp in some of those other districts. (...)*

> *It's a part of [the] diversity to see what [the] reality is. If one would have children it would be a super cool place in this way- whoa, it would be healthy to get another piece of reality by growing up in such a place and being influenced by all sorts of impressions in different ways. (...) It must be so cool, instead of growing up in a homogeneous environment like I did (...) I don't think one becomes a particularly open-minded person that way.*

Casper evokes different notions and degrees of reality- the reality, a reality, a piece of reality. 'Reality' seems fused with 'diversity' when referring to heterogeneity, contributing to a broader perspective that

facilitates open-mindedness. Also 'the reality' is enlisted for personal development. On one hand, 'the reality' is contrasted to 'academic, well-educated, young part of Copenhagen' (which Casper also calls a 'bobble' that he wants to escape). On the other hand, perhaps it is just 'a piece of (another) reality'.

Analyzing gentrification in New York, Schulman (2013) examines longing for a different or more 'real' reality using metaphors of mirror and window. According to Schulman (2013: 9), the 'gentrifiers' 'see themselves in a mirror and think it's a window'. Hence it might be argued that while informants think they have access to an authentic, diverse local 'reality', they construct this 'reality' based on desires and longings unfulfilled in gentrified, white middle class spaces (or 'academic, well-educated young Copenhagen').

However, Schulman's (2013) binary of the mirror and the window reinforces a presupposition of a local reality forever outside the gentrifiers' reach, populated by genuine 'locals' who actually can look out their window, belonging to this 'reality'. This assumption of a primary, more pure, 'local' and 'untouched' reality about to be undermined and spoilt, frequently appears in gentrification literature (May 1996; Schlichtman and Patch 2014; Tissot 2014; Zukin 2008).

The notion of heterotopia (Foucault 1984) provides another prism for examining the 'reality' of Nordvest vis-à-vis 'Copenhagen'. In contrast to the mirror vs window binary, the concept of heterotopia addresses the reciprocal becoming of Nordvest and 'Copenhagen'. Foucault (1984, 47) describes heterotopias as '(…) real places- (…) something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are *simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.'* (My emphasis.)

Heterotopias emerge relationally, by being contrasted to what is articulated as the mundane everyday (Faubion 2008; Johnson 2013) and homogeneous norms structuring middle class life in 'Copenhagen'. (The) 'reality' of Nordvest, although evoked in different ways, relies on a dialectical juxtaposition of Nordvest and 'Copenhagen'. Here, 'Copenhagen' refers to the trendy streets where (majoritized) people sit in cafes, 'drinking the same things' (Casper), 'trying to look different in the same way' (Karen, 20s). Consequently, Nordvest as a heterotopia simultaneously mirrors and distorts (Johnson 2013, 794)

'Copenhagen'- and the other way around. This relational emergence of Nordvest as counterpart to 'Copenhagen' resonates with perspectives from human geography that emphasize material, discursive, social and emotional processes as co-constitutive in emergence of sense of place (Cresswell, 2015).

While this dialectic articulation positions Nordvest as 'real' and authentic, it simultaneously constricts how the district is perceived, defining it against an imaginary of gentrified 'Copenhagen'. Fascination with 'local' shabbiness, deviance and 'reality', lived through visiting 'local' spaces, constitutes a limited gaze on Nordvest - at the same time as it is articulated as broadening the informants' perspective.

For example, Casper asserts: 'I like to go to those small bodegas with some friends and have some beers, because it's damn local'. The bodega is first and foremost seen as what it isn't- for example, a wine bar on Vesterbro, a Copenhagen district often invoked as the prime example of gentrification. The 'local reality' becomes a distorted mirror image of gentrified, white middle class life. Nordvest as heterotopia is a real place, but defined through what it isn't- a mirror through which the life worlds of diversity tourists are reflected back at themselves.

Heterotopias afford juxtaposing multiple seemingly incompatible spaces in one site (Foucault, 1984). In relation to various discourses of the 'mainstream' in informants' accounts, Nordvest is simultaneously articulated as representing (a different) 'reality'; exotic Otherness; alternative pedagogy; nostalgic authenticity – and a 'break', a promise of liberation.

Nordvest as a "break from Copenhagen"

The notion of Nordvest as a 'break from Copenhagen' is linked to ideas of the district as a 'diverse' and 'real' place, and the emancipatory promises of heterotopic formations (Foucault 1984; Johnson 2013). I examine the facet of 'break' as an independent aspect of diversity tourism, as it enables unraveling some of the affective pull and desires invested in imaginaries around the district.

> (…) it's people like me who destroy it [Nordvest]. (…) all sorts of artsy types (…). Well, there are loads
>
> of them in Nørrebro and Vesterbro. And that is also a little bit what one is moving away from. One wants

to get out to a place where people… yes, where there maybe are more differences. (…) Where there are not so many [people] like oneself. (…) This place is still local.

(Hannibal, 30s)

Stine (20s) phrases it even more categorically: 'So it isn't just a clone of oneself running around on the street.'

Hannibal and Stine desire escaping themselves and their 'clones'. In part this reflects a wish to distance oneself from oppressive norms that regulate white middle class lives in 'Copenhagen', also expressed by other informants. Moreover, situating oneself as a 'clone', part of a crowd, can attenuate feelings of agency and responsibility that informants self-reflexively express regarding their implication in destruction of Nordvest qua gentrification. For example, Andreas reminisces on having been very critical about gentrification when he was younger. Now, however, he compares gentrification to a 'tree growing in the forest'- which, while representing a problem, is also a 'natural urban development'. There is no getting away from laws of nature, Andreas seems to imply. Consequently, the 'break' that Nordvest represents is fragile and precarious. The possibility of escape is always, already in the process of disappearing, of being assimilated into 'Copenhagen'.

The notion of Nordvest as a 'break' highlights how the same landscapes of meaning are involved in articulating 'Nordvest' and 'Copenhagen'. Both spaces are told as being governed by the same constraints of consumption, conformity, self-promotion and norms associated with life stage transitions (adulthood, couplehood, parenthood and 'family life')- whether one is complying with these constraints in 'Copenhagen' or (partially) escaping them in Nordvest.

Several (mostly childless) informants evoke 'having children' as a life stage transition that makes white, middle class residents move or demand Nordvest to become tamed, more like 'Copenhagen'. In contrast, Sara and Robert elaborate on how living in Nordvest alleviates the pressures that (white, middle class) parenthood entails in 'Copenhagen'. Hereby 'diversity' is recruited to differentiate oneself from 'fashionably correct' middle class families. Like in tourism, 'everyday obligations are suspended

and inverted' (Urry 2002, 11). Parenthood and other aspects of life and consumption are associated with less pressure to dress, live and be in a certain way:

One can easily feel under pressure, to be, what shall I say, inspired [ironic] by the surrounding environment [laughing]. (...) If we moved to Vesterbro or Østerbro or something like that, it would be a little like a fashion district. To fit in (...) one would have to have the right clothes and the right pushchair. (...) That wasn't quite us, all that.

(Robert, 40s)

Nordvest is not only articulated as a 'break' from specific consumption practices, ways of performing life-stage transitions or other middle class people. The district is also articulated as a heterotopic refuge from (but seen through, as a distorted reflection) the hegemonic ethos of personal and spatial development and optimization, city branding and other 'improvements':

It [Nordvest] is more relaxed. There is something very cool about this letting-be in a world where everything is about to be, in a reality where everything is streamlined into these kinds of processes and development (...) I really enjoy this bleakness and standstill [of Nordvest]. (...) Things that just are, stand still and work out in a way. (...) it's damn important that there isn't a developmental perspective all the time- where is this district going, everything needs to be developed and optimized and improved.

(Casper, 30s)

While Andreas emphasizes the imminent influx of unavoidable and natural gentrification 'growing like a tree in the forest', for Casper, Nordvest is characterized by standstill and letting-be. In Nordvest, 'things just are'. Consequently, Nordvest is articulated as left alone and unchanged, outside of 'a reality' of 'our world' governed by 'development'. However, through being situated outside a logic of optimization, Nordvest is recognized and told via this dominant 'reality'. Consequently, experiencing and articulating Nordvest as a 'break' reinstates the all-encompassing nature of what it is envisioned to provide an escape from.

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Revisiting the figure of the diversity tourist

The mode of presence of diversity tourism implies distance and an observer position, a standpoint enabled by whiteness, class and other interwoven intersecting positions of privilege. (Disadvantaged, racialized and/or eccentric) 'diversity', entangled with conceptions of 'reality' and 'break', is mobilized to perform various tasks. Nordvest entertains, stimulates, provokes, enlightens, moves and transforms, facilitating self-development. Exposure to the district's 'reality' promotes appreciation of one's privilege and simultaneously eases one's conscience by naturalizing the suffering of less privileged Others. At the same time, Nordvest also promises a 'break', a heterotopic 'beyond' to optimization and 'development' inherent in contemporary urban life. On an affective level, the notions of 'diversity', 'reality' and 'escape' help articulate and negotiate proximity and distance (Ahmed, 2004b; Fortier, 2010). On one hand, the informants' intersectionally constituted majority positions are articulated as 'normal' vis-à-vis 'diversity', being naturalized in the process (Byrne, 2006; Frankenberg, 1993; Sullivan, 2014). On the other hand, this privileged 'normality' becomes marked and felt in encountering 'diverse' and 'deviant' Nordvest. The diversity tourist is a figure that arises through negotiating and maneuvering a situation where whiteness, conflated with other intersecting privileges, has become marked.

The diversity tourist is an alienated figure, caught up in unfulfilled longing[16], drawn to less ordered, 'local' space. This mode of presence enables consuming, reflecting, being stimulated, escaping into 'reality' but not quite belonging or being 'at home'. The visions of 'escape' arise from the known, pointing to the limited possibilities of imagining different ways of being. The diversity tourist is a figure in limbo, looking for an escape from 'Copenhagen' that is defined through that very 'Copenhagen'.

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[16] I use 'longing' rather than "desire" to differentiate the feeling I am describing from the commodifying nature of 'desire' examined by, for example, bell hooks (1992) and to highlight its unfulfilled directedness beyond consumption.

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Conclusions

In this article, I have developed a figure of diversity tourist, based on interviews from Copenhagen's Nordvest district. The diversity tourist is an analytical figure offering a prism for understanding white, middle class residents' modes of relating to racialized, disadvantaged, authentic and immobile urban 'diversity'.

In closing, I reflect on the diversity tourist's ability to travel between different urban settings. Thereafter, I sketch the contributions that the analysis of diversity tourism offers to scholarship on urban (super)diversity and encounters with difference, feminist postcolonial perspectives on whiteness, race and intersectionality, and gentrification research.

The figure of diversity tourist emerged from a particular place, Nordvest in Copenhagen. As discussed earlier, Nordvest is, in a sense, nowhere, as a dispersed and fragmented array of competing imageries and narratives. At the same time, Nordvest appears many places qua contested imageries that 'stick to' districts in other Western cities (for instance, 'old working class neighborhood' and white, middle class nostalgia; disgusting and fascinating 'municipal garbage bin'; desired and feared 'diversity' and 'gentrification' (see, for example, Huning and Schuster 2015; Jackson and Benson 2014; Tissot 2014)). Consequently, the figure of diversity tourist might be useful for exploring middle class majoritised presences and practices in other contemporary Western urban settings[17]. The consumption and space-making practices that lend shape to this figure might differ depending on, for instance, degrees of segregation, institutional roles and presences, and local/national diversity regimes. However, the

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[17] These places might be urban areas in cities in the Global North; however, 'diversity tourism' might also be applicable to more obviously tourist practices, such as slum tourism or 'dark tourism'.

diversity tourist's mode of relating characterized by simultaneous privileged distance and unfulfilled longing might apply across different settings.

Examining how Nordvest represents 'reality' and 'escape' allows broadening the scope of analysis beyond the mutually constitutive duality of white middle class informants vs. their 'diverse' Others. When 'reality' and 'escape' are evoked, Nordvest becomes articulated as the Other (district) for gentrified, ordered 'Copenhagen'. These are not only stories about Nordvest, but also stories about white, middle class lives in 'Copenhagen' and beyond. Consequently, perhaps this figure could be used to explore how privileged and unfulfilled modes of being present in the city are embedded in broader social transformations (Sassen, 2010) and processes of boundary-making (De Genova, 2005, 2014; Kern, 2015; Sassen, 2013).

In research focusing on urban (super)diversity and encounters with difference, 'difference' and 'diversity' are often used as neutral, descriptive terms (Chimienti & van Liempt, 2014b; Neal & Vincent, 2013; Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014; Wessendorf, 2014). As diversity researchers, we reify notions of certain places and people as 'diverse', beginning with the directionality of our gaze. This article contributes to research on urban (super)diversity by critically discussing how intersectional markers (race, class, disadvantage etc) are evoked when articulating 'diversity'. 'Diversity' can be employed to cover over racialized injustice and commodification and legitimize interventions and 'diversity management' (Ahmed, 2012). By examining 'diversity' critically, 'diversity research' can hopefully avoid reproducing the same racialized, ethnicized categories that it aims to nuance and transcend.

Tracing diversity tourism shows how a position of majority privilege is intersectionally and relationally constituted through complex interplay of markers of race, class and social (dis)advantage. Informants negotiate the ambivalent affective circulations of white middle class privilege, marked by encountering 'diversity'. 'Diversity' is tolerantly embraced- and kept at a distance. Informants feel it is 'hard' to see the disadvantage of 'diverse' others, but simultaneously naturalize others' suffering by attributing it to 'reality' and instrumentalize it as an opportunity for personal growth, awareness and a tool in upbringing. Consequently, the standpoint of diversity tourism reflects and reproduces structural racism

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and hegemonic whiteness of Danishness (Andreassen, 2015; Myong & Andreassen, n.d.). My analysis contributes to literature on whiteness, its affectivity and intersectional emergence by examining the positionality of diversity tourist as continually re-negotiated and ambivalent. Informants invest material, discursive and affective labor in inhabiting their whiteness and class privilege, (re)producing it in the process.

Finally, this paper makes a contribution to gentrification research, particularly literature on middle class 'gentrifiers'' identity constructions and strategies of self-differentiation (Jackson and Butler 2015; Schlichtman and Patch 2014; Tissot 2014). Informants articulate and reflect on their role in gentrification. Yet similarly to racialized (dis)advantage, gentrification is articulated as natural and unavoidable. Moreover, the informants use self-reflexivity and awareness to alleviate the discomfort of their complicity in gentrification. My analysis of informants' inability to see Nordvest beyond a distorted mirror image of 'Copenhagen' highlights the dominance of commodified ways of relating to urban spaces. Like 'diverse' people, 'diverse' places are fetishized and used, reducing the relationship to that of consumption and tourism. The informants' longing for other ways of relating to Nordvest, and perhaps other ways of relating to themselves (manifest in seeking local authenticity, reality and break 'from their clones') remain unfulfilled.

On one hand, the diversity tourist moves in ways that naturalize and hereby depoliticize certain forms of violence, inequality and suffering. Framing racialized poverty, inequality, and displacement by gentrification as 'reality' creates a distance and alleviates feelings of guilt and responsibility. On the other hand, the need to naturalize suffering might signal unease and sense of powerlessness experienced by the white middle class informants. Thus, the figure of the diversity tourist finds itself in a limbo which highlights the difficulty of articulating, but also the need for, different ways of grasping and engaging with structural violence, and ultimately, different urban politics.

Skoda Ground: from trash to good diversity and community cohesion

The final empirical prism on emergence of spaces of Nordvest, considers recent radical transformations of Skoda Ground, a square close to Nørrebro station. It highlights dynamics pertaining to "lift" and regeneration of the district, co-occurring with disappearing disposable bodies. First, Skoda Ground is visited as it presented throughout most of my fieldwork period (February 2014 to August 2016, when I left Copenhagen for four months), via an account based on earlier fieldnotes, memories, photos and interactions with informants. Next, I address the transformation through the coverage that the opening of the new street food market received in *AOK* (Alt om København, "All about Copenhagen") in November and December of 2016. *AOK* is the biggest guide to cultural events, shopping and leisure activities in Copenhagen. Its reporting of the street food court can be seen to as diagnostic of how Nordvest is being perceived and emerges with regards to "Copenhagen," and an ongoing shift in terms of the district's peripheral position. Finally, the new Skoda Ground is visited through a sensory, autoethnographic vignette relating a walk in the end of January 2017.

A tolerated, localized nuisance

(A draft for a description of the Frederikssundvej/Lygten intersection, written in Vancouver, December 2016)

"The crossroads of Lygten and Frederikssundsvej constitute the busiest intersection in Nordvest, an enmeshing of cars, bikes, buses, pedestrians and commuters just having gotten off the city train at Nørrebro train station. Arriving to the intersection via Nørrebrogade from the centre, facing Nordvest, just after having passed under the elevated train tracks, one sees the old station building, Lygten Station, on the right. It is now an entertainment venue, mostly featuring stand-up comedy and heavy metal shows. The front façade of the station–cum–culture venue is boarded up with black wooden plates to prevent people from loitering on the steps. I have been told that removing these bodies was the reason for moving benches to Skoda Ground on the other side of Lygten. There, the people drinking and hanging out are less of a nuisance. And that is where they are sitting now, on the other side of Lygten- at least on the weekdays".

"I have been told that it took some time for the municipality to place a temporary plastic toilet on Skoda Ground. On one hand, it was not satisfactory that people would pee behind or around the graffiti wall. On the other hand, one did not want to make it too comfortable for them".

"There are other presences sharing Skoda Ground. Sometimes there are people painting graffiti, as the wall located on the square is one of just a couple of legal locations for graffiti art in Copenhagen. Apparently, the graffiti people and the (homeless) beer-drinking people are not considered a nuisance to one another. There are plenty of pigeons- I have been told that the municipality considers them to be a problem, and suspects the beer-drinkers of feeding them. On weekdays, there is a fish vendor's trailer parked quite close to Frederikssundsvej. The smell of fish overpowers the smell of the plastic toilet farther away. Every weekend, from very early in the morning, Skoda Ground becomes a location for a flea market. This market is quite different from what most flea markets in Copenhagen have evolved into. There is no Danish design. The market is dominated by loose electronic parts, used, worn-out clothing and shoes, second-hand kitchen appliances, and just one stand with antiques. Most things are really cheap. A couple of times, I have seen counterfeit brand clothing".

Skoda Ground, viewed from across the street, May 5, 2014.

"Looking farther northwest, on both sides of Frederikssundsvej, one sees a mixture of take-away and fast food restaurants: fried chicken, kebab, falafel; there are candy shops, a halal butcher, thrift shops and Arabic/Turkish groceries. The pedestrian pathways are narrow and busy, easily congested by a single baby carriage."

Returning to Copenhagen, I discover that this description of Skoda Ground is obsolete. On November 18, 2016, a new street food market was opened on Skoda Ground. The food court is called "Verdenshjørnet": the corner of the world. The market features six street-food trucks and a "Tipi Bar"[18] serving cocktails in a warmed-up tent.

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[18] Spelling preserved as misspelled in the original sign of "Tipi bar".

The corner of the world

Websites and newspapers covered the grand opening of Verdenshjørnet. I have chosen to focus on how the event was reflected by the biggest guide to culture, leisure and shopping in Copenhagen, *AOK* (All about Copenhagen). *AOK* is a guide to (cultural) consumption that can be seen as reflecting tendencies in city branding, and to some extent, municipal policies. The enthusiastic article about opening of the street food court quotes two city mayors:

''The food market will be a part of lifting the district and strengthening the community on Outer Nørrebro. The initiative is a part of a long-term effort to strengthen Outer Nørrebro, where we are also regenerating Mjølnerparken[19] and getting metro out to the area. Everything to make Outer Nørrebro safer and more attractive,' says the city mayor, Frank Jensen.''' (Schou, 2016)

'''Food markets have shown to be a good contribution to urban life in Inner City and on the Paper Island. I'm happy to see that the trend is spreading to other districts, and I am confident that it will have positive consequences for urban life on Nørrebro. Moreover, the market on Skoda Ground will have a good local style with a focus on food from some of the very different cultures that thrive side by side in Nørrebro and Nordvest', says the mayor for technology and environment, Morten Kabell.''' (Schou, 2016)*.*

At the end of December, *AOK* published a list of ten events that made Copenhagen "even cooler" in 2016 (Hansen & Stahlschmidt, 2016). The opening of "The Corner of the World" in Nordvest (the webpage places it in Nordvest, rather than Outer Nørrebro) ranks third on this list, overshadowed only by an inner harbour pedestrian and bicycle bridge, opened after several years of delay, and car-free Sundays in some parts of the city. *AOK* considered the street food market in Nordvest more of a highlight than a Copenhagen restaurant's third Michelin star, the opening of Ofelia square in the Inner City, a new contemporary art museum on the Paper Island, and the abolition of paper parking bills.

The first time I pass by the new street food market in the beginning of January 2017, it is closed and boarded up, probably to prevent unwanted loiterers. By the entrance, there is a (still-unfinished) poster—the first official sign in English I have seen in Nordvest. It states that Verdenshjørnet aims to "successfully revitalise a previously unused area." At the bottom, the sign offers a slightly edited English- language version of the quote from the city mayor, next to the logo of the Copenhagen municipality.

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[19] A so-called socially disadvantaged housing area in Outer Nørrebro, close to Nordvest.

Entrance to Verdensjørnet, January 22, 2017.

Verdenshjørnet, February 1, 2017.

From threading the straw to natural wine

I venture into Verdenshjørnet for the first time on January 30.

"My rucksack stuffed to the brim with things from Føtex (a nearby supermarket), I enter Verdenshjørnet. The Tipi Bar, still misspelled, actually looks cozy, featuring a loose collection of second-hand furniture, retro lamps of various shades and sizes and coloured strings of lights. There are quite a few people inside the two interconnected tippis on a Monday night at 9 p.m. My feet are threading the straw scattered on the firm, solid ground of the encampment—yes, it feels like an encampment, boarded up outside opening hours.

