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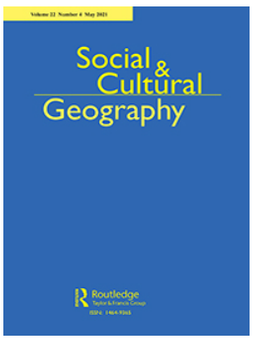

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Domicide: dis*place*ment and dispossessions in Uppsala, Sweden

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ABSTRACT

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

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PALABRAS CLAVE
Desplazamiento; desposeimiento; renovación urbana; domicidio; aburguesamiento; renovación

Domicide: dé*place*ment et dépossessions à Uppsala en Suède

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

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

Domicide: dé*placement* et dépossessions à Uppsala en Suède

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

Displacement & domicide

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Home

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

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

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

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

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

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

Turn-over renovations

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

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

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

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

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

Method

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

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

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

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

Domicide in-situ

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

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

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

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

Table 1. Spatial and temporal dispossessions of domicide.

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

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

Life on hold

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Erasure of history

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contraction of home

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

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

Combined with the large-scale outmigration of the neighborhoods, in which friends and neighbors have vanished, the area is experienced as desolate and empty, even unsafe: *'The neighborhood cohesion and unity is far less pronounced now'(2016)* building superintendent Joachim says, a sentiment echoed by Ingegerd, a retired woman and 15-year resident of Kvarnngärde*t 'it's lonely and deserted here. Some people are afraid' (2015)*. These are almost universal recounts with regards to how the respondents experience their altered neighborhoods. To Anna, the changes have in a very literal sense limited her mobility. She used to take long evening walks with her dog through the neighborhood, but now she feels that:

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

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

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

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

Withering entitlements

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

Further research

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

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