"Everyday racism is not something that keeps me up at night"

The second-generation Afro-Swedes experience of public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies.

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Abstract

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This thesis aims to understand how the second-generation Afro-Swedes experience everyday racism in public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies. The three key dimensions of study are to recognize (1) blackness in public space, (2) experiences of everyday racism in public space, and (3) coping strategies to everyday racism. These three dimensions are gathered from six participants' narratives done through semi-structured interviews. The thesis reveals that public spaces are based on lived experiences. The second-generation Afro-Swedes are likely to suffer from emotional damage while exposed to racism and discrimination acts in public spaces. The collective notion amongst the select group is that feeling unsafe and unwelcomed in predominantly white spaces hinders their mobility patterns. The internal individualization of the concept of blackness is additional; however, there are similarities in how the Swedish society misses the individual aspect of their identity and groups black people as a collective. The thesis further concludes that everyday racism is a product of structural racism and is thus the aspect society should focus on the most. More research needs to be done regarding second-generation Afro-Swedes and black people in Sweden about spatial processes of race and the interconnection with gender, focusing on the embodiment of space rather than segregation.

Keywords: Afro-Swedes, intersectionality, everyday racism, public spaces, the racialization of space, inclusive, exclusive.

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Malleel Abdullahi, June 7th, 2022

"I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood." – Audre Lorde

Sammanfattning

Denna studie syftar till att undersöka hur andragenerationens afrosvenskar upplever vardagsrasism i offentliga rum ur ett ras-och könsperspektiv. Vardagsrasism är ett begrepp av Philomena Essed (1984) som menar att det härstammar från socialiserade och rasistiska föreställningar som integrerares i vardagliga handlingar, likaså blir implikationer igenkända och repetitiva och baseras på underliggande ras- och etniska relationer och hierarkier. Offentliga rum kommer definieras via Ruja och Paul (2016) som menat att rum är statiska och faktiska platser, men påverkas och är beroende av samhälleliga faktorer, tillsammans med studiegruppens definition, som i huvudsakliga drag menar att offentliga rum är rum som inte är privata. Studien kommer utgå från tre huvuddimensioner som undersöker (1) svarthet och offentliga rum (2) upplevelser av vardagsrasism, och (3) andragenerationens afrosvenskars tekniker för att hantera när de blir utsatta för vardagsrasism. Studien baseras på tidigare forskning som tar upp debatten om färgblindhet, afrosvenskars utsatthet i det svenska samhället, och hur upplevelsen av ett offentligt rum sker genom en förkroppsligande erfarenhet som påverkas av flera individuella dimensioner, såsom ras, kön, ålder och klass. Sverige har en vithetsnorm som går tillbaka i historien och syns i det spår i samhället som rasifierar kroppar, inte bara är det beroende på Sveriges medverkan i kolonialismen och rasbiologin men även hela västvärldens. Det har gjort att svarta människor ses som mindre värda (Adeniji 2014; McKittrick, 2020). Detta är en kvalitativ studie som baseras på sex stycken semi-strukturerade intervjuer gjorda med andragenerationens afrosvenskar. Intervjuerna tillsammans med det teoretiska ramverket, intersektionalitet, rasifiering av rum och rumsligheten av etnicitet har det varit möjligt att undersöka individuella aspekter samt liknande faktorer i en grupp. Likheten syftar till den vita normen som reflekteras i det svenska samhället som kategoriserar svarta människor som en och missar de individuella aspekterna såsom kön, religion. Studien visar att andra generations afrosvenskar blir utsatta för vardagsrasism i offentliga rum och leder till emotionell påverkan, likaså är det vanligt att de känner sig utsatta, utpekade och inte välkomna i vita rum och gör därmed allt för att undvika dem och det påverkar därmed deras rörelsemönster. I studien framkommer det även att vardagsrasism är ett problem, dock är det strukturell rasism som påverkar andragenerationens afrosvenskar mest. Studien visar även att kön påverkar hur offentliga rum upplevs, då kvinnor känner sig otrygga på grund av sitt kön, och det tillsammans med att vara en minoritet som svart. Ytterligare forskning bör ske om både afrosvenskar, samt andragenerationens afrosvenskar och bör fokusera på den förkroppsligande upplevelsen av offentliga rum i stället för att fokusera på segregation.

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1. Introduction

Many people take public spaces for granted – they are always available and open for people to interact in, but are they genuinely public to people who are victims of everyday racism? In a world where embodied counter space challenges the dominant groups and threatens their homogeneity by wanting to secure space from becoming diverse. Public spaces where the dominant group negatively stereotypes "others" (Harwood et al., 2018). As Sara Ahmed (2019) puts it in an interview:

"How exhausting it can be to be in a world that does not recognize who it is that you are and does not enable your existence, that does not give you the room, that does not allow you into the room, or allow you to be in that room because of who is there, and what they are doing, and what they are saying. Those forms can make it actually unbeable."

Throughout my life, I have had a front seat to inequalities. As a second-generation Afro-Swede, with a white mother and a black father, seeing how they are treated differently due to their skin color or gender. I am too a victim of gender and racial discrimination, which sometimes makes public spaces unbeable.

Sweden internationally has a good reputation regarding civil rights, equal opportunities, international solidarity, and gender equality (Sawyer and Habel, 2014). However, still, Afro-Swedes become victims of racial discrimination. Racial discrimination most and foremost occurs in public spaces, and Afro-Swedes get exposed to these acts in everyday situations such as in the streets, public transportation, restaurants, bars, and stores (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014).

Spaces combine social relationships and a social process and act to re/produce racial orders. These processes are not only reflected in objects such as monuments but instead reflected in the racial past and present and are seen in the way groups and individuals interact with one another (Neely and Samura, 2011). The racial past and present are a product of social structures; these structures are based on the colonial narrative where the term race was founded. Many scholars argue that race is a social construction and how the construction of race within the society varies over time and between countries and locations but has a common ground, histories of colonialism which resulted in white dominance and the creation of stories about race (Carney, 2021; Kristoffersson et al., 2021).

"[…] concepts like race, ethnicity, and culture are understood as social constructs where people with different experiences and backgrounds are assigned group affiliation, based on, e.g., physical characteristics (e.g., skin and hair color), clothing, language, or religion – i.e., they are being racialized" (Kristoffersson et al., 2021: 2).

The colonial narrative is based on hierarchal concepts where whiteness is the imperceptible norm. The racist practices correlate with how resources and power are allocated and are seen in the relational in-between ships in societal groups (Kristoffersson et al., 2021). The production of space within the field of geography is constructed to elaborate radical theories such as nationalism, colonialism, and fascism. The production of space correlates with the production of difference (Hawthorne, 2019). Our society is based on imperialistic and colonial notions, notions which are reflected in research and research methods that dehumanize black livingness, black life, and black sense of place by trying to collect, evaluate, assemble, study, save and fix blackness, where black is seen as less than human (McKittrick, 2020). To understand racism and blackness, black geographies acknowledge that space seen from a black perspective will always be part of one or more political processes (Bledsoe and Wright, 2019).

In Sweden, the term race is hurtful and has a loaded historical meaning, and the nation as a collective has a silent agreement that the term shall not be used. The silent agreement does not end the racial hierarchies or racialized relations profoundly embedded in most West-European countries. "It is not until we speak about ras[1] and what we mean by it we understand sociocultural significance" (Adeniji, 2014:155). Historical speaking, race was constructed as a way of folk classification, which described humans as inherently unequal and different. Even though many scholars today explain race as a social construction with no biological difference, being black, or being a part of another non-white group, there is still a socio-cultural reality of difference (Hunter, 2020).

It can be argued that spaces are based on a racialized and gendered notion (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018b). When speaking about belonging, the conceptualization of *everyday racism* involves practices seen by the dominant group as invisible normal behavior in their daily lives, even though it comes from a place of discrimination (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018b). These behaviors are seen as invisible to the white population and ambiguous and nebulous by racialized people. This is something that can be seen as *micro-aggression,* an act that originates from the dominant group to the non-dominate group, where the non-dominate group

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[1] Ras is the Swedish term for race.

experiences these acts from a discriminatory perspective. Acts seen by the dominant group as less violent and do not acknowledge the roots of these acts that are based on the historical white hegemony (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018b). The term everyday racism means to induvial actions in discriminatory ways during the everyday practices. These individual acts are an expression that shows the racial discrimination that occurs in everyday societal settings. Everyday racism occurs in intuitional and structural settings and affects minority groups and individual minorities. Following, the term goes hand in hand with white people's unconscious bias. Unconscious since these assumptions convene outside of our consciousness. It is essentially negative assumptions and associations between the dominant group and marginalized communities and people and is reflected in people's actions. These assumptions result in the exclusion and marginalization of minorities, yet these acts are seen as normal and natural by the white population, resulting in the feeling of not belonging (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018a). Unconscious bias is one of the primary discrimination forms in our society. Everyday racism is the unconscious mind and actions based on historical and colonial narratives (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018a). Everyday racism is also a product of explicit racial discrimination, such as slurs and discrimination towards personal and physical integrity, such as the sexualization of black women, police controls, and surveillance of young black men are standard as they are often portrayed as criminals and perpetrators of violence. Likewise, during the last couple of years, physical violence and hate crimes have become more frequent against Afro-Swedes (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014). The three most common ways Afro-Swedes experience everyday racism are violations of either personal or physical integrity, racist violation, and inequalities in how they are treated in different areas in our society (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014). Simultaneously, safe public spaces are directly linked to gender practices in Sweden. Gender and race are complex terms that intertwine with one another. Swedish statistics show that women in Sweden are more likely to feel afraid while in public spaces, even though women are less likely to be victimized. However, women's fear of public spaces is, according to the feminist researcher, rational as they are spaces where violence and gender discrimination occur daily, even though the violence might be subtle (Coe, 2018). Moreover, racialized practices are also essential while producing safety in public spaces. Today, public spaces in Sweden are spaces where violence is entwined with sexism, racism, homophobia, and an act toward the economically weak. In Sweden, racist actions in public spaces are most likely to align with colorblind racism that fails to acknowledge racial differences or everyday racism (Coe, 2018).

In this thesis, I decided to approach public spaces from a gendered and racialized perspective to understand how everyday racism in public spaces is perceived, both from an individual and a

collective notion, to show how public spaces manifest inequalities by problematizing the concept of everyday racism towards second-generation Afro-Swedes in public spaces.

1.2 Aim

Racialized people all have different ways of embodying spaces. Still, the common denominator is that these embodiments are all integrated into a space of exclusion and the difference is in how these spaces are occupied. One way to understand how these spaces work is to look at them from a viewpoint that acknowledges racist ideologies ingrained in our society through human interaction. This thesis explores how second-generation Afro-Swedes perceive, experience, and respond to different forms of everyday racism in public spaces. The thesis focuses on racialized and gendered public spaces by examining and investigating how everyday racism against Afro-Swedes is experienced and how they respond based on their narratives. The research is based on the theories of intersectionality, the spatialization of race, and the racialization of space to investigate race as a social construction and how it affects Afro-Swedes in their everyday life. Analyzing the second-generation Afro-Swede experience from an intersectional perspective on concepts such as gender, race, and religion and how those concepts affect Afro-Swedes in their daily lives and their power in public spaces.

1.3 Research Questions

- How do the second-generation Afro-Swedes define blackness and public space?
- How do the second-generation Afro-Swede experience everyday racism as gendered and racialized bodies in public spaces?
- How do they cope with everyday racism in public spaces?

1.4 Research Gap

This thesis is, amongst other things, based on the frustration of needing to educate yourself and white people on black people and black people's societal struggles (see chapter 5.2). Similarly, Mångkulturellt centrum (2014) argues that Afro-Swedes will not be seen as equal in Swedish society unless the society stops with the silent agreement and acknowledges the term race as something other than negative. Following the previous argument, Noxolo (2022) claims that geographies need to recognize black spatial thought by rethinking places, spatial agencies, and places from a radical perspective to understand how race and space interconnect. There has been a challenge to find sources focusing on second-generation Afro-Swede experiences during this thesis. Many of the sources I came across were based in either an American or Australian context where race is more common to talk about; similar is that these countries have a different story of

colonialism than Sweden does, even though Sweden indeed also has a history of colonialism. Nevertheless, that does not take away from the fact that racism is everywhere in Sweden. Further, is also the aspect that research done in a Swedish context mostly referees to segregation rather than race and space as interconnected practices, hence the need for this thesis.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 1, the introduction, explains the chosen thesis subjects and aspects that are seen as relevant in understanding the problem of how the second-generation Afro-Swedes experience public spaces. This part will also contain the aim as well as the research questions. Chapter 2, previous research, will present dimensions in previous research that are useful for a more profound understanding; this will be divided into three parts. Chapter 3 includes the theoretical framework where the theories of intersectionality, the racialization of space, and the spatialization of race will be explained and the concepts of belonging and space. Chapter 4 is methodologies, which contains the chosen methods to gather the empirical material and the epistemological and ontological position of the research. Chapter 5, the results, is based on the empirical material from a theoretical viewpoint to dissect the participant's narratives based on codes. Chapter 6, discussion, answers the research question based on empirical material, theoretical framework, and previous research. Chapter 7, the conclusion, summarizes the thesis and acknowledges the critical point made by the participant's narratives. This chapter finishes with limitations and further research.

