Urban Riots in Sweden
Is there Continuity or Change in the Political Discourse?

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ABSTRACT
In the last ten years several violent protests have emerged in Sweden’s largest cities. Some of them have developed into real riots, resulting in burned cars and large police operations. These violent events, or ‘urban riots’, are a relatively new phenomenon in Sweden. The aim of this qualitative study is to investigate the structure of the discourse among the Swedish political elite in power. I will observe if the political discourse on disadvantaged areas in Sweden is characterized by continuity or change after urban riots. This study examines four urban riot cases, between 2005 and 2013.

To study how the political discourse is constructed, framing theory elements are combined with elements from discourse analysis. The characteristic features of the two framing dimensions are outlined which gives me a framework to categorize the political discourse. The two dimensions are; diagnostic and prognostic frames. The discourse analytical elements are used in order to systemize who is included in the political discourse by the political elite in power. A discourse analysis is then conducted on the collected empirical material, which consists of newspaper articles and parliamentarian debates from the Swedish parliament.

The results from the analysis suggest that the disadvantaged districts are not salient both before and after the riots among the political elite in power, except for the last case. In this case the riot as such has no observable ‘effect’ on political discourse about disadvantaged districts. The political actors tend to separate riots as events from the disadvantaged districts. The last riot did not change how the government defined the problem in the suburbs and how it should be solved. In all cases the political discourse has a strong divide between the state and the inhabitants in the suburbs. The state acts and residents are acted upon.

Keywords: urban riot, political discourse, political elite, disadvantaged districts, framing, discourse analysis
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ............................................................................................................................. 2

ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................................................. 5

TABLES ................................................................................................................................. 5

1. INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................. 6

1.1 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTION ............................................................................ 7
1.2 DELIMITATIONS ................................................................................................................ 8
1.3 DEFINITION OF RIOT ....................................................................................................... 9
1.4 PRIOR RESEARCH ........................................................................................................... 11
   1.4.1 PRIOR RESEARCH ON CAUSES OF RIOTS .............................................................. 12
   1.4.2 PRIOR RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF RIOTS .................................................. 12
1.5 THE THESIS´ DISPOSITION ........................................................................................... 14

2. FRAMING THEORY .............................................................................................................. 14

2.1 DIAGNOSTIC AND PROGNOSTIC FRAMES ................................................................... 16

3. METHOD ............................................................................................................................... 18

3.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS .................................................................................................. 19
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN ......................................................................................................... 22
   3.2.1 CASE SELECTION .................................................................................................... 22
   3.2.2 OPERATIONALIZATION .......................................................................................... 23
3.3 BACKGROUND TO THE SWEDISH URBAN RIOTS ....................................................... 24
3.4 MEDIA REPRESENTATION ............................................................................................... 29
3.5 SOURCES ......................................................................................................................... 29
   3.5.1 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ......................................................................................... 30
   3.5.2 PARLIAMENTARIAN SESSIONS ............................................................................ 32
   3.5.3 SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL MATERIAL .................................................................. 33
3.6 STUDY DOCUMENTS ....................................................................................................... 34

4. ANALYSIS ............................................................................................................................ 35

4.1 RONNA (11 SEPTEMBER 2005) ..................................................................................... 36
4.2 ROSENGÅRD (15-19 DECEMBER 2008) ......................................................................... 40
4.3 RINKEBY (8-9 JUNE 2010) ........................................................................................... 42
4.4 HUSBY (19-24 MAY 2013) .............................................................................................. 44
4.5 SUMMARY OF THE FOUR URBAN RIOT CASES .......................................................... 50

5. DISCUSSION .......................................................................................................................... 51

5.1 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS ..................................................................................... 51
5.2 SOME REFLECTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH ........................................... 55

6. CONCLUSIONS ........................................................................................................... 57

7. LIST OF REFERENCES ........................................................................................................ 59
ABBREVIATIONS
FP     Folkpartiet (The People’s Party)
M      Moderaterna (The Moderate Party)
MP     Miljöpartiet (The Green Party)
C      Centerpartiet (The Center Party)
S      Socialdemokraterna (The Social Democrats)
SD     Sverigedemokraterna (The Sweden Democrats)
V      Vänsterpartiet (The Left party)
KD     Kristdemokraterna (The Christian Democrats)
MSB    Myndigheten för samhällsskydd och beredskap (Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency)
DN     Dagens Nyheter
SVD    Svenska Dagbladet
GP     Göteborgsposten
SN     Sydsvenskan
UNT    Upsala Nya Tidning
AB     Aftonbladet
EP     Expressen
S1     First Search
S2     Second Search
SR     Search Riksdagen