The tents of the Tipi Bar, heated, illuminated, comfortable, and accessible to people willing to pay 50 kr for an organic cocktail, make me think of the following:

1) The tents of refugee camps in distant elsewheres, which I've glimpsed in photos.

2) The tents that the Danish Minister of Integration Inger Støjbjerg installed to house people applying for a refugee status in Denmark in 2015. These tents were taken out of use in the fall of 2016 due to diminishing numbers of asylum-seekers. They were Danish military standard—why shouldn't it be good enough for them when it is good enough for our soldiers?

3) The ravished, bulky, homemade-looking tents at the bottom of the construction site on Glasvej in Nordvest, less than five minutes' walk away. I just discovered an hour ago that they have disappeared. When I saw these tents for the first time in early January, I was not sure if anyone currently slept there, especially the half-collapsed one in the left corner. But one of them, the biggest, dark blue one in the middle, looked solid and shapely enough to be inhabited. I estimated that it could sleep six to ten people.

4) The "controversy about Roma" staying on Skoda Ground that someone told me about in the fall of 2016, while I was in Vancouver. I wonder if they had set up tents there. I have found no trace of this controversy in the media.

A tent is a tent is a tent is a tent.

But now I am in Verdenshjørnet, feeling uncomfortable. I've never ventured this deep into Skoda Ground before. It was territory that belonged to the people drinking beers, people who might have been homeless, people who have been disappeared from here. The straw netting spread on the hard, dense ground reminds me of circus, of festivals. Its function is to prevent mud from forming in moist weather conditions, but it feels like it's there to prevent the long-evaporated urine of the people who

used this place before from seeping back to the surface and entering the noses of the bodies who move in the space today, consuming diverse street food and cocktails.

There are two men smoking outside. One of them smiles to me, welcoming, probably because he is working there and I look like a potential customer. I become aware of what I am wearing (a bulky jacket and worn leggings), but instantly decide that I pass OK. If nothing else, I am wearing sufficiently expensive wireless headphones. Relief. I allow myself a deliberate peek inside the tent, where five, maybe ten people, are gathered. There is a warm light on their faces, glimpsed from the cold January night outside.

The Nepalese street food truck is the only one open at this hour, with a price tag of 70 kr. I see a sign advertising gluten-free baguette for 50 kr. Perhaps a bit cheaper than the street food on Paper Island. But the atmosphere is similar.

Walking home through Frederikssundsvej, I stop by the new wine shop and look in through the windows. The wine shop opened at the beginning of December, when I was describing this area in Canada. The shop used to belong to a chain, Skjold Brune, looking dusty and decrepit. I had never entered it, even when I lived just around the corner. The Skjold Brune sign still hangs above the new wine shop. The name of the new shop is written on the window glass in white paint. "Vin de table." Yes, it looks like natural wine, and this takes my breath away. A natural wine shop in Nordvest! It's just as out of place as an English poster advertising an organic cocktail bar and street food court.

After coming home I text my friend Karen about the wine shop. "Jeg gik lige en tur i Nordvest, og der er åbnet en... naturvinforhandler!? Måske tager jeg en flaske med når jeg kommer på besøg."[20] Karen responds with one word: "Fantastisk!" Knowing Karen, she's probably referring to my willingness (perhaps) to buy (into it). And I realize that I *am* willing. Natural wine in Nordvest feels so out of place. But of course I would rather buy wine here than dragging a bottle from Nørrebro, Frederiksberg, Vesterbro, and Torvehallerne. I will be a regular there, recognized by the people who run the shop. My local wine shop. I don't mourn the disappearance of Skjold Brune.

The next afternoon I do visit the wine shop. The Skjold Brune sign has been removed in the meantime. The shop is surprisingly spacious, featuring one long, minimalistic table.

I am dressed in my city clothes, on my way home from the Black Diamond, a branch of the Danish Royal Library where I often work in one of the reading rooms. I carry myself on a wave of tense,

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[20] "I just went for a walk in Nordvest, and there has opened a … natural wine shop!? Maybe I'll bring a bottle next time I come by."

frenzied enthusiasm. I tell the person in the shop about how both the shop and Verdenshjørnet opened while I was in Canada. About how I would probably not visit Verdenshjørnet, but see myself being a regular in the wine shop, since the shop has not pushed out homeless people the way Verdenshjørnet has.

Saying this, I am aware I don't believe what I am saying, and that I am saying it. Neither do I think the person in the shop, who is a stand-in, believes that the shop is "better" than Verdenshjørnet. I am trying to alleviate a discomfort, but my frenzied words only make it worse.

I compare the aesthetic of Verdenshjørnet to the street food courts on Paper Island. The Paper Island food market will have to relocate to make room for new real estate. The person in the shop has heard that the municipality plans to move the Paper Island food trucks to the area under Bispeengbuen. This is another messy spot, a "previously unused" problem area in need of revitalization, on the boundary between Frederiksberg and Nordvest. People skate there and sometimes hang out drinking beers, and various regeneration and prettification attempts have failed. Incredible, I say.

"Ja, de(t) er jo bare skrald," he says, looking straight at me. "They/that are just garbage." I feel a sharp sensation of pain and nakedness. The wave has left me flushed me onto the shore, gasping.

Disappearance through good diversity

I included this final vignette from the empirical material to address dynamics of space that pertain to the recent transformation ("lift" and (dis)appearance) of one of the central intersections of Nordvest. This change embodies a sentiment articulated by many of my informants, and also felt by me throughout the fieldwork period: that Nordvest "as we know it" is about to be undermined; that the process of gentrification, slow and even dormant for some years after the financial crisis of 2007 and 2008, will accelerate soon, indeed, at any moment. And now the moment seems to have arrived. It is an affective formation of momentum-building, of an approaching wave, of sweeping changes about to occur. "My" ambivalent feelings upon venturing into Verdenshjørnet and encountering the natural wine shop the following day echo and are propelled by sentiments I have gleaned through fieldwork that convey affective-discursive-material formations of a Nordvest about to be "lifted." Representing these changes as a wave is perhaps not a mere metaphor (Braidotti, 2011). Some bodies and places will be carried along and left "gasping on the shore," some will float and accelerate, some will be flushed out and/or away, drowned, transposed, disposed of.

A January 2017 newspaper article (Steensgaard, 2017) in *Weekendavisen*, a national weekly publication, quotes the head of Nordvest's local council Alex Heick stating that all the construction sites, some "empty" and "abandoned" for years, are now being built on. After having made the rounds

in January, I thought this was a slight exaggeration, that there was still one "empty" construction site left, the one with the battered-looking tents on Glasvej. However, by the end of January, the plants and tents had been razed. Development is on its way, even to this final site, as illustrated by the photos on the cover of the thesis.

I would like to highlight two moments of space-making related to the appearance of Verdenshjørnet on Skoda Ground before wrapping up this chapter's perspectives on the mutual becomings of spaces, bodies and affects in Nordvest. They relate to enactments of Nordvest as peripheral and marginal; and to interpositions and juxtapositons of "diversity" and "lift."

Promoting the positive, long-term changes embodied by Verdenshjørnet, both Copenhagen mayors emplace them(selves) in (outer) Nørrebro, although Morten Kabell also mentions Nordvest. This highlights how Nordvest has (had) a tendency to (dis)appear from the map of Copenhagen. As mentioned in the article on diversity tourism, informants refer to Nordvest's marginality and lack of brand or recognition by referring to the district as "Nørrebro's little sibling." Others have spoken about how Nordvest tends to be underprioritized in terms of resources compared to other, better-known districts.
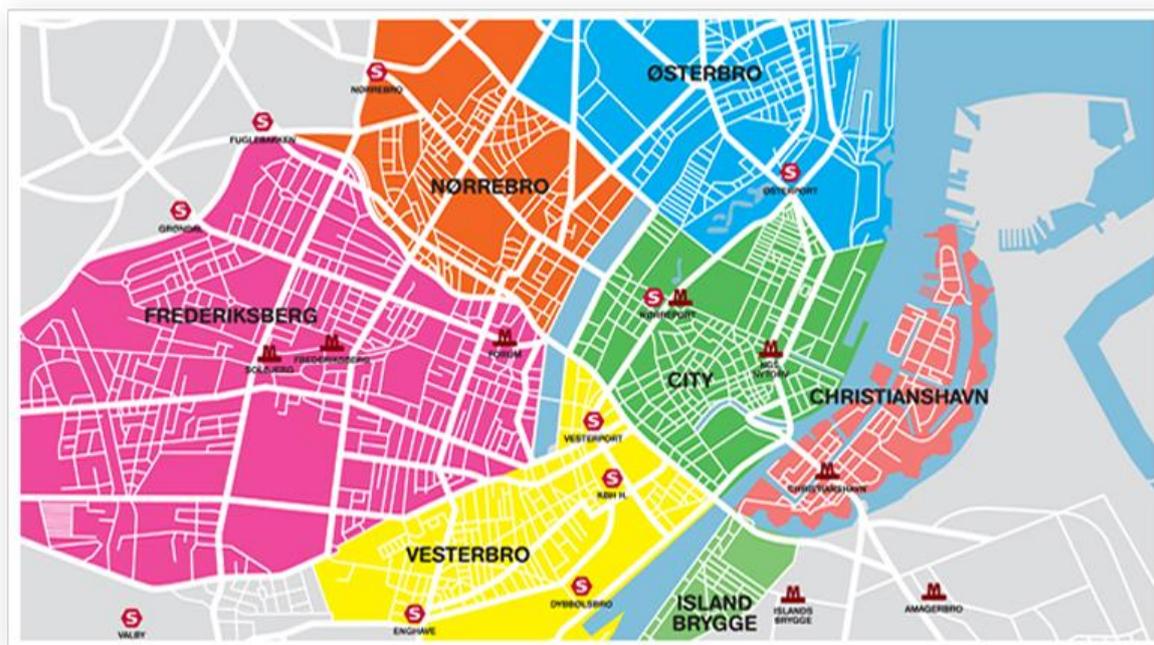
This map appears twice among the first five results of a Google Image search for "Copenhagen districts map" in Danish, here reproduced from https://www.google.dk/url?sa=i&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=images&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiC0szTr4_SA, accessed on February 13, 2017.

Verdenshjørnet is located just across the boundary that separates Nørrebro and Nordvest. Yet it is remarkable how in the quotes from the city mayors, Nørrebro seems to grow into Nordvest. The

district is (almost) verbally neglected even while being lifted, perhaps due to the fact that an intervention in (outer) Nørrebro is likely to get more (media) attention. The politicians' articulations of Verdenshjørnet as contributing to a positive change of (mostly) (Outer) Nørrebro contrast with *AOK*'s ranking of "Nordvest's new food court" as the third-"coolest" new event in Copenhagen in 2016. Suddenly, Nordvest is on the map of Copenhagen, above multiple new places and events in "real," central Copenhagen. A gallery owner who moved his gallery to Nordvest in the summer of 2015, says that "Nordvest is cool because it's wrong" (Steensgaard, 2017). Verdenshjørnet's English-language sign and ranking on *AOK*'s list is perhaps one mark of this cool wrongness's entry into mainstream knowledge; of Nordvest increasingly finding its way into certain maps of Copenhagen.

Another dynamic of Verdenshjørnet's emplacement relates to how it interposes "lift," attractiveness and safety on one side and aesthetics and regeneration attempts in the Inner City on the other side (with reference to the food market on Paper Island) to represent "local" character and diversity. I am not sure if any of the vendors in Verdenshjørnet are "local" companies from Nordvest, but I know that one of the trucks is operated by *LêLê*, a well-known gourmet Asian restaurant chain in Copenhagen. Here, I do not want to examine the food market as an example of cultural appropriation or "eating the other" (Andreassen, 2015; Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; hooks, 1992), although these are important dimensions. Rather, I want to remark that the lift and revitalization of Skoda Ground occurs through the negation and removal of undesirable diversity ("previously unused space") through the promotion of good local diversity. The food court is enacted by the two mayors as strengthening the local community and representing the different cultures that "thrive side by side" in the area. "Diversity" becomes recruited as a legitimizing, driving force in regeneration and gentrification (Bloom, 2013). The food court is anchored in an enactment of diverse, multicultural Nordvest, attempting to transpose some of the less pleasant affects that "stick to" and envelop (Ahmed, 2004c) this desired "diversity."

Towards enactments

The four snapshots from the empirical material comprise different prisms or lenses that illuminate the multiplicities and multi-layeredness of enactments of bodies, spaces and affects emerging in Nordvest. The article about Integration Gardens examined two distinct but intertwined modes of space-making: the Integration Grid, based on a foreigner/Dane binary, and the Web of Gardening, evolving around informants' engagements with their gardens. The second example showed how Smedetoften, through the juxtaposition of the experiences of differently positioned bodies, branches out into various material, discursive and affective modalities. It is a feared pocket of crime; a vibrant spot for street

life, opening outwards to the world; and a dull, uninspiring no-place in need of regeneration and added colour.

The article on diversity tourism described the analytical figure of the diversity tourist and the practices that may be assembled through this figure, an undertaking that will be revisited in the next chapter. The article views this figure as emerging vis-à-vis a "diverse" Nordvest, propelled and enveloped by ambiguous affects.

My repeated visits, via various media, to Skoda Ground-cum-Verdenshjørnet highlight a different modality of multi-layeredness. By being turned into a street food court, the square has been enacted as a "previously unused space in need of revitalization." The transformations (and disappearances) of this location reflect shifting modes of space-making that cannot be contained in linear space and time. In the municipality's attempts to beautify Skoda Ground, to make it more secure while building "community" and retaining a "local" representation of diversity, Nordvest is fused with, and even becomes, Outer Nørrebro. Through *AOK*'s list of ten events that made Copenhagen "even cooler" in 2016, the peripheral position of Nordvest is being reshuffled. Through the subtle, ghostly and unconfirmed presence of Roma migrants on Skoda Ground in the fall of 2016, the struggles over this location become embedded in the Danish state's management of unwanted migrants from the EU.

This chapter's modes of working through and representing the empirical material follow an affective, embodied methodology as described in Chapter 2, in which analytical pathways and conceptual frameworks emerge in the course of empirical work. At the same time, the presentation of these snapshots reflects an analytical and conceptual picture of the district as composed of intertwined but divergent and distinct enactments that will be elaborated in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4. Strange devices: on the workability of concepts and theory

Introduction

This chapter examines, elaborates and reconfigures central theoretical perspectives employed in this thesis. It is propelled and structured by two main lines of inquiry. First, it reviews and further develops central conceptual lenses and perspectives used and proposed in the research articles. In doing this, the chapter addresses the *what* of theoretical work in this body of research. Second, the chapter reflects on the work that these concepts do (examining *how* the concepts and theoretical perspectives operate and can be employed).

I perform this dual task by reviewing the central conceptual undertakings of each of the four research articles in the first part of the chapter. First, I trace and investigate the performativity of the traveling concept of conviviality (in the research article included in the beginning of this chapter). Second, I examine and elaborate the analytical figure of the diversity tourist, proposed in the second article from the previous chapter. I proceed by elaborating ways of understanding enactments of bodies, spaces and affects, drawing on the Integration Gardens article and the presentation of empirical material in Chapter 3. This is the longest section of the chapter, as it builds a theoretical framework that the research articles do not expound in detail but that is instrumental in addressing the research questions of the project. Finally, the chapter revisits the notion of passing from the research article that opened Chapter 2.

The second part of Chapter 4 addresses the thesis's modes of knowledge production. I revisit and expand, but also challenge, the distinction between paranoid and generative ecologies of knowledge that were sketched in Chapter 1 through a look at the work of Eve Sedgwick (2003). Building on this distinction, I engage with the work of others, notably Rosi Braidotti (2002, 2011) and Elizabeth Povinelli (2011, 2016), to discuss the politics of knowledge production and modes of critique. In addition, I explore the possible affectivities of generative knowledge production by juxtaposing desire and hope (B. Anderson, 2014; Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Massumi, 2002, 2015; Muñoz, 2007).

Before I do any of this, however, I address a normative tension in feminist theory regarding the performativity and directionality of concepts and theory. I examine this tension primarily by engaging with a specific text (Grosz, 2011), which brings forth dilemmas and tensions, central in feminist theorizing, related to rethinking dualisms that continue to shape and haunt Western science and philosophy (Bennett, 2010; Blackman, 2012a; Braidotti, 2002, 2011; Grosz, 1994; Massumi, 2015).

What should theory do? Or, how are we to think?

"*How can we produce knowledges, techniques, methods, practices that bring out the best in ourselves, that enable us to overcome ourselves, that open us up to the embrace of an unknown and open-ended future, that bring into existence new kinds of beings, new kinds of subjects, and new relations to objects?*" (Grosz, 2011, p. 75).

The fifth chapter of Elizabeth Grosz's 2011 book *Becoming Undone. Darwinian Reflections on Life, Politics and Art* proposes directions and dreams for a future of feminist theory (Grosz, 2011, pp. 74–87). In fact, Grosz (2011) sets out to imagine *the* future of feminist theory. Grosz asserts that "*At its best*, feminist theory is about invention of the new" (2011, p. 83, emphasis in original). "The new" refers not (just) to alternatives to oppressive knowledges but rather to radical openings and transformations, relationalities, subjectivities and new connections to "the real" (Grosz, 2011).

Building on Deleuze and Guattari (1994), Grosz proposes that we think about concepts as pathways into this newness, forceful and affect-full "movable bridges," practices that invite towards, and help envision and invent, different futures (Grosz, 2011, p. 78). Concepts can be misaligned, struggling among themselves, resonating and vibrating, connecting and disconnecting. But ultimately, they do and should propel us to move beyond ourselves, as devices for becoming, and doing, otherwise. This understanding of concepts and theory supports the generative ecology of knowledge production outlined at the beginning of the thesis: one that emphasizes curiosity, creativity, hope and a t(h)rust to investigate "what else is there."

Besides emphasizing the pursuit of newness, reinvention, transformation and becoming other, Grosz (2011) critiques what she recognizes as predominant tendencies in feminist theory. I will briefly highlight and address these criticisms here since they concern the knowledge production of this research. For one, these criticisms address how feminist theory is practiced and performed in this thesis. Moreover, while Grosz's (2011) comments can be said to come from "within" feminist thought, reflecting tensions in this field of scholarship, they also echo criticisms from "the outside," criticisms notably related to feminist theory's emphasis on subjectivity and identity politics (Moss, 2014; Parker, 2016a).

Grosz (2011) laments what she sees as the "overwhelming dominance" of identity politics in feminist theory. By this she means an excessive "concern with the questions of the subject—the subject's identity, experiences, feelings, affects, agency and energies" (2011, p. 84). She argues that this preoccupation with the subject comes at the cost of engaging with the world and with "the real." As a consequence, feminist thought is trapped in matters that pertain to the "I." Furthermore, she argues

that, because of its preoccupation with subjectivity, feminist thought is too immersed in epistemological concerns at the expense of engaging with ontology. Consequently, according to Grosz (2011, p. 85), too much attention and energy is channeled towards the investigation of knowledge, scientificity, discourse and truth and too little towards an engagement with matter, force, energy and "the real". She argues for a need to (re)think the real as "forces, energies, events, impacts that pre-exist and function both before and beyond, as well as within, representation." (Grosz, 2011, p. 85).

These criticisms resonate with the work I am doing in this thesis. In particular, they address the tension between a focus on discourses, narratives and (informants') articulations—that which is verbalized and intelligible—on one hand, and what I have chosen to call enactments—embodied-discursive-affective formations that have everything to do with matter, force, affect, energy, impact and "the real"—on the other hand. The title of this thesis, "Making Senses of Nordvest," alludes to this tension, as does the text, for instance when I have felt the need to clarify that informants' articulations carry, and stem from, lived experience and affect. Moreover, the preoccupation with, and obligation to, "making sense of" (understanding) what is happening in the district through techniques offered by academic writing constrains my ability to foreground the sensed and the real.

However, in criticizing feminist theory's preoccupation with epistemology and subjectivity, Grosz (2011) reifies dualisms that her own work has aimed to transcend (Blackman, 2008; Braidotti, 2011; Grosz, 1994, 1995, 2011). These include distinctions between bodies and their environments (the subject or "I" versus "the real'), immateriality and matter (discourse versus "the real") and mind and body (epistemology versus ontology, knowledge versus "the real"). These separations mean that "the real" that Grosz (2011) is committed to pursuing seems to be forcefully construed, detached from many realities.

In Chapter 2, I took steps towards an embodied, affective methodology. I argued for the instrumentality of embodiment, situatedness and relationality in data generation, drawing on Sara Ahmed's (2014) notion of "sweaty concepts," a feminist politics of location (Rich, 1984) and situated epistemologies (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1993, 1997), among others. This methodology is aligned with, and has contributed to, theoretical prisms on enactments of bodies, matter, discourses, spaces and affects that will be elaborated later in this chapter. With examples from my ethnographic work, I demonstrated that analytical and conceptual lenses emerge from laboured, embodied, emplaced movement and becoming in the world. "We," as distributed, relational, enacted bodies, emerge in and through (im)material encounters, carrying ourselves in the world. Consequently, thinking "from where we are" implies thinking beyond ourselves. "We" are always more, "we" are (already becoming) other.