This chapter has problematized the foundation of this thesis and both implicitly and explicitly argues for the need to study second-generation Afro-Swedes. This has been done by taking up aspects regarding public spaces, everyday racism, the Swedish silent agreement, accepting race as a social construction, and spaces interconnection with race and gender. Following this chapter has brought up the aim of this thesis, investigating second-generation Afro-Swede's experience of public space and the three research questions. Following is what I acknowledge as a research gap followed by the structure of the paper. The next chapter, *Previous research,* will examine research related to the thesis purpose; it will examine the emerging debate on everyday racism in Sweden, followed by everyday racism and colorblindness, and lastly, embodying public spaces as racialized gendered bodies.

2. Previous Research

2.1 The Emerging Debate on Everyday Racism in Sweden

Hübinette (2016) argues that being non-white means non-Swedish as white and swede are synonyms for each other. If a person were to be non-white but still culturally Swedish, were born and grew up in Sweden, they would still be considered non-Swedish in the public eye, according to Hübinette (2016). Further, Hübinette claims that "[…] that the difference between the bodily concept of race and the cultural concept of ethnicity has collapsed in a contemporary Swedish context." (2016:45). The demographic landscape in Sweden is changing despite that there is still a strong connection between being "white" and being a "Swede" (Adeniji, 2014). The term blackness itself is rather complex as blackness is used to describe a group of people. Categorizing people based on their phenotypes leads to the misunderstanding of blackness, which comes in different forms and people have different backgrounds and connections to blackness. As well as understanding that the experience of blackness differs between individuals, and groups, in a local context, intuitional and global – the black diaspora is a heterogenous categorization of humans. Blackness and black are both questioned due to the term's negative association. Not only black people but the history of the concepts of a social construction being measured and connected to offensiveness and appropriateness (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2017).

Rosi Braidotti explains the cultural, ethnic, and racial ambiguity as a kind of "in-between ships" and that it is common for Europeans with roots elsewhere to feel rootlessness. The proper term for this is a nomadic subject. Nomadic subjects refer to the shifting in movement and an individual's ethnic and racial position. It is about seeing the past and understanding blurring boundaries in different cultures (Adeniji, 2014). Structural power mechanism in the Swedish social landscape has worked as a process of racialization for several hundred years, even though the discursive elements have differed over time. For instance, Sweden has a long history of racialized ideologies and practices. These practices have contributed to the gentrified, classified, and racialized structures throughout Swedish society (Adeniji, 2014).

A study based on interviews with 60 Afro-Swedes aged 15-65 who live in Malmö, Gothenburg, and Stockholm, made by Vitorija Kaloniyte, Victoria Kawesa, and Adiam Tedros on behalf of the Ombudsman against racial discrimination shows that gender, religion, class, and islamophobia affect Afro-Swedes in their everyday lives; the oppressors are most likely strangers; the violations can occur in public spaces, such as on the streets, during public transportation, and at bars and restaurants (Mångkulturellt centrum 2014). In the study, Afro-Swedes also means that to handle

the violations, they find strength and a sense of community from each other to find strategies as well as get political requirements to end Afrophobia in Sweden (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014).

2.2 Everyday racism and colorblindness

Philomena Essed developed the concept of everyday racism in 1984. Her research was to look at women of color from an experiential viewpoint, which made her research subjective rather than detached and objective. Essed means that everyday racism is

> "a process in which (a) socialized racist notions are integrated into meaning that makes practices immediately definable and manageable, (b) practices with racist implication become in themselves familiar and repetitive, and (c) underlying racial and ethnic relations are actualized and reinforced through these routine and familiar practices in everyday situations" (Bourabain and Verheage 2021:222 via Essed, 1984:52).

Nonetheless, Essed's conceptualization of everyday racism is that everyday racism occurs in settings that are a part of one's everydayness rather than one's non-everydayness (Bourabain and Verheage, 2021). Talking about skin color and race in Sweden is viewed as something negative as it intertwines with the beliefs that there are biological differences between races. Thus, it also reflects that ethnicity, religion, and cultural concepts differ from whiteness hegemony (Bourabain and Verheage, 2021). Silence towards everyday racism in Sweden is associated with colorblindness (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014). This way of approaching racism and race in Sweden has resulted in people experiencing racial discrimination do not get an understanding from white people, nor do racial minorities get restoration for the everyday racism to which they are exposed. Race as a social construction has had consequences that have been devastating for racialized minorities (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014). For Afro-Swedes to become equal in Swedish society, Sweden needs to acknowledge and speak about the norm of whiteness within the community and talk openly about exceptionalism and colorblindness (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014).

Bourabain and Verheage (2021) explain the two shifts in research regarding race, race relations, and racism; the first shift was the changeover from the apparent forms to the more discreet form of racism. The second shift was modern racism, also known as colorblind racism, aversive racism, or symbolic racism. The similarities in these shifts are the western world societies' denial of the occurrence of racism. Previously the research had been on the micro-interactional racism perspective, whereas the second shift focused on racism concerning macro-structural views.

Additionally, the authors mean that these shifts in race-related research led to an increase in investigating concealed forms of racism. Those concepts, too, refer to collectiveness in the form of historical and cultural communities that should be heterogeneous amongst the immigrant population in Sweden, which it is not, and Swedish immigrants rarely identify with the Swedish collective in that sense (Kristoffersson et al., 2021).

2.3 Embodying public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies

In Kristoffersson et al. (2021) article about racism in Swedish medical schools, the participant struggles to make sense of feeling out of place. The feelings of not belonging in an environment that supposedly is inclusive. However, the participants struggle to the site the emotion they feel, resulting in feelings of exclusion, downgrading as actions of racism and discrimination unless a comment such as "fucking negro" is said directly to their faces.

> "[…] spatial racial boundaries are perpetuated in obvious ways by ´White´ 'evil' nationalists' but are simultaneously enacted by 'Good White nationalists'. Both of these groups inhabit 'the same imaginary position of power with a nation imagined as 'their'" (Klocker: 2015:428).

The embodiment of space comes with a notion of always expecting the be exposed to racist and discriminatory acts and. Furthermore, Kristoffersson et al. (2021) explain that the experiences that the participants demonstrate are, in fact, racism. The approach to deal with the constitutes racism they are being exposed to varies in how the participants identify the discrimination, renaming and relativizing and individualizing their experiences. The study further reveals that black and Muslim medical students are the most in the "othered" position as the medical field focuses on "Swedes or others." Two racialized people can have different experiences in the same place or vice versa. Likewise, can a person's experiences differ from day to day (Harwood et al., 2008). Neely and Samura (2011) mean that linking race and space is not a new phenomenon, but a long-standing historical aspect based on imperialistic processes and reflected in race-space connections. Geographies need to recognize black spatial thought by rethinking spatial agencies, places, and places from a radical perspective to understand these concepts together (Noxolo, 2022). Ziemer (2011) argues that the cultural experience from a universal perspective disregarded the plurality and difference amongst a young immigrant population. The author explains that a sense of belonging in a specific neighborhood or place is crucial in forming self-identities. Noxolo (2022) acknowledges the importance of connecting black life and thought.

This chapter has brought up previous research based on the emerging debate on everyday racism in Sweden, which acknowledges the synonymies of non-white and non-swede. It has also reflected a previously made study on Afro-Swedes, which brought up racial discrimination in public spaces. Following in everyday racism and colorblindness has brought up the conceptualization of everyday racism and how it interconnects with the concept of colorblindness and the consequences these racial acts and discriminatory practices have on the Afro-Swedish community. Lastly, embodying public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies brought up the individual experiences of racism in a different context. This section helps outline and find key concepts and ideas in analyzing which type of everyday racism the second-generation Afro-Swedes are exposed to. The next chapter, *theoretical framework,* will take a stance from the theories of intersectionality and the racialization of space, and the spatialization of race.

3. Theoretical Framework

This thesis is based on three different key dimensions. (1) blackness in public space, (2) experience of everyday racism in public space, and (3) coping strategies to everyday racism. These three dimensions will be gathered from six participants' narratives and be compared and analyzed with and against the theory of intersectionality, the racialization of space, and the spatialization of race. The intersectional aspect, which takes a stance in feminist geographies, will recognize how spaces contribute to the second-generation Afro-Swede's experience of everyday racism as racialized and gendered bodies. The theoretical framework of the racialization of space and the spatialization of race will act as two different dimensions (a) the racialization of space will recognize how individual experiences acts as a mechanism in creating the sense of public space and how the concept of space and race relates to experiences of everyday racism (b) the spatialization of race that will dissect and focus on experiences of everyday racism related to a structural perspective.

3.1 Intersectionality

Intersectionality is based on the conceptual framework of feminist geography. Feminist geography takes a stance in investigating gender practices about spatial division to dissect behaviors, experiences, and spatial patterns. However, feminist geographies do not only aim to study and understand gender practices but also to investigate race, class, sexuality, and disability in geographical context to understand how geography is conceptualized and practiced (Alisdar, Castree, and Kitchin, 2013).

Kimberlé Crenshaw created the term intersectionality. The term has become well known amongst feminist scholars in several fields and aims to dissect structural identities about gender, race, class, and sexuality. Likewise, black feminist theorists of intersectionality are simultaneously about interlocking systems of oppression and power and acknowledging that intersectionality is not about personal identities but rather about power (Crenshaw, 1989; Cooper, 2016). Black feminists realized that their white sisters had forgotten the privilege of their skin color (Crenshaw, 1989).

From a geographical perspective, intersectional research has disregarded the role of place over the last years and argues that a critical aspect of who we are is based and differs in different spatial contexts (Valentine, 2007). Today, intersectionality within feminist geography is limited to the meaning of space as a process of a subject formation rather than directing the focus on questions regarding social inequalities and power. Feminist geography has used intersectionality to the same extent in research as other social science disciplines (Valentine, 2007). Several studies in feminist geography have looked at specific interconnections concerning intersectionality but have skipped how to concrete use the concept, both empirical and theoretical. Feminist geography regarding intersectionality as a theoretical framework needs to advance. Conceptualizing intersectionality is a way to explain interdependence and interconnection that withhold race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Valentine, 2007).

Massey (1994) conceptualizes space and race by entangling different dimensions of social identities and power relations. Those are affected globally due to international capital's impact on places. Places are racialized and gendered – the global processes have been infiltrated by patriarchy and racism – there are multiple grounds forming gender and racialized relations. Noteworthy is that these dimensions created a world where some groups and races can move freely and are seen in multifaceted experiences. However, "others" will always be connected to one place (Neely and Samura, 2011; Massey, 1994).

Before the conceptualization of intersectionality, research was done by separating gender, class, and race; thus, the concepts are vital aspects of society and people's social identities (Carney, 2014). Separating gender, class, and race can be seen as the multiplication analogy hence it adds social identities to each other. Usually, it is the white abled heterosexual man in which other identities are added. "[…] white women have gender, black women experience race and gender, and white men, of course, are unmarked" (Valentine, 2007:12). The problem with the multiplication analogy is that black women cannot be understood by just adding women to black – the experience of race changes the meaning of gender (Valentine, 2007). An individual belongs

to different groups, making intersectionality a valuable theoretical framework. It recognizes how differences are embodied – not in the space between identities but in the space within (Valentine, 2007:12). Dynamics are not fixed notions, nor are they released from historical narratives, social identities, or context. By trying to conceptualize lived experience of racialized and marginalized women, their identities become shaped by institutional and social practices that create their social meanings (Crenshaw, 2012). People can experience situations simultaneously, although race, gender, and class dimensions are social structures. "[…] neither the race-based nor gender-sensitive discourse on social problems has consistently managed to create understandings that effectively serve the needs of women of color (Crenshaw, 2012:1424). Theorizing intersectionality limits the focus on specific groups and instead essentializes tendencies on a broader scale. Being black is individual. It is experienced differently depending on time and local context (Carney, 2014; Valentine, 2007).

Intersectionality is further created on subjectivity to social categories and has become a tool used by feminist and anti-racist scholars to theorize oppression and identity by opposing hegemony, exclusivity, and feminist hierarchy. Using intersectionality as a theoretical approach serves a political purpose for anti-racist and feminist scholars (Nash, 2008).

> "[…] focus on the most privilege group members marginalize those who are multiply burdened, and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from a discrete source of discrimination's given politically progressive projects a way of describing both the simultaneity of multiple oppression and the complexity of identity" (Nash, 2008: 4).

Using an intersectional analysis highlights social structures and institutions and can be used to identify privilege and exclusion. Intersectionality as a framework allows challenging and exposing, societal oppression based on the profoundly rooted whiteness norm (Klocker and Tindale, 2021; Valentine, 2007).

3.1.1 Intersectionality and everyday racism in public spaces
Theorizing intersectionality through a lens of everyday racism and the complexity of the concept of public spaces helps dissect the different layers that contribute to a space's publicness and how spaces correlate to individual identities. The layers related to social life are race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, media, art, technologies, memories, activism, protest, etc. Publicness is a crucial part of how the city is being experienced and does not necessarily mean a fixed place but rather a fluid space that is situated in performative structures (Qian, 2020). "[…] re-define

publicness as decentered, pervasive, constantly changing and contingent on textures of ordinary life" (Qian, 2020:81). Public spaces can be seen as situated through the lived experience and assemblage. Public spaces consist of zones of inclusion and exclusion—public spaces functions as a person's everydayness. Conceptualizing public spaces means acknowledging the political, social, material, symbolical, and bodily experiences, and tendencies (Qian, 2020). Scholars investigating the everyday geographies of public spaces argue that regulations in public spaces do not eliminate exclusion. Instead, these regulations act the opposite way and should be traded with negotiated and normativised conditions regarding inclusion. Noteworthy is that public spaces allow gatherings of governmentality and social engineering, resulting in people's internalization of how to be a public citizen (Qian, 2020). Publicness is furthered experience of interactions, practices, and exchanges and does not necessarily contribute to a more inclusive space but instead should focus on public spaces about each other and how the fragmented structures only result in publicness for a specific type of people (Qian, 2020).