TABLES
Table 1: Selected time periods for the collection of empirical material (p. 31)
Table 2: Number of collected newspaper articles (p. 33)
Table 3: Number of collected parliamentarian sessions (p. 34)
Table 4: Salience of the suburb-issue among the ruling political elite (p. 50)
Table 5: Complexity of discourse by the ruling political elite (p. 50)
Table 6: Framing disadvantaged districts by ruling political elite; diagnostic and prognostic both before and after riot (p. 51)
1. INTRODUCTION

In the last years there has been considerable unrest in many economically and ethnically segregated suburbs in Sweden. In some of them there have been violent protests and even full-scale riots. The last one was in Husby in May, 2013. Other countries have seen this phenomenon before, e.g. in France, 2005, and in Britain, 2011. Riots have also occurred earlier on in the Swedish context. However, ‘urban unrest’ today is a quite different phenomenon.¹

In Sweden the ambition has been to “…promote the socio-economic inclusion and independence of immigrants…” in a society with diversity as a decisive principle. A humane approach towards immigrants has thus been an important aspect in the political discourse.²

The country has also received many immigrants in the recent decades. However, according to a report from the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) the riots have been taking place in residential areas with negative reputation, where the population consists mainly of people from various foreign cultures, to a great extent also with lower incomes.³ Another issue is the political climate which has also changed with the entrance of the far right party that is hostile to immigration, the Sweden Democrats (SD), into the Swedish parliament Riksdagen in 2010. In the recent parliament election in September, 2014, the party won close to 13 per cent of the votes.⁴ The country has thus experienced a different form of violent protest and a new political reality.

There are not many academic studies on ‘effects’ or ‘consequences’ of riots on how politicians frame this issue. Scholars tend to focus on causes of riots instead of effects of riots. Adman briefly addresses the relevance of the effects:

“…riots may affect political decision making and have a significant effect on politics and society. For example the riots in the U.S.A in the 1960s probably led to increased welfare spending in the affected areas.”⁵

⁴ Dagens Nyheter (2014-11-05), Var tionde M-väljare gick till SD
Having Adman’s point in mind this may offer further clues if and how the riots affect the political discourse. The political discourse might give us indications on how the political elite would respond to problems in society. The central question in this thesis is therefore: Does the political elite in power frame the disadvantaged districts in another way after the riots? The theoretical perspective will be framing theory which will function as a framework in my discourse analysis to systemize the political discourse.

1.1 PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The purpose of studying ‘urban riots’, as I refer to them, has three main elements that were presented in the introduction; first, this form of riots has become a more frequent phenomenon in the recent years, both in Europe and Sweden.\(^6\) According to MSB this new phenomenon of urban unrest in Sweden, is more often taking place in the suburbs located in the outskirts of the larger cities, rather than in the city center.\(^7\)

Second, urban riots might be part of other significant political issues. According to Pallander, segregation has become a topic that gained more attention in the “general and political debate” during the 1990s and in the beginning of the 2000s.\(^8\) And both economic and ethnic segregation has increased in recent years.\(^9\) Therefore riots could not be seen as an isolated issue and this study might contribute to the ‘wider debate’ and more specifically on how the ‘political establishment’ reacts to the urban riots and how they view the disadvantaged districts. Other factors besides the riots might also be important to understand how the discourse on these districts is formed; e.g. party politics and the fact that the immigration-sceptic SD entered the parliament in 2010.

Third, the research about its consequences is limited. Numerous researchers have studied the causes of riots in order to understand why riots emerge and how you can prevent them. Others have studied “state response” to riots to investigate how you should stop the events when they have emerged (see more about prior research in chapter 1.4). However, there has been surprisingly little study of the effects on the political discourse, due to the riots. My first case of urban riots took place in Ronna in 2005 almost ten years ago. Taking into account the fact

\(^7\) Nilsson, T., & Ivarsson Westerberg, A. (2011): p. 43  
\(^9\) SOU (2012): p. 68
that urban riots are relatively new makes it easier to understand why Swedish research in this field is limited. But even in the international prior research the studies of how the riots themselves affect the political climate is needed. Wilkinson notes in his often-used review of riots:

… we also ought to do more studies that use riots as an independent variable – modeling political changes, economic changes, and ethnic-identity changes that result from riots.10

When scholars have studied the causes of riots, they have thus treated riots as a dependent variable, as Wilkinson indicates. Swedish scholars have so far studied riots as single-case studies, and thus not from a comparative perspective on discourse effects, neither in time nor in space. The aim of this study is therefore to compare Swedish urban riots in a more systematic way to identify the discourse construction and if it changes after riots. The research question for this thesis is:

Does the political elite in power, frame the disadvantaged districts differently after the urban riots?