At the same time, it resonates with me when Grosz writes that the "I" can feel like a cage (Grosz, 2011, p. 84). I read in Grosz's text a desire to move beyond, to be freed from (limiting) subject positions; to escape what might feel like ourselves. With respect to this research, sometimes the sense of being caged in arose in uncomfortable fieldwork situations where my intersecting markers clashed with the field. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, these affective encounters offered valuable opportunities to come into contact with the "field." With respect to theorizing bodies and subjectivities, I perceive the cage of the "I" as pointing to intellectual habits and academic conventions rather necessitating a movement "beyond subjectivity" towards "the real," as Grosz (2011) advocates. The "I" can be, and in Western thought and philosophy often has been, perceived as a bounded entity (a cage) apart from the world. But if instead we understand it as embodied, distributed, relational, affective, continuously extending towards, and taking shape in encounters with material and immaterial worlds (B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012b; Braidotti, 2011; Grosz, 1994; Mol, 2002) we reposition the "I" as a node of connection and codependence rather than isolation. As I have argued in Chapter 2, attaining access to "the real" by abandoning "subjectivity" would be an impossible task. Embodied subjectivity and the real constantly enact one another, constrained by intersecting markers and histories of difference (Ahmed, 2004c, 2007). There is no other way of meeting the world and the real than by be(com)ing an "I" in this world. Consequently, identity politics, for instance, is of central importance to how the world emerges differently for, and around, differently embodied 'I's (Ahmed, 2014).

Like Grosz (2011), my feminist thinking aspires to exceed, move beyond, reinvent and dream of new worlds. But I set out to do this by attempting to sense, elucidate and utilize the situatedness and relationality of the "I" with concepts that emerge from, and in turn constrain, an embodied, embedded, intersectionally-mediated becoming-in-the-world.

I return to embodiment and affectivity in knowledge production and critique in the final part of this chapter. However, first I would like to briefly discuss the performativity of concepts as enabling and constraining. I do this by continuing the dialogue with Grosz (2011); engaging with Deleuze and Guattari's (1994, p. 23) view of concepts as practices, modes of address and connection; and examining Braidotti's (2011) work on nomadic concepts.

Thinking with, through and about embodied concepts

In previous chapters, I reflected on how theoretical premises and analytical lenses shaped from the outset my research project and modes of presence in the field. Venturing in(to) Nordvest, I expected to find inequalities, exclusion, displacement and violence, and intersecting markers playing a role in these processes. These expectations, while mediated by the lived experience of an intersectionally marked body in Copenhagen, were informed by feminist decolonial theoretical frames. They

constrained my movements, encounters, and ways of sensing and grasping the field. Conversely, and parallelly to my focus on inequalities and exclusions, through fieldwork I became aware of the need to ask questions about bodies, space, affects, and their entangled enactments.

This illustrates how concepts and theoretical lenses both enable and limit research. I am inspired by Grosz's (2011) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1994, 2004) emphasis on conceptualizations as provocative, transformative openings to new futures and new becomings. I am also drawn to Rosi Braidotti's (2011) work on nomadic theory. In line with Grosz (Grosz, 1994, 2011), Braidotti (2011) argues for the need to think with and through processual, moving and mobile concepts that support a cartography of becoming. She proposes non-dualistic, processual thinking as a decolonizing movement and technology (Braidotti, 2011, p. 30).

Moreover, Braidotti stresses "the embodiment and the embodied and embedded material structure of what we commonly call thinking" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 2)—in contrast to Grosz (2011) and Deleuze and Guattari's (1994) assertion that concepts are incorporeal even as they are accentuated through bodies and events. Viewing theoretical lenses as embodied underscores how they constrain not just what can be grasped in research (and how), but also the unfolding of research endeavors. Even mobile, malleable concepts, or "movable bridges" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p. 23), allow different crossings and facilitate travel in some directions rather than others.

Even while recognizing how concepts constrain thinking and being in the world, conceiving concepts as "movable bridges" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994) has contributed a sense of openness, curiosity and possibility to the research process. This mode of theoretical work is informed by a willingness to move and be moved—to explore different places and presences in Nordvest from different (analytical and theoretical) angles. A commitment to empirically driven research means making use of concepts when and if they seem to hold potential for thinking through specific empirical situations—not approaching them as problems to be solved, but opening ways of living and being with(in) them (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994).

Consequently, I haven't turned to a discipline, school, or research area and then situated my work with regards to general findings, a consensus, a dissensus, central debates, or gaps in the literature. It has at times been necessary to engage in this kind of work in order to situate this research and live up to the requirements of peer-reviewed journal articles. However, this thesis approaches theory as a heterogeneous, loosely assembled collection of devices for thinking *with, through and across* that

serve different purposes in different empirical situations, with different results. Their functionality constrains both the way a field emerges and is perceived, and subsequent conditions for analysis. Nonetheless, this mode of engaging with theory is also at risk of being seduced by (fast-traveling) concepts (Knapp, 2005; Lutz, 2014), of being carried away, stuck or fused with ways of being/seeing/thinking that these (embodied) devices offer.

A range of metaphors can be applied to conceptual formations, among them tools, bridges, waves, vehicles, prosthetic arms, transplants, glasses, prisms, lenses, flashlights, and other optical devices. These metaphors imply different levels and intensities of attachment and entanglement. Concepts can alter and amplify the self that adopts them, in reaching out into the world one wants to know, as emphasized by the metaphors of transplants and tools. They can carry, resonate and transport in ways that imply a loss of control (waves, vehicles). They can offer differently angled, partial ways of seeing, breaking or shedding light in new ways (lenses, prisms, flashlights). Many tools can be freely picked up and put down, although their temporary involvement lingers by conditioning our thinking and experience; prosthetic limbs stay with "us" longer.

Despite their diversity, all these metaphors emphasize how concepts can work as extensions of (the thinking of) assembled, rhizomatic, cyborg (researcher) bodies (Braidotti, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Haraway, 1991). It is impossible to become unstuck, just like it is impossible to escape or transcend (distributed, relational, multiple, but still particularly and subjectively constituted) bodies. This researcher body, and as a consequence this body of text, has tried to pick up instruments that are quite different and cross bridges of different shapes that lead in different directions. The resulting body-theory assemblages might present and perform in hybrid, monstrous, non-cohesive ways. But what appears monstrous might be a portent of a transformative and enlivening "otherwise" (Stryker, 1994).

I recognize the impossibility of becoming unstuck from concepts. Yet, to the extent possible, it is important to explain these (messy) assemblages and question the performativity and modes of being of concepts that one has become, to varying degrees, entangled with (Carbin & Edenheim, 2013; Cho, 2013; Grosz, 2011; Hemmings, 2005). Similarly to Chapter 2's explorations of embodied and affective situatedness, partiality, emerging relationalities and researcher positionalities, this chapter attempts to trace how engaging with particular theoretical perspectives and affectivities shapes the process of knowledge production.

Eve Sedgwick (2003, p. 3) proposes an "art of loosing," describing it "not as one art but a cluster of related ones. Ideally, life, loves, and ideas might then sit freely, for a while, on the palm of the open hand." Loos(en)ing the hybrid body-theory assemblages that have been instrumental to the knowledge production of this thesis is a difficult undertaking. It implies trying to think *about*, and disengaging oneself from, that which one is thinking *with* and *through*. Being aware of these limitations, the first part of this chapter reviews the central conceptual prisms employed in the four research articles from slightly different angles, seeking awareness of their performativity and workability, and in some cases, their travels, mutations and transpositions (Braidotti, 2011). I start with the last article of the dissertation, which investigates the travels and modus operandi of "conviviality."

Besides conviviality: paradoxes in being 'at ease' with diversity in a Copenhagen district

Abstract

This article critically discusses conviviality, a concept increasingly used to denote unproblematic encounters with diversity. It is examined how conviviality has traveled in the literature, at times acquiring utopian and normative dimensions. Inconsistencies are demonstrated in the literature with regard to whether conviviality is elaborated as fundamental or 'small'/local, overarching or counter-narrative, harmonious or (also) conflictual, unpredictable or designable, descriptive or normative, universal or particular. Conviviality is then applied analytically to interviews conducted in Copenhagen, using a resident-driven park as a case. The analysis demonstrates how a conviviality lens invites certain attentions while restricting others, such as re-production of majoritized norms, power and inequalities, proximity/distance and affective ambivalence. Finally, drawbacks and utility of conviviality as an analytical concept are evaluated.

Introduction

Multiculturalism in Europe has been under critique from political leaders for over a decade (Berg & Sigona 2013; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). Two examples from leading political figures include the German chancellor Angela Merkel's 2010 announcement that 'multiculturalism in Germany has utterly failed' (Weaver, 2010) and the British Prime Minister David Cameron's attack on 'state multiculturalism' (Wright & Taylor, 2011).

While multiculturalism as a national-level strategy has been declared dead by politicians, there has been an increasing focus on 'mixing' and social cohesion in policies and interventions

implemented on urban, municipal and neighborhood levels (Fortier, 2010; Grünenberg & Freiesleben, 2016). These policy foci can be related to research investigating how 'countless residents successfully live with difference on a daily basis in cities marked by cultural diversity' through everyday encounters and practices (Fincher et al. 2014, p.2; Watson & Saha 2012). Thus an emphasis on conviviality, or mundane, everyday (or even 'successful') rubbing together and getting along, reflects political and politicized research agendas- on one hand, countering dominant narratives of segregated neighborhoods, parallel societies, immigrant crime, failed integration and the like; and on the other hand, falling in line with interventions that aim to facilitate social cohesion and mixing. Consequently, occupation with (planning for) conviviality can be related to diversity management discourses within urban planning and governance. In the Danish context, municipal policies designed to promote everyday encounters across social and cultural differences represent attempts to produce conviviality 'by design' (Fortier, 2010), built on assumptions about positive effects of 'good' mixing.

This article examines what characterizes mixing as it occurs in a resident-driven park in Copenhagen, exploring the analytical possibilities and modus operandi of conviviality by applying the concept to interviews. First of all, existing conceptualizations and developments of conviviality are sketched, identifying important discrepancies. Finally, the analytical value of conviviality is assessed, addressing remaining challenges.

Conviviality—a traveling concept on the rise

Conviviality and related notions are gaining popularity in migration and diversity studies. A number of terms have been proposed to describe people in diverse settings getting together and intermingling, such as 'prosaic multiculture' (Amin, 2002), 'throwntogetherness of place' (Massey, 2005), 'everyday cosmopolitanism' (Noble, 2009), 'commonplace diversity' (Wessendorf, 2013), 'mundane multiculturalism' (Watson & Saha, 2012), 'domestic cosmopolitanism' (Nava, 2006) and 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham, 2009).

While there are differences between these conceptualizations, they can be seen as part of a 'convivial turn' in migration and diversity studies (Gidley 2013; Neal et al. 2013), focusing on 'the ways people live together successfully, how they create a modus co-vivendi and what strategies they create in order to practice it' (Nowicka & Vertovec 2014, p. 342).

Due to space limitations, this article will not offer an exhaustive review of conviviality or the 'convivial turn' (see Gidley 2013; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014). Instead, it will be sketched how central dimensions of conviviality have mutated as the concept has travelled across time, space and scholarly disciplines (Said, 1983). While this review is by no means comprehensive, it aims to illustrate central discrepancies and the elusive and contested nature of the concept.

Recent literature on conviviality tends to draw on Paul Gilroy's critique of multiculturalism in Britain (Gidley 2013; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014; Wise & Velayutham 2014). Gilroy defines conviviality as

> a social pattern in which different metropolitan groups dwell in close proximity, but where their racial, linguistic and religious particularities do not – as the logic of ethnic absolutism suggests they must – add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication (2006, p.40).

This convivial culture is characterized and enabled by intermixture through everyday encounters- it is unpredictable, and arises 'spontaneously and organically' (Gilroy 2005, p. 124). However, Gilroy's main focus remains on colonial genealogy and racial hierarchies inherent in multiculturalist policies, which are contrasted to convivial culture (Gilroy, 2005). Thus conviviality unfolds parallel to and in spite of, structural and political racist and racializing discourses. Although Gilroy (2005, 2006) expresses hope that conviviality will replace and outgrow 'multiculturalism', as well as contribute to decreased focus on static, race-

and ethnicity-bound notions of identity and culture, he does not develop or apply conviviality analytically[21].

After Gilroy, authors writing within the 'convivial turn' (Gidley, 2013; Neal et al., 2013) have attempted to develop conviviality and related terms into analytical constructs. For example, Wessendorf (2013) proposes the notion of 'commonplace diversity' based on ethnographic research in the 'super-diverse' London borough of Hackney, referring to ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity being experienced as normal parts of social life in the area. It is described how residents of Hackney tend to adhere to an 'ethos of mixing' with regard to interactions in the public sphere, while groups seen as refusing to mix can be perceived as problematic.

In contrast, a study by Watson & Saha (2013) is based on interview research with three generations of Asian residents in London's previously predominantly white suburbs. The authors' primary focus is on mundane, subtle everyday multicultural practices and experiences. While both studies emphasize complexities, ongoing negotiations and challenges in the diverse settings studied, the overarching themes of these analyses highlight 'routine and unpanicked' (Noble, 2009) ways of living with difference. Thus, although the two studies do not adopt

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[21] There is an alternative strand of literature, where conviviality is understood as living together peacefully, focusing on sociability, amity and affectivity (Overing & Passes, 2000), building on conviviality as the 'autonomous and creative intercourse among persons, and the intercourse of persons with their environment' (Illich, 1973, p. 69). However, as most literature on 'the convivial turn' draws on Gilroy (2005, 2006), the present article primarily examines his conceptualization and its subsequent travels.

conviviality as the primary concept, they constitute examples of the growing 'convivial turn' (Gidley, 2013; Neal et al., 2013; Neal & Vincent, 2013).

More recently, a Special Issue of European Journal of Cultural Studies explicitly aims to develop conviviality as an analytical construct (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014). Contrary to Gilroy's work (2005, 2006), racialization and racism do not play a central role in these analyses as parallel and dominant processes to conviviality. Instead, authors tend to incorporate conflicts, violence, racism, closedness, and/or exclusion under an overarching framework of convivial, or civil, togetherness (Freitag 2014; Heil 2014; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014; Vigneswaran 2014; Wessendorf 2014). For instance, in Heil's (2014) article, based on ethnographic research of neighborliness practices of Casamançais in Senegal and Catalonia, it is argued that 'convivial practices apply to dealing with both harmonious relations and conflict' (Heil 2014, p. 456), referring to a fragile balance maintained across different types of interactions.

The study by Wise & Velayutham (2014) differs from other contributions to the Special Issue in this respect. Based on ethnographic research conducted in Sydney and Singapore, the article examines conviviality as a component of everyday multiculturalism (Wise & Velayutham, 2009). Rather than advocating conviviality as an overarching framework encompassing smooth and conflictual forms of co-existence, the authors draw on Gilroy (2005, 2006), using the term to refer to spontaneous and fleeting connections- atmospheric, embodied and simultaneously mediated by structural, spatial, cultural and national settings (Wise & Velayutham 2014, p. 408). It is emphasized that a focus on conviviality should not contribute to covering over racisms and tensions.

These authors' perspective on conviviality as low-level and fleeting contrasts the fundamental concerns that conviviality is claimed to address in the editorial of the Special Issue (Nowicka

& Vertovec, 2014). The editorial attempts to tie the contributions together as pointing towards a concept of conviviality that 'conveys a deeper concern with the human condition and how we think about human modes of togetherness' (Nowicka & Vertovec 2014: 341). This conception might resemble Gilroy's (2006: 40) elaboration of convivial culture as a setting where people are not divided by essentialized notions of difference. However, in Gilroy's (2005) framework, convivial culture is positioned as a counter-narrative to hegemonic racialized and racializing discourses. This counterbalance seems to be lost in the editorial, which claims that studies in the Special Issue demonstrate how fixed categories such as ethnicity, race or religion become increasingly silent (Nowicka & Vertovec 2014: 353).

In some articles, conviviality has attained a normative and prescriptive dimension as a concept holding promises for urban planners and policy-makers in designing convivial spaces and interventions (Fincher et al. 2014; Morawska 2014; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014). Conviviality is proposed as an almost utopian 'remedy to public and political discourse on multicultural societies and cosmopolitan world order' (Nowicka & Vertovec 2014, p. 350). Here conviviality increasingly becomes a descriptive *and* prescriptive term- used to diagnose, as well as prescribe desired social processes, which can be linked to policies promoting 'mixing' and social cohesion. However, others explicitly argue against conceiving convivial multiculture as a normative goal that can be designed or programmed (Wise & Velayutham, 2014, p. 425).

Earlier criticisms of the convivial turn have questioned whether a focus on harmonious encounters might contribute to neglect of historical and material conditions and power (Valentine, 2008). It has been highlighted that conviviality does not exclude racism and vice versa- for instance, by discussing inconsistencies between (including) values and (excluding) practices (Valentine, 2008), as well as emphasizing the co-existence of 'everyday cosmopolitanism' and 'everyday racism' (Noble, 2009). Moreover, it has been broadly demonstrated that proximity and mutual knowledge do not necessarily lead to (meaningful)

contact and ensuing positive attitudes or respect between groups (Amin 2002; Skey 2013; Valentine 2008; Wessendorf 2014). It has also been discussed how interventions aiming to foster convivial encounters ('proximity by design') reinforce binary discourses where interactions with 'sameness' are seen as 'bad' and encounters with 'difference' as legitimate and 'good' (Fortier, 2010).

These criticisms highlight fundamental discrepancies and tensions in how conviviality has been conceptualized and has traveled in the literature. Notably, there are inconsistencies as to whether conviviality is elaborated as fundamental or 'small'/local, overarching or counter-narrative, harmonious or (also) conflictual, unpredictable or designable, descriptive or normative, universal or particular.

These inconsistencies and the 'slipperiness' of conviviality (Wise & Velayutham 2014, p. 425), underline the need for delineating the concept. This article draws on Gilroy's notion of conviviality as pertaining to social patterns in contested urban space where essentialized, reified differences do not 'add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication' (Gilroy 2006, p. 40). Instead, convivial encounters would be characterized by 'affectively at ease relations of coexistence and accommodation' (Wise & Velayutham 2014, p. 407). With respect to the dualities discussed above, conviviality is conceived as 'small' (local); counter-narrative to dominant racializing discourses; spontaneously occurring; and descriptive rather than normative. The analysis will aim to investigate what kind of interpretations are made (im-)possible by adopting conviviality as a central analytical concept.

Methodology

The analyses of conviviality in this article are based on interview material from Copenhagen's Nordvest district. The empirical material stems from a research project on minorization and majorization processes in Nordvest.

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The project was commenced in February 2014. In the following months, the first stage of ethnographic fieldwork was conducted, comprising 30 interviews and a number of participant observations. Due to an interest in how those with relative power and privilege (re-)produce ideas about the area, diversity, conviviality and minority- majority positions, most of the interviews in the first stage of fieldwork have been conducted with white, middle class majority Danish informants.

Although it only takes 20 minutes by bike or bus from Nordvest to Copenhagen's City Hall, Nordvest occupies a peripheral-stigmatized position in the popular imaginary. In a 2007 survey of Copenhagen districts, Nordvest came last as a desired area to live in (Christoffersen & Jensen, 2010). The dominant narrative positions Nordvest as Copenhagen's most derided district, resting on historical periods of (white) working class haven ('light, air and cleanliness') in the 1930s, social and material decline in the 1960s and 70s, leading to ambivalently told processes of mixing, social disadvantage and diversity after 2000 (Palm Larsen, 2000; Post & Simonsen, 2014; Sheikh, 2014d).

Counter-narratives propagate the district's authenticity and/or see potentials for creative entrepreneurship and/or gentrification (Christoffersen & Jensen 2010; Post & Simonsen 2014; Sheikh 2014). These narratives correspond to conflicting and ambivalent accounts of Nordvest mapped through fieldwork, from its epithets as 'loser land' and 'municipal garbage bin' to its celebrated, convivial diversity; to its problematized lack of minority participation, to various threats and promises associated with gentrification. Consequently, the district can be understood as a contested terrain of competing definitions.

A resident-driven park in Nordvest constitutes a case for examining encounters through the lens of conviviality in the article. The park was started in 2009 on one of the decrepit privately owned construction sites in Nordvest, previously a car mechanic's workshop. According to

informants' accounts, residents gathered one weekend and cleared the area of trash. In the following months, the group laid out turf, planted bulbs, built benches, designated an area for walking dogs, set up barbecues and constructed a fireplace and a wooden hut. The park was demolished by the landowner in 2010 and then rebuilt following an e-mail agreement that gave the community the right to use the area for three years (until 2014). Presently, plans to build apartments on the lot have been delayed after a signature petition was commenced in protest of the development.[22]

While a small core group of residents has taken the initiative in establishing the park and campaigning for its continued existence, many people use it on an everyday basis. Thus, the park might represent a site of shared sociality involving residents with diverse backgrounds, constituting micropublics of everyday social contact (Amin, 2002), possibly enabling more progressive forms of interacting and belonging (Clayton, 2009).

While the majority of interviews and observations have been informative for analytical processes involved in writing the article, six interviews are referred to directly. Most of the informants quoted are actively involved in the park. It can thus be argued that these residents speak from positions of relative power and privilege, from which their narratives carry a normative and constitutive weight with respect to the construction of the park as a social space.

Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide. Topics included informants' use of the area, sensory perceptions (smells, colors, sounds), everyday encounters, experienced conflicts, sense of belonging and changes observed and/or anticipated in Nordvest.

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[22] The park was ultimately demolished in April 2015 while this article was in review. The plot is now a fenced-off construction site for apartment buildings.

The main strategy for selecting interview excerpts quoted in the article has been to look for narratives that might (be used to) illustrate patterns pertaining to conviviality but simultaneously call these patterns into question by revealing variations, ambiguities and contradictions (Alvesson & Karreman, 2011, p. 41). In other words, while these excerpts can be interpreted through a conviviality lens (people seem to be 'at ease' and getting along), they might also hint at other social dynamics.

There are limitations when using interview material to analyze encounters with difference as these unfold in everyday life. Earlier research has pointed to inconsistencies between verbalized attitudes/values and practices (Lyon & Back 2012; Valentine 2008). In addition, the interviewees have personal and political interests in portraying the subject in particular ways, and/or might be engaged in impression management (Alvesson, 2011).