3.2 The racialization of space and the spatialization of race

Space and place are universal concepts and do not need an elaborate definition. Nevertheless, due to the complexity of these concepts and the lack of a universal definition, they are challenging to expand and anticipate. Space and place differ in different disciplines even though the concepts are similar. The concepts are the following: space is a more static fixed, an actual place, and is independent of being affected by another societal aspect. In contrast, a place is based on lived experience, which can be affected by environmental circumstances and experienced on multiple levels (Raju and Paul, 2016).

3.2.1 The racialization of space

There is a difference in how spatiality is concentrated over time and space. Spatial formations concerning class, gender, and race are equally important, creating inconsistency in the geographical expression (McKittrick and Peake 2005).

"Linking race and space explicitly helps us understand how the fluid and historical nature of racial formations plays out around ongoing negotiations over the meanings and uses of space. This conceptual marriage highlights how the definition and meaning of race and space are enacted and embodied social processes" (Neely and Samura, 2011:1946).

The geographical situated knowledge can be seen from different viewpoints, the oppressor and the oppressed. This knowledge creates a material and conceptual space where minorities can be

theorized and articulated. "Visible difference, although having different meanings to different social groups, have been used by dominant groups to structure geographic organization, i.e., uneven social relationships are spatialized according to social markers" (McKittrick and Peake, 2005:47). Fear and oppression in public spaces are founded on race privilege and are crucial in acknowledging exclusion from public spaces by being racialized (Day, 2006). The concept of *difference-in-space* is a concept that allows the examination of different groups based on hierarchal and unequal relations between societal groups (McKittrick and Peake, 2005). The idea of difference-in-space will enable one to look at power relations and focuses on different peoples and groups' spatial differences, since different societal groups are in different geographical places (McKittrick and Peake, 2005:40). The concept also identifies how people occupy spaces and places in different ways, i.e., the production of space across time and space, which societal group has the power to produce a difference in the space, and lastly, who has the right to be in the area (McKittrick and Peake, 2005).

3.2.1.1 Conceptualization of belonging

Belonging is a complex term but can be explained as a concept that a societal group's affiliation contains. However, the association is more profound in the connections to groups and correlates to society's informal and formal membership. Likewise, belonging is too based on feelings such as confidence (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2018a). These feelings are products of the hierarchy in one's group affiliation, where power, recourses, and objective position play a part. The complexity of the conception also falls in the line of the white privilege discourse where identification of who belongs in places is parallel to historic structures. White ethnic powers are seen at the top of the hierarchy; this results in the discussion on who gets to be a part in saying who belongs in a space or not. The conceptualization will be based on four different dimensions of how everyday racism contributes to the feeling of exclusion and not belonging amongst racialized people (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2018a). The first dimension can be seen through the lens of contestations, which comprehends racism as a hindering to the sense of belonging. The notion of othering is a product of conditions and processes that transmit marginalization and inequalities amongst societal groups. Following this dimension brings up the belongingness associated with the connections with identity and places as they are experienced (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2018a). The second dimension is through the negotiation lens, meaning belonging is a conciliation between and in cultures. This dimension involves negotiating cultural aspects in how inhabitants of spaces from the white culture in the countries we live in still recognize the culture in which one was in. Belonging as a product of negotiation acknowledges that a person can identify with more than one group, place, or ethnicity

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(Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2018a). The third dimension is belonging-as-ambivalence which correlates to the previous dimension of belong-as-negotiation but references more to the feeling of uncertainty regarding where one belongs and reflects in the locations of upbringing but struggles due to the ever-shifting environment of the affiliation between place, identity, and mobility. The last dimension is compromising. Comprises occurs so black people feel comfortable while in spaces to gain spacio-temporal comfort. These compromises are made to gain psychological, physical, and emotional comfort while embodying spaces (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2018a).

Experiencing specific spaces as a racialized body comes with the feeling of not belonging, reflected in the experience of construction and mobility of belonging. Predominantly white countries play a part in shaping experience, structures, and anxieties while being a racialized minority in said contexts. Furthermore, the authors explain that the Afrocentric conceptualization of belonging is built on experiences and narratives where racist acts and discrimination have occurred. These narratives describe that the sense of identity and belonging to places are lost (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018a). Black people compromise while embodying spaces to gain personal and emotional comfort (Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama, 2018a).

3.2.2 The spatialization of race

Space and race are tangled with power struggles, i.e., conflicts relating to resources show how some spaces are known to be used; this conflict can sometimes be based on racial inequalities. Since spaces are historical and fluid, space does not necessarily have the same meaning in different contexts. – spaces have a complex social meaning. Since both race and space are relational and interactional, their meanings are being re/made on micro-and macro levels between both individuals and groups. Therefore, the meanings of race and space are a product of the relationships to "other" (Neely and Samura, 2011). Moreover, the effects of the concepts are always measured concerning the privilege of whiteness. Spaces are also a result of power struggles possessed by material spaces that, through racial interaction, emphasize material and symbolic racism in our societies' chores and are manifested through the spatiality of social life (Neely and Samura, 2011).

3.2.2.1 Four concepts of space

The theoretical framework to identify will be based on the four ways racial and spatial processes correlate. The first is through contestations over our built environment. The second is in the everyday embodied and performed social lives of people. The third is in the movement (placement

and displacement) of people. Lastly, they correlate with each other based on the social relationships engaged in by individuals and groups (Neely and Samura, 2011:1941). The first dimension is that space is contested. This means that spatial theorist argues that spaces are neither neutral nor used in the same ways throughout the globe, arguably due to the social actors and political struggles, which are a crucial component in how spaces are defined and used. The second dimension is that spaces are fluid and historical. Meaning that spaces are a social process and change through time and place – spaces are not a fixed cultural thing and are re/created through embodied experiences and maintained through performative experiences. Third, space is relational and interactional. The fluidity, in dimension two, means that the relational and interactional process is created by social relations and possess – social interactions and interrelations exist on all spatial levels in our society. Lastly, space is infused with differences and inequalities. Political issues regarding structures, inequalities, and discrepancies all play a role in how the space is organized and conferring to the dominant interest. The definition and control over space are based on the dominant groups' power (Neely and Samura, 2011).

3.2.2.2 Race, space, and the city

It is essential to understand the power of social relations to identify the inequalities created in the spatial form. The power of social ties is directly connected to the geography of energy, which is reflected in the spatial structure. Space is often a result of systematic racial inequalities, with prime examples such as land theft, residential segregation, and global displacement (Neely and Samura, 2011). There are likely traces of exclusion, singular group identities, and historical narratives within places. This explains the course of intersections and how identities that are not the norm are being forged with help from social relations in local and global contexts (Neely and Samura, 2011). There are many mechanisms behind the racialization of a city (Molina, 2005). For instance, it is based on the historical and societal aspects, housing policies, and policies regarding the city's population, following the stigmatization and "otherness" of neighborhoods associated with immigrants. The separation of the urban space is historic. Societal structures are meant to keep groups away from each other and usually to benefit the white population (Molina, 2005). Racial inequalities combine political, economic, and social societal aspects. Segregation is connected to more than the difference in the geographical placements between different societal groups. It is also connected to a complex set of social relations, economic institutions, political power, ideologies, laws, and habits (Molina, 2005). Spatial segregation results from societal organizations and is maintained locally and through racial discrimination everyday (Molina, 2005). The public space works as a democratic mechanism. Still, for vulnerable groups such as women and migrants, public space turns from an open space to an area that is no longer

anonymous (Franzén et al., 2016). Further, public spaces turn into a place where these groups must have a constant negotiation and a fight for their citizenship (Franzén et al., 2016). Racial interactions and processes, for instance, conflicts, inequalities, and identities, are about the collective notion, which means that the collective is responsible for making and remaking. It is shown in how we inhabit a space. "Social constructions of space illuminate social constructions of race and vice versa" (Neely and Samura, 2011:1934). Likewise, as spaces are transformed, so is race.

Public spaces act as spaces where democratic values are reflected differently. For instance, public spaces can act as a public sphere for political activity in the form of manifestation and speeches. When political actions in public spaces occur, not only does it limit the physical openness of a place but fences also come up. It also limits openness because of democratic processes in a public context. These political activities allow different parties to mobilize and use the space for their political message and interests. Public spaces turn into a place where people can articulate their political requirements and, therefore, create a space where people with different beliefs are not welcomed, creating exclusion (Franzén et al., 2016). When public spaces are no longer the primary place for democratic collective decision-making, it still has to do with democracy. Unwished-for social categorization can happen in public spaces. In that sense, unwished-for affects an individual that belongs to a social group, and unwished-for is the individual or group affected by it. Some groups are more affected than others. These groups are disabled, Jews, Muslims, the HBTQ-community, black people, and women (Franzén et al., 2016). The surroundings affect how a space is portrayed and populated. Different variations in how public spaces are populated occur, meaning different social groups occupy different spaces and inhabit the spaces differently. Other public spaces have different social compositions in a segregated city, even if the spaces are spatially common (Franzén et al., 2016).

Lastly, using intersectionality and the spatialization of race and the racialization of space as theoretical frameworks allows for dissecting from a bottom-up perspective. The focus first and foremost is on individual experiences within a minority group who the how are spaces are not neutral and re/produce historical narratives that translate into structural dimensions of experiencing public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies.

In this thesis, space will be understood based on Ruja and Paul's (2016) claim that spaces are static and fixed spaces, actual places; however, these places/spaces are dependent and affected by the interconnection between different societal factors. Hence, the definition of public space

in this thesis will take the stance from Raju and Paul's (2016) definition and the participant's narratives (see chapter 5.1.2) to understand black public spaces.

This chapter has discussed intersectionality and the racialization of space, and the spatialization of race as theories. Intersectionality is based on Kimberlé Crenshaw's creation and is used to explain interdependence and interconnection that withhold race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Further, it demonstrates that gender and racial practices are based on historical narratives. The racialization of space and the spatialization of race are divided into two different categories. The racialization of space is based on the individual experience of space and race, such as embodiment. The spatialization of race aims to disassemble and understand how race is re/produced in the spatial environment, for instance, through segregation and public spaces as a democratic mechanism. The next chapter, *methodologies,* will explain the approach to conducting semi-structured interviews and reflect on my positionality as a racial insider in the subject.

4. Methodologies

This thesis attempts to explore second-generation Afro-Swedes living in Stockholm's experiences of public spaces in relation to their race and gender. The data collection will be done by using a qualitative research method. According to Manson (2002), qualitative research is a way to explore different aspects and dimensions that occur in the social world. The social world is a product of many things, such as everyday life, experiences, different understandings, institutions, social processes, etc. Blackstone (2012) states that data analysis within qualitative research occurs in many social science disciplines. Hence the complex nature of this thesis and its broadness, this thesis aims to follow a qualitative research methodology in contemplation of exploring social phenomena concerning the everyday life of second-generation Afro-Swedes. Manson (2002) means that qualitative methods are an excellent way to get depth, nuanced, rich, and multi-dimensional research. This research will be based on qualitative methods to provide an insight into how individuals of a non-dominate group experience public spaces. Following Carney (2021) means using qualitative methods is a way to understand race and how it differs over time and space and how and why these shifts occur.

This thesis is based on a social constructionism epistemological stance; hence, it is based on beliefs on social phenomenon and categorization made by social interactions that may shift over time and space. Social constructionism can be based categorized into two categories. The first is where the focus is mainly on how the social world works and relates to social relations. The second is where instead focuses on the nature of how knowledge is produced and reproduced in

the social world (Bryman, 2012). This will be taken a stamp in both categories not to limit the data to the social relations or the production and reproduction of (racist) beliefs. The ontological assumption in this thesis is interpretivism hence its nature being that the world as we know it is constructed (Bryman, 2012). This will widen the understanding of how second-generation Afro-Swedes are affected by both everyday racism and structural racism. It also helps understand how individual aspects, such as gender and religion, play a part in how one's social reality and behavior might change over time and space – in different settings. Furthermore, Carney (2021) argues that qualitative methods illustrate how people, both within a racial category and outside categories, and how these categories of race are reproduced over time and places. Social scientists have, in this context, the ability to unpack meaning and contexts.

4.1 Methods

4.1.1 Semi-structured interview

I conducted interviews to access narratives about second-generation Afro-Swede's experience of racism in public spaces. I have chosen to perform semi-structured interviews to see the participant's stories, individual depictions, and descriptions and seek the collective narrative of second-generation Afro-Swedes in public spaces. Bryman (2012) means that a semi-structured interview surrounding a specific topic is an excellent way to gather as much information about the interviewee's experience as possible. Flick (2018) argues that the everyday use of a semi-structured interview within social science is that the participant is more likely to express their viewpoints connecting to the research topics if the interview questions are openly designed. Galletta (2013) claims that a semi-structured interview gives constating knowledge and different angles to the same story.

"Because participants experience and knowledge are shaped by a set of conditions, possibilities, and constrains, your interview may involve some form of analytical interruptions for the purpose of working out tension between the theoretical and empirical" (Galletta 2013:77-78).