One major finding and possible answer to this question could be that the elite politicians change discourse from social reforms, e.g. fighting unemployment to focusing on fighting criminality. Another alternative would be that the political elite starts to frame the problem as an immigration issue, especially when SD is present in the political debate.

The four urban riots took place between 2005 and 2013. They all took place in disadvantaged districts and discourse effects are therefore connected to the political elite’s view on these areas. It is an open-constructed and descriptive research question that will be discussed in detail in the operationalization chapter 3.2.2.

1.2 DELIMITATIONS

In this thesis I will study discourses and not actual policy-making, e.g. how the state has tried to work against segregation in the suburbs. In the initial writing process, a broader focus was in consideration: would the riots affect the integration policy? However, it involves many
different policy areas; education, language course, labour market, housing market, citizenship and so forth. It would have been too complicated for my master thesis to investigate a potential policy change as an effect of riots. Furthermore, in practice you could change discourse overnight but when it comes to policy, it is more characterized by inertia. When I mention ‘effects’ of riots on political discourse I do not have any ambition to observe a quantitative causal relationship.

Another point regarding discourses; even though discourses are the primary focus it is worth emphasizing that the thesis is \textit{actor oriented} and not \textit{discourse oriented}. Actor oriented implies that it is the discourse by a chosen actor, the ruling political elite in this case, that is the study object. In the discourse oriented form it does not matter which actor is using or constructing a specific discourse. It is the discourse itself that is the study object. My aim is to investigate the parties in power and which discourses they use, which makes the analysis actor oriented. The political elite in power simply refers to the cabinet ministers and high-rank members of parliament. An alternative approach might be to study all levels; local, regional and national politicians in order to e.g. see differences in how actors respond to riots.

As I mentioned in connection to the research question the aim is to describe discourse and not to explain it. Thus the theory will not be used in order to find causal factors explaining why a discourse is constructed in different forms. Therefore the empirical material will have a decisive role.

Riot studies are examined in many different contexts with different perspectives e.g. India is mentioned by Wilkinson\textsuperscript{11}. A riot in a post-colonial country may have other dynamics than cases from Sweden, which is an “advanced liberal democracy”\textsuperscript{12}. This fact makes it more difficult to compare my results with other studies. The definitions of what a riot really is, also diverge (as I will describe in next section).

\section*{1.3 Definition of Riot}

Riot is a very broad concept which might include many different phenomena, as I mentioned in the earlier section. In order to make it more specific I will use a definition that according to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Bleich, E., Caeiro, C., et al. (2010): p. 271
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Adman is used by many political scientists. I will discuss what Adman excludes by this definition and also how I am going to use it in practice. A riot is thus:
...spontaneous, collective violence carried out by ordinary members of society who have at least partly political intentions.\(^\text{13}\)

Adman excludes several events due to this definition. The first is when an organization is the leading actor during protests, e.g. when Attac was active during the violent Göteborg riot in 2001. An event organized by different groups from the political establishment is also excluded by Adman. A riot in this understanding is an event mainly organized by people without connections to elites or organizations. Other phenomena, like football hooliganism, are not included due to lack of any political motives.\(^\text{14}\) I understand political motives as having an idea of changing conditions for society in general, and not just for a small group of people. In the earlier mentioned MSB-report, it states that these riots might be political “…even though the youths themselves do not express it verbally.”\(^\text{15}\) The point here regarding my argument is that on the one hand the political motives are very unclear compared to ‘real’ political riots e.g. the Göteborg riot in 2001. On the other hand it is more political than the non-political football hooliganism. Finally, the amount of the people involved in a riot must be between 30-50 or more according to most social scientists.\(^\text{16}\)

Due to my chosen method an event of violent protests must be documented in the media reports that are part of my empirical material, to be defined as an urban riot. If there was a real violent event “out there” without attention from the media, it will not be defined as a riot. Such a case, I assume, will have a smaller possibility to affect the discourse of the political elite. The violent protests must also be of a “high-intensive” character to be considered as a riot. Low-intensive unrest (“micro-riots”\(^\text{17}\)) during a longer period of time is therefore excluded, in order to delimit the thesis. A deeper discussion about my four selected cases (Ronna, 2005, Rosengård, 2008, Rinkeby, 2010, and Husby, 2013) in relation to the criteria is found in chapter 3.2.1. Studying riots is a challenging task due to the lack of knowledge about the rioters. The events end after a few days and it is difficult to get data on who participated, how many and why. Another demanding task is to see the difference between an active rioter

\(^{13}\) Adman, P. (2011): p. 4
\(^{14}\) Ibid.: p. 4
\(^{17}\) Malmberg, B., Andersson, E., et al. (2013): p. 1031. In this article micro-riots are simply measured in the number of burning cars.
and an ‘interested’ observer. Therefore the criteria cannot be fulfilled to 100 per cent in all regards.