However, this article is not primarily concerned with whether informant narratives are *representative of* and *consistent with* their behaviors. Rather, I claim that a focus on discursive practices pertaining to encounters with difference affords an analysis, central to conviviality, of *which differences (are narrated as if they) make a difference* and what *meanings* are attributed to these when relating encounters with others.

Nordvest: an arena for convivial diversity?

Almost all informants describe Nordvest as a diverse district. For most informants, this diversity represents an opportunity for stimulation, reflection and knowledge, as opposed to the alleged homogeneity, orderliness and privilege of other Copenhagen districts. For example, informants talk about how close proximity, or 'throwntogetherness' (Massey, 2005) of different people in Nordvest necessitates respect and the ability to compromise:

'*While I have a feeling that in other areas* (of Copenhagen) *it's more uniform how people live, here there are radically different people who live in all sorts of possible ways. In a way there*

is something provincial in it, but without us quite being it [provincial]*, because we still live close together, so many people, and because of that we have to come to terms with each other to some degree.'*

<div align="right">(Claus, 30s)</div>

In contrast, Sanne (60s) states that she was getting tired of all the privileged people in the high-end private housing estate in Nordvest where she and her husband lived previously. Instead, she values meeting people who '*come from another place*', elaborated as everyday encounters with neighbors of Polish and Arab origin. In contrast, Liis (20s) narrates Nordvest in terms of sensory stimuli at greengrocers', followed by a transition to more normative perspectives on diversity (romanticized vs. unfortunate):

'*(…) the greengrocers define Nordvest a little for me. (…) Many people in a relatively small space. Some slightly odd people, various herbs. Loud chatting in different languages I don't really understand. (….) I think that's what I like about it- the different languages, different-looking people. Maybe it's also a romanticized idea of diversity, all sorts of different people meeting. Nordvest lives up to that image, I think- although (…) there are also some unfortunate things going on.*' (Liis elaborates by referring to biker gangs, low average life expectancy, homelessness, alcohol abuse etc.)

These accounts represent different stories about diversity in Nordvest. While Claus highlights the necessity of coming to terms with each other when heterogeneity and close proximity combine (the logic of civility), Sanne emphasizes personal advantages. Her account can be linked to conceptualizations of conviviality as gaining fun, wisdom and emotional enrichment from encounters with difference (Morawska 2014: 358). Yet, unlike Gilroy's convivial culture (2005, 2006), divisions in Sanne's account reproduce ethnic boundaries (Polish and Arab neighbors). Liis localizes diversity to particular spaces, the greengrocers', relating it to sensory

perceptions (colors, smells, sounds), romanticized diversity paralleled by troubling social phenomena. These different narratives of the area, from more general coming to terms with each other, to greeting or chatting with neighbors with different ethnic backgrounds, to greengrocer's as an arena with 'different people meeting', can be termed convivial, characterized by an emphasis on at ease coexistence and accommodation (Wise & Velayutham, 2014).

Yet the analytical value of such a categorization ('check, conviviality is at work') is not clear. Classifying these narratives as convivial can obscure their differences and inner discrepancies. For instance, in Sanne's case, celebrated diversity is personified in an essentialized way as originating in Poland or an unspecified Arab country; for Claus, accommodating difference seems to be a necessity rather than a spontaneous process; and Liis speaks of social disadvantage, rather than conflict, lurking on the sidelines of a romanticized idea of diversity.

Perhaps focusing on a specific setting can better illuminate the analytical value of conviviality. The following section will examine conviviality with regard to interactions playing out in a resident-driven park. As described above, the park might hold the potential of a site of organized meaningful activity where people from different backgrounds might come to relate to each other in new ways (Amin, 2002; Sandercock, 2003).

(Convivial) Presences in a community park

Marta proposes to meet for an interview in the park on a chilly spring morning. During the interview, several passers-by greet Marta. As during previous and subsequent visits to the area, the usual sense of urban anonymity seems disrupted. While it's not all-encompassing (everyone knowing everyone), there seems to be a more pronounced feeling of community than elsewhere in relatively central Copenhagen. Marta corroborates this perception:

'Each time we arranged a big gardening day (in the park)*, incredibly many people showed up and contributed with their labor and their creativity. (…) I have a feeling that around this area people have a different attitude. It's also a community that we have created, and there are just as many people that don't have any idea that it exists, as people who are involved in it. (…) this feeling of having a community, of solidarity, is very strong here.'*

<div align="right">(Marta, 40s)</div>

Marta's narrative (re-)produces a particular idea of sociality around the park. She speaks of people contributing, a sense of solidarity, perhaps as a result of residents around the park having a 'different attitude'. Claus, who has also had a central role in establishing the park, similarly describes a sense of community, while giving a more detailed account of the park as an arena for encounters with difference:

'(…) I think I speak to many people who vote for Danish People's Party (right-wing populist party of growing popularity, known for anti-immigrant rhetoric) *(…) but one has to stop focusing so much on that.(…) I'm very sure that the people who use the park are very different. (…) there are people who are far from me in all sorts of ways. There are religious people, there are people from* (a Muslim private school nearby). *(…) It's these kinds of religious people I will never understand, but it's OK, I don't need to understand all people. So that way- yes, we are many different people who can easily agree on many different things, although we disagree radically on some very important issues.'*

<div align="right">(Claus, 30s)</div>

Claus' account of the park as a point of congregation for very different people echoes his narrative of Nordvest as a district where people live in all sorts of different ways, juxtaposed to more homogeneous (areas in) Copenhagen. The park is told as a particular space where residents meet and work together for a common purpose, establishing relationships across and

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despite of their differences, resembling Amin's (2002) conceptualization of micropublics and local liveability and conviviality as affectively at ease coexistence and accommodation (Wise & Velayutham, 2014) where essentialized differences do not lead to insurmountable communication problems (Gilroy, 2006). While religious and political beliefs are mentioned as important markers of difference and distance, they do not seem to delineate boundaries for in- or exclusion.

Yet Marta, unlike Claus, seems to draw boundaries for a community around the park. When asked if people with an ethnic minority background use the park[23], Marta elaborates:

*'Some do. Some children use it after school. It's taken them, I think... (…) It can be difficult for some of them to exactly understand what the purpose is with such a common garden and where the limits are for what one can do. But I can imagine some of the boys think it's very cool to sit and hang out here. (…) I also know that the homeless people who visit (*a nearby institution*) use it a lot.'*

According to Marta, it seems that some resident groups have a more peripheral position with regard to the community around the park. This might be seen as contrasting Claus' narrative of the park as a site of encounters and collaboration across differences. However, although Marta hints at the existence of conflict(s) regarding someone's use of the park (uncharacteristically for the pace of the interview, she hesitates, and it is implied that the youths

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[23] This question can be criticized for evoking categorization along the lines of ethnicized difference. The question was phrased this way because earlier on in the interview, Marta had vaguely and somewhat ambivalently referred to a development in a part of Nordvest: '*I think there is a greengrocer with every possible ethnicity* (laughing). *One can go down and shop in one's own language. I don't use that area so much anymore.*'

do not quite know (and/or respect) 'the limits' for what one can, or should, use the park for),
her account can still be interpreted from a conviviality perspective. Ensuing disagreements
between residents and youths with ethnic minority backgrounds might represent frictions that
eventually lead to habituation and accommodation of difference (Wise & Velayutham 2014).
This illustrates a challenge in using conviviality analytically, since 'being affectively at ease'
is a matter of interpretation. Yet Marta's account suggests that children/boys with ethnic
minority backgrounds, associated with the Muslim private school, are sometimes seen as not
quite following (unwritten) codes of conduct in the park and perceived as more problematic
than, for example, homeless people whose presence she narrates as unproblematic and natural.

'Muslim' background is also a position that sets some people apart more than others for David,
although in a very different way:

*'(…) Last year it was even better. For the first time a Muslim family came (*to the park*)- father,
mother, children, everyone. They had their own grill along, which I understand. We also have
a grill here (*in the apartment*), because my son is vegan, he refuses to use a grill that has been
used for meat, I understand it completely. They came several times in the course of the summer,
that family. (…) It was completely… It is wonderful.*

*(…) The people from homeless shelter come, too, plus the people from the ambulatory- I think
it's a methadone distribution point. (…) They just sit and have it cozy. Of course, Greenlanders
come, too. But they stay on the other side.'*

(David, 60s)

David's account invites a reading from perspective of conviviality- as low-level diversity and
'throwntogetherness' working out (Massey 2005; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014) and the park
being open to different groups. However, it can also be read as indicative of which presences
in the park are remarked rather than taken for granted (Ahmed 2000, 2012).

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While David highlights presence of several non-majority groups, a particularly warm welcome is extended to the Muslim family. By welcoming the Muslim family, they are positioned as stranger to the park than, for instance, homeless people or people with Greenlandic background whose presence seems to be taken for granted, although on one side of the park only. Some bodies are told as (already, always) stranger than others (Ahmed, 2000; Myong, 2009). By warmly welcoming them, David is reinforcing his own insider position. Like offering tolerance, extending a welcome signals and re-produces positions of belonging and ownership, center and periphery, majority and minority, insider and outsider (Ahmed 2004, 2012; Valentine 2008). David expresses positive affect ('It's wonderful') towards the presence of the Muslim family, as well as understanding of their bringing their own grill, drawing parallels to his vegan son. These utterances might be interpreted as ways of communicating proximity and distance-distance by welcoming and thus setting apart; proximity and normalization by likening the practice of bringing one's own grill to that of a family member's.

These dynamics of negotiating proximity and distance (or center-periphery), are more difficult to notice when reading the interview from a conviviality perspective. However, it seems that although essentialized (ethnic, racialized, religious) differences are invoked differently, the park constitutes an arena where they are (re)produced rather than pass unremarked.

Garbage bin, turf and other stories of conviviality

When I ask him to comment on different metaphors clinging to Nordvest, Morten explains why he sees 'garbage bin' as a positive metaphor:

'(…) there is often most life in a garbage bin, because it provides a place to be for many people. If you have an area that is cheap to live in, and there are many slow payers and so on, and the

opportunity to meet a lot of crazy people and be afraid and scared- really, all the things that a living city has.'

<div align="right">(Morten, 30s)</div>

Morten appropriates the garbage bin metaphor, elevating it to a norm for (good) urban life. A living city is told as a place of small conflicts, where one can have the opportunity of being confronted and scared. 'Crazy people' and 'slow payers' are articulated as sought-after figures. These presences make Nordvest more diverse and stimulating- and keep it cheap. This raises the question of inequality- a pattern of throwntogetherness emerges where some might benefit more than others. As illustrated above, Morten's account can lend itself to be interpreted as an example of convivial culture; yet, as in the case of David extending a welcome to particular others, conviviality does not invite an analysis of power and insider/outsider positions.

Inequalities and center-periphery positions become even more pronounced when Morten speaks about the park:

'(...) the park is clearly organized by white, middle class citizens, Danes who want to have a place to hang out together. (...) But after it has become more finished and available for use, it's all sorts of people who hang out there. The park is like other social projects- it has to be started by people who have a surplus of time and energy. Involving alcoholics or migrants, for example, is a bigger pedagogical task. So it has been open to all who wanted to be along... (...)

People who get involved are often people who resemble each other and who have (…) a drive to do something themselves and bring about tangible change. Many [people] *would have started using the plot without having laid out turf, for example. I think that it's like a Danish role, that it has to be co-zy* ('hyg-ge-ligt', pronounced overstatedly clearly)*, you almost can't say that as a foreigner, 'hug-ge-lit'* (mimicking an accent, laughing).*'*

Morten states that the park is open for everyone and is being used by all sorts of people. Yet conviviality does not seem to be the most appropriate analytical term for interpreting his account.

Rather than constituting an example of micropublics, the park is told as a social project, started by those with a 'drive' (these seem to equal white, middle class, majority Danes). Minority groups ('migrants and alcoholics') are lumped together, and their involvement from the outset is told as a bigger pedagogical task. While Morten evokes the 'pedagogy discourse' on deviant groups in a reflexive and ironic fashion, it can be argued that it is exactly through the distancing produced by reflexivity and irony that he can appropriate and reproduce this discourse- and simultaneously make fun of Danish 'hygge' and migrant accents. A duality of clusters of unequally positioned social categories (white / middle class / Danish / surplus of time and energy / a drive to do something / bring about change / coziness / resemble each other vs. lack of resources / migrants / alcoholics / pedagogical cases / no drive / no resemblance) emerges and is expanded on in the narrative. Essentialized categories of difference are fused or 'lumped together' with seemingly more contextualized characteristics or behaviors.

With regard to the community around the park, there are ambivalent processes at play. On one hand, Morten frames the park as white, middle class Danish territory, made by Danes for Danes to hang out together, and emphasizes the homogeneity of this group. Laying out turf and cozying oneself (hanging out in the park) are constructed as Danish practices, ironically underlined by the linguistic constraints of 'hygge' (foreigners can't even pronounce the word). At the same time, the park, once established, is described as open for everyone.

Openness to (peripheral) participation by people positioned as minorities echoes Marta's and David's narratives. It could be argued that narrating the park as open and inclusive obscures and simultaneously enables the reinforcing of unequal subject positions and social boundaries.

Describing the park as open for everybody can reinforce its being (more) closed to some bodies. In addition, Morten's narrative points back to Marta who spoke of how youths with ethnic minority backgrounds did not quite know what behaviors were appropriate in a community park, raising the question of whose (implicit) codes of conduct dominate.

Although many different interactions unfold in the park, informant accounts might be seen as indicative of underlying social structures and positionings. They highlight that convivial interactions are embedded in unequal power structures. The establishment of the park as a social space - laying out turf and making it cozy seems to be built on (white middle class) majority Danish norms. Especially in an explicitly normative conviviality framework, evoking 'successful' encounters with difference (Fincher et al. 2014; Nowicka & Vertovec 2014; Watson & Saha 2012), implementation of majority codes and norms might become defining for accomplishment of conviviality. This highlights the inherent risks of using conviviality as an alternative to integration, social cohesion and other normative terms, as Nowicka & Vertovec (2014) recommend. Following this line of reasoning, achievement of normative conviviality might require minority assimilation into a park 'made by (white, middle class majority) Danes for Danes' (Morten) who define 'the purpose of such a common garden' (Marta). Consequently, interpreting social interactions through a conviviality lens might obscure how majority norms and the outsider positions of others are reinforced.

Evaluating conviviality as an analytical tool

The goal of the analysis has been to explore conviviality's modus operandi, investigating which perspectives this analytical process invited and, on the contrary, made less available. It has been discussed how, while the social processes related by informants could be interpreted as convivial, these were co-occuring with, and perhaps linked to, boundary-setting, reproduction of inequalities and imageries where conviviality was associated with (white, middle class Danish) majority norms.

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Prior to analysis, a review of selected literature on conviviality revealed important discrepancies. These disparities pertain to whether conviviality is conceived as descriptive and/or normative, fundamental or 'small'/local, overarching or counter-narrative, harmonious or (also) conflictual, spontaneously occurring or designable. For the purpose of the article, conviviality was conceptualized as pertaining to social patterns in contested urban space where essentialized differences do not 'add up to discontinuities of experience or insuperable problems of communication' (Gilroy 2006, p. 40), instead denoting 'affectively at ease relations of coexistence and accommodation' (Wise & Velayutham 2014, p. 407).

Throughout the analysis, a presence or absence of conviviality has been difficult to establish. Reading interview accounts through a conviviality lens has been guided by my interpretation of the emotional loading of informants' narratives. While conviviality has a significant affective component (Wise & Velayutham 2014), affect does not always lend itself to being straightforwardly communicated or observed. The affective loading of an informant's narrative might be local to the interview situation and/or misinterpreted by the researcher. Furthermore, it is likely that involved actors experience encounters ambivalently and differently- some might be 'at ease' while others are disturbed or feel excluded.

Another challenge pertains to the importance of essentialized differences for conviviality. According to Gilroy's (2006, p. 40) notion of conviviality, 1) ethnic and racial differences have been rendered unremarkable; and 2) 'racial, linguistic and religious particularities' do not lead to impassable problems in communication or discontinuities of experience.

In informant accounts, essentialized categories of difference are frequently combined with particular characteristics and behaviors, as exemplified by Morten's narrative where positions of whiteness / middle class Danishness / resourcefulness / drive are merged and contrasted to a general category of migrants / alcoholics / lack of resources / pedagogical cases / no drive.

This highlights the difficulty of maintaining a distinction between 'essentialized' (race, religion etc.) and seemingly contextualized differences (based on behaviors like (lack of) participation). Rather, essentialized minority categories are invested with characteristics and behaviors that legitimize and reinforce exclusion; for example, when Marta speaks about ethnic minority youngsters (boys), set apart by their brownness, gender and age, as not quite recognizing the social norms in the park. From this perspective, it does seem that often visible (racialized) differences seem to make a difference for whose presence is taken for granted or set apart.

(Con-)Fused, essentialized ethnic, racialized, and religious difference (often combined in the figure of 'Muslim' or 'immigrant') is remarked upon by most informants, and to a larger degree than other differences told as making a difference. However, such essentialized and reified differences also appear in empirical material in other studies that claim to document conviviality (Gidley 2013; Jensen, 2015; Wessendorf 2013, 2014; Wise & Velayutham 2009, 2014). It is not entirely clear whether conviviality can include (re-)production of reified, essentialized categories of others, as long as they are not problematized (for instance, David's welcoming of Muslim family in the park).

This relates to another challenge posed by the multiple intertwined connotations and affective dimensions attached to otherness in informants' narratives. For instance, Morten embraces minoritized presences in Nordvest, at the same time regarding inclusion of 'migrants and alcoholics' in the park as a (too burdensome) pedagogical task. A predominant solution to similar ambivalences arising from empirical material has been to conclude that conviviality or everyday multiculture exists side by side with (everyday) racism, openness with closedness (Gidley 2013; Jensen, 2015; Noble 2009; Wessendorf 2014). However, these interpretations risk reproducing a dichotomy of 'bad' racism and 'good' conviviality, obscuring the ways the two might be intertwined, for instance, through commodifying and exotifying essentialized

notions of (racialized) otherness (Ahmed 2000, 2012; Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen 2013; bell hooks 1992).

With regard to Nordvest, it might be that narratives of 'mixing', heterogeneity and conviviality mutually enable and constrain narratives with polarized center and periphery where white, middle class, majority Danishness is (con-)fused with resourcefulness and competence, while ethnicized/racialized otherness is equated with social disadvantage, lack of knowledge of codes of conduct and being a target for pedagogical interventions. Both strands of narrative emerge from the same landscape of meanings, as they both rely on the fabric of continuously re-produced differences, whether the bodies who bear these differences are embraced, tolerated or excluded by those in majority/insider positions. Perhaps, rather than taking 'difference' for granted, it might be more fruitful to examine how and which differences become mobilized as constitutive of social divisions, continuously negotiating proximity and distance to multiple figures of embodied others (Ahmed 2000; Fortier 2008, 2010); and how various categories of difference might be fused in order to legitimize these divisions. In this regard, focus on conviviality as 'living with difference' (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014) can contribute to neglecting how the very perception of difference must imply living apart and against, as well as with others. Conviviality conceptualized as (only or mostly) with-ness and togetherness risks reinforcing a discourse on diversity as harmonious empty pluralism (Mohanty, 2003).

Valentine (2008, p. 333) has cautioned that celebratory discourses on encounters with difference might 'allow the knotty issue of inequalities to slip out of the debate'. On a similar note, Ahmed (2012) has argued for the need to ask what recedes when a particular positively loaded discourse on diversity comes into view. Consequently, the informants' tendency to relate the area in convivial terms raises the questions of to what effect this narrative is told, which and whose interests it promotes, and what is relegated to the background.

An important and routinely ignored issue likely to recede in this case relates to racialization and racism. It has been argued that there is a hegemonic discourse of colorblindness and silence on race/racialization in the Nordic countries (Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen 2013; Andreassen et al. 2008; Myong 2009; Svendsen 2013). Focusing on harmonious aspects of coexistence and pronouncing ethnic and racial differences banal and 'silent' (Nowicka & Vertovec, 2014) can risk aggravating (neglect of) racialized politics of difference.

This highlights the fact that conviviality, as used in this article, does not seem well-equipped to address the question of power and inequalities- namely, who is in a position of accommodating whom or being 'affectively at ease' with whose difference. There remains a gap with regard to examining whom an ethos of conviviality serves (more than others), who claims and reaps benefits from it, and whose perspectives (dis-) appear in, or behind, conviviality; and which subject positions and self-images become available to and reiterated by those who speak from a position of conviviality.

The analysis offered in the article is relevant when considering policies aiming to facilitate mixing and social cohesion. Inherent in such policies, like in much research through a conviviality lens, is a presumed dichotomy between 'good' conviviality and 'bad' segregation or racism, neglecting how both positively and negatively loaded narratives of difference can rest upon the same essentialized social categories and dynamics of othering. Aiming to understand living with, apart and against continuously re-produced differences, negotiations of differences that make a difference and proximity and distance might be more fruitful analytical lenses than conviviality.

The annual summer party in the park in 2014.[24]

The site of the park, March 2017.

"STOP JYDEN" is still inscribed on the house behind where the park used to be located. Literally translated as "Stop the Jutlander," it is most often read as an anti-gentrification statement, blaming people moving to Copenhagen from Jutland for increasing housing prices. Stereotypical Jutlander villain- figures are represented by parents buying apartments for their children who start studying in Copenhagen.

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[24] Photo credit: https://www.skrivunder.net/red_nv_auto_park_-_et_baghave_og_andehul_for_lokalomradet, accessed March 13, 2017.