Fittingly, a semi-structured interview allows the researcher to steer the discussion but still allows the interview to be of a fluid character which helps the participant to build a story and for the researcher to gain as much information as possible. The requirement in being a participant was that the participant needed to be an Afro-Swede born in Sweden, making you a second-generation Afro-Swede, and living in Stockholm. The participant was found in different ways, varying among my acquaintances, social media, and friends of friends. Since the data is being collected

by doing semi-structured interviews and interviews with different types of black people. Founding them through the various forms, the majority being through networking, was a non-probability sample. The gender division happened naturally as more women answered when asked to be part of the interview, hence the difference. Furthermore, this thesis does not have enough participants, resulting in this thesis not being representative of the whole black community but will give an insight into the individual and collective blackness in Sweden.

List of participants:

Name of interviewee	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Occupation	Parent	Date of interview
Jemal	37	Male	Eritrean	Work as a consultant	Yes	April 11th
Abrihet	34	Female	Eritrean	Work at a government agency	Yes	April 13th
Abdi	22	Male	Mixed, Swedish, and Somali	Works at private company	No	April 17th
Halimo	20	Female	Somali	Student	No	April 19th
Linnea	20	Female	Mixed, Swedish, and Kenyan	Student	No	April 20th
Amanda	24	Female	Mixed, Swedish, and Somali	Student	No	April 22nd

All names are pseudonyms.

4.1.2 Racial insider while conducting the interview

My black embodiment as a researcher mean that I have the position as a racial insider, and it will always be there. According to Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo's (2014) study, they have gathered information that participants are more likely to openly talk about racist experiences and discrimination in everyday lives if they can relate to the researcher. The authors take up examples that show that the participants, rather than asking do you understand?

"We entered the interview context with an assumed high level of proximity. Hence, it is possible that our shared blackness that fed this level of proximity may have meant that some participant would be more forthcoming on the basis of shared identity" (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2014:174-175).

Previous studies have acknowledged that the power dynamics within research contributing to racial studies has been done by white researchers who focused on non-white groups (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo 2014).

"We did not ´race´ our data, and in staying true to the participant voices, we interpret the narratives of our participants as constructed with a discourse of ´everyday racism´ noting that their blackness constitutes a burden for their daily realties [in Australia] (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2014: 180).

My knowledge will be in the line with partial perspective due to my similarities with the participants, being a second-generation Afro-Swede. Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo (2014) also argue that during the coding of the data, relating to the participants will help the researcher to critical things and use race as a dominant marker.

4.1.3 Approach for conducting the interviews

The approach for the semi-structured interview will be based on Galletas' (2013) approach to how to conduct a semi-structured interview. Galletas' approach is based on three segments. The first one is the opening segment: creating a narrative grounded in participant experience. The second is the middle segment: questions of greater specificity, and lastly concluding segment is revisiting the opening narrative for meaningful theoretical connections and moving toward closure.

The first segment is used to establish trust and comfort between the participant and the researcher and explain to the participant their rights (Galletta, 2013). This is the part where I introduced myself and the purpose of this thesis; I further gave the participants informed consent and explained that they would be anonymous and be able to skip a question or stop the interview anytime if desired. I also asked if it was okay for me to record them to facilitate the transcription process. This is also the stage where the broader question about experience begins. The researcher needs to take mental notes of junctures in the story during this segment. The researcher can follow up in the later interview phases to get further depth and explanation (Galletta, 2013). "Achieving

space for data deeply grounded in the participant´s experience and angle of vision should be the primary focus of the first segment of your interview protocol" (Galletta, 2013:47). Galletta (2013) argues that this first segment is the most important for most researchers doing semi-structured interviews as it provides an initial narrative. This narrative opens for the ability to proceed with the interview based on the participant´s experiences and create a reciprocal manner. It also gives the researcher the chance to engage the participant in their own experience when it comes to generating meanings, clarification, and critical reflection. During this segment, my questions are *getting to know you questions* and the participants' definition of their blackness following their definition of public spaces (see appendix). The middle segment is for the researcher to ask more in-depth questions that follow the thesis analytical framework to answer the research questions. This is where the researchers create a space that investigates the subjects of the thesis complexity. Galletta (2013) means that the second segment also acts in questions being asked that are suited to the previously established reciprocity. However, these questions should not be too personal and make the participant uncomfortable but rather based on the participant's opening narrative. My questions in this segment are, however, rather unique. I ask questions about being a victim of racist acts and discrimination following questions regarding public spaces and if there is a fear related to gender, race, and, if necessary, religion; however, the experiences might be personal, and racist acts towards the participants are relatively common. Lastly is the concluding segment. During this segment, the interview protocol should circle back to the junctures in the story made during the first segment by asking for clarification and elaboration. This is also the part of the interview in which in-depth, abstract, and theory-laden questions relating to the thesis framework should be asked. This is also where the researcher can explore contradictions in the participant's story. Since this is the last segment in the interview, this is the part to ask for additional thoughts and final points, thank for participation, and acknowledge their cooperation with the thesis. In this last segment, my questions relate to how public spaces change over time and the sense of space depending on the company following. I want to investigate the public spatial space and what physical attributes may impact how Afro-Swedes are treated while in public spaces.

4.2. Data analysis – thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is an analytic tool that acts to identify themes and patterns. It helps organize the data and facilitates making sense of it and describing the findings in detail. It also eases selecting what is relevant to the research so it can be narrated to whom might read it (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Using thematic analysis as an analytic tool within qualitative methods is plenty utilized; however, it is not an analytical method that is acknowledged to the extent to which it is used. (Braun and Clarke, 2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006), qualitative approaches

are generally nuanced, diverse, and complex, and therefore thematic analysis should be considered a foundational analytic tool in qualitative methods. There are many reasons why one should use a thematic analysis. One is that it is flexible. One way of using this as an analysis is that it can be independent of the theoretical and epistemological stance; however, my epistemological stance is social constructionism. It is subconscious throughout my interview, as I believe that everything is based around social constructs, which is shown in how black people have been treated over time and space. Therefore, my thematic analysis will take a stance from my theoretical and epistemological positions, guiding finding themes in the participant's narratives on being a second-generation Afro-Swede in Sweden. Following Braun and Clarke (2006) mean that when having social constructionist as epistemology, it is used to identify the socially produced patterns; it also opens the possibility to examine the societal constructions and how the participants are telling these constructions as their experiences, reality in which takes place in events and their reality. A thematic analysis that takes a stance from a social constructionist epistemological standpoint gives the author a chance to contextualize narratives, in this case, the participant's narratives, and connect them to theory. It helps unravel and reflect their reality (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Hence my theoretical approaches are intersectionality and the spatialization of race, and the racialization of space. I will focus on narratives regarding being black and the oppression that brings in public spaces and the participant's way of making places make sense and how their individual experiences are affected and reproduced within the collectiveness of being black. However, I will not only limit my themes to my theoretical approach; I will also focus on the patterns shown throughout the interviews as well as themes that do not necessarily have the highest prevalence in the data to capture elements that are useful to understand the normalization of being oppressed in public spaces as a second-generation Afro-Swede.

Even though there is no one way to do a thematic analysis, I will follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step guide on conducting qualitative thematic research on the semi-structured interviews that have been done in this thesis. The first step is to get familiar with the data; in this step, transcribe the interview and re-reading as many times as necessary to get initial ideas on similarities and differences in the interviews. The second step is to start generating different codes. After one gets familiar with the data, it is time to start the initial coding and find the most exciting themes for the analysis. The third step is to search for themes. In this step, it is time to gather all the data that follows under the found themes. The fourth step entails reviewing the themes. This part is used to check if the themes are compatible with the code extracts, meaning if it is consistent with the data, and start the analysis on said data. The fifth part is to define and

name the themes. This is done to get a read thread and ease the understanding by generating definitions and names for the different themes. Lastly, the sixth step, where the final analysis takes place, also connects the data with previous literature to answer the existing research questions.

4.2.1 Conducting the coding

Based on the interview reflections, some initial thoughts came to mind, mainly two differences in the participant's narratives. The first one is gender. In six interviews, two were with people who identify as men, and the rest were with people who identify as women. When asked about feeling unsafe in spaces, all the women, without skipping a heartbeat, said that they have, are, and always will be. The men, however, are not scared. It is not a new phenomenon in that women are afraid of because of their gender, but for black women, it is just another layer that must be considered while being in public spaces—secondly, the age. Out of the six participants, two were born in the 80s, two in the 90s, and two in the 00s. The participant born in the 80s both have kids, and it showed in the interviews. They could handle the racism they are put through every day, but the thought of their children being exposed to racism and discrimination was terrifying for them. The parents must put up with racist words in *Pippi; they* know that it is not okay, but must, just for their children to *not miss out.*

After reading the transcriptions several times, I started to color code based on different themes to be able to answer the research question. After dissecting the answers, even more, the final themes are:
- Defining black, public spaces
- The bottom of the hierarchy - Public space, race, gender, and religion
- They think it is a competition - Response and strategies to everyday racism
- Structural racism in schools and workplaces
- Turning public spaces into a talking scene

4.3 Positionality

When conducting a study, one always writes from somewhere it is reflected in the academic position (Panelli, 2004). As this thesis focuses on the second-generation Afro-Swedes, I fall into this category, being a second-generation Afro-Swede myself. Even though I fall into this category, Panelli (2004) argues that it is important to acknowledge differences such as background, identity, power in conducting the research, context, experiences, etc. I also argue that it is essential to recognize the differences between myself and the participants. Our skin color does not make us

equal but rather just a similarity amongst our differences. However, social process in society has come to see us as equals, if not the same, making our experience in public spaces similar. Following is that my position as a black woman has helped me find participants for this thesis, as I am a part of the study group. My insider positionality is also reflected in how I conducted the interview, the questions I asked, and how they were asked and reflected in their confidence while conducting the interviews.

"Our status as scholars places us awkwardly with respect to the hegemonic system which we may wish to resist. … All scholars are faced with the choice (whether they recognize it or not), of using their power either to reproduce or to challenge hegemony" (Panelli, 2004: 28 via Penrose and Jackson 1994: 208).

My positionality is further reflected in my interest, experience, and my academic interest in trying to understand and disassemble the deeply rooted racial practices seen by marginalized groups; therefore, my interest in doing this, hence trying to decolonize the white hegemony in scholars. Further, I acknowledge my knowledge in this subject and, in general, as something that allows me to investigate the experience of public space amongst the second-generation Afro-Swedes.

4.4 Ethics & Reflexivity

Bryman (2012) means that four main areas focus on ethical principles when conducting social research. The first one is to see if the research might harm the participant in some way. Dowling (2002) means that the research should neither cause harm to the researcher nor the participants, whether physical harm or social harm. The likelihood that the research would cause physical harm is somewhat unusual; however, the research is more likely to cause psycho-social harm because it might raise troubling questions. The second is the lack of informed consent. "Informants need to know exactly what it is they are consenting to. You need to provide participants with a broad outline of the research, the sorts of issues you will explore, and what you expect of them" (Dowling, 2002:21). The third is the invasion of privacy. Using qualitative methods to gather data often invades the participant's privacy (Dowling, 2002). This ethical concern is related to the previous lack of informed consent because the participants need to be aware of what the participation involves. Lastly is to see if deception is involved. Bryman (2012) argues that deceptions occur when a researcher gives false information about the research. This may happen when a researcher is vague with the description of the research topic to create a more natural response amongst the participants. Because research is a dynamic and ongoing social process that

constantly throws up new relations and issues that require constant attention, self-critical awareness of ethical research conducted must pervade our research.

The stories you tell about participants´ actions, words, and understandings of the world can potentially change the way those people are thought about. Power is also involved in earlier parts of the research process. In undertaking qualitative research, you attempt to understand – participating in, and sometimes creating situations whereby people (yourself included) are differently situated about social structures. You and your informants have different intentions and social roles, but you also have various capacities to change the situation and other people (Dowling, 2002; Bryman, 2012).

Reciprocal relationships are those whereby the researcher and the researched are incomparable social positions and have relatively equal benefits and costs from participating in the research (Dowling, 2002). Just as Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo (2017) argue, when conducting their research, they mean that their experience with being black in a primarily white country is used as an advantage when interpreting the data by using their own experiences as black as a tool kit. Furthermore, they mean that their background makes them situated research and is helpful as it is valid rather than detached and therefore helps when analyzing and interpreting the data as it gives a certain depth to the concept of being.

> "The black body in white spaces has always been constructed as a problematic difference to whiteness: an inferior and an "other" [...] Blackness is thus not merely about skin color, but rather it is a social construct persistently conceived of opposition to whiteness: it is not only that which define whiteness but is also interiorized by it" (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2017:1).

Even though being an insider in the studies subjects has positive aspects, it also comes with some negative sides. For instance, an insider position and sharing the same racial background do not erase the social differences between the researcher and research participants. There may still be gender, class, age, and religious differences that may impact the positions of the researcher. These dimensions may interplay, contradict, and influence how the data is interpreted (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo 2014). Following Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo's statement, England (1985) means that one´s positionality correlates to how the research is positioned; this can be regarding relational social processes of difference such as gender, race, age, sexuality, and class,

and that within these social processes of difference, privilege is shown within power and hierarchies.

This chapter has brought up the approach for this research. Qualitative research reveals my epistemological position, social constructionism, and ontological stance, interpretivism. It further explains that the method used to collect the empirical material is semi-structured interviews and will be based on six interviews with second-generation Afro-Swedes. It also reveals my partial perspective with the participant because I am too a second-generation Afro-Swedes. It further explains the approach for the interviews and how they are conducted and coded. Lastly, it takes up ethics, positionality, and reflexivity. In the next chapter, results and empirical work will be presented and discussed from a theoretical lens.

5. Results

5.1 Defining black public spaces

5.1.1 Participants' definition of public spaces

Starting off the result chapter, I want to recognize the participants' definition of public spaces as the term itself is broad. However, I do not want to limit the discussion about where racism happens, as it does occur everywhere.