Violent events that do not fulfill the mentioned criteria could of course be labeled as riots, but they are not part of the phenomenon that I am investigating. Many different labels have been used to describe these violent episodes. Two terms that are frequently being used in the Swedish context are ungdomskravaller (youth riots) and förortskravaller (suburban riots). ‘Ethnic riots’ or ‘race riots’ are terms used in other countries.\(^\text{18}\) In this study the term urban riot\(^\text{19}\) will be used in order to; first, distinguish it from other forms of riots; second, to avoid comparisons between e.g. American and Swedish cases. The contexts are different and the task is not to generalize my results to other riots. One Swedish article discussed “race-based urban unrest”\(^\text{20}\), but it is rare to emphasize an ethnic dimension on riots in Swedish research.

Summing up, the relevant criteria for a case to be defined as an ‘urban riot’, based on the discussion, is that it must:

- be violent
- be spontaneous
- be in size of 30-50 or more participants
- consist of ‘ordinary’ members of society, hence independent of the political establishment
- have at least partly political motives
- be covered by national newspapers (not adequate with only regional newspapers)

### 1.4 PRIOR RESEARCH

In this section I will examine prior research on causes and effects of riots. It is necessary to give a basic overview over causes of riots even though it is not the focus. Because most often the first question about riots is; how do you prevent them from emerging again? The amount of literature on causes is very extensive and it would be more challenging to specialize within this field compared to the literature about effects which is more limited.

\(^{18}\) See e.g. Bleich, E., Caeiro, C., et al. (2010)
\(^{19}\) A quick search on Google Scholar shows that urban riot is used by many but not compared to e.g. race riot.
1.4.1 PRIOR RESEARCH ON CAUSES OF RIOTS

The question of the causes of riots has a considerable focus in prior research on riots, among sociologists and political scientists. According to Wilkinson major American riots in the mid-1960s due to black segregation became the trigger of a new interest among e.g. the government and scholars. They wanted to investigate what caused these events. Since then many quantitative studies have been published on this issue.

There are many potential factors that could influence why riots occur. Prior research has, according to Adman, focused especially on structural factors; residential segregation and excluding political structures which partly might be combined with perceived marginalization and frustration among the rioters. Studies on more recent riots, e.g. in Paris in 2005, emphasized also low education, unemployment, “lack of satisfaction” and school segregation as important factors. Thus riots occur in marginalized and segregated districts with difficult social conditions in larger cities. These districts tend to have a concentration of ethnic minorities and socioeconomically disadvantaged people.

Short term factors that are working as immediate “triggers” of riot outbreaks are not studied in the same degree as structural ones. Structural causes can highlight the ‘basis’ for riots but they cannot, from Admans’s point of view, explain how severe they will be once they have started. Trigger-factors consist of the actions made by the local government, e.g. how the police will act in marginalized districts in a specific situation. “Provocative actions” committed by local government actors might thus trigger the riot. In many cases (see chapter 3.3.), both inside and outside Sweden violent riots emerged after incidents of alleged police brutality, working as “triggers”, e.g. in Paris, 2005, London, 2011 and Husby, 2013.

1.4.2 PRIOR RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF RIOTS

Relatively little research in recent years has investigated aspects how riots affect politics in Sweden, as I mentioned earlier. Studying riots as an independent factor is a low-prioritized topic. On the other hand, in USA there are numerous studies on the subject related to the

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22 Ibid.: pp. 334-335
24 Ibid.: p. 5
25 Ibid.: p. 7
American ‘race riots’ during the 1960s. The focus is often primarily quantitative effects on welfare programs from race riots. Effects on the labour market were also studied. However as Bleich, Caeiro et al. note it is uncertain how much we can use from the American riot studies in a European context. It is certainly a different context and other effects than discursive that are in focus in these studies.

Bleich, Caeiro et al. and partly Wilkinson focus on the effects of riots on “state response” to the unrest after it has occurred. Bleich, Caeiro et al. argue that studying the direct state response to ‘ethnic riots’ is important because future riots are difficult to prevent entirely. Even if you study the causes of riots, in order to prevent them, you need guidelines for coping with riots when they actually emerge.

Literature with a focus on discourse effects explicitly is more challenging to find. I looked at the most known riot cases; Paris in 2005 and London in 2011 and found several articles with varied meaning of discourse effects: The London riot is used by the political elite to reinforce hegemonic discourses; The Paris riot might be seen as a form of political mobilization to reach political aims; Snow, Vliegenthart et al. gave an important contribution as is seen in the theory section, and they investigated ‘frame variation’ among different actors on the issue of how they understood the riot. Then they explained why frames diverged between actors.