Revisiting conviviality

This article investigates the performativity of the notion of conviviality in a way that, ideally, could be applied to many of the central concepts used in this thesis. Unfortunately, it is not possible for me to achieve this within the genre constraints of a thesis cloak. Thus the article partially serves as a demonstration of how a tracing of a concept and its work and performativity might take shape.

The article on conviviality was the first research article written within the framework of this dissertation and is the only one that has been published so far. This means that the article is the most complete of the four, having been through the review process. At the same time, it also makes this article the least developed in light of the shifts in my thinking that have occurred since its final version was submitted in October 2015.

As a consequence, the article positions itself in a telling way with regards to the tension between discursive (intelligible, articulable) and material, embodied and affective levels of analysis. In examining conviviality and the empirical material from the resident-driven park, the article highlights narratives, negotiations, imaginaries, articulations and landscapes of meaning, in addition to affects. Thus, by asking "what conviviality does," the article targets the discursive and affective work that the notion performs or can be recruited to perform. However, it does not quite ask what conviviality, with its affective and discursive potentials, can do materially with the spaces and bodies in the park. The article comes closest to addressing the material workings of conviviality when it discusses how certain minoritized presences (Greenlanders, homeless people, immigrant youths and a Muslim family) are remarked upon, welcomed and simultaneously set apart to various extents. But the analysis does not sufficiently emphasize how these modalities of welcoming constrain the emergence of bodies and space—in other words, how the social spaces of the park are enacted through "at ease," "pleasant" everyday encounters and "successful coexistence" (conviviality).

Writing this article, I had from the beginning set out to critically investigate "conviviality," to think about the concept through a lens inspired by feminist and critical race theory and perspectives on affect (in the article, represented by Ahmed, 2000, 2004, 2012; Andreassen & Ahmed-Andresen, 2014; Andreassen et al., 2008; bell hooks, 1992; Fortier, 2010; Mohanty, 2003; Myong, 2009; Svendsen, 2013; Valentine, 2008). Thus, glancing at the empirical material *with* and *through* conviviality was less natural than examining the notion from the outside. In fact, trying "conviviality" out—like a garment of unsure fit—felt like a generous undertaking; I was giving the notion a chance to demonstrate what it could do analytically. And nonetheless, even having adopted conviviality, I remained detached. My thinking and analysis was much less entangled with this notion than with the other concepts reviewed in this chapter. This also applies to the analytical figure of the "diversity tourist" presented in the

second research article included in Chapter 3. In later subsections, I reflect on what it does to think through a feminist, decolonial, affective lens by examining entangled enactments of bodies, spaces and affects, and the notion of passing.

The diversity tourist as an analytical figure

The article on diversity tourism proposes the diversity tourist as an analytical figure. My motivation for engaging in this conceptual work partially arose from reading research on gentrification that establishes and takes for granted a morally loaded duality of villain gentrifiers and displaced victims of gentrification. By proposing the diversity tourist as an analytical figure, I wanted to disturb the tendency to use the empirical material to represent or label the informants. Instead, the article sketches a figure that might wander more freely. My ambition in developing this figure was to illuminate the conditions of living and moving, with intersectionally emerging privilege vis-à-vis disadvantaged diversity, across different contemporary urban settings. In addition, it seemed too reductionist to analyze the article's empirical material purely as the commodification of difference and the process of "eating the other," since the data also revealed less-explored analytical pathways (in literatures on urban diversity) related to Nordvest as invested with a longing for "reality" and a "break."

Developing this figure involved some slippery steps. It necessitated a consistent attempt on my part to detach informants' statements, affects and practices from their specific contexts, while still aiming to recognize the situatedness and relationality of these encounters. In addition, there was a tension related to my consistent references to the informants as "white, middle-class, majoritized Danish" people. While race, ethnicity, Danishness and class emerged as central markers in informants' enactments of (themselves contra) "diversity," this way of classifying them could reify static categories, fading into the impression that diversity tourism was a representative practice of "white, middle-class, majority Danish" residents of Nordvest.

In addition, the article underwent several rounds of transformation since it was written with the ambition to propose the analytical figure of diversity tourism. The article has been submitted to four different journals with changes being made each time, notably after receipt of reviewer comments from the third journal (*Identities*). The referees had multiple suggestions for improvement, including clarifying the article's contributions and relating its discussion to critical race and whiteness studies. Incorporating these comments, and constrained by a word limit, I edited from the article some of the analytical steps in building the figure of the diversity tourist. For instance, I rewrote the conclusion to clarify its contributions to four fields of research instead of revisiting the analytical figure that the article built. In addition, relating the article more closely to, for instance, gentrification research and

critical whiteness studies, aligned the figure more closely with ways of thinking about "white, middle-class," gentrifying subjects within these lines of research. Upon submitting the article for a fourth time to a journal with a more generous word limit, I attempted to write my process of developing the analytical figure back into the article. However, all these rounds of rewriting and revision disturbed what, from the outset, had been a difficult task.

On one hand, it might seem that tracing an article's pathways through multiple rounds of (re)submission does not belong in the theory chapter of a doctoral thesis. On the other hand, following these conceptual mutations illustrates how the process of publication in academia constrains knowledge production in important ways.

The mutations that the article underwent in the process of repeated submissions necessitate an explanation of the analytical movements that the article intended to undertake. Before examining in more detail the work that the diversity tourist is intended to do, I want to review an interlinked notion, that of "diversity," which has haunted and propelled this research project in various ways across the research articles.

Struggling with "diversity"

In addition to its critical review of the functionality of the traveling notion of "conviviality," the last article also situated itself within, and somewhat critically alongside, qualitative research on "urban diversity." I have hinted at this tense alignment in the preceding chapters, for instance when discussing my embeddedness in, and researcher positionality as a representative of an "industry of diversity researchers."

As the research articles illustrate, "diversity" is a traveling, mutating concept (Cho, 2013; Lutz, 2014; Said, 1983). Like "conviviality," it can be evoked as descriptive or normative; regarded as a fact, constructed category, target for policy interventions and/or desirable, designed brand; applied to different levels and ascribed different intensities: macro-, micro-, super-diversity (Ahmed, 2012; Fortier, 2008, 2010; Lentin & Titley, 2011; Valentine, 2008). "Diversity" can be linked to reified social categories as a property of some bodies "always, already" being diverse through embodied, emplaced histories of racism and colonialism (Ahmed, 2000, 2012) and/or seen as emerging from specific encounters (Ahmed, 2000; Hvenegård- Lassen & Staunæs, 2015; Wilson, 2016). These dimensions highlight the term's slipperiness and affective ambivalence, and the various tasks that it might be enlisted to perform. It is this last dimension that I set out to investigate in the notion of diversity tourist: what work does "diversity," as enacted and articulated by informants, perform for them?

Diversity has been a traveling concept within the PhD project on its own right, evoked in different ways across the research articles. It emerged as a concept that the slightly monstrous cyborg body-methodology-theory assemblage was stuck with, and continuously tried to disentangle itself from. As discussed in the article on conviviality, and to a lesser extent in the article on diversity tourism, "diversity" and "super-diversity" are routinely employed as descriptors *and* analytical devices in studies whose design and research focus (inclusion, exclusion, minoritization, majoritization, everyday interactions) resemble this project. I could not escape my embeddedness in this industry in my capacity as a researcher conducting fieldwork.

But apart from the embeddedness and affinities of the research project within fields of scholarship evoking "diversity," the term was populating Nordvest in multiple ways. The district was enacted (experienced, sensed, articulated) as made by, and of, a stigmatized and alluring diversity (diversity tourism). Encounters with this diversity could materialize and be articulated in different, affectively loaded ways, often as seemingly pleasant and at ease (conviviality). Diversity was part of city branding and a target for management and interventions, enacting space and (migrant) subjects (the Integration Gardens). And I could not set aside my own "diverse background" even as it suddenly became unmarked and I found myself passing as Danish in encounters with differently majoritized and minoritized informants and places (the article on passing and Danishness).

On one hand, I am still struggling, from the inside (coming to terms with, *and* trying to loosen myself from), with my entanglements in the industry of diversity researchers. On the other hand, "diversity" as encountered in the empirical material has been instrumental to my examination of majoritization and minoritization processes. Instead of employing diversity as a (neutral, factual) descriptor or conceptual device, which is a common practice in "urban diversity" literature, I approached it (and conceptualized it) as it appeared in the empirical material. To various extents and in different ways, all four research articles examine how "diversity" is intersectionally enacted (upon bodies and places), "sticking" to some and bouncing off others (Ahmed, 2000, 2004c, 2012).

(Back to) building the analytical figure of diversity tourist

The article on diversity tourism illustrates how Nordvest is enacted as a "diverse," subaltern, authentic area, a reality and a break from outside "Copenhagen." However, the main goal of the article was not to highlight these enactments but to develop the "diversity tourist" as an analytical figure. I would like to elaborate on this undertaking in order to signify 1) what kind of conceptual work I am setting out to do in assembling this figure and 2) what kinds of work the figure might be able to do as it travels.

The diversity tourist is a tense, uncomfortable figure, because it emerges against a backdrop of inequality and differentiated access to resources and privilege. The "diversity" that informants experience and enact is stimulating, exoticized and commodified, and, importantly, (seen as) disadvantaged/minoritized vis-à-vis the informants' privileged positions.

The diversity tourist as an analytical figure attempts to point beyond informants' experiences and enactments of Nordvest towards affective and structural contemporary conditions. The distancing and disengagement of the figure, performed through self-reflexivity and irony, can be seen as the affective management of white, middle-class guilt (Lilja, 2015; Sullivan, 2014; Wekker, 2016). However, the figure of the diversity tourist first and foremost shows how these modes of distancing point to a lack of (envisioning) available modes of political engagement; to a deep-seated sense of the unavoidability of living with others' disadvantage in late liberalism or neoliberalism (Povinelli, 2011). This is highlighted by the informants' various ways of articulating that this (disadvantaged diversity) is (also) what reality looks like.

In the introduction to her book *Economies of Abandonment*, Elisabeth Povinelli (2011) visits a story by Ursula Le Guin, "The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas"—a story that she returns to throughout the book. Le Guin's story tells of a city where everyone is happy—truly happy. However, their happiness depends on a child being trapped in a tiny, foul broom closet: naked, constrained, covered in sores. Everyone knows that the suffering child in the broom closet is a condition of their happiness. In Le Guin's story, none of the inhabitants of the city attempt to overthrow this order of happiness. There is no social transformation. Some leave Omelas, but they leave to places that are undescribable, unimaginable and unfathomable. It is as if these other places do not exist within the logic of the city.

As a figure, the diversity tourist exists in a limbo that can be compared to that of the happy inhabitants of the island, aware that their happiness is dependent on the suffering of the trapped child. The diversity tourist exhibits a longing, even a hunger, for, and a lack of available modalities for engaging with inequality as something other than an unnegotiable condition of (one's own privileged) life. It tries to, but cannot relate to Nordvest and its "diverse" urban spaces through something other than a commodifying, fetishizing glance, a consumer consciousness. In other words, the diversity tourist as an analytical figure can highlight the properties and allowances of the spaces it moves through and emerges in. On one hand, the figure refers to dispersed, ordinary, naturalized suffering as an integral part of a shared body (Povinelli, 2011). On the other hand, it points to the "shortcomings of our social imaginary," affectivity and agency in encountering differences that are instantly rendered in terms of consumption, in "the spinning machine of advanced capitalism" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 55). The diversity tourist is trying to escape the consumerism and demands of life in "Copenhagen" in Nordvest, but

emerges incapable of experiencing and enacting Nordvest beyond the affective and discursive structures that organize "Copenhagen." Consequently, the diversity tourist is a diagnostic figure but perhaps also a figure that might point towards the emergence of something else (Povinelli, 2016).

Bodies, spaces, affects: material-discursive-affective enactments

Drawing on the conceptualizations of space-making (the article on Integration Gardens) and the presentations of snapshots from the empirical material in Chapter 3, this section elaborates on the notion of entangled enactments of spaces, bodies and affect. It is the longest of the four sections that make up the first part of Chapter 4. Rather than revisiting a concept from a single research article like the sections on conviviality, diversity tourism and passing do, it explicates a conceptual framework of the entanglements of entities and flows that was anticipated by the voices in Chapter 1, the discussion of embodied, affective methodology in Chapter 2 and the analysis of empirical snapshots of spaces of Nordvest in Chapter 3. Moreover, this section, in setting out to discuss the mutual constitution and modes of emergence of spaces, bodies and affects, addresses both of this thesis's primary research questions.

I start by engaging with an early chapter by Elizabeth Grosz (1995) on the mutual constitution of bodies and cities. I proceed to offer an empirically driven genealogy of my thinking about spaces, bodies and affects that traces important developments during thesis research and writing, starting with perspectives on space and moving on to discuss bodies and affect. In the concluding part of the section I further examine how the lens of enactments ties together embodiment, emplacement and affectivity. Through these movements, I explore what this conceptual work on and around the constitution of bodies, space and affectivity can do: what can happen when processual, multiple notions of bodies in movement and becoming (Ahmed, 2014; B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012a; Braidotti, 2002; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Grosz, 1994; Manning, 2007; Massumi, 2015; Mol, 2002) are applied to thinking urban spaces.

Bodies-cities

"Bodies- cities" is a 1995 essay by Elizabeth Grosz, included in an edited volume titled *Space, Time and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (Grosz, 1995). This essay forms a part of Grosz's work on corporeal feminism (Blackman, 2008; Grosz, 1994), which challenges and refines dualities that have characterized our thinking about bodies and "turn[s] bodies inside out."

In this essay, Grosz sets out to explore the "constitutive and mutually defining relation between bodies and cities" (Grosz, 1995, p. 104). By bodies, she means "a concrete, material, animate organization of flesh, organs, nerves, and skeletal structure, which are given a unity, cohesiveness, and form through the psychical and social inscription of the body's surface." I read Grosz's (1995, p. 105) conception of bodies as bound by and emerging through their materiality, but at the same time incomplete, non-cohesive and loose prior to being inscribed by their environments. On the other hand, the city is articulated as a complex "network that links together, often in an ad hoc way, a number of disparate social activities, processes, relations, with a number of architectural, geographical, civic and public relations" (Grosz, 1995, p. 105). Thus the city can be envisioned as an assemblage, a loose knot that comprises a node of saturation for multiple phenomena on many levels, from political institutions, flows and networks of resources and power, aesthetics and affordances of the built environment, management incentives and social relations on multiple levels (Grosz, 1995, p. 105).

The proposed relation between bodies and cities is neither causal nor representational. Instead, Grosz sketches the relations between bodies and cities "as *assemblages or collections of parts, capable of crossing the thresholds between substances* to form linkages, machines, provisional and often temporary sub- or micro-groupings" (Grosz, 1995, p. 108, emphasis added). Furthermore, "their interrelations involve a fundamentally disunified series of systems, a series of disparate flows, energies, events, or entities, bringing together or drawing apart their more or less temporary alignments" (Grosz, 1995, p. 108).

Grosz's model is dynamic and processual, emphasizing in-between flows, circulations, the multiple ways bodies and cities are intertwined and mutually defining, and the constant shifting nature of their mutual calibrations. However, bodies and cities still seem to be conceived as distinct, which Grosz alludes to when she subtly evokes the notion of interface as a two-way linkage between bodies and cities (Grosz, 1995, p. 108). On one side, the notion of interface can hold interesting potential as a device for thinking, for instance, when conceived as an arena for relating, for the self gesturing beyond itself (Blackman, 2008, p. 110). However, "interface" can also be a slightly knotty notion to think with, as it can reify a duality between bodies and cities (spaces).

I choose to engage with this text as a way of introduction because Grosz's (1995) thinking on bodies and cities emphasizes processes, relationality, movement, energies, affects and assemblages that I also find inspiring and build upon in my theorization of bodies, space and affect. However, Grosz's model also shows how difficult it is to transcend a tendency to think in dualities of distinct entities when conceiving, for instance, bodies and space. The dualisms that Grosz and other feminist thinkers have attempted to nuance, dismantle or transcend, such as mind-body, subject-environment, inside-

outside, material-immaterial (Blackman, 2012a; Braidotti, 2002, 2003, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Grosz, 1994, 2011, Mol, 2002, 2008) still linger in and constrain our thinking. The traces or ghosts of dualisms and static thinking that I find in Grosz's (1995) text are likely to be found in my own. And this might be slightly harder to excuse, since the two decades that have passed since Grosz (1995) wrote "Bodies-cities" have brought many attempts at processual thinking, which I build upon when conceiving embodied-discursive-affective enactments and entanglements, as I elaborate in the subsections below.

As a way of proceeding, I would like to continue my engagement with Grosz's (1995) chapter by highlighting nodes of saturation in my own conceptions of space. The four research articles display different prisms on, and an increasing preoccupation with, the mutual constitution of spaces, bodies and affect. The next subsection reviews some instrumental shifts that have constrained and informed my ways of thinking, anchored in the notion of space examined from different disciplinary angles.

Moments of saturation in a genealogy of thinking space, bodies and affects

As discussed below, space, bodies and affectivity have been and are changing, traveling concepts (Hemmings, 2005; Lutz, 2014; Said, 1983)—across and within different disciplines, and in this thesis. The ways these notions have been invoked have had consequences for the pathways and prisms of analysis in the articles and thesis cloak.

Space, revisited through space-making

My outlook has been inspired by perspectives from ecological and cultural psychology that attempt to transcend the self–environment duality by emphasizing persons/bodies as embedded in their environments/space. Here I refer in particular to the notions of affordances (Gibson, 1966) and constraints (Valsiner, 1987, 2007). These notions refer to actions and selves as emerging in encounters with (specific) environments and the possibilities and limitations that they offer. "Affordances" and "constraints" have travelled with me, becoming part of a standard academic vocabulary routinely used without references. Even so, they carry a particular intellectual and disciplinary baggage that I would like to acknowledge.

Space and place are foundational concepts in human and cultural geography (J. Anderson, 2015; Cresswell, 2015; Tuan, 1977). Perspectives from these disciplines informed my engagements with space as the latter became more explicit in my work. In geography, it is a common practice to distinguish between space and place. Space has predominantly been conceived as a realm without meaning, a blank, taken-for-granted background that life unfolds upon, and places are made and inhabited against (Cresswell, 2015, p. 16). In a similar vein, it has been proposed that a space is where

culture is lived, while place is a result of the union of space and culture (Lippard, 1997). Spaces have been conceived as "empty abstractions" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 12), while places have tended to be recognized as concrete, made by people, saturated in meaning, sensed and felt (J. Anderson, 2015, p. 52).

While I read and thought about space, place and "the urban" from the outset of the research project, the article on Integration Gardens is the first one to explicitly engage with these notions. As the discussion on the dynamics of space-making in that article illustrates, this research conceives of space differently from the above-mentioned space-place dualities. Firstly, I view space as always-already socially produced, or social space (Cresswell, 2015; Hubbard, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991) replete with affective, embodied, (im)material, discursive flows (Ahmed, 2014; B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012a; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). In an extension of this conceptual attunement, my perspective on the spaces of the Integration Gardens was inspired by the notion of spatiotemporal logics (Valverde, 2015). Valverde defines spatiotemporality by building on Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope and examining how "time 'thickens' and becomes spatialized in distinct ways, while space becomes charged and responsive to the movements of time, plot, and history" (Valverde, 2015, p. 10).

Although less focused on temporality, I was interested in how the gardens can constitute spaces that work and consequently can be worked in different ways, involving different logics. In the article, I engage with Lefebvre's triadic model of space (1991) on one side, and Deleuze & Guattari's (2004) notions of smooth and striated spaces as ways of explicating the different logics of Integration Grid and Web of Gardening. I invoke the notion of space-making to highlight the agencies of (migrant) bodies in constituting these spaces through embodied, material, sensory and affective encounters and practices. In the article, I focus somewhat less on the corporeality of these encounters and more on their multidirectionality and multi-layeredness, showcasing the importance of memory (the temporal overspillings of space) and relationality (the multiple, differently (im)material presences that manifest in these spaces, from policy discourses and bordering practices to distant people and places).

While space-making can address the duality between inside–outside and bodies and environments, in the article, space-making highlights how spaces are "negotiated and navigated." This refers, on one side, to a lingering primary focus on discursive processes in my research tied to the initial predominance of interview data and informants' verbal statements in my analysis (the articles on conviviality and diversity tourism). It also evokes the tension conveyed by "making senses of Nordvest" between intelligible and articulable "data" and embodied, sensory knowledges. Moreover, an emphasis on "negotiation and navigation" reflects an enduring separation of bodies from space—

bodies less as makers and more as recipients; bodies that find themselves in a given space rather than being foundational to the emergence of this space.

Thus the notion of space-making highlights the (tense, gradual and difficult) shift in the research project from discursive processes (articulation, negotiation, verbal statements) to more explicitly emplaced, embodied, affective, sensory and material foci for analysis. At the same time, space-making can be seen as a stepping stone to thinking enactments, because it can be used to highlight reciprocity and the mutual constitution of bodies, space and affects. Particularly evident in the discussion of the different modalities and affordances pertaining to the Integration Grid and the Web of Gardening, is that different modes of space-making quite literally involve different ways for bodies to take shape and make room for themselves, for instance as bodies primarily enacted as non-Danish versus bodies that engage in gardening work. These processes emphasize the role of space in processes of subject formation that have been highlighted in feminist geography (Parker, 2016a, 2016b; Peake, 2015; Valentine, 2007), linking spatial dynamics, affectivity and embodiment (Kern, 2012, 2015).

Bodies, affect (and space)

"*Beloveds, yours skins is a boundary separating yous from the rest of yous.*

When I speak of skin I speak of the largest organ.

[…]

"*When I speak of skin I speak of all the movement in the world*

right now and all the new boundaries of the right now that are

made by all the movement in the world right now and then

broken by all the movement in the world right now."

(Spahr, 2005, p. 19 and 22)

Exploring enactments of Nordvest in Chapter 3, I wrote of Nordvest as multiple, multi-layered, overspilling; imploding and exploding. One prism through which to examine emergence of space, bodies and affect was constituted by the article about the Integration Gardens, which draws on literatures that expand notions of bodies, affects, spatiotemporalities and agencies and theorize their mutual constitution (B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012b; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Mol, 2008). However, none of the research articles offers a consistent theoretical engagement with bodies and affect.

In this section I draw on perspectives from new embodied materialisms, feminist science and technology studies, and poststructuralist and feminist philosophy to examine bodies and affect. These literatures characterize the body as emerging through linkages, connections, becomings, transformations, movement and flows (Braidotti, 2002, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Grosz, 1994), contributing to and informed by ongoing corporeal and affective turns in social sciences and humanities (Clough, 2008; Colls, 2012; Grosz, 1994; Wetherell, 2015). These lines of thinking aim to add nuance to and overturn binary logics, including inside–outside, body–mind, subject–environment. I theorize bodies and affect as mutually constitutive and emerging in place, adopting a Spinozian conceptualization of bodies as emerging through their capacity to affect and be affected (B. Anderson, 2014; Bennett, 2010; Blackman, 2012a; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Massumi, 2002, 2015, Mol, 2002, 2008).

Space is less explicitly present in this section's discussion of bodies and affect, but that is because, as implied in the discussion of spaces of Nordvest in Chapter 3, emplacement and embodiment cannot be separated (Braidotti, 2011). Spaces can be conceived as bodies and vice versa. For instance, Annemarie Mol (2002, 2008) has conceptualized bodies as unbounded by skin but rather emerging and existing by being permeable, connected to, and in interplay with, other bodies. For Mol (2002), different practices enact different bodies. In the case of the spaces of Nordvest, different embodied experiences—becomings in the world—emerge from but also produce and re-enact different spaces. Thinking of body-subjects and spaces as unfolding multiplicities is aligned with ontologies of becoming and notions of rhizomatic subjectivity (Braidotti, 2011, pp. 212–213; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). Affect has an instrumental role in these processes of emergence; it can be conceived as a force of existing (B. Anderson, 2014, p. 82) or perhaps coming into being, denoting bodily and spatial capacities.

This thesis employs the concept of affect in two main ways. First, affectivity highlights an overspilling, an excess, a "more than" of coming into being (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Massumi, 2002, 2015) that pertains to elements of experience that are strongly present but slippery to articulate. This is linked to the challenge of "making senses" of Nordvest. This conception of affect highlights how bodies (and spaces) possess and radiate an immateriality that is felt and registered but not easily seen, known or understood (Blackman, 2008).

This way of conceiving affect enacts it as an expansive, multidirectional movement of many shapes and modalities, highlighting capabilities, circulations, potentialities and resonances (B. Anderson, 2014). Affect is a distributed, in-between, transpersonal, relational phenomenon (Wetherell, 2015), but it is also more than that. It is exactly "more than" that which it mediates or the process of mediation. Affect is not, for instance, another term for *interface* that Grosz evoked to describe the

mutually defining relation between bodies and cities (Grosz, 1995); neither does it inhabit an in-between space that comprises the medium for mutual emergence of bodies and spaces. Rather, affect captures and refers to the overspilling more-ness (Massumi, 2002, 2015) of spaces and bodies—it pertains to the spaces and bodies that it envelops, permeates, emerges and radiates, but affectivity first and foremost relates to itself, or themselves.

Second, I use affect to signify stickiness, attachment and constrained pathways of movement, as highlighted in the article on passing as Danish. Sedgwick (2003, p. 19) emphasizes that affects "can be, and are, attached to things, people, ideas, sensations, relations, activities, ambitions, institutions, and any number of other things, including other affects." These attachments in turn lend shape to these "things." Affect becomes a "more than" that can manifest as "less than," outlining and delimiting bodies and spaces. Sara Ahmed refers to these workings of affect when she calls affects "sticky" (Ahmed, 2004c). Affects do not circulate loosely, aimlessly. They bind, shape, they stick and can make (bodies) stuck (Ahmed, 2004b). Affective circulations trace, surround, shape subjectivities (bodies) in relation to particular spaces, at particular temporal moments. Affects are the environments within which people dwell (B. Anderson, 2014, p. 105). At the same time, they condition modes of dwelling, movement and mobility: "The affective quality, or tone, of something can condition life by giving sites, episodes or encounters a particular feel." (B. Anderson, 2014, p. 137).

Ahmed's notion of (affective) atmospheres and walls underscores the ways affectivity constrains the movement and subjectivity of that which moves: "An atmosphere can surround a body, in the how of an arrival. An atmosphere can be achieved over time; and atmospheres can become a technique, a way of making spaces available for some more than others." (Ahmed, 2014).

Atmospheres constrain by always being angled or tuned in particular ways, entered and felt from particular locations. At the same time, they exhibit the "more than" of affectivity as surrounding influences that do not quite generate their own form (Ahmed, 2014).

Even without form, and perhaps in part through their formlessness, atmospheres possess forcefulness and directionality. Ahmed stresses how atmospheres move bodies when she proposes that "maybe an atmosphere is most striking as a zone of transition: an upping, a downing" (Ahmed, 2014). However, Ahmed does not emphasize that atmospheres and walls themselves are moving and mobile. This partially static nature of her framework can perhaps be related to Ahmed's (2000, 2007, 2012) emphasis in other instances on the "always-already" there, at times at expense of an examination of processes of emergence in the moment, which also pertain to race (Kofoed & Staunæs, 2015), as discussed in the article on passing.

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Elaborating on how affective circulations constrain and regulate movement and becoming, I might visit the notion of figuration connected to material practices (and, I would add, affective flows) which articulate bodies' potentialities (Latour, 2004). Figuration highlights how something—a body, a space, an affect—changes its shape, outline, or pattern through its encounter with something else (Braidotti, 2002; Haraway, 2004). The notion of figuration highlights the patterns and repetitions that also characterize the circular, processual coming into being of bodies and affects that come in contact. Figurations foreground continuity in processes of becoming that, read generously, does not imply linearity but rather highlights multi-layeredness, as patterns accumulate and are transposed, modified and overwritten.

A final valuable device for thinking about the mutual emergence of bodies and affectivity (and space) is touch (Manning, 2007). Touch highlights embodied relationality, movement, and *senses* of becoming in the world through its contact with other bodies. Being in or out of touch implies movement that transforms and creates bodies (Manning, 2007). However, even though I want to read touch generously, as a source of inspiration, the notion of touch still carries a trace of static, bounded thinking. While this is not Manning's (2007) intention in evoking this concept, "touch" might seem to presuppose that someone—a bounded entity—does the touching, besides emerging through touching and being touched; in other words, there could be a "doer behind the deed" that exists independently from the encounter of touching (J. Butler, 1997b; Layton, 1997).

Having briefly visited the conceptual devices of (affective) atmospheres, figurations and touch, I would like to bring their potentials to conceive bodies and affect to the notion of enactments that I use to denote the mutual emergence of bodies, affect and spaces. Enactments, as evoked by several authors (for instance, Braidotti, 2011; Haraway, 2016; Mol, 2002, 2008), highlight process and becoming. They point to the relational, non-dualistic, non-hierarchical distribution of agency between the various entities that enact one another in entangled processes of becoming-with (Haraway, 2016). In addition, my conception of enactments is informed by the discussion of affectivity above. There is a "more than," an excess and overspilling to enactments (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Massumi, 2015). This excess and overspilling points to, among other things, a multi-layeredness and multiplicity, a breaching-out to other spatiotemporalities through rhizomatic assemblages of materialities, relations, affective circulations, discourses, (absent) presences and re-membering. It is these multiplicities that I refer to when I evoke material-affective-discursive entanglements in the articles on passing and Integration Gardens. At the same time, there is a directionality to enactments that constrains movement and emergence—a directionality that emerges even without a form (Ahmed, 2014).

Revisiting passing: space, movement and constrained-but-overspilling becomings-with

I discussed the notion of passing in the research article on passing as Danish that introduced Chapter 2 of this thesis. It is the final concept I revisit before the second part of Chapter 4, which explores ecologies of knowledge production.

In the article, I conceptualized passing as a process that unfolds through and across material, affective and discursive movements in and across encounters. Passing underlines simultaneous here-and-now emergence through the appearance of intersecting markers branching out to multiple, historicized, embodied and affective spatiotemporal elsewheres, constraining and enabling bodies' movements and becomings in space. Instances of passing accumulate, moulding and morphing into embodied knowledges about what bodies can and cannot do.

Passing echoes the simultaneous overspilling "more than" and limiting, constraining directionality that is central to my thinking about affectivity and enactments. On one hand, to "pass" denotes "passing by"—(unhindered) movement but also a sense of transition, temporariness, distance and unattainability. That which "passes 'us' by" points beyond, and is ultimately alien to, the "here and now" of the space and the moment that "we" inhabit.

Simultaneously, "passing" refers to "passing as," which is the primary sense of this notion in the research article. "Passing as" conveys a constraining and enabling instance of enactment in the "here and now." Depending on the complex intersection of enacted markers that influence how one comes across, as a body that continuously takes shape in ways that map onto the specters of minoritized/majoritized, strange/familiar, desired/undesired, deserving/undeserving, recognized/unrecognized, liveable/unliveable. "Passings by" "happen to" happen (Rich, 1984) in non-accidental ways, depending, among other things, on what one "passes as" and how. Consequently, they also shape bodies and spaces around them. "Passing as" conditions "passing by," and vice versa. In addition, the how of "passing as" constrains the potential of taking up space, affording both mobility and claims to space, remaining in place—in other words, the possibilities for "passing through" a situation, a relation, deterred or undeterred, marked or un(re)marked (Ahmed, 1999, 2007, 2014).

These nodes of passing (as, through, by) underline how the passing of an intersectionally emerging body is intimately linked to, and contingent upon, the spaces that these bodies (have the potential to) enact, enter, linger in, occupy, and transverse. The theorizations of passing (passing by, passing as, passing through) above illustrate how "passing" occurs through enactments of bodies, spaces and

affects. Space is not a mere container for the affectivities and eventfulness (Povinelli, 2011, 2016) of passing encounters.

My conceptualization of passing in the research article would have benefitted from foregrounding the primacy of space as more than other bodies in space. Through the use of embodied, affective autoethnography supported by a politics of location (Rich, 1984), situated ontology (Haraway, 1988; Rose, 1993), and embodied, emplaced knowledge production (Braidotti, 2011), the article addresses the specificity and genealogy of enactments of bodies, space and affects. I trace the emergence of my (researcher) body as it is enacted as un(re)marked and mobile in particular ways: moving about in Nordvest; encountering bodies, affects, spaces; as well as carrying and facing memories and histories of passing otherwise mediated by intersecting markers. While the article details and assigns importance to the affects and materialities of emplaced encounters (the coziness of candy, tea, coffee and evening light in Karen and Jens's living room; the public but also institutionalized rooms at the library), it mostly attends to these spaces as they are occupied by other (human) bodies, instead of focusing in depth on the agencies of space and embodied, emplaced, affective enactments.

Bodies, spaces and affectivities emerge and become through, in, and by instances of passing. Instances of passing touch (Manning, 2007) and figure (Braidotti, 2002; Haraway, 2004; Latour, 2004) enactments of bodies, spaces and affects in different ways—caressing, hardening, propelling, floating, elevating, submerging.

In the article, I evoke passing to highlight gradations and shades of Danishness. However, as the article emphasizes, these gradations are always in a flux: even passing as an unwanted Eastern European migrant, a body can hold potential to (maybe, at some point, under some conditions) pass as a white(r), (more) Western European, Danish body. These potentialities manifest not just as hypothetical future possibilities, but are already there, making a difference in the moment, even as a body passes as something else. This highlights the temporal complexities of passing. It pertains not only to the alignment of intersecting markers in the present, or to what a body has passed through, and the embodied knowledges and ways of carrying itself it has picked up; but also to situated, relational ideas about how and what this body can be(come). Potentialities of alignments (with Danishness) might be better equipped to address these multifaceted contingencies than "gradations" or "shades."

"Potentialities" also illuminate the dynamic, fluctuating emergence of intersecting markers. They highlight race and whiteness as contingent and mutable (Price, 2010), as performative and incomplete processes of becoming (Faria & Mollett, 2016; Fisher, 2015; Hvenegård- Lassen & Staunæs, 2015; Lobo, 2010; Nayak, 2006, 2011). The duality of a historicized "always, already there" (Ahmed, 2000,

2007) and situational, relational emergence that I aim to capture by evoking "potentialities" could be applied to other intersecting markers and dynamics of passing, although the processes of coming into being of gender, for instance, play out differently.

The multidirectional, temporal becomings of passing can be highlighted by a brief glance at memory, relating it to nomadic transpositions, understood as reconfigurations from different angles, producing difference, not just sameness (Braidotti, 2011, p. 233). Potentialities of passing can also be juxtaposed to the "sweaty concepts" (Ahmed, 2014) discussed in Chapter 2, which are generated not just through labored being in the world, but also through labored instances of remembering. Memory can be conceived as re-membering, a restructuring and reconfiguration, "a field of enfolded patterns of differentiating-entangling" (Barad, 2015, p. 406). The processes involves the constant and contingent reshuffling and patterning of affects, relations and knowledges, highlighting how past, future and present come together in non-linear ways in instances of passing. Memory is creative and forward looking, "the active reinvention of a self that is joyfully discontinuous" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 235)—but also tensely, uncomfortably, painfully (dis)continuous. In this instance, I evoke discontinuity to refer to the non-linearity and polyvocality of becoming (Braidotti, 2013) rather than to detachment from the past. Bodies' assembled histories are constantly present *and* reconfigured. Moments of passing are saturated with these tense, temporally pointed affects and emergent embodied knowledges.

I conclude this transposition of passing by relating it to Grosz's (2011) bid for feminist knowledge production to abandon identity politics and look beyond the "I." I have highlighted how the potentialities of passing, like affectivity, involve both an overspilling "more than" and constraining "less than." This highlights how a politics of location (Rich, 1984) and situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988) are the very substance of the politics of polyvocal relational ontologies of becoming and rhizomatic subjectivities (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). Accounting for situatedness—time, space, embodiment, intersecting markers and affective circulations—do not contradict, but enable, the theorization of rhizomatic, multi-layered, distributed bodies in becoming.

Exploring affects of generative ecologies of knowledge and critique

This final part of Chapter 4 revisits the gestures that I made towards a generative ecology of knowledge in the Introduction, engaging with Eve Sedgwick's (2003) proposed duality between paranoid and reparative strategies for knowledge production. Writing about the emergence of bodies, spaces and affect, I foregrounded affectivity as an overspilling quality, a force and momentum, an entangled multitude of energies that lend directionality to processes of becoming (B. Anderson, 2014). Thinking beyond a duality of being and movement, substance and form, these energies are not just the *how* and *where (to)* of bodies and space, but also the *what*. Arguing in favour of embodied, emplaced

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knowledge production, these conceptualizations can be extended to how affectivity is conceived with regards to knowledge production. This resonates with Butler's (2016, p. 34) point that affect is not just the basis, but the very substance of what thinking is made of.

Consequently, in this second part of Chapter 4 I ask: how might alternative ways of seeking knowledge and critique *work, move* and *feel*? I start out by revisiting Sedgwick's (2003) text on paranoid and generative ecologies of knowledge and the potentialities of desire and hope (B. Anderson, 2006, 2014; Braidotti, 2011; Grosz, 2011; Massumi, 2015; Muñoz, 2007) for alternative modes of knowledge production. I engage in a generous reading of paranoia, linking it to a discussion of the positivity of negative critique (Povinelli, 2011). Then I revisit desire and hope, exploring the directions and ways of becoming they open for alternative pathways of knowledge production and critique.

Sedgwick's (2003) chapter on paranoid and reparative modes of knowledge production can be read as a hopeful call for alternative modes of knowledge production, criticism and social practice. This was the reading strategy I pursued. However, the chapter can also be read as a provocation, a parody and a highlighting of a theoretical, affective limbo. Although Sedgwick (2003) argues for the necessity of alternate modes of knowledge production, her own readings of other work follow a paranoid pattern (Remmen, 2017): she exposes texts that expose, setting out to find, and finding, paranoia.

This (paranoid) reading of Sedgwick's (2003) (paranoid) reading of paranoid strategies of knowledge production highlights the need to explore possibilities and affective repertoires for thinking, knowing and being otherwise. In the Introduction, I examined the effects of open curiosity, hope, love and care. I would like to add to these affective modalities by examining desire and its relationship to knowledge production and futurity.

"*The here and now is simply not enough. Queerness should and could be about a desire for another way of being in both the world and time, a desire that resists mandates to accept that which is not enough.*" (Muñoz, 2007, p. 365)

I will return later to a discussion of the effects of Muñoz's (2007) relating of desire to refusal and resistance, to "not enough." For now I want to foreground his emphasis on desire as directed towards "another way of being in the world and time." This understanding of desire resonates with how it has been conceptualized in the work of others. For instance, building on Spinoza, Braidotti adopts a "positive notion of desire as an ontological force of becoming" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 2). Desire not only shapes becoming, lends it form and directionality; it also "escapes us, is always ahead of us" (Braidotti, 2011, p. 2). This way of conceiving desire corresponds to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987, p. 399) view of desire as assembling and assembled force. By operating in this way, desire transcends; it links "us"

and "our being/becoming" to an otherness, to that which is not (yet) but perhaps about to emerge (Braidotti, 2011).

This way of conceiving desire highlights its affective potential for a generative ecology of knowledge. Another generative force in the conduct of research might be that of hopefulness, as a fragile bodily and affective capacity—a disposition open to something better (B. Anderson, 2014), to connections in the making (Massumi, 2015). Anderson ties hopefulness to "minor variations in a 'force of existing'" (2014, p. 96), enabling a body to act and be acted upon in a number of ways. Consequently, hopefulness might represent an opening, an affective disposition to notice what else is there. Hopefulness might operate less forcefully than desire—a difference in tone and intensity to which I will return in the final subsection of this chapter.

Hopefulness also seems to both differ from, and invite, ways of knowledge-seeking beyond the struggle for survival, or "withstanding the weather" (Audre Lorde, cited in Ahmed, 2014). Withstanding the weather can turn one to a stone shaped by what it comes up against, or what comes up against it; standing becomes withstanding (Ahmed, 2014). Withstanding the weather, bracing oneself for impact or biting one's teeth together can harden the body, making it less open to being affected, to asking "what else is there?" On one hand, this highlights how hopefulness might be an affective disposition more accessible to some bodies than others at certain points in the process of knowledge-seeking. On the other hand, it underlines the complexity of the affects of knowledge production. One might view "hopefulness" and "withstanding" as opposing affective forces in knowledge production and being in the world, much like the distinction between generative and paranoid strategies of knowledge production. Concurrently, survival or continued existence can be thought of as a precondition for states of hopefulness; and conversely, hopefulness might be instrumental to one's ability to "withstand the weather." Affective processes of knowledge production are entangled, shifting and multi-layered, variously constraining and enabling one another. This propels me to revisit paranoia and the distinction between paranoid and generative modes of knowledge production that I sketched in the Introduction of the thesis.

A generous reading of paranoia

"Is there something wrong with knowledge that does not propose a positive, alternative shelter for an exposed body?" (Rephrased as a question from Povinelli, 2011, p. 189).

Although Sedgwick (2003) emphasizes that she does not intend to discredit or disavow paranoid modes of knowledge production, a normative order quickly arise between paranoid and reparative (Sedgwick's vocabulary) or paranoid and generative (my preferred terms) ecologies of knowledge.

Also, reading the texts of others, one can easily be seduced by hopefulness, joy, creativity, and affirmation; be tempted by and carried away with desire in search for possible, unknown futures (Braidotti, 2011; Grosz, 2011). Positioned as a counterpoint to "paranoia," these positive affects beckon one to move forward rather than question their legitimacy or intensity, while "paranoia," recognized and framed in this way, all too easily lends itself to doubt and discredit. Despite Sedgwick's (2003) emphasis that paranoia knows some things well, is paranoia not known to generate delusions?

In the conclusion of *Economies of Abandonment*, Elizabeth A. Povinelli (2011) argues for a positivity in and of negative critique. She highlights how the "not this" of negative critique can provide preconditions, or "quasi-events," for imagining and acting otherwise. People who engage in "not this" "continue to do something as long as they refuse to do nothing" (Povinelli, 2011, p. 191).

Extending this point, and revisiting Lorde's "withstanding the weather" (Ahmed, 2014), one might emphasize that the act of survival itself, the act of continuing to take up space, is doing something *and* does something. Here I refer not only to the feats of labour and effort that survival demands of some bodies, but also to the effects that survival and endurance can produce as events in the world. It becomes, in some ways, less important whether the withstanding body is tied in tense knots and hardened into a rock or soft, malleable and open to new possibilities. By surviving, by struggling to carve out a space or a face, or by claiming a voice for oneself, one can be an uncomfortable, knowledge-generating body-presence that helps "make the world unready at hand for those for whom it has worked smoothly" (Povinelli, 2011, p. 192). And by continuing to be this (uncomfortable) body in the world, engaging in negative critique, one affects and leaves traces on other bodies and spaces, "tracings that then will be traced" (Povinelli, 2011, p. 192). Finally, perhaps, the "not this" of negative critique cannot easily be separated from the "what else is there"—the driving force of what I have called a generative ecology of knowledge production. This is illustrated by the Muñoz quote in the previous subsection, in which resistance and refusal ("not this," "not enough") are intertwined with *"a desire for another way of being in both the world and time"* (Muñoz, 2007, p. 365)*.

Povinelli's (2011) discussion of negative critique propelled me to wonder whether I had established too dichotomous a separation between paranoid and generative ecologies and affects of knowledge production. From the outset I envisioned and sensed a productive tension between the two, comparing it to a tuned string instrument. However, there are other linkages and connections between paranoid and generative modes of knowledge production, other connections between critique and creation (Braidotti, 2011, 2013). I examine these possible nodes of connection by, first, engaging in a thought experiment that regards paranoia as a valid position, and second, juxtaposing

negation and generation. In these undertakings I glimpse through the affective-conceptual prisms of endurance and care (Povinelli, 2011, 2016).[25]

When paranoia is recognized as (possibly) legitimate and founded, it can be conceived as a claim to space and voice, propelling worlds into existence from a position of silence or being silenced. This way of seeing paranoia makes it relatable to a position of a feminist killjoy (Ahmed, 2010; Aidoo, 1997; Parker, 2016b), a position much easier to recognize as legitimate because of its travels in feminist thought and activism. More crucially, this generous modality of acknowledging and recognizing paranoia shows how it can help bring bodies and worlds into existence—not just delusions.

Furthermore, thinking about paranoia through a focus on endurance and care highlights how the articulation, insistence on, and acknowledgment of injustice and violence can facilitate survival, a taking place in the world. Thus paranoia can be a tool of nourishment, self-preservation, self-care and self-affirmation—and can be aligned with the affirmative affects and effects of positive, creative critique and desire (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Grosz, 2011; Massumi, 2002, 2015).

Paranoia recognizes and voices injustice, and through exposure (Sedgwick, 2003) produces claims and knowledges about the real that might otherwise be obscured by an idea that we live not just in the best of all possible worlds, but the only possible world (Povinelli, 2011). These knowledges, which can be linked to the "not this" of negative critique (Povinelli, 2011, p. 191), are not contradictory to, and might even be conducive to, the "what more is there" that I have ascribed to a generative ecology of knowledge. Reading paranoid knowledge production through the affective prisms of endurance and care highlights its potential to carve out and preserve a space, form and voice for knowledge-seeking bodies in the world.

Directions of becoming: shapes, affects and affordances of knowledge production

As I have discussed above, there is an affective, embodied substance to knowledge production. At the same time, knowledge also takes shape and produces affectivity and effects in the world, inviting and enabling forms of thinking, feeling and being. In Chapter 2 of the thesis, I attended in particular to knowledge production propelled by multiple modalities of discomfort. This knowledge might feel like and function as an itch, as a stone in one's shoe, unsteadying and unsettling. Some knowledges might bring despair. But with regards to this thesis, uncomfortable knowledges have substantiated and

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[25] While I am inspired by Povinelli's (2016) use of these terms, she does not evoke them as "affective prisms".

supported, rather than quenched, an affectivity and movement of existence and thinking towards "what else is there."

This showcases the potentialities of paranoia as a legitimate, enabling, affirmative and perhaps even hopeful knowledge-seeking strategy. While paranoia knows some things well and others poorly (Sedgwick, 2003), it might help establish a situated position, or carve out a space, from which other things might be known. This returns to the discussion on the positivity of negative critique (Povinelli, 2011) visited above. If we present paranoia as potentially enabling, perhaps there need not be tension between paranoid and generative modes of knowledge production. However, there are important differences between how knowledge seeking-strategies enact bodies and their movement and directionalities.

Paranoid knowledge-seeking strategies might help outline and situate (knowledge-seeking) bodies by exposing the injustices and violences that shape them. By contrast, knowledges that are propelled by imagining new worlds, driven by a "what else is there?" mentality, might act as "shelter for an exposed body" (Povinelli, 2011). These might be, on one hand, exciting, stimulating knowledges oriented towards newness and other possible futures; on the other hand, and perhaps simultaneously, they might be knowledges that soothe, comfort and shelter.

There are different modalities that knowledges work through and degrees to which they make themselves known. For instance, some knowledges might become the ground under our feet, something we stand on but do not actively attend to (Povinelli, 2016, p. 23). Or they might be so well-aligned with our bodies that it is difficult to notice the effects they produce on our thinking-feeling-becoming in the world. These knowledges still have a range of affects and effects, but they are so closely intertwined with "us" as constituent processes of assembled, rhizomatic, cyborg (researcher) bodies that their effects and intensities escape awareness.

In contrast, other knowledges might function like loose prisms, figures that glimmer, flash and flicker (Povinelli, 2016, p. 25) as they repeatedly but variously surface or are encountered at different moments. These knowledges continuously take shape, transform, multiply and branch out as they reappear, revisiting and re-emerging not out of sameness but out of difference (Braidotti, 2013), multi-layeredness, ambiguity and complexity. These knowledges might emerge and multiply through Sedgwick's (2003) proposed arts of loosing. When one engages in practices of loosing, "life, loves, and ideas might sit freely, for a while, on the palm of the open hand" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 3). While one encounters and observes them there, perched on one's open hand, one might see them grow, change and transform, shifting shapes as one's own hand changes.

Thinking of the arts of loosing (Sedgwick, 2003), I wonder if there is a tension between practicing these arts and surrendering to the directionality and pull of desire in seeking new knowledges, worlds and ways of being (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Grosz, 2011; Muñoz, 2007). These modes of conducting research, seeking knowledge and world-making have different forces, intensities and velocities, and perhaps different directionalities.

While those who write in favour of desire (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Grosz, 2011; Massumi, 2002, 2015; Muñoz, 2007) emphasize its openness and creative potential, desire has a forcefulness, a strong sense (of will). For one, desire might be directed towards a destination—a destination that is pre-established and thereby constrained by its directionality. Even a desire that has "nothing to do with a natural and spontaneous determination" effectuates passions (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 399–400). While not conceptualized as directional in a way that implies linearity, this desire has a forceful, weapon-like character in how it "assembles and is assembled" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, pp. 399–400). Even "purely operative" desire, desire without an object (Massumi, 2002, p. 113), exhibits a thrust and wilfulness through its mode of operation.

For others, desire might emerge from a lack, from a sense of "not enough" or irreconcilability with the here and now (Muñoz, 2007). However, "not enough" and "not this" can be thought-feelings that complicate imagining an otherwise. "Not enough" might morph into "more," whose potential for bringing about newness is limited (as I discuss in greater detail below). And while "not this" can be a step towards "otherwise" (Povinelli, 2011), it can also complicate thinking and feeling beyond the negation. One might evoke the figure of the diversity tourist that longs for an escape, for the "not this" of living in "Copenhagen," but that is stuck in frames of perceptions and experience that are bounded by "this" very "Copenhagen."

As a consequence, in trying to conceive of an unknown, open "otherwise" (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Grosz, 2011), desire might limit movement by acting as if it knows what it wants to effectuate and how to proceed. In this case, the focus and forcefulness of desire could obscure openness and the multiplicities of an "otherwise." Perhaps "otherwise" denotes less forceful ways of becoming; it is an idea to which I return below.

The mode of operation of desire that I have sketched above can be juxtaposed with hopefulness. Writing of self-affirmation as a belief that *is* a being in the world, Massumi (2015, p. 46) emphasizes that "it is not hope that has a particular content or end point—it's a desire for more life, or for more to life." Distinctions between hope and desire seem to be blurred here, highlighting contingencies and entanglements of affect (and perhaps also simply revealing that Massumi (2015, p. 46) does not see a need to distinguish between the two). However, central distinction between desire and hope might

emerge from an examination of this wording. I agree that hope does not need a particular direction or endpoint; but it might not even need "more." Even a desire that is not targeted towards something specific and that operates beyond an object/subject distinction (Braidotti, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Massumi, 2002, 2015; Muñoz, 2007), has a strong will, a pull and a seductive, restless, perhaps greedy, energy and wish for "more" (Muñoz's (2007) "not enough"). In contrast to Massumi's (2015) wording, I do not think that hope is necessarily about desiring "more." I think of hope as an openness to "otherwise."

This "otherwise" is what I hinted at when I chose to think with (unfulfilled) longing rather than desire in building the analytical figure of the diversity tourist. However, longing, akin to desire, wants to possess, to own, to have ("more" or "otherwise"). Fulfilment, or unfulfillment, seem central to desire and longing. Hope and hopefulness are fragile and precarious, but thinking of them as bodily dispositions foregrounds how hope is more about being open to something better (B. Anderson, 2014, p. 101) or, as I conceptualize it, something "otherwise." Anderson (2014, p. 101) highlights the fragility and precariousness of bodily states of hopefulness when he writes of hope fading when its object fades or is unrealized. Beyond the subject/object dichotomy that looms in Anderson's passage (2014, p. 101), I think that hope does not necessarily depend upon a sense of direction or target (Massumi, 2015, p. 46). Moreover, hope might be loosening, rather than assembling. It might indeed be fragile and fleeting, but the strength and possible perseverance of hope seems to be centered around its factoring in a lack of guarantees, in not being organized around fulfilment. In thinking of hope as an *openness* to "otherwise," the felt proximity of this "otherwise" does not have to be instrumental.

I do not want to discount the potentialities of desire as an affective force in an ecology of knowledge production. These explorations into various affects of knowledge-seeking aim to explore alternative ways of knowing rather than to suggest superior pathways; they aim to find "besides" rather than "instead of." At the same time, however, this analysis also shows that affects *matter*; they make differences in knowledge production. Highlighting their different effects and performativities underlines normative, political implications for the knowledges we want to generate, how we want to be(come), and the worlds we want to nurture and bring into being.

It seems that desire's mode of operation propels a particular emergence of bodies and worlds, limited exactly by its forcefulness and (assembling) pull. This angling of desire might also fit a little too snugly with the logics of neoliberalism and capitalism: optimization, improvement, "'never enough'," incessantly chasing for "'more'." Desire might be greedy. Desire might seduce us, not allowing us to see what might emerge in the constant unfolding of the here and now. The hunger of desire for

different futures might paradoxically trap it into the logics of (im)possibility already defined by a perception of a "here and now" that is "not enough" (Muñoz, 2007).

One might think one knows what there is to know about the "here and now" and grow restless with it. One might think one knows the "I" and discount it as a location for identity politics and a preoccupation with subjectivity, something we need to move away from in search of different knowledges and futures (Grosz, 2011). Restlessness and the "not this" that propels it also have a politics of location, a situatedness. They might emerge from positionalities where it is more difficult to summon the patience and peace of mind to be with, and open up to, multiple becomings of the "here and now."

However, the "here and now" and "I," as I have argued, are multi-layered, never to be known, imploding and exploding, already opening up to multiplicities of otherwise. The arts of loosing proposed by Sedgwick (2003, p. 3), of life, loves and ideas sitting freely, for a while, on the palm of the open hand, seem better equipped to actualize the potentialities and get acquainted with the "more than" of "here and now." The arts of loosing might be better equipped to provide"affective openings-out"' (Braidotti, 2013, p. 166) that enable '"coming to terms with the present in new fundamental ways"' (Braidotti, 2013, p. 187).

In an often-quoted passage, Foucault (1997) envisions a criticism that would bring things to life, multiply "signs of existence; it would summon them, drag them from their sleep. Perhaps it would invent them sometimes- all the better. All the better." (Foucault, 1997, p. 323). I do not want to discredit the potentiality and beauty of invention. But Foucault's (1997) call can be read as an invitation to engage in forceful, grand and wilful processes of knowledge production. This idea(l) reifies the knowledge-seeking body not just as an entity apart from the world, but also as coming into being and arriving at knowledge by exercising control over and acting upon, rather than mutually enacting, this world.

I think that Sedgwick's (2003, p. 3) vision of letting lives, loves and ideas, or what might also be termed "signs of existence," sit freely on the palm of the open hand holds a possibility for a different coming-into-being of knowledges and knowledge-producing bodies. It decenters, loosens and reconfigures these bodies and the process of knowledge production. The body does not need to awaken the world into existence; rather, the body itself becomes otherwise awake and present through an openness to that world. The agency of knowledge-seeking does not need to operate through invasive measures such as multiplication, invention, summoning, dragging lives, loves and ideas from their sleep (Foucault, 1997, p. 323). Rather, it can be a state of wakefulness, openness and attunement to already existing and awake multitudes of continuously emerging signs of existence.

It is perhaps these kinds of knowledge-seeking and becoming other in the world that we need to survive and facilitate the survival of bodies around us. An "otherwise," and the affective, embodied modes of knowledge production that we seek in order to envisage and approach it, is not just about an abstract moral judgement (for instance that greed is a '"worse"' affective enabler than curious openness). Through knowledge production, an "otherwise" can be about arriving at ways of becoming-with and acting, that make kin with presences in the world (Haraway, 2015, 2016) more than the death of that kin. Looking at the present moment and what is emerging on the palm of the open hand (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 3), might offer pathways towards this be(com)ing-with. Conversely, critiques and modes of seeking knowledge driven by desire might, although propelled by affects of "not this," perform as "more," with notes of optimization echoing the logics of capitalism and neoliberalism and driven by the hunger of a body that conceives and enacts itself as separated from the world. Desire-driven practices might thus be an indication of invasive, human-centered activity that is the basis of conceiving Anthropocene, reifying a figure of "human" that is separated from, and superior to, other presences (Bennett, 2010; Braidotti, 2013; Haraway, 2016; Massumi, 2015).

Arts of loosing thus might perform as pathways to the (more) sustainable, post-"human" ecologies of knowledge that Braidotti (2011, 2013) calls for, which entail de-centering, diffusing, but also multiplying the "human" (Haraway, 2016). By highlighting the potentialities of arts of loosing, I am aligning myself with a normative, political vision of knowledge production and world-making. This vision posits that we need ecologies of knowledge-seeking that help us recognize how "we" are already multiple, opening up and out towards the world and to ourselves (Braidotti, 2013; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Haraway, 2015, 2016; Massumi, 2015). These modes of becoming are aligned with learning to be truly present (Haraway, 2016) and having hope for that present (Massumi, 2015, p. 2) through embeddedness, not detachment. They demand attentiveness (Back, 2007; Bennett, 2010) and attunement to the "alter-politics of every situation" (Massumi, 2015, p. 58). These are ways of seeking knowledge that would enact an embedded, embodied sense of potential that is "all about the openness of situations and how we can live that openness" (Massumi, 2015, p. 6).

Perhaps this mode of emplaced, embodied being and relating can be linked to what Casper, quoted in the article on diversity tourism, hinted at and longed for when he referred to the beauty of the stillness and "letting be" of Nordvest—the beauty of "*things that just are, stand still and work out in a way'.*" Perhaps he was perceiving, conceiving and enacting Nordvest as a place that simply is, and where one can simply be (truly present). A place of differential velocities, affects, flows, modes of becoming.

This political project for seeking knowledge and ways of be(com)ing in the world can comprise a lens with which to once again visit Ursula Le Guin's story '"The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas"'

(Povinelli, 2011). In Omelas, everyone is ideally, perfectly happy—at the cost of a child's entrapment in the broom closet. Perhaps the arts of loosing can help us envisage and experience another kind of happiness: a modest, limited happiness (Haraway, 1991) that is not "indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption" (Benjamin, 1970, p. 245). A happiness that suffices, rather than craving '"more'." Sometimes, the '"here and now"' might be enough. Or rather, we might be able to find ways to relate to, perceive, (en)act and be present in '"here and now"' that generate a sense of openness and hope, making it (more than) enough.

The arts of loosing (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 3) are arts of open curiosity, wonder, quiet attention, trusting, and generous patience. These are arts of hopefulness, sensed and conceived as an openness to "besides" and "otherwise." They comprise a way of becoming-with (Haraway, 2016), of letting become, of waiting to see what emerges on the palm of one's open hand, allowing it to withdraw, reappear, and change. I wonder if this openness to becomings-with enables paths to unknown futures beyond those on which the urgencies of desire, "more" and "not enough" can take us.

Chapter 5. Loos(en)ing the threads: by way of concluding

This brief concluding chapter picks up and drops again, or loose(n)s, some whirls of thinking that the thesis has outlined and enacted. The thesis is a body (of research) that is assembled, heterogeneous, multiple, full of flows, knots and tensions, extending itself in becoming-with and imploding in on itself. It is a body in movement. This section re-choreographs and realigns some of its movements and their directionalities. I start by situating this thinking, feeling and (en)acting body in relation to Nordvest and revisiting (reconfiguring) the research questions.

Nomadic attachments: from Nordvest to elsewheres

"Beloveds, we say we do not want to move anymore. We want to
see ourselves as located and bound even if not local, located and
bound to someone else's land, and there by chance even as we do
not see ourselves as part of that land."

(Spahr, 2005, p. 29)

The mode of being bound invoked in the poem above seems to be full of contradictions. Wanting to see oneself as "located and bound even if not local, located" and at the same time, "bound to someone else's land" and not seeing oneself as part of that land; being there by chance. Yet I think this ambiguous, assembled, rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) relationality offers some fleeting, flickering prisms through which to conceive how this thesis relates to its land. In this case, "land" refers to (affectively laden and driven) conceptualizations, as well as the spaces of Nordvest that the thesis engages with.

The conceptual and methodological work of this thesis has been strongly inspired by nomadic thinking (Braidotti, 2011, 2013; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). I would like to highlight how this nomadic mode of conducting research evolves around a heart of movement and mobility (Braidotti, 2011) while at the same time coming into being through wilful attachments to places and presences. Characteristic of embodied, embedded research (Braidotti, 2011), the conceptual, methodological underpinnings and developments have emerged through encounters and symbiotic relationships with particular urban spatiotemporalities, their presences and affective circulations. By pointing to Nordvest, this research has enacted Nordvest—the movement and act of pointing realizes that which it points to (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 171). These enactments have shaped the body of the thesis and propelled its movements.

This be(com)ing-with means that the thesis has emerged by entangling itself with, and remaining entangled with, Nordvest. Nordvest and the thinking, feeling and becomings of this thesis can be

understood as aligned plateaus: continuous, self-vibrating areas of intensities (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) that push, pull, resonate and shape each other. Nordvest remains strange, dispersed, and unfathomable. This body of research has engaged with this strangeness by becoming (strange, dispersed, entangled) with Nordvest. It has made itself home, partially by mimicking, resonating and performing the multiplicities and heterogeneities of Nordvest—and generating its own.

This understanding and practice of nomadic conceptual work and becoming does not primarily emphasize being *on the move*, which is how I read, for instance, Braidotti's (2011) emphases on the movement and mobility of thought. At the same time, she highlights the relational coming-into- being and codependence of nomadic, non-unitary subjectivities (Braidotti, 2013, p. 93). Relationality, in this section conceptualized as attachments to places and people, can be evoked to challenge the duality between movement and stillness, between moving on and staying put.

Deleuze & Guattari (1987) highlight the capacity for stillness as central to a nomadic way of being. It "occupies, inhabits, holds that space. … The nomad is on the contrary *he who does not move*." (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 381). I would stipulate that distributing oneself in smooth space[26] entails movement. It means being moved by and with the space and forming multiple engagements and attachments to the space. It is a moving-with and moving-into that can be linked to the arts of loosing—anchoring oneself in the "here and now," opening up to be moved by what emerges, and opening up to change. At the same time, as I have emphasized in previous chapters, anchoring oneself and *taking place* entails the navigation of multiple tensions, modes of presence, and temporalities.

This mode of thinking about nomadic research, data and theory generation highlights the ways this body of work conceives Nordvest and can come to engage with other spaces. On one hand, it emerged through entanglements with the spaces of Nordvest, a Nordvest specifically located and present in Copenhagen, Denmark, Europe and the West. On the other hand, through these very embodied, intimate engagements Nordvest located itself in both a multitude of places, and nowhere.

Nordvest could appear in a backyard in Frederiksberg in Copenhagen, in "abandoned" industrial buildings awaiting development in San Francisco's Dogpatch, or in a photographic book of transitional urban spaces in Eastern Europe. Hearing my paper presentations, members of the audience at international conferences would spontaneously and emotionally exclaim that Nordvest was "just like," for instance*,* Neukölln in Berlin or Zuidoost (Southeast) in Amsterdam. It seemed like they recognized Nordvest in these other spaces, not just intellectually or discursively but in an embodied way. My rendering Nordvest *struck a chord* with and in these members of the audience, evoking an affective

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[26] The distinctions between smooth and striated space (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) are discussed in the article on Integration Gardens.

resonance. In addition, Nordvest itself, much like the Web of Gardening in the article on Integration Gardens, was overspilling to multiple elsewheres, associatively, discursively, materially, emotionally, sensorily, through composite acts of re-membering (Barad, 2015). Hence the "everywhere" of Nordvest.

Conversely, informants who lived in Nordvest with intimate, embodied, affective knowledges of the district, would often grasp and enact Nordvest through absence and negation. It was "not Copenhagen"—or "not yet" like other Copenhagen districts. The continuing, persistent comparisons between "Nordvest" and '"Copenhagen"' enacted the district in a particular way: what it '"was"' was obscured by what it *was not*. There were impossibilities at play in relating Nordvest, pointing to limitations of ways of conceiving, feeling, imagining and becoming that I discuss in the article on diversity tourism. In addition, the more I came to know multiple imploding/exploding spaces of Nordvest in an embodied way, the less I was able to conceive of the district as an entity in what I felt was a legitimate and meaningful way. Hence the "nowhere."

This project's understanding of space—as multi-layered, dispersed, distributed, and overspilling to and emerging from and with multiple elsewheres—pertains to how this body of research might attach itself to processes of becoming that unfold in other spaces. Other spaces might echo Nordvest, and Nordvest might echo other spaces, in partial, incomplete, but suddenly meaningful, fraught ways. Or there might be affects that resonate with modes of presence in other spaces, for instance the longing that envelops and moulds the figure of the diversity tourist. Finally, the methodological perspectives and sketched conceptualizations in this thesis might engage very broadly with feminist-inspired theory generation and research.