Jemal means that public spaces are spaces that is not private, meaning that they could be streets, institution, services, or elderly care. Public spaces are essentially everything that is tax-financed. Abrihet claims that public space could be out in a store, but since it is a complex and broad term, it could also entail contacting agencies and municipalities. She further explains that she sees public spaces as everything that is not a part of her private home sphere. Like Jemal, Abdi views public spaces as sports facilities, libraries, outside spaces, work, schools, and public transportation, meaning that everything that does not fall into the private category. However, Halimo means that public space is a space where she has not actively decided to be but still must, which could be schools and political rooms. To her, public spaces are where people from different classes and social settings meet. Like Jemal and Abdi, Linnea means that public spaces are everything that is not private, meaning anything from school to the streets. Lastly, Amanda also agrees with public spaces being everything that is not private, saying that it is everywhere when she is not home. It could be workplaces, schools, universities, bars, and restaurants. Further, she also implies that the actual definition is squares and streets. Understanding the conceptual idea of publicness, Qian (2020) explains that publicness is not only experienced by interactions, practices, and exchanges but also based on how spaces and places correlate to one another.

Therefore, interactions, practices, and exchanges should be examined in relation to fragmented structures to focus on which societal groups find publicness in public spaces.

5.1.2 Self-identification of being black

Jemal is a 37-year-old who works as a consultant with questions regarding discrimination. He identifies as a man, and both his parents are from Eritrea. Jemal identifies his blackness due to his life, upbringing, role models, and choices in his life, which have all played a role in his blackness. Jemal further explained that he grew up in Tensta, so growing up black did not differ from the norm. Abrihet, a woman, and a mom with Eritrean parents, mean her blackness mainly relates to her African roots. She has dual citizenship, one being Swedish and one being Eritrean. However, she acknowledges that society plays a role in her self-identification as a black woman, which relates to how she is treated and reflects in her mobility patterns. Abdi is a 22-year-old man who was born and raised in Sweden. His mom is Swedish, and his dad is Somali, making him mixed. He means that he is Swedish to the same extent as an ethnic white Swedish person. The only different thing is the color of his skin, which he is reminded of by both individuals and society. When Halimo explains how she, a 20-year-old woman, identifies her blackness, she says, "I am from Somalia, but born in Sweden, which makes me a second-generation immigrant" (19.04.2022). Further, she explains that her self-identification mainly refers to her being raised in a household with two black parents and Somali culture. Nevertheless, in similarity to Abrihet, she acknowledges that society always will look at her differently. Being black is one of the first things to be noticed, which comes with discrimination and stereotypes. When Linnea, a 20-year-old woman, is asked the question, "where are you from?" she answers:

> "Where I am from, I always have a hard time with this question. I do not know if I am supposed to say that I am from a suburb in Stockholm or if I should say that I am half Kenyan and half Swedish" (Linnea, 20.04.2022).

Linnea's narrative can be explained by cultural, and ethnic ambiguity. It creates an in-between ship, where there is a sense of rootlessness in her ethnic and racial position as an individual, where there is a blurred line on boundaries in different cultures. She further explains that she means that at first glance, people see that she is not white, but indeed black, and the fact that she is mixed does not give her certain "white rights", as she, still, is racialized as black. However, her blackness is related to her upbringing and growing up in a household where her Kenyan mom has shown her, her Kenyan roots and culture, and that does play a role in Linnea's blackness. Amanda is also mixed and is a 24-year-old woman who grew up in Bromma and Rinkeby, her mom is Swedish,

and her dad is from Somalia. She means that her blackness is complex, mainly because society does not racialize her as black; she implies that she does not have the typical black features shared amongst mixed people. It is also important to acknowledge that the experience of blackness differs between individuals and groups in a local context, intuitional and global context (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2017). Amanda further explains when she talks about how the different areas, she grew up in were treated. Rinkeby is seen as negative as the majority are immigrants but did not treat her differently. In Bromma, she grew up in a predominantly white area where she was seen as different. Her blackness is not necessarily due to her skin color or society's view of her; even if she is racialized, she is mainly racialized as an immigrant. She, however, means that her blackness is related to her cultural identity, her dad, her family, and her inheritance. Theorizing and acknowledging that race and gender identity are complex helps create an analysis of cultural sites which connects race and gender (Carney, 2014).

Furthermore, Amanda means that if people were to find out that she is black, she could feel that people would start to treat her differently. Halimo further explains that it is a degradation that black people are being racialized in public spaces from a young age because they are so affected by these acts, and the societal structures break one down. She means that being racially victimized has made her more potent, and if she had not grown up in Sweden, she would not be as strong. Because that is what happens when you are a deviation as a child, and that you learn from a young age that you are being oppressed, by both individuals and the society, because you are black. The term blackness itself is rather complex as blackness is used to describe a group of people. Categorizing people based on their phenotypes leads to the misunderstanding that blackness comes in different forms and that people have different backgrounds (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2017).

Overall, the participants have different self-identification regarding their blackness but a relatively collective notion of defining public spaces. Kristofferson et al. (2021) mean that in most cases, the blackness collectiveness is in the form of historical and cultural communities which are seen as homogenous from the white lens, which is not the case as both identities, culture, class, religion, and sexuality makes the immigrant population somewhat different. This also means that the participant differs from the whiteness norm in the way they look, which Kristofferson et al. (2021) explain is a result of not falling into the solid Swedish connection that Swede and White are connected. The bodily concept of ethnicity and race in a Swedish context is malformed. This clearly explains Abdi's point of view when he argues that he is just as Swedish as an ethnic

Swede. The only thing differing is the color of his skin. The black diaspora is a heterogenous categorization of humans (Mapendzaham and Kwansha-Aidoo, 2017).

5.2 The Bottom of the Hierarchy - Public spaces, race, gender, and religion

5. 2.1 Race

Jemal means that racism is customizable. It is shown differently in a different context, as shown in the participants' narratives of being victims of racist acts and discrimination in public spaces. For instance, Abrihet means that words such as the n-word were more common when she was younger, in generally messy places, and where alcohol was involved. Further, Abrihet implies that being able to get your voice heard when you are being exposed to racist acts and discrimination is not very likely. She means that it depends on the wherein the hierarchy one stands and who gets their voice heard. She further explains that being discriminated against is not black and white, and several dimensions may play a role in why one feels discriminated. Abrihet means that she cannot comprehend which dimension it might be most of the time. Is it because she is a woman, young, or old in another context, black, or a mom? When the question "is there certain types of places you avoid or do not necessarily feel safe due to your skin color?" the majority answered yes. However, the ages differ. For instance, Abrihet, a mom, responded that she grew up in the suburbs and still lives in one, so diversity is not something uncommon. However, in white spaces, she means that she is always aware of her surroundings and is the only black person in most cases. However, her discomfort usually translates into thoughts and acts of overthinking and overanalyzing what she says and how she behaves.

"I think that I all the time, think more than a white woman on how I behave in public spaces." (Abrihet,13.04.2022).

Further, Abrihet explains that being a mom, the overthinking continues. Her kids are three and five years old, so there are naturally loud. However, having kids being loud in public spaces correlates to insecure feelings about what other people think. Because not only are her kids noisy, but they are also black. Kristoffersson et al. (2021) mean that it is common to feel out of place due to our society not being inclusive. It is also common to experience being out of place, which relates to not being able to identify discrimination, relativizing and individual experience. Abrihets overthinking as a parent relates to Jemal, who means that he does not want his kid to miss out on experiences due to the structural racist mechanism in the landscape. He explains it as follows:

" Everyday racism is not something that keeps me up at night. My child's lack of representation in kindergarten, and kids show where we must watch, shows or Bolibompa when there only are white people—or having fun at the moment so he does not feel a self-hate, where he [his child] should not priorities certain things. Where he is supposed to stand" (Jemal, 11.04.2022).

Further, Jemal means that there is no coincidence that immigrants live in segregated areas. Growing up in a segregated area does not correlate with a bad childhood; Jemal says that he had a good childhood. As a child, you are so unaware of why certain things happen, such as why society treats you differently, but growing up in Tensta, there was nothing to put the inequalities about that come as one becomes older; the thought process starts and the realization that only a specific type of people is being treated poorly. Historical and societal aspects include policies about the city's population, housing policies, and the stigmatization of neighborhoods associated with immigrants (Molina, 2005).

There is also a difference in how the participant talks about everyday racism versus structural racism. For instance, Amanda means that everyday racism differs depending on your environment. She actively makes decisions that do not involve her being in white spaces, such as her chosen education. She also implies that she, to some extent, can avoid everyday racism as she is not being racialized as black and is somewhat racially ambiguous. However, that does not mean that it does not happen, but she is aware that other who is blacker are more likely to be exposed to everyday racism. Jemal, however, means that he never is afraid of being a victim of any time of hate crime as it is, has been, and will always be mechanisms that are always there. He does, however, feel scared in an intuitional context, as if his job were to make a budget cut or every time a workplace talks about diversity and value workshops, as he is afraid of the n-word occurring. Neely and Samura (2011) explain being a product of spatialization of race and racialization of space as concepts such as race and space from a conceptual viewpoint entails the historical nature of the images making race and space embodied social processes.

"As I think now, I reflect on the situation differently and see the problems, but it was not something I did then and there [when she was younger]. I understood that what people said was racist, and I did not think it was wrong […] today, I would have acted differently" (Amanda, 22.04.2022).

Amanda explains the complexity of being mixed and how she has been on the front line to see how different white versus black is being treated. She explains that she feels safe in white spaces

when she is with her white mother and how people often connect her mom with having an immigrant daughter. However, when she is with her black dad, who has hobbies performed in white spaces, such as camping, it becomes noticeable because he is the only black person there. This is something Abdi can agree on; he does, however, unlike the other participants, mean that he feels like an outsider when he is in segregated areas. He would much rather be there with his black side of the family than with his white. He is not seen as an outsider but instead feels like one. He does, however, feel the stares while in white public spaces. Abdi's narrative allows us to implement difference-in-space hence it enables us to look at power relations, people and groups' spatial differences, and how to inhabit and are in different geographical settings (McKittrick and Peake, 2005). Likewise, Day's (2006) argument on fear and oppression in public spaces correlates to race privilege, which is a crucial mechanism in excluding racialized people in public spaces.

5.2.2 Gender

As with gender, none of the male participants said they have ever been afraid of being in public spaces due to their gender. None of them are necessarily afraid of being in public spaces either due to the color of their skin. However, Jemal means that he feels excluded from public spaces that white people primarily use, and when he must use them, he increases his stress levels. Abdi, however, means that he is not afraid of public spaces as he grew up in both worlds and should therefore be allowed to use all public spaces without being afraid.

Amanda relates gender and feeling safe to a class question. She fears being in public spaces after dark and draws examples of times she has been followed home by random men. She means that women usually take a cab home when they, for instance, have been out, as they know what dangers might await them if they talk public transportation. For a young woman, who is still in university, taking a cab home after a night out is not an option, resulting in her being afraid every time she is on the way home when it is dark out. Halimo also explains that she is terrified of being out when it is dark outside, and if she has an option not to go out, she will not. However, both Halimo and Amanda mean that if they could avoid certain places where they feel unsafe due to their gender, they would, but, in most cases, they cannot. Linnea further explains that it is not unusual for her to get exotified, with comments like, "can I touch your hair" or "mocha queen." Amanda has also been exposed; she explains how she and her best friends, who are also Afro-Swedish, was not only exposed to racism in middle school but also sexism. She means that everything relates to women being taught that it was a good thing to get male validation, even if that told that they were being sexualized. She argues that it is a completion of sexism and racism

that is being taught from a young age. Coe (2018) claims that gender, social, and racialized practices are intertwined, and that embodiment of space is linked to those dimensions. Furthermore, everyday racism in public spaces does not only happen through direct interaction. The complexity of the concept of public space Qian (2020) explains is the different layers that contribute to the publicness. The layers that correlate to social life are race, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Publicness is a crucial part of how the city is being experienced and does not necessarily mean a fixed place but rather a fluid space that is situated and performative structures (Qian, 2020).

Halimo means that she is being victimized due to different layers. The first one is that she is Muslim and wears a hijab, which she explains may be contributed to the Islamophobic climate in Sweden. The second is because she is black, and lastly, she identifies as a woman. She further means that this can see a clear shift from when she was younger and did not wear a hijab and was just victimized as black and could feel an increase in racist and discriminatory actions in public spaces when she started to wear a hijab. This is a prime example that shows everyday racism in public spaces and that a piece of non-Swedish-ethnic clothing shows the lack of gender-race-equal value. Klocker and Tindale (2021) argue that using an intersectional analysis highlights social structures and institutions and can be used to identify privilege and exclusion. Being black is individual. It is experienced differently depending on time and local context (Carney, 2014). A dangerous way of thinking about intersectionality – race, class, gender, is to do so from a multiplication analogy (Valentine, 2007). Halimo's narrative shows that all social identities are intertwined and cannot be added by multiplying women to black to Muslim.

5.3 They think it is a competition - Responses and strategies to everyday racism
Halimo explains that the worst part about being in public spaces is that she must constantly prove herself to others, confirm that you are competent, intelligent, can-do work, speak the language, or hold a discussion.