Some authors use a comparative perspective. Smith observed British riots in 1981 and 2011 and showed how the discursive narratives of the former affect the later; Cavanagh & Dennis studied the same two cases looking at how discourse changed in the media from solving “social problems” in 1981 to “pure criminality” in 2011; Framing of riots in the direct aftermath is decisive to how it is interpreted long time after, as Messer & Bell showed with an American case.

30 Bennett, J. (2013)
33 Smith, E. (2013)
34 Cavanagh, A., & Dennis, A. (2012)
The most of these previous studies on riots do not contain relevant and useful tools to study discourse continuity or change. The contributions that introduced to me the ideas of how to construct a framework to categorize and analyze discourses are mainly Messer & Bell and Snow, Vliegenthart et al. They use framing theory as their analytical tool (see more about this in chapter 2.).

1.5 THE THESIS´ DISPOSITION

The following parts of the thesis deal with the theoretical and methodological issues, which are constructing my descriptive analysis framework. The discourse analysis is my method to interpret and understand discourses by the political elite. Discourse analysis is a very broad method without specific tools to systemize discourses in the context of riots. The framing theory I am using is therefore a fruitful complement to my framework, and in chapter 2 I will present this. Furthermore in the method chapter I will describe case selection and the empirical material that will be decisive for the empirical analysis. To make this analytical framework more understandable I will in 3.2.2 describe how the research question will be operationalized and basically how this ‘analysis apparatus’ is constructed.

The comparative perspective will be preferable for the analysis because I can see how stable and coherent the discourse is over time. The most important aspect here is to see if the discourse is characterized by continuity or change in time of riot. In the discussion I will illustrate how to interpret the results. The last part will present the conclusions from this investigation of Swedish urban riots in the 2000s.

2. FRAMING THEORY

Framing is mainly about how something, e.g. a political issue, could be understood. A point from framing theory is therefore that it might exist several potential ‘frames’ at the same time. From this viewpoint there are no ‘objective’ frames, and political actors struggle over what should be the ‘correct’ understanding.\(^{36}\)

> Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.\(^ {37}\)

A preferred frame is thus how an actor connects and interprets series of events and indicate the “essence of the issue”. From this perspective frames are not always constructed or based on the real problem ‘out there’, but rather on the interest of influential actors which have something to win or lose; typically the media, government, the parliament, experts and so forth.\(^{38}\)

Frames and discourses are terms that are often used interchangeably and in several ways as I have experienced in the literature. Frames are functioning as “‘devices embedded in political discourse’”\(^{39}\) and I interpret them as strategies to push forward one specific discourse. Discourse has many different definitions and I will use Fairclough’s approach. He has a broad understanding of *discourse which is “spoken and written language”*.\(^{40}\) Hence *framing is how you choose to present it in order to persuade*. The discourse may therefore be promoted by different frames.\(^{41}\) Let’s reconnect to the research question regarding this: I study the political discourse on disadvantaged districts (and if the riots have any ‘effect’) and which frames are included in this discourse.

Framing theory is mainly used in studies concerning social movements and political communication.\(^{42}\) It is according to Berinsky & Kinder common in framing theory to study so called “Framing effects”, how e.g. public opinion (dependent variable) is affected by how the politicians and media (independent variable) decide to frame a specific problem. My focus is set in the opposite way on the external events affecting political frames (or discourses). One important aspect with framing is that opinions among the public are often unstable and diffuse. The opinion may shift quite easily even though the public was sceptic in the beginning, due to the fact that the political actor framed the issue in the ‘right’ way.\(^{43}\)

According to Chong & Druckman in order to identify frames in political communication some general steps are used by many scholars that will be described below. This basic approach is particularly helpful for my study:

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1) An issue/event/actor is chosen to conduct a study.

2) Existing frames are identified in e.g. prior research and popular literature. I am using a list of frames from Snow, Vliegenthart et al. below.