Revisiting the research questions

In Chapter 1, I posed the following questions for this body of research:

How are the changing spaces of Nordvest experienced, enacted and understood by residents, and how do they, in turn, constrain residents' experience?

How do social inclusion and exclusion and minority and majority positions emerge across spaces and intersecting markers of difference in Nordvest?

I set out to address the "how" of these questions by engaging with particular spaces, presences and relational processes unfolding in Nordvest, with each research article constituting a differently angled

prism or lens. A thesis structured this way would address and embody the multiplicity of spaces, bodies and affective circulations of the district. However, in the process of writing the thesis cloak, I found I had been (and still was) posing (and answering) other questions as well.

While important elements of the research questions—for instance pertaining to inclusion and exclusion, the notion that Nordvest was contested and changing—were present from the outset, the questions were continuously calibrated by emerging ways of thinking and experiencing Nordvest. For example, the notion of enactments, as discussed in the previous chapter, gradually arose through my empirical engagements with Nordvest and the ensuing dialogues with conceptual perspectives. In addition, while maintaining a focus on the manifestations of intersecting markers, inclusion and exclusion, minority and majority positions, emerged as central to bodies' capacities to claim, move and pass across spaces. In other words, I explored inclusion and exclusion through bodies' capacities to be(come) present and take place, following lines of thinking that conceive bodies as determined by their capacities to affect and be affected (Ahmed, 2014; B. Anderson, 2014; Blackman, 2012a; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004; Grosz, 1994; Massumi, 2015; Mol, 2002).

Empirically driven, "sweaty" (Ahmed, 2014), nomadic (Braidotti, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) and generative research process takes shape not only by addressing the questions it set out to answer and those that emerge from its preconceptions, but also by encountering and internalizing new knowledges, modes of thought, doubts, and triggered curiosities. The knowledge production of this thesis does not occur along a linear trajectory, but rather through spiralling movements of refrains (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987), reconfigurations and transpositions (Braidotti, 2011). Consequently, reconfigurations of the original research questions represent not only turning points in the research process, but also important findings.

Two such reconfigurations should be emphasized. As mentioned above, I found that inclusion, exclusion and minoritization and majoritization processes could be conceived in terms of bodies' abilities to be(com)e present and to (en)act that present. Secondly, through the conduct of my research, I arrived at a mode of thinking that does not and cannot separate bodies ("residents"), spaces (Nordvest), affects and experiences. I theorized these entanglements through an elaboration of the notion of enactments in Chapter 4.

The first reconfiguration, pertaining to the second research question, is, in a way, an instance of simplification. Asking **about bodies' capabilities to be(come) present, and (en)act that present in Nordvest** is at the same time a more concise, foundational and open question than evoking the dualities of inclusion/exclusion and majoritization/minoritization. However, the journey towards this (perhaps more elegant) question has been informed by my thinking and research about the

emergence of intersecting markers, inclusion/exclusion and majoritization/minoritization. Through these processes of knowledge production, bodies' "be(com)ing," "presence" and "capabilities" have acquired conceptual and empirically grounded weight that they would not have had otherwise.

The second reconfiguration represents a complication in which things became messier and more tangled as a result of the empirical research. Through the research process, I found that the duality of "residents" and "(spaces of) Nordvest," even when softened by using the words "enact" and "constrain," did not seem to make sense. The first research question could have been revised to inquire into **mutual, inextricable, agentic be(com)ings of bodies, spaces and affects**, referring to the notion of **enactments** explained in Chapter 4. Enactments can be challenging to think (with and through), not only because of their complexity, but also because they contradict ingrained, intellectual, Western scientific habits of distinguishing between subjects and objects; persons and their environments; and mind, feelings and matter (Blackman, 2008; Braidotti, 2002, 2011; Grosz, 1994). My perspective on these processes of mutual be(com)ing emerged from my own fieldwork and methodological reflections, as discussed in Chapter 2; my empirical data, as illustrated in Chapter 3; and my engagement with theoretical perspectives, as discussed in Chapter 4. This metamorphosis highlights how emerging findings can render a research question irrelevant by "muddying the picture." The performativity of research and knowledge production can also evolve in the process of underscoring (irreducible) complexities. But just as with the more elegant transposition of the second research question, the process of inquiry that made the first research question outdated carries important findings.

These transpositions demonstrate the multiple directions that nomadic, generative research can take when engaging with the complexities of lived experience, data and theory. It finds trust, curiosity, openness and courage to see what emerges in the research process, on the palm of the open hand (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 3). Sometimes, in trying to answer a question, we find ourselves asking, and answering, other questions. The research process can be about enabling other questions to be asked, about generating branchings-out as well as closures, complexities as well as elucidations. Sometimes problems or situations can, and might have to, be lived with(in) rather than solved (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994; Massumi, 2015). This perspective can be exercised to bolster and cultivate new modes of living with(in) and new modes of be(com)ing that are about living the openness of situations (Massumi, 2015, p. 6). Similarly, asking questions, rather than leading to seemingly finalized "answers," can enable other modes of thinking, being, and conceiving things differently. This shows how research can enact openness to "otherwise," enabling and making difference(s) (Braidotti, 2011).

This mode of conducting research is affectively borne by the generative mode of knowledge production that I explored in the second part of Chapter 4. Closures might occur, but the knowledge production of this thesis first and foremost aims to generate ways of thinking-with and being-with that exhibit hopefulness and openness to "otherwise." While I have featured other affects that have been instrumental to this mode of knowledge production, I have not aimed to be prescriptive and exhaustive in establishing a fixed affective ecology of generative knowledge-seeking. Rather, I have attempted to challenge and add nuance to the oppositions between negative critique (Povinelli, 2011) and paranoid modes of knowledge production (Sedgwick, 2003) on one side, and affirmative (Braidotti, 2011; Massumi, 2015; Moss, 2014), hopeful (B. Anderson, 2006, 2014; Massumi, 2015), reparative (Sedgwick, 2003) and generative ecologies of knowledge production on the other side.

Conceiving and experiencing research as affective, embedded and embodied (Braidotti, 2011; J. Butler, 2016) motivated me to examine affective ecologies of knowledge production. As I worked towards addressing the "hows" of my research questions, I became aware of the importance of accounting for the affective directionalities and politics (B. Anderson, 2014; Massumi, 2015) of knowledge production. In addition to addressing the research questions, tracing these affective ecologies of knowledge prompted the unfolding of the thesis and inquired into the performativity of concepts and theory (Chapter 4).

Seeking to be(come) open to "otherwise" in its multiplicity, this thesis does not end on a note of finality. By way of concluding, the remainder of this brief chapter revisits and realigns two central lenses, devices or perspectives from this body of work. While speaking from and to certain locations, these lenses speak to feminist-inspired methodologies, knowledge production and world-making.

Embodiment and affect as methodologies, realities and substances of thinking

In Chapter 2, I took steps towards an embodied, affective methodology. Subsequent chapters showed how this methodology is aligned with (the experience and conception of) enactments of bodies, spaces and affects. The methodology foregrounds embodiment, materiality and affectivity as substances of thinking (Braidotti, 2011; J. Butler, 2016). Consequently, rather than being stuck in a "cage of the 'I'" (Grosz, 2011), this methodology encompasses strategies to engage with "the real." It highlights how research and knowledge production first and foremost emerge as lived processes— through embeddedness, not through detachment.

Embodied, affective methodology offers ways to transcend the dichotomies of everyday and academic knowledges; knowing, feeling and be(com)ing; subjects and objects in knowledge production;

epistemology and ontology; the "I" and the "real." It makes sense (and senses) that the work this thesis offers towards dismantling these dualities is first and foremost performed through embodied, emplaced labor—a (researcher) body encountering and taking space in the "field." The conceptualizations of enactments of bodies, spaces and affect flow out of these bodily labors. For instance, my (embodied and sensed) conceptualization of the "real" does not elevate it above the "I" or subjectivity. Instead, I think of the "real" as "here and now." The "here and now" can seem to be the "same old" "here and now"—a cage (Grosz, 2011). Sometimes, for some bodies, the "here and now" can be unbearable. But the "here and now" simultaneously constrains and opens up into multi-layered, multidirectional potentialities of be(com)ing otherwise.

My hope for an embodied, affective methodology is that it can travel to become a technique for further multiplications and openings up of "here and now," sensed and conceived from different perspectives. I hope it can travel to, with(in) and through different (researcher) bodies that labor and become differently, perhaps in ways that turn the methodology inside out. I would like to see what happens to it on the palm of the open hand. I hope it will blow away, pick something up, be picked up by something, and then return to me in shapes I barely recognize.

On the palm of the open hand: thinking, feeling, be(com)ing and (en)acting otherwise

Writing the thesis cloak, I felt prompted to ask how (from where, through what) and to what ends (my) research works—how theories and concepts are generated and perform. It matters what ideas we use to think other ideas (Strathern, 1992, p. 10). By conceiving ideas and concepts as embodied, affective, enacted and enacting, they become beings in the world. Beings evoke things from and with each other. They render each other capable. They become-with and constitute devices for becoming-with (Haraway, 2016, pp. 7–8). The capacity to think is intertwined with the capacity to feel and (en)act. Rethinking how we think is thus linked to re-feeling what we feel and re-enacting how we become in the world and how we make the world become. Where are our concepts, as mobile bridges (Deleuze & Guattari, 1994) with affective frequencies, taking us? Where *can* they take us? In what directions, how far, and by which means? And how do they enable and constrain us in imagining and *knowing* where we can go, where we want to go, the "wheres" that are? How can we think in ways that open up new possibilities? In other words, I have been interested in concepts and theory as they block and open pathways to thinking, feeling, be(com)ing and (en)acting "otherwise."

On one side, these questions were prompted by my striving for **accountability**—they were meant to explain the politics of location (Rich, 1984) for the knowledge production in this endeavor. My methodology seeks to, among other things, situate a historicized, marked, relationally becoming researcher body and its encounters in data production. On the other hand, I strove to explore the **possibilities** of knowledge production and the enabling and constraining effects of affective forces and frequencies.

I became increasingly aware of tensions at work in my modes of seeking and arriving at knowledge; my encounters with informants and the field; and the politics of my research. I felt an obligation to cultivate critical modes of awareness that addressed injustice and violence, engaging in negative critique (Povinelli, 2011). I *knew* that injustice was there. But I also *knew* that there were other things unfolding besides. I sensed beauty, love, care, curiosity. But perhaps most strongly, I sensed hope, a hope anchored in the possibility of being attuned to the "here and now." I came to conceptualize this hopefulness as an attentive openness to "otherwise."

This £otherwise" designates the multiple directionalities of research and knowledge generation and shows how they enable, emerge from, and are linked to affectivity, enactments and be(com)ings-with(in) the world. Alternative patterns of thought and knowledge production are linked to alternative ways of feeling, be(com)ing and finding oneself on the way to becoming something else. These ways of seeking knowledge decenter, loose(n) and multiply the knowledge-seeking body. They recognize the beauty of not knowing and not needing to know in advance what will appear on the palm of the open hand, and what the hand itself will look like.

In Chapter 4 I examined the affectivities and bodily becomings of generative modes of seeking knowledge, arguing that they do not discredit paranoid modes of knowledge production (Sedgwick, 2003) and negative critique (Povinelli, 2011). I gestured towards a "besides" rather than an "instead of." I centered my explorations on hopefulness, demonstrating how it might operate differently, and open different possibilities, than desire, which also holds potential as an affective force in knowledge production. But I did not explicitly address the way my generative knowledge production operates with and moulds space and time.

The affective openness of generative knowledge production comprises a bodily capacity and a collective disposition (B. Anderson, 2014). At the same time, a hopeful attentiveness to an emerging "otherwise" seems to imply particular spatiotemporal dynamics. I have only engaged with temporality in limited ways in this thesis. However, addressing temporality seems a fitting concluding note for a generative process of knowledge production, which, expected to contain and gather the threads, loose(n)s them instead. Engaging in a knowledge production that operates through transpositions an

refrains (Braidotti, 2011; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) requires a willingness to encounter the unexpected connections and breachings-out that might emerge.

I have explored and conceptualized enactments of bodies, space and affect with regards to my empirical work in Nordvest. (I could have added temporality, had the research focus been broader.) However, I have also gestured towards how (embodied, affective, embedded, situated and relational) research and knowledge production themselves comprise enactments. Consequently, I want to briefly examine what generative knowledge-seeking and research, through their openness to "otherwise," might mean for being in space and time.

In an essay on pedagogy of Buddhism, mortality and impermanence, Sedgwick (2003) proposes,

"*Being and learning to unbe a self are both less smothering in a space that already holds amnesia, metamorphosis, and ever-shifting relationality—indeed, that holds them as crucible of all phenomena.*" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 179)

The devices for reconfiguring generative ecologies of knowledge that I take from this essay pertain particularly to "learning to unbe" and '"holding"' (space, on one hand; metamorphosis and transformation, on the other hand). Sedgwick's (2003, pp. 153–181) chapter points to, among other things, (coming to terms with the unavoidability of) loss.

It inspires me to emphasize that spaces of be(com)ing "otherwise" are simultaneously spaces of letting go. Openness to continuously unfolding difference necessitates a readiness to give up on what seems to be there, to give up on what one thinks one knows. The arts of loose(n)ing are also the arts of losing.

Processes of generative knowledge production seem to hold spaces and moments in time in particular ways. With regards to space, this might be a deterritorializing (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004) enactment of space, a holding that enables and invites breachings-out as it loose(n)s rather than contains. In terms of space, this overspilling and loos(en)ing applies to temporality that operates beyond linearity. The "always-already there" (Ahmed, 2006, 2007, 2012) is revealed as emanant, emerging. "What one knows" about moments in time located in the past, present or future is constantly changing. The "here and now" opens into be(com)ing "otherwise."

"*There is so much companionable space in the imaginable, tutelary difference of a being whom the present I will never know, and who in turn need never wonder about the thread of hope spun somehow into its own, characteristic courage.*" (Sedgwick, 2003, p. 180)

Hope might spin, and be spun, in various ways, but I think it possesses a modality relating to loss. Trusting what emerges on the palm of the open hand, in the overspilling here and now, hope is not

afraid of losing. Hope is aware of having lost and of incurring ongoing loss. Hope does not form attachments, connections and entanglements in spite of loss, but by factoring in of that loss. It holds (the possibilities, temporalities and spaces of) multiple emergences as well as loss. The openness of hope is about "more" just as much at is about "less." It is about be(com)ing as much as unbe(com)ing.

Abstract

This thesis emerges from an ethnographic study of Nordvest, a district in Copenhagen. I came to know Nordvest as an area undergoing multiple changes. Nordvest was known, sensed and experienced as, among other things, "diverse" and multicultural; socially disadvantaged; a "municipality garbage bin"; an up-and-coming, gentrifying area; and peripheral and outside, or not quite "Copenhagen." These modalities of knowing and experiencing Nordvest were mutually interlinked and emotionally polyvalent. I set out to examine how everyday social spaces in Nordvest constrained and shaped inequalities, processes of in- and exclusion, and processes of majoritization and minoritization, in particular pertaining to racialization, class, and Danishness.

This thesis revolves around four research articles. Each article can be conceived as an optical device, a prism, that sheds and breaks different kinds of light on various spaces, presences and social processes in Nordvest.

The article "***Recruited into Danishness? Shifting Researcher Positions in Racialized Spaces***" (Chapter 2) examines my passing as Danish in the capacity of ethnographer, drawing on autoethnography and memory work. Having moved to Denmark from Latvia in 2004, I became a young, uneducated Eastern European love migrant of limited value. In the subsequent years, I increasingly passed as a well-integrated, desired migrant more proximal to (Western) Europeanness and Danishness. Starting fieldwork in Nordvest in 2014, I found myself passing as Danish. As a researcher, I was never asked "where I came from" or assessed as a migrant in ways that I noticed. Based on analysis of fieldwork encounters, I conceptualize passing (as Danish) as a material, discursive and affective process and discuss gradations of proximity to Danishness.

The article "***Cultivating Integration'? Migrant space-making in Urban gardens***" (Chapter 3) focuses on Integration Gardens, a user-driven association that aims to combine organic urban gardening and "integration." The article discerns and analyzes two distinct modes of migrant space making. The Integration Grid evolves around managed space in the association, arising through and enforcing a Dane–foreigner binary. The second mode of space-making, the Web of Gardening, emerges in-between people and plants, branching out to and evoking presences, memories and practices from multiple elsewheres. The article examines how these modes of space-making are differently made by, and make, migrant bodies, constraining their potentialities for be(com)ing and acting.

"***Diversity Tourism as a 'break in reality': Othering and White Middle Class Longing***" (Chapter 3) discusses the mutual emergence of the analytical figure of the diversity tourist vis-à-vis diverse Nordvest based on interviews with white, middle-class, majority Danish residents. The "diversity"

experienced, articulated and embraced by informants is racialized and/or deprived, sticking to minoritized people and places. The figure of the diversity tourist is characterized by privileged distance and gazing at "local" places and people. In Nordvest, the figure is filled out by various practices of diversity consumption (from entertaining spectacle to transformative pedagogy) and longing for a "reality" and a "break from Copenhagen." It is a diagnostic figure that points to embeddedness in capitalist, neoliberal modes of being with, and relating to, difference.

The article "***Besides Conviviality: Paradoxes in Being 'at ease' with Diversity in a Copenhagen District***" (Chapter 4) traces the traveling concept of "conviviality." The article examines social interactions in a resident-driven community park through the lens of conviviality, charting the concept's travels into studies of urban diversity. The article highlights the performativity of conviviality while analyzing the processes of inclusion and exclusion that unfold in the park.

Apart from the research questions and articles, the dissertation is driven by an emphasis on embodiment and affect in knowledge production. Through an engagement with Eve Sedgwick's (2003) distinction between paranoid and reparative reading strategies, I propose a generative ecology of knowledge (Chapter 1), highlighting the potentialities of open curiosity, hope, beauty, gratitude, love and care.

Chapter 2 develops an embodied, affective methodology. This methodology underlines the interconnectedness and mutual dependence of data production, analytical pathways and knowledge generation. Building on feminist scholarship, I underline partiality, situatedness, relationality, embodiment and affect as key elements of my methodological framework.

Chapter 3 highlights the mutual constitution (enactments) of spaces, bodies and affects in Nordvest. This chapter is built around four empirical prisms, two of them constituted by research articles.

Chapter 4 readdresses and reconfigures key conceptual devices of this body of research: the analytical figure of the diversity tourist; the enactments of spaces, bodies and affects; and passing. The chapter sets out by inquiring into the performativity of concepts and theory, reviewing them as enabling and constraining embodied, affective devices. I revisit and rehabilitate paranoia (Sedgwick, 2003) as a knowledge-seeking strategy, highlighting the potential of negative critique. I then juxtapose desire and hope as modalities of a generative ecology of knowledge. I contrast the forceful, assembling modes of operation and directionality of desire to hope, which I conceptualize as an attentive openness to "otherwise."

In gesturing towards affective modulations of a generative ecology of knowledge-seeking, I explore a beside(s), not "instead," uncovering potentialities and complementarities of various modalities of

knowledge-seeking, rather than disqualifying and excluding. At the same time, I discuss how affective modalities *matter* for which knowledges, worlds and ways of be(com)ing can be brought into existence. In Chapter 5, I revisit generative ecologies of knowledge, casting a glance at their capabilities to enact non-linear spatiotemporalities and their abilities to hold, and come to terms with, loss.

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Appendix

Appendix 1. Overview of the research articles

- Lapiņa, L 2016 "Besides Conviviality: Paradoxes in Being 'at ease' with Diversity in a Copenhagen District." *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 6(1).

- Lapiņa, L "Diversity Tourism as a '"break in reality': Othering and White Middle Class Longing." (submitted to *Social and Cultural Geography)*.

- Lapiņa, L "Cultivating Integration'? Migrant space-making in Urban gardens." (under review for a special issue on Organised Cultural Encounters, *Journal of Intercultural Studies*).

- Lapiņa, L "Recruited into Danishness? Shifting Researcher Positions in Racialized Spaces." (submitted to *European Journal of Women's Studies.* The article has been reviewed and accepted, with revisions needed).

Appendix 2. Semi-structured interview guides, spring–fall 2014

Introduce myself and the project.

Use of the interview, anonymity, consent (welcome to withdraw at any time; possibility of reviewing the interview transcript)

- What's your relationship to Nordvest- you live here, but maybe you also work here, are involved in other activities? For how long?

- How come you live in Nordvest?

- Tell me about your time in the district. How has Nordvest changed while you have lived here? How have you changed?

- What does the district mean to you?

- Is there something special about Nordvest? What?

- What are your immediate associations when you hear "Nordvest"? What sensory impressions do you associate with the district? (Colors, sounds, smells etc.)

- Who and what has had influence over the changes that have been happening in Nordvest?

- Who do you see using public spaces in Nordvest, and how?

- How do you use Nordvest?

- Which organisations do you know in the district? Which are most important?

- Who do you know personally in the district?

- How would you describe relationships between people/residents in the district?

- What are the advantages and disadvantages to living in Nordvest?

- Do you (feel you) belong/feel at home in Nordvest?

- Where is Nordvest going? How will it look in the future?

Interview guide- additional questions asked in Integration Gardens

- How did you hear about the gardens? How long have you been a member?

- How do you use your garden?

- How has it been to have a garden here, compared to what you had expected or hoped for?

- Have you experienced any disagreements in the association? If yes, about what?

- What's your impression of the "integration" aspect of the gardens?

- What are the biggest advantages and disadvantages of being a member and having a garden here?

Appendix 3. Categories used for registering interviews

Name	Date	Age	Gender	Education/ occupation	Type of housing	Time spent in Nordvest	Lives in/ address	Use of NV	Chosen for interview	My immediate reflections	Key metaphors	Why Nordvest	Grew up in	Other impressions