> "I honestly think, and this is my conspiracy theory, that the worst thing white people know is that black people were to be better than them. If we were to lift black creators, influencers, and society fighters overall, white people would say, *"why is this something to bring up? It is a Swedish society, and they take our tax money"*. They [white people] think it is a competition, but we are not even on that level. We are not even there in our mindset to think that it is a competition. It feels like they think it is a competition against us while we have a competition against society even to be able to get somewhere. There are so many steps for us to climb,

even to get close to the white hierarchy in Sweden. Not that that is possible as the whole society is based around the whiteness norm" (Halimo, 19.04.2022).

Halimo describes that she feels safer with other immigrants, even if they are not black. She means the safety relates to her not being afraid of being exposed to racist or discriminatory acts nor the feeling of being treated differently as they all share similar starting points. She further explains that when the constellation is such, she can feel how spaces become segregated and that her group does not interact with other people's spaces. However, she means that if the group were to contain ethnic swedes, there would be an increase in inequality regarding how other people treat her. She can feel the passivity towards her cumulative. Kristoffersson et al. (2021) explain this by arguing that concepts such as ethnicity, race, and culture can all be understood by categorizing people – group affiliation based on physical characteristics such as skin color, religion, clothing, and that the group is being racialized. The surroundings affect how a space is portrayed and populated. Different variations in how public spaces are populated occur, meaning different social groups occupy different spaces and inhabit the spaces differently. Other public spaces have different social compositions in a segregated city, even if the spaces are spatially common (Franzén et al., 2016).

"It makes you feel bad and alone. Sometimes you just want somebody else to do it [take the discussion] for you. Like, hand over it - could you talk my words forward, then it might be easier. Partly, with the explaining, but also with the educating […] because I also need to handle that it hurts me when somebody continues insisting that it is okay, and not so bad, and trying to convince me that it is okay" (Abrihet, 13.04.2022).

Abrihet further explains that racist and discriminatory acts make her feel, which connects to Halimo's coping ways of handling safer while around other immigrants.

"I felt left out and pointed out, which I know a lot of (I cannot speak for everyone, but a lot of whom I have talked with who are second-generation Afro-Swedes) have felt during all of their school years outpointed when in white schools. I have gone to many white schools where there were no other kids who looked like me, and then, once again, I felt left out and outpointed because of the way I looked. I have also lived here for as long as an ethnic Swede. The only thing that differs is my skin color. There is such a contrast in how one is being treated. You get treated differently; I always get treated with question marks" (Halimo, 19.04.2022).

Halimo further explains that her coping method has been screaming, yelling, and arguing to get her voice heard. She has found that that is the only way it works to be seen and heard. Further, Halimo explains that it is hard to know if you are being a victim because people are so passive, but it can be seen when you dissect their actions; it is shown in how they talk and how they build up their sentences in specific ways. Following, she means that she has screaming, yelling, and arguing as a coping strategy because she handles racism and discrimination towards her. However, she cannot bear the thought of a little black kid who might not be able to take racist and discriminatory acts having to go through it. She feels like she needs to act as an advocate for future generations. All spaces vary depending on dynamics. According to Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018a), experiencing specific spaces as a racialized body comes with the feeling of not belonging, reflected in the experience of construction and mobility of belonging. Predominantly white countries play a part in shaping experience, constructions, and anxieties while being a racialized minority in said contexts. Furthermore, the Afrocentric conceptualization regarding belonging is built on experiences and narratives where racist acts and discrimination have occurred. These narratives describe that the sense of identity and belonging to places are lost. Today, intersectionality within feminist geography is limited to the meaning of space as a process of a subject formation rather than directing the focus on questions regarding social inequalities and power. Feminist geography has, according to Valentine (2007), used intersectionality to the same extent in research as other social science disciplinary areas have. Some studies in feminist geography have looked at some specific interconnections concerning intersectionality but have skipped how to concrete using the concept, both empirical and theoretical.

In Amanda's narratives on growing up, she explains her anger towards how her dad handles racism and discrimination. She means that he always overcompensates, treating the oppressor with kindness, which she describes is since he knows that this is society, and this is how he is treated, which differs from her strategies. Her strategy is to take the fight, which she also does for her dad, as the way he is being treated is wrong. Unlike Abrihet and Jemal, who are both parents, Amanda explains that she, for her entire childhood and to this day, always has felt overprotective towards her dad. When kids in school made fun of black people, it did not necessarily affect her that much, but when kids made comments toward her dad, that is when it hurt, and when she got mad, even though she could say anything "because that is the way it is." Today, if she sees her dad being racially victimized, she will argue. Overall, most of the participants do not pick fights against everyday racism. The silent agreement does not end the racial hierarchies or racialized relations profoundly embedded in most West-European countries. As Halimo (19.04.2022) puts it:

"It does not affect me as much anymore; it could be racial slurs on the street or arguments with your teacher. It is because of the gaps in our society. You are so aware, but there is nothing you can do about it. The inequalities will always be there, but nothing you can do except taking the fight to decrease the gaps and stand up for yourself."

It means that you get used to always being racially victimized in public spaces, and it comes a time when you must learn when to pick your battles. The public space works as a democratic mechanism, means Franzén et al. (2016), but for vulnerable groups such as women and migrants, public space turns from an open space to an area where they are no longer anonymous. Public spaces turn into a place where these groups must have a constant negotiation and a fight for their citizenship (Franzén et al, 2016).

5.4 Structural racism in schools and workplaces

Three of the participants share similar stories of racism that they have been exposed to in a school context. Their teacher decided that they should have Svenska För Invandrare (SVA), which translates to Swedish for immigrants. All participant means that SVA is a good thing, but the problem is that it happened on racist terms; it was not individualized. All the participants have different upbringing and circumcises. Thus, they share the similarity of being born in Sweden, and some even have Swedish as their mother-thong. Abrihet explained that all white people were in the regular Swedish class, and all immigrants were in SVA. Abrieth's story shares a striking similarity with Halimo's, who tells how her teacher stood in the way of the classroom and refused to go out of the way because she was supposed to be in SVA. After her mom, who speaks Swedish fluently, came and yelled at the teachers and principal, Halimo was allowed to return to the regular Swedish class. However, she still had to put up with her teachers asking if she could handle the advanced level of Swedish, not knowing that her dad is an educated Swedish teacher. Like how Abrihet came back to the regular Swedish class, is Linnea's story, growing up in a relatively white area and being one of a few black students, she was put in SVA. The difference is that she has one Swedish parent. Halimo also explains that it was clear that the correlation was between skin color and SVA, as other students in her class, who only had been in Sweden for a couple of years, were not questioned about their Swedish ability. Structural power mechanism in the Swedish social landscape has worked as a process of racialization for several hundred years, even though the discursive elements have differed over time. How the constriction of race is acknowledged within the society varies over time and between countries and locations, but has a common denominator, histories of colonialism which resulted in white dominance and the creation of

stories about race (Carney, 2021). Abdi means that he has been affected by structural racism because he has been dined opportunities, such as not getting jobs. In contrast, Jemal relates this to the rootlessness in legislation, non-sanctions, and lack of supervision in intuitional contexts.

Linnea and Amanda have similar stories, both having Swedish names. Each participant means that when their names do not correlate with employers' idea of what they look like, which results in uncomfortable situations, a distinct difference in how they are being treated on paper versus in real life. Amanda further explains that she rather would have the employees know that she is black so she will be taken out of consideration before it is time for an interview as she feels like all the questions and changes in tones are difficult to deal with. These statements can be connected to xenophobia and ethnonationalism in Sweden, reflecting different societal groups' race and cultural distance (Sawyer and Habel, 2014).

5.5 Turning public spaces into a talking scene

Halimo means that racist and discriminatory acts happen due to ignorance, and if you do not act against it, it will continue for generations to come. People also need to stop advocating that racism never happens in Sweden. The participant explains that in June of 2020, when the Black Lives Matter movement became a thing worldwide, at least for a couple of days, it began to feel like more people wanted to educate themselves on the struggles black people had felt for centuries. However, Jemal and Amanda argue that black people speak to black people. It took a couple of days for people to forget the oppression.

Abrihet further means that it is hard to educate people who are not interested and that it is that way in all movements. Black people fight for their rights, women fight for their rights, and black women fight for theirs. She means that it is easier to focus on your struggles, but it does not mean that one should be in denial of others' struggles. She further explains that she knows her privileges as a CIS-women and tries to educate herself on the HBTQ+ community's struggles, arguing that there is no instruction manual for educating oneself on your struggles or others. There is always new information surfacing. The work is also that the white normality is so deeply rooted in our society.

"It is a statement that society needs to make if you remove objects who stands for racist acts, racist research. It is a statement where one says that it is not okay and should not be praised. It is an indication that one is willing to do again, and this time do it right" (Abrihet, 13.04.2022).

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Abrihet also means that there are racist traces in our society, such as monuments and statues. Amanda agrees that statues or end monuments are in public spaces for people to admire and that not acknowledging all their actions is indeed ignoring parts of history. Racist acts that the people in statues and monuments stood behind and are being ignored while they take up space in our landscape. They are recognized to how many of the participants spoke about physical attributes in the society that carries a racist meaning, where they mean that the good does not outweigh the bad. Moreover, Halimo also agrees with the previous statement and claims that Sweden, as a collective, needs to acknowledge that people who are monumental statues have raised their thoughts and beliefs.

Amanda means that it is in the inner city where cultural events happen. She takes up an example on outdoor cinemas and implies that these events always occur in predominantly white spaces, which means that people who live in segregated areas must take the time of day to go to these places. She further acknowledged that cultural events, such as outdoor cinemas, would never happen in a segregated area. Amanda explains that when people from the suburbs come, they can feel how people are either overcompensating for their presents or ignoring them. Either way, we are always outpointed, and they would never take their time to visit us in the suburbs, meaning that there is no natural integration. People in segregated areas always need to go the extra mile to be a part of the cultural experience, which is natural for white people. Some of the participants claim that Stockholm is multicultural and developed. However, development initiatives are limited to the inner-city and predominantly white places.

Jemal takes up an example of the built environment, specifically in garages where sound systems are supposed to scare away drug dealers, but it is the consequence of racism. Because it only is a thing in white neighborhoods. Regulations act the opposite way and should be traded with negotiated and narrativized set of conditions regarding inclusion. Noteworthy is that public spaces allow gatherings of governmental and social engineering, resulting in people internalizing how to be public citizens (Qian, 2020). Nevertheless, he explains it as being that is politics today. Abdi all means that it is the reason for the grants to live in segregated grated areas and that it is a shame that no one cares about those areas. Space and race are tangled in with power struggles, for instance in conflicts relating to resources show how some spaces are known to be used; this conflict can sometimes be based on racial inequalities. Since spaces are historical and fluid, space does not necessarily have the same meaning in different contexts. – spaces have a complex social meaning (Neely and Samura, 2011).

Both participants, Abdi, and Linnea talk about how the media is painting the suburbs as a hostile place where there are shootings, and nothing good ever happens. That is not necessarily the case as they forget to write about the moms who help with walking around the neighborhood to keep it safe or all the youth recreation center who gives the kids and youths somewhere to go. In the inner city, it is more news about all the good stuff that happens, but never about the crimes. Since both race and space are relational and interactional, their meanings are being re/made on micro- and macro levels between both individuals and groups. Therefore, the implications of race and space are a product of the relationships to "other" (Neely and Samura, 2011).

Linnea means that we need to educate in the school system from a young age; we need to keep the diversity and not shame the cultures or countries, which will help. Following this, Jemal continuously says that he is not interested in discussing everyday racism. He understands that it is what the newspapers, such as often Aftonbladet, think people are interested in reading as it becomes more evident for white people, and if it is not clear, it is not worth reading or worth seeing. Public spaces consist of zones of inclusion and exclusion—public spaces function as a person's everydayness and are manifested through the spatiality of social life.

This chapter has brought up the individual and collective perspectives amongst the participant on their blackness, sense of public spaces, and experiences. It reveals the collective notion of always being a deviation in public areas and explains the diverse forms of how racism takes place in different contexts and how these acts and experiences of these acts differ over time and space. It also reveals a more profound notion that gender and race both are crucial in how we embody public spaces; however, these are individual layers and cannot be seen as collective. The next chapter, the *discussion,* will answer the research questions.

6. Discussion

6.1 How do the second-generation Afro-Swedes define blackness and public spaces?

There is no doubt that being black is individual and shaped by several different dimensions, some overlapping and some being individual. Applying the theory of intersectionality has allowed this thesis to dissect the concept of race and gender, as both concepts are fundamental dimensions in people's identity. Intersectionality further allows a closer examination of different layers amongst the research group - focusing on race as a group, gender as a group, and race and gender combined to identify tendencies on a broader scale while still acknowledging self-identities (Carney, 2014).

Similarly, the theoretical framework of the spatialization of race and the racialization of space confirms that public spaces are racialized and situated through lived experience (Qian, 2020). Spaces are neither neutral nor used in the same way by different people and societal groups; Knowles argues that racial and spatial processes are intertwined and seen and experienced through everyday embodies (Neely and Samura, 2011). As shown in the results, being black means understanding that one is always a deviation in public spaces; however, blackness differs and is individual. Blackness can come from one upbringing, role models, and choices in life, it can come from family dynamics and the inequalities one must overcome in one's day-to-day life. It can also be that one does not feel black and considers oneself Swedish but is constantly reminded of the skin color by society. Qian (2020) argues that public spaces' publicness to different societal groups is based on extra layers such as race, ethnicity, gender, and religion. The results further reflect the participant's narrative while defining their blackness; individually, it differs but embraces their blackness as a collective. Their blackness is based on dimensions such as cultural belonging and places where you feel like you belong. My results confirm McEachrane (2012)'s argument that being black in Sweden is a constant reminder that your blackness contradicts the Swedish nationality's conception. Afro-Swede does not have a fixed notion but can be seen from the culturally black diasporic. Second-generation Afro-Swedes take pride in being black and use their blackness while creating their self-identity.

My results further confirm that speaking about race with other minorities is more common than speaking about race with an ethnic Swede. Race and color are not typically talked about in a Swedish context due to the colorblindness discourse that is profound in the racial hierarchy and relations found in most West-European countries (Adeniji, 2014; Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014). It is possible to compare the participant's narratives to Ziemer (2011), who argues that it is crucial to have feelings of belonging while forming self-identities from a young age. This is implicitly explained by the participant where there is a significant difference depending on where you grew up. The participant who grew up in multicultural neighborhoods explains that they were not different from the norm. The participants who grew up in predominantly white spaces knew from an early age that they were seen differently due to the white norm in the Swedish landscape. These narratives of belonging further confirm Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzhama's (2018a) theory about belonging and said concept's complexity. They theorize the idea of belonging to societal group affiliation and how these affiliations correlate to society's informal and formal membership.

Public spaces are only shared with a specific type of people. The participant explicitly describes public spaces as everywhere that is not private, where streets, institutions, sports facilities, public

transportation, and more fall under public spaces. According to Halimo, public spaces are places you do not necessarily want to be but happen to be there anyway. Qian (2020) means that publicness is experienced as exchanges throughout the interaction and practices. Spaces are a product of social relationships and social processes that reflect racial order (Neely and Samura, 2011). My results confirm previous research regarding publicness and not feeling welcomed in predominantly white spaces. The primarily white public spaces are implicitly seen in the participants' narratives when they talk about not wanting to go to certain bars and restaurants whose demographic are ethnic swedes. Abrihet also explains that public spaces are parks where her kids play, and Jemal explains public spaces as museums and recreation centers where he is forced to talk his child to so his child does not miss out, even though they both argue that they are not comfortable. This connects to Klocker (2015) that claims that minorities categorize white people as a potential threat. Abrihet also means that public spaces can be stores. Most of the participants also explained that they had been exposed to racial slurs while walking on a street and in a park which conforms to Mångkulturellt centrums (2014) study on racial discrimination and everyday racism occurs in a person's standard settings, such as in stores, restaurants, bars, street, and public transportation. The participant narratives of being "othered" in public spaces further confirms Franzén et al. (2016) explanation of public spaces not being a space of anonymity but rather a space for negotiation and fight for minorities group to fight for the right to be there.

Public spaces can also be understood based on Knowles's four dimensions of how spatial process correlates to racialization. The first concept is that spaces are contestations. Space is constructed and relates to the that spaces are neither neutral nor used in the same way by societal groups (Neely and Samura, 2011). This is shown in the results where the participants speak of avoiding certain places due to the color of their skin to avoid being exposed to racial acts and discrimination. It is also reflected in Abrihet's explanation that she most likely thinks of how she speaks, acts, and behaves while in public spaces. It also reflects Halimo's need to prove herself, so she does not get "othered." The second dimension is that every day embodied and performed social lives of people, which relates to fluid and historical spaces (Neely and Samura, 2011). These dimensions are explained in the participant narratives when speaking about the white hegemony and give examples of monuments and statues seen in the landscape, which they mean to reflect the societal standpoint and pass on the racial hierarchy by not acknowledging the wrongs done throughout history. The third dimension is that spaces are relational and interactional (Neely and Samura, 2011), which explains the participant's comfort with other minorities as they are not the only ones being racialized. They found "comfort" in the collective notion of being "othered." The last dimension is that spaces are infused with differences and inequalities; this is mainly

reflected in Jemals explanation that racism is customizable, which relates to the rootlessness in legislation, non-sanctions, and lack of supervision in intuitional contexts.

6.2 How do Afro-Swedes experience everyday racism as gendered and racialized bodies in public spaces?

Participants do not feel safe in white spaces, white spaces are implicitly explained in the narratives as places where there is not a mix of people. They mean that they always need to think extra about how they behave, act, speak and walk, to not be seen as an outsider, which they acknowledge that they will do, no matter the circumstances. There is also a difference in how the different age categories experience public spaces. Two participants are parents, where Abrihet experiences discrimination and racism acts in separate layers. Layers such as from a gendered perspective, a racialized perspective, and a parental perspective. In contrast, Jemal experiences it from a racialized perspective and a parental one. The parental perspective is shown in overprotection but results in Abrihet and Jemal being uncomfortable. They do not want their kids to miss out on activities where they and their kids can be victims of racist and discriminatory acts. Being a parent means being in spaces one would not necessarily be in by themselves as they are likely to be exposed to racial and discriminatory acts. A layer also shows differences in how public spaces are experienced based on whether both parents are immigrants or just one parent. The difference is that the mixed kids are more likely to acknowledge that they are Swedish and therefore have the same right to a public space as an ethnic Swede. However, McKittrick and Peake (2005) mean that the visible difference can be used against minorities by the dominant group and can be seen in the structure of the geographical organization. It also depends on your upbringing; Abdi means that the racial slurs do not affect him as he is just as welcome as anyone else.

6.2.1 Safe or not

Overall, the participant does not feel safe in public spaces. First, due to the constant racial acts, even if they are minimal, they are there and can be seen in others' actions towards you. Second, structural problems hinder Afro-Swedes from getting the same right as ethnic Swedes, in Swedish society. It also has a gendered layer. Halimo, Linnea, Amanda, and Abrihet all mean that they are afraid of public spaces due to their gender, and if they could, they would avoid them, but that is not the case. Not only are being black and woman two different minority groups but so is the religious layer, especially when wearing religious clothing. It is also reflected in class and who has money to feel safe. The participant's narratives reflect how they describe feeling unsafe and uncomfortable while in public space; however, it is also reflected from an intersectional perspective, where the intersectional framework has allowed me to dissect, challenge, and expose

societal oppression towards second-generation immigrants Afro-Swedes in public spaces. Not only does race has a spatial dimension, but so do gender and religion, and is clearly shown in the participant avoiding certain places at all costs. Knowles's first concept that space is contested can relate to McKittrick and Peakes (2005) idea of difference-in-space, which is a concept that allows the examination of different groups in the society based on the prenotion of hierarchy and inequalities. Difference-in-space also determines how people occupy spaces and places differently and identify who has the right to be in the area. This, according to Knowles, is due to social actors and political struggles and makes up for a crucial component in how spaces are being used and defined (Neely and Samura (2011). Being different, Halimo means has taught her to be stronger and able to handle harder situations as she has been "othered" since she was a kid.

6.2.2 Inclusive or exclusive

Public spaces are not inclusive, mainly due to the structural racism deeply ingrained in the society, which reflects individuals' acts towards other individuals. It reflects how Afro-Swedes is being treated while in public spaces. When all the participants say they do not feel safe in predominately white areas, public spaces are not inclusive but rather exclusive. It is also shown when the participants share their narratives and similarities in how their individuality reveals feelings of exclusion in public spaces.

When looking at the inclusivity and exclusivity of public spaces, Franzén et al. (2016) argue that openness differs depending on which societal group is being examined. According to the authors, an openness assessment discusses several different later such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, and age; the problem, however, lies around that concept ethnicity cannot always be seen as inclusive, as seen when Abdi talks about his blackness and argues that he identifies as Swedish, but happens to be black. Then an openness assessment cannot be seen as inclusive as it is a homogenous way of viewing people. Furthermore, Coe (2018) means that in Sweden today, public spaces are intertwined with discrimination regarding sexism, racism, homophobia, and classism.

6.3 How do Afro-Swedes cope with everyday racism in public spaces?

Experiencing racism and discriminatory acts in public spaces is something the participant is used to. When the participants explain what types of everyday racism, they have been victims of, they explain that it mostly is racial slurs, and for people to speak English to them, or to overcompensate. Everyday racism does, in most cases, contribute to a feeling of insecurity and stress amongst the participants. The approach varies; it is all about picking the fights worth

picking and then screaming, yelling, or just walking away because some battles are not worth taking. There is also a standard narrative where the participants mean that they have learned to accept the inequalities, discrimination, and racist acts they were exposed to.

However, from a gender perspective, Linnea argues that she would be more uncomfortable in public spaces if she were a male, as they are more likely to be physically abused; this is something Mångkulturellt centrum (2014) confirms and argues that the physical violence and hate crimes have become more frequent towards male Afro-Swedes the last couple of years. As a coping mechanism to that fact, Jemal means that there is no reason to fear racial mechanisms that contribute to violence as they are the mechanism which has always been there, which is confirmed by Harwood et al. (2018), who argues that everyday experiences amongst minority group are a production of colonizers views that interlocks new structures of oppression. Everyday racism can also be seen from a layer of sexualization common amongst black women (Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014) and is confirmed in Amanda's and Linnea's narratives when they have been sexualized in public spaces due to the color of their skin.

There is also a collective notion of acknowledging that they are a deviation while in public spaces. And if one is not racialized as black, they still feel as an immigrant, and therefore is also seen as a deviation. It is more common for the women in the thesis to feel sad after being victims of racial acts and discrimination while in public spaces. Bourabain and Verheage (2021) mean that most racist acts occur in public areas, which the participants also say and give examples of when it has happened; this is a result of, according to Bourabain and Verheage (2021), the embodiment of multicultural spaces which is spaces of exclusion. Coe (2018) argues that collective identity is essential in the same categories as [collective] strategies, politics, cultural possibilities, emotions, and narratives, as it captures different aspects of society. Within the same type, aspects such as race and gender are critical to understanding culture. These traits are not just personal traits; all the concepts above create social practices that provide insight into patterns of movement based on social conventions. Racist acts such as harassment, whispering, silence, and abuse lead to restrictions in the second-generation Afro-Swedes mobility patterns. Harwood et al. (2008) mean it causes feelings of emotional, physical, and psychological exhaustion, which somewhat can be seen amongst the participant when they argue that they are exhausted from educating white people. The feelings connect to when the second-generation Afro-Swedes get exposed to racist and discriminatory acts.

Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018a) conceptualize everyday racism with feelings of exclusion that can be implemented in the participant's narratives. Their conceptualization is based on four dimensions. The first dimension is through the lens of contention, which entails the hinders racism contributes. The notion of othering is a product of conditions and processes seen in the marginalization amongst societal groups. The participant's narratives show that one way of handling the othering is to (a) either avoid certain places where they can be exposed to everyday racism. (b) is to surround themselves with other minorities group to either not be the only one exposed or to create segregation in public spaces where they are set apart from white people. (c) To not let them be bothered as they know that they have the same right to the public space as anyone else. The second dimension Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018a) bring up is negotiation, meaning belonging is a conciliation between and in culture. This dimension is more common amongst the mixed participants who acknowledge their right as Swedish (almost) white but still being racialized. They belong to more than one culture, place, and ethnicity. My results confirm the third dimension, belonging-as-ambivalence, which relates to the previous dimension. However, the third dimension relates more to the uncertainty of where one belongs and is reflected in the affiliation between places, identity, and mobility. The mixed participants' narratives explain more as they grew up with two cultures, but once again, they feel unsure in predominantly white public spaces as they are racialized. Some narratives further explain that their identity is based on society racializing them and treating them differently, which results in self-identification and a long-time formation of identity-based notions of not belonging. The mobility aspects are confirmed by the participant, to some extent, as some feel limited in their ability to move around public spaces because they fear being victims of everyday racist acts. The last dimension that Kwansha-Aidoo and Mapedzahama (2018a) bring up is that the feeling of belonging comes from a place of compromise. These compromises are made to gain psychological, physical, and emotional comfort while embodying spaces. Which to some extent are reflected in the participant's narrative, especially in the younger generation, as they are not responsible for a child, and can, by themselves, to some extent, choose which spaces to be in. However, as a parent, Abrihet and Jemal are making sacrifices for psychological, physical, and emotional comfort so their kids do not miss any opportunities due to the color of their skin. The parental aspect also implicitly argues that they could handle the racism they face every day. Still, that their children would be exposed to racism and discrimination are terrifying for them. The other way around is Amanda, who means that she has always felt protected towards her black dad as he is the one who suffers the most from racist acts and discrimination. Noteworthy is acknowledging that everyday racism comes with sacrifices made by the second-generation Afro-Swedes to feel safe and a sense of belonging.

6.4 Does everyday racism as a concept matter?

I argue that everyday racism as a concept is a phrase that makes it possible for authorities to ignore the deeply rooted intuitionalism racism that is scattered all over our landscape. Simple racism, as Jemal puts it, makes it easier for white people to understand; it is when individuals do it to other individuals. But it completely misses out on black youth who are hearing that they never will be good enough and who do not get the same opportunities due to the color of their skin. Everyday racism is a result of structural racism, and if structural racism still exists, so will everyday racism.

This can be connected to the second dimension of Knowles's concept of space, that spaces are fluid and historical. Spaces are reflected in social processes and how these processes change, making spaces a fluid cultural thing that is re/created through embodied experiences and maintained through performative experiences and acts, which can be seen in the recreation of colonial narratives that are statues. Statues and monuments that society stands behind by not acknowledging the horrible history they have contributed to. This once again can be connected to Knowles's fourth and final concept of space, that space is infused with differences and inequalities. Political issues regarding structures, inequalities, and discrepancies all play a role in how the space is organized and conferring to the dominant interest. The definition and control over space are based on the dominant groups' power. In Sweden, racist acts that occur in public spaces are most likely to fall in line with colorblind racism that fails to acknowledge racial differences or everyday racism (Coe, 2018). My thesis has shown that, of course, everyday racism is happening. It, in most cases, emotionally affects the people who are exposed to it. However, it is the structural racism that is far worse and puts second-generation Afro-Swedes in a vulnerable position.

Overall, in some of the participant's answers, the whiteness norm reflecting through. For instance, throughout the interview, and especially while interviewing the women, they said things such as *"I do not mean to make myself a victim," "I know I am privileged,"* and *"other has it worse than me."* I argue that those statements are all testaments that you are indoctrinated to be humble and acknowledge others' struggles, even as a black person. Still, as a black person in a white society, you are allowed to be angry, admitting that your efforts are genuine, acknowledging that acts you think can be racist or discriminatory most likely are. Racist implications are being re/made on micro-and macro levels between individuals and groups. Therefore, the implications of race and space are a product of the relationships to the "other". Moreover, the effects of the concepts are always measured concerning the privilege of whiteness. Spaces are also a result of power

struggles possessed by material spaces that, through racial interaction, emphasize material and symbolic racism in our societies' chores and are manifested through the spatiality of social life (Neely and Samura, 2011). Once again, as Jemal puts it, everyday racism is not something that keeps me up at night.

This chapter reveals that spaces are neither neutral nor used in the same way and is reflected in the limitations that the second-generation Afro-Swedes have in their mobility in public spaces; it further reveals that blackness is induvial and based on different aspects. Additionally, it indicates that the second-generation Afro-Swedes do not feel safe in predominantly white spaces and are based on race and gender. Following there are several coping mechanisms second-generation Afro-Swedes do while being exposed to everyday racism in public spaces It is seen from the conceptualization of belonging where they negotiate and compromise to gain emotional, physical, and psychological comfort. The next chapter, the conclusion, will summarize my finding in this thesis, shed light on the thesis limitations, and examine further research perspectives.

7. Conclusion

Sweden's demographic landscape is changing and still, there is a strong connection between white and Swedish, even if a person was born and grew up here, making a non-white person non-Swedish, no matter the context. Everyday racism can be seen through the lens of colorblindness. In Sweden, race and color are seen as something negative and therefore rarely talked about. The Swedish lack of acknowledging the term race comes from hierarchal and racialized relations which can be found in most Western-European countries due to the hurtful meaning behind the concept. Noteworthy, having a silent agreement where open discussions about racism and exceptionalism are not occurring, contributes to the reproduction of racism in the Swedish landscape. Due to this, the black diaspora is seen as homogenous categorization, without recognizing that blackness is different depending on individual aspects, groups, local contexts, global contexts, and in intuitional situations. Everyday racism is more likely to occur in settings that are related to a person's everydayness, for instance in places such as streets, stores, restaurants, bars, and public transportations. Racism is a product of the colonial narrative and correlates to the hierarchal whiteness norms, where whiteness is the norm. Similarly, race relates to the ability to be mobile in public spaces, where mobility is dominated by groups who fear spaces becoming multicultural. Everyday racism is also reflected in knowing that one is being discriminated against in public spaces but not being able to comprehend which aspect of one's identity is being exposed.

Using intersectionality as a theoretical framework has allowed me to examine how second-generation Afro-Swedes experience public spaces as racialized and gendered bodies. Both dimensions play a role in feelings of exclusion in public spaces. The race aspect does contribute to feelings of exclusion and out of placeness, as does gender. The second-generation Afro-Swedes who identified as women were more likely to feel exposed to gendered and racialized perspectives. Similarly, religion was also an aspect that contributed to feelings of exclusion and victimization in public spaces. Racial, gendered, and religious dimensions among the second-generation Afro-Swedes do connect to previous studies showing that the space does have a racial dimension and is based both around the racialization of space and the spatialization of race, which is seen in the deeply rooted racist structures in our society and does reflect in the second-generation Afro-Swedes mobility patterns and ways the embodied spaces based on race, gender, and religion.

The second-generation Afro-Swedes experience everyday racism in public spaces by being victims of harassment, being pointed out, and feeling out of place. Everyday racism is the type of racism that the second-generation Afro-Swedes are used to. In most cases, it affects the second-generation Afro-Swedes emotionally and hurts their physical integrity. They do not necessarily pick a fight but instead walk away, as the individual-to-individual racism is indeed hurtful but comes from a place of ignorance. However, the thesis aimed to investigate everyday racism experienced by second-generation Afro-Swedes, which is an essential angle for the research purposes. However, the deeper wound is structural racism.

Nonetheless, everyday racism as a concept is still vital as it allows a discussion about black people's inequalities they face in their daily lives. However, everyday racism is a product of structural racism and is shown in the lack of black people's representation in different outlets; it is also demonstrated in opportunities being denied due to the color of their skin. Everyday racism as a product of structural racism also contributes to the societal pressure for black people to act as advocates, both by being the spokesperson for the black community in white spaces and for future black generations. According to black narratives, structural racism is the biggest struggle while being a second-generation Afro-Swede, and structural racism in public spaces facts. Simultaneously as being racialized and gendered in public spaces. The white society creates a narrative about being black as a collective notion. However, blackness is individual. It can be based on culture, upbringing, role models, or simply just your skin color – making societies view the only connection to black. However, blackness is individual but has been portrayed as a negative phenomenological trait to have to create white public spaces as a black and racialized

person, a place of not belongingness, and in that sense, being black as a collective notion does apply; it is not unless surrounded by other minorities the feeling of safeness comes as one is not the only one being victimized.

Some main dimensions of race, gender, and spaces can be identified from a conceptual lens. (1) Places are based on lived experiences that can be affected by environmental circumstances and experienced on multiple levels. This is revealed in narratives that reflect on the participant's feelings about safe while with other minorities and what time of day. Thus, space is a static notion; the environmental circumstances play a part in how public spaces are experienced. (2) Fear and oppression in public spaces are founded on race privilege and are crucial in acknowledging exclusion from public spaces by being racialized. This is shown in narratives regarding the structural aspects and how historical aspects linger in the society, reproducing inequalities in public spaces. Hence the racialization of space. (3) The four dimensions of how everyday racism correlates to the second-generation Afro-Swedes feeling of exclusion in public spaces. (a) consolation, (b) negotiation, (c) belonging-as-ambivalence, and (d) compromising, which shows in the comprises the research subjects do to gain personal and emotional comfort while in public spaces. (4) The four ways racial and spatial processes correlate, with (a) spaces are neither neutral nor used in the same way, (b) spaces are fluid and historical, which is seen in the reproduction of inequities (c) spaces are relational and interactional, and (d) spaces are infused with differences and inequalities which is reflected in the fifth conceptualization of space which implicit has been shown (5) power struggles, which is seen in the constant need amongst the participants to prove themselves, how they act, how they move. Nevertheless, it is also shown in how they feel in different social settings where they feel excluded due to their hierarchical position. Space and race are processes that correlate to each other.

The intersectional framework has allowed the unpacking of complicated processes such as race, gender, and religion and recognizing how these processes create a person's social identity. Yet, the dynamics are complex and intertwined on a structural level. The complex processes that act as mechanisms for a person's identity are related to dimensions such as gender and race. Yet, there is still the aspect of how society portrays a person. Social process, gender, space, and race are also always intertwined and embodied with one another, yet differently, making it hard to see how the different layers within a person are affected by each other.

Throughout my thesis, I acknowledge a significant gap in previous research about second-generation Afro-Swede in a Swedish context. The gap has been recognized both in the narratives

and the literature. In most interviews, the interviews have been a safe space for participants to talk about their experiences, perceive, and respond to everyday racism and structural racism. It is also a place where somebody listens and acknowledges their stories and found similarities, and can discuss without non-racist racist comments that are common otherwise. As mentioned before, there is a white narrative lingering in some of the participant's story and thought because Sweden's society lacks awareness of struggles regarding the black community and how the racist ideologies are ingrained in our society through human interaction, making black people not know their history.

It is also a clear difference with the out of placeness regarding if a second-generation Afro-Swede were mixed or not, as mixed people are more likely to acknowledge that they have the same right to public spaces but do not fit in due to the whiteness norm.

The thesis has acknowledged the narratives of six participants whom all say that they have lost opportunity, do not have the same mobility patterns as a white person, and always think about how they behave, speak, and act in public spaces. To argue that Sweden is a multicultural county where everybody has the same opportunity would be a lie, as some participants argue. To say that Sweden does not have a racist history and has not been affected by Western society's ideologies from colonial days would be a lie. Structural racism based on colonial narratives has produced everyday racism where black people struggle in their daily lives.

In conclusion, gender, race, religion, age, and class all play a role in how the second-generation Afro-Swedes experience public spaces. The difference is in how these spaces are occupied. Spaces have both a racialized notion as well as a gendered one.

7.1 Limitations and further research

As the concept of blackness, race, and gender individual, broad and complex terms are being connected to public spaces where the participant in the thesis made up their definition. The reasoning for this was not to limit the discussion surrounding everyday racism to a specific setting is a limitation in the sense that all mentioned aspects are not measurable and challenging to put about one another. Thus, it resulted in vague definitions of concepts. Even though the participants have similar stories, individual narratives have made it hard to develop their thoughts, ideas, and stories as a product to measure – a collective notion. Simultaneously, is also the fact that the thesis is based on six participants, which makes the thesis not representative of the second-generation Afro-Swedes. Similarly, the participant selection is a limitation, as the age differs, which is

interesting but clearly shows the different generational narratives in the participant's experiences. The semi-structured interview did help with the empirical collecting and a lot of data could be gathered, if an additional method to compensate for the semi-structured interviews would have been applied such as observations, a larger basis could be identified and the thesis becomes more representative, and deeper. However, I do like to acknowledge my role as a racial insider, as it has helped me get close to the participants in creating a safe space for them where they have been able to talk about their experiences. My own experience with everyday racism and structural racism has led me to code differently in my results and the narratives. There's also been a limitation in what type of literature I have been able to find as there is a gap in second-generation immigrant literature in a Swedish context.

In further research, I would find it interesting to study structural racism experienced by second-generation Afro-Swedes as that is something they brought up a lot. And seems to be the more significant structural issue, but not to look over everyday racism as it is still a fact and not limit the discussion regarding everyday racism. More research also needs to be done regarding second-generation Afro-Swedes as well as black people in Sweden about spatial processes in relation to race the focus is not on segregated areas but rather on the embodiment of space.

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9. Appendix

9.1 Appendix 1 – Interview question in Swedish

Intervjufrågor – Svenska

Första segmentet

1. Vem är du? Berätta lite om dig själv. Namn, ålder, kön, var kommer du ifrån?
2. Hur identifierar du din svarthet? Beror det på din hudfärg, är det ett sammanhang du kanske är uppvuxen i, är det samhällets syn på dig?
3. Vad skulle du betrakta som ett offentligt rum?

Mellansegment

4. Har du någonsin upplevt rasism?

a. Om ja, när och var hände det?

b. Var det i ett offentligt rum?

c. Hur kände du?

d. Varför tror du att det hände?

e. Var det relaterat till att du var afrosvensk?

f. Hur hanterade du på det?

g. Varför hanterade du på det specifika sättet?

5. Finns det vissa typer av platser du undviker/inte nödvändigtvis känner dig trygg på, på grund av din hudfärg?
6. Finns det vissa typer av platser du undviker/inte nödvändigtvis känner dig trygg på, på grund av din kön?
7. Finns det vissa offentliga platser du känner dig utesluten från på grund av din hudfärg?
8. Känner du dig rädd/har du varit rädd för att bli offer för hatbrott när du är i offentliga miljöer?

   a. Tror du att dessa känslor påverkas av helheten? Till exempel att se hatbrott mot svarta människor på nyheterna och på sociala medier?

Sista segmentet

9. Känner du att din känsla för rum förändras beroende på vem du är med?

Det betyder att du känner att rasdiskriminering skiljer sig åt beroende på vem du är med, och om du är med andra minoriteter.

10. Känner du att din erfarenhet av en plats förändras över tiden (när du blir äldre)?
11. Vad tror du är exempel i den fysiska offentliga miljön som du upplever bidrar till rasism?

    a. Vilken typ av förändringar i den byggda miljön tror du kan bidra till att förebygga vardagsrasism?

Slutligen, hur känner du att vardagsrasism och strukturell påverkar dig?

9.2 Appendix 2 – Interview questions in English

Interview questions – English

First segment

1. Who are you? Tell me a little about yourself. Name, age, gender, where do you come from?

2. How do you identify your blackness? Does it depend on your skin color, is it a context you may have grown up in, is it society's view of you?

3. What would you consider a public space?

Middle segment

4. Have you ever experienced racism?

a. If so, when and where did it happen?

b. Was it in a public place?

c. How did you feel?

d. Why do you think it happened?

e. Was it related to you being Afro-Swedish?

f. How did you handle it?

g. Why did you handle it in the specific way?

5. Are there certain types of places you avoid / do not necessarily feel comfortable with, due to your skin color?

6. Are there certain types of places you avoid / do not necessarily feel comfortable with, because of your gender?

7. Are there certain public places you feel excluded from because of your skin color?

8. Do you feel afraid / have you been afraid of falling victim to hate crimes when you are in public?

a. Do you think that these feelings are affected by the whole? For example, to see hate crimes against black people on the news and on social media?

The last segment

9. Do you feel that your sense of place changes depending on who you are with?

This means that you feel that racial discrimination differs depending on who you are with, and if you are with other minorities.

10. Do you feel that your experience of a place changes over time (as you get older)?

11. What do you think are examples in the physical public environment that you experience contribute to racism?

a. What kind of changes in the built environment do you think can help prevent everyday racism?

Finally, how do you feel that everyday racism and structural affect you?