3) When an “initial set of frames” is found, relevant empirical material for the analysis is chosen. In my case, articles were collected from a database for media articles and a database for parliamentarian debates. Before the coding process it is necessary to make it explicit how you find a frame and thus what you are looking for. Choosing program or manual coding (“by hand”) is decisive in order to decide what words to use in searches for the identification of different frames. Reading articles by hand is a more flexible method to find new words and variations of expressions in frames.44

2.1 DIAGNOSTIC AND PROGNOSTIC FRAMES

Snow, Vliegenthart et al. conducted a study of frame variation in several international newspapers of the French riot in 2005. They identified several diagnostic and prognostic frames that helped me to identify different frames in my study, and to categorize all political statements that I collected. A diagnostic frame “…involves the establishment of blame…” in order to locate and identify the problem. Prognostic frames refer to how you will solve the problem. Motivational frames are those that point out the rationale for the other two framing categories.45

The approach of Snow, Vliegenthart et al. was broad covering all different actors both in French and international press. Their study coded 825 different diagnostic frames and 504 prognostic frames. I intend to use their simplified list below with six categories for diagnostic and prognostic frames each. It gives me a list of possible frames to use in the empirical analysis.46

I changed the list partly to better match the Swedish context in the empirical material. I created the last category “not salient issue”, as this might be relevant in a situation of no statements from relevant actors. I also divided the category ‘education/economy’ into two separate frames in order to be more specific. In the analysis several frames could be activated

at the same time, but in different degrees.\textsuperscript{47} In the frame ‘over reaction of authorities’ I will include ‘over reaction of the public debate’ when the cabinet-actors are stating that other actors are exaggerating. I will also include statements close to ‘riots are not seen as a specific problem at all that need our attention’. In the material I have found statements denying that violent events would be a sign of something special. Snow, Vliegenthart et al.’s usage of framing was also narrower; ‘framing of the riots’, but I will use it more broadly, as ‘framing of the disadvantaged districts’ due to my research question.

**Diagnostic frames on what is the problem**

- Criminality: “criminal acts” without connection to structural problems.
- Minorities: culture of ethnic or religious minorities itself.
- Over reaction of authorities (and of the public): actions made by authorities, e.g. police and government officials.
- Failure of integration: integration of minorities into the society.
- Economy: high levels of unemployment among inhabitants in suburbs.
- Education: low educational results among inhabitants in suburbs.
- Housing condition: poor housing condition.\textsuperscript{48}
- Not a salient issue: no comments were found.

**Prognostic frames on what should be done**

- Over reaction of authorities (and of the public): actions made by authorities, e.g. police and government officials, and therefore no special arrangements are needed.
- Law and order: order must be restored by stopping the riots with necessary force.
- Action program: social and economic problems must be addressed, e.g. unemployment and discrimination.
- Better housing: The housing conditions must improve.
- Limit immigration: The goal must be to restrict or decrease the numbers of immigrants and “close the border” for some groups of foreigners.
- Raising children: Children should be raised and taught to act better as responsible citizens.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.: p. 394
• Dialogue: In order to increase mutual understanding dialogue among all involved is necessary.\textsuperscript{49}

• Not a salient issue: riots are not commented.

Diagnostic and prognostic framing make up a tool to systemize the statements from the political actors. Examining diagnostic frames in order to understand an actors’ view of a problem is critical at first sight. However as Berinsky & Kinder interpret framing, the elements are connected to each other:

“By defining what the essential issue is and suggesting how to think about it, frames imply what, if anything, should be done.”\textsuperscript{50}

Snow, Vliegenthart et al. use the diagnostic and prognostic categories because, according to them, all different actors in their studies (including politicians) emphasized these categories.\textsuperscript{51} This tend to be relevant in my study too, the political actors do not discuss explicitly in terms of rationale for their views.

Furthermore it is important to try to separate how the actors frame the riots and the disadvantaged areas. The riot is the independent variable (x) and it is the effects on the discourse about the disadvantaged areas, the dependent variable (y), which is the primary focus. I will observe if the political elite makes this separation; whether the elite comments only on the riot events or also makes statements on the vulnerable suburbs in general.

3. METHOD

The method in the study will have a qualitative comparative focus with an emphasize on a discourse analysis of the empirical material, as I briefly described earlier. The aim will also be descriptive while studying the view of the political elite in power on the four cases of urban riots. Due to my research question my focus is on discourses connected to the political elite in power (the powerful actor capable to change policy).\textsuperscript{52} The actors included are mainly the cabinet ministers and high rank members of parliament (see more on this in chapter 3.2.2). In

\textsuperscript{52} Beckman. L. (2005): p. 17
qualitative studies the aim is not to see causal relationships. Therefore the word ‘effect’ should be understood in somewhat broader terms in this thesis, and not as in quantitative studies.

In the next section I will start with the discourse analysis and I will describe how this method is going to be used to analyze my empirical material. In chapter 3.2. I will explain my research design and how I made my case selection based on my definition of riot. I will also try to demonstrate how I will measure political discourse in order to answer the research question. Before I continue to the empirical material; newspaper articles and parliamentarian debates, I will give an introduction on the context for the four cases of riots in the thesis. This is necessary to make the riots less abstract in the analysis. In chapter 3.5 my aim is to describe how I collected my material, not only because it will be central in the analysis, but also because I made my case selection based on my newspaper articles.

The material that is crucial for this study will be described in the analysis. I have chosen to exclude a separate chapter, because of the difficulty to separate empirics from making the discourse analysis of texts. I want to emphasize that my method, and especially the case-selection and searches after newspaper articles, does involve a large amount of decisions made by myself. The study is not based on one complete elaborated framework that will constitute the form for all decisions. This contains risks of the scientific ambition of objectivity when I make decisions without knowing all potential consequences. In order to avoid these risks my aim is to be as transparent as possible in all choices. I will include many quotations in the empirical analysis in order to let the reader control my interpretations.

3.1 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

From the different frameworks of analyzing texts I have chosen to use the discourse analysis, which offers a tool to understand who is included in a discourse. The categories from framing theory will function as a complement. This approach, consisting of two complementary ways of measuring discourse, is thus putting the language in focus in the study. In the discourse analysis the language is not only a product of the material circumstances (the objective world). The language can influence our view of how the social reality is constructed. The
discourse can thus limit a political actor´s way of thinking and acting in practice. Putting it in another way; the material circumstances are interwoven with the discourse, the way we talk forms the reality ‘out there’ in a dialectical relation.

The discourse analysis could be, according to Bergström & Boréus, seen as both a general social theory on one hand and a method on the other. It is thus not a united framework and it could be used for many different purposes. However, discourse analysis must be connected to a theory they suggest, in my case elements from framing theory. According to Lindseth discourse analysis is a looser framework which can give advice to a better understanding of a specific phenomenon, which we can use in order to look for “regularities” in the material, and “…study how this affects practice.” The elements in use here originate from Fairclough who is a representative of the ‘critical discourse analysis’. His definition of discourse is as I briefly mentioned earlier spoken and written language.

Studying discourses involves many elements where social practice is one. Social practice is a broad term connected to several characteristics, and I will give some relevant examples here. Social practice consists of three categories, the order of discourse: Genre, style and discourse, and I will focus on the third part. Altogether they form the social practice. Genre means different situations of which the social practice is one part. For instance a media genre might be according to Fairclough a media article or press release where in my case the politicians are involved. Style is about the identity construction of the people involved in the social practice. The third element, discourse, refers to how people “represent” the world they are a part of. This description of the social practice illustrates that there are many different discourse elements to study.

Fairclough then turns to the important question of the boundaries of the discourse, which will be used in my analysis. “Discourses classify people, things, places, events etc…” and with this in mind I can identify the people who are part of the discourse. There are two elements that are important for the analysis and how boundaries in the political discourse by the ruling

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59 Ibid.: p. 179
political elite are identified; classification which can be strong or weak; and the ‘entities’ themselves which can be divided and insulated from each other, strongly or weakly. These two terms classification and entities will be more deeply described:

The first division, classification, is between what is included and excluded – the analysis of discourses has to attend to absences as well as presences.\(^60\)

Which part of the population or actors is included in the discourse? When I classify the political discourse into the frame categories, I will check who is part of this discourse; state-actors, media, voluntary organizations, citizens etc., which will illustrate the complexity of the discourse. The classification, or categorization, of actors included or excluded will be strong or weak, hence if there are few actors included it will be counted as a strong categorization.\(^61\)

The second division is between the entities themselves, the mentioned actors and how they are defined. Fairclough tends to make entities more complex, separating “divided” and “insulated” into two distinct sub-categorizes, however I will treat them as just one category. The question here is how much divided are the actors involved, strongly or weakly? If there is a dominant actor insulated from others, e.g. the government (the discursive “we”), that is going to address problems for a specific group of people, there is a strong divide. As Fairclough puts it in his study on the political discourse of New Labour under Tony Blair: “The Government acts, claimants are acted upon.”\(^62\) There is, as you might say, no dialogue between the involved actors.

The contribution from Fairclough is basically what is included in the discourse. However it has not given useful tools in order to categorize the political statements in order to identify discourse continuity or change. Framing theory which has been described will thus give me a tool to categorize the political discourse of riots into diagnostic and prognostic frames. The elements from discourse analysis will investigate what is thus included and excluded from these frames.

\(^{61}\) Ibid.: p. 179  
\(^{62}\) Ibid.: p. 179
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Basically this report is going to have a comparative design in order to observe the structure of discourse over time, using the four riots in Ronna, Rosengård, Rinkeby and Husby as cases. I see Sweden as one unified ‘structure’ and regional differences (Rosengård in Malmö in contrast to the other cases in the Stockholm region) will thus not be taken into account, because I study politicians on the national level. Ergo; I look after variation in time but not in space.

3.2.1 CASE SELECTION

In the media search for newspaper articles I have looked at the years ranging from 2000 to 2014, which means that this is a study of the riots in the beginning of the 21st century. The conclusions are therefore only based on my cases and not earlier Swedish riots. The actual case selection ranges between the years from Ronna in 2005 to Husby in 2013. There is variation between them in size, e.g. the Ronna case was active for one day while the Husby case active for five days. The size might affect discourse as well, and this is a complexity that I acknowledge.

To find all relevant cases during the 2000s I have studied academic literature and media articles. In this process I found 12 cases. Eight cases did not fulfill the definition criteria to be counted as riots (see chapter 1.3 or below): Rosengård (2007), Angered (2007), Rosengård (2009), Gottsunda (2009), Fittja (2009), Backa (2009), Backa (2011) and Lindängen (2011).

As I mentioned in chapter 1.3, to be defined as an urban riot it must:

- be violent
- be spontaneous
- be in size of 30-50 or more participants
- consist of ‘ordinary’ members of society, hence independent of the political establishment
- have at least partly political motives
- be covered by national newspapers (not adequate with only regional newspapers)

63 E.g. Sydsvenskan (2013-05-23), Kravallerna i Husby and Fokus (2013: no. 21), Recept för ett uppropp
My case selection is based on media articles which are described in detail in chapter 3.5.1. When I had gathered all articles I started to choose cases that fulfilled most of the criteria. Rosengård, 2007, was covered by only one regional newspaper. Some cases were only mentioned in a few or zero articles, without any media coverage (Gottsunda, 2009, Backa, 2011 and Lindängen, 2011). The outreach was thus limited. They had also, as in other cases, more low-intense unrest which makes them irrelevant for this study because I focus on events that are taken place in a limited time period. It is hard to decide about the low-intense violent unrests and how to treat them. To exclude them could be problematic because they might have an effect on the political elite and is a relevant topic to study. However I exclude these cases for two reasons: 1) Methodological; the case selection would be more complicated than it already is; more cases to choose from and the term riot would get a vague meaning. 2) My assumption is that the potential effect on political discourse is small due to the little attention directed towards this kind of low-intense violent unrest.

Other cases (Rosengård, 2009 and Fittja, 2009) are excluded due to the strong political motives for the riots. Organizations from the extreme left, ‘Reclaim the streets’ and ‘Afa’ were very active in these cases which make them more similar to political riots than urban riots that are spontaneous events without any extensive organization. Rosengård, 2008, which is one of my cases, also involved some participation of far left activists but not in the beginning of the unrest.

3.2.2 OPERATIONALIZATION

To operationalize my research question it is essential to know which actors to look for and which issues they mention. The combination of elements from discourse analysis and framing will be presented, which statements to look for and how to categorize them.

When I analyze the political statements by the political elite in power, I will look at a small amount of actors; first, the most apparent, cabinet-ministers; second, members of parliament e.g. in a parliament session when a member of parliament is representing its party. Representatives from oppositional parties are partly included in the analysis, but only to spot alternative views on the subject. In this process I could see if there was consensus or conflict.

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64 It was Kvällsposten, a newspaper which I also excluded from the study
When these actors connect riots and social unrest with problems or challenges in disadvantaged districts it is in my view related to the so called ‘suburb-issue’.

In the Swedish context the suburb-issue is, in my understanding, salient when the relevant politicians, in the time periods, make this connection between riots and/or ‘utanförskap’ (alienation) on the one hand and ‘utsatta områden’ (disadvantaged districts) on the other hand. Statements that do not make this connection in some way to the suburbs are not relevant. This is because I quickly realized that the riots are not a salient issue among the elite actors before the riots, only after them. Therefore I cannot observe any discourse changes if I only look at ‘the framing of riots’. If I instead chose to have a broader approach and look at ‘the framing of disadvantaged districts’, my hope is to get frames both before and after riots which makes it possible to compare and spot discourse changes or stability.

A distinction between the discourse before and after the riot is also necessary to answer the research question. I do this in order to identify the structure of the discourse prior to the event and if the discourse is framed in a different way afterwards, spotting potential changes or stability which indicates the importance of riots. The analysis of four cases with a before and after is thus containing eight different time objects.

In the thesis I have no special expectations of the results or hypothesis of which discourses to find, because the aim is descriptive and not testing. As a summary; the analysis apparatus is; first, looking at the elements described in the discourse analysis section; categorization and entities to see which groups of people that are part of the discourse; second, categorizing the statements into the frame categories. These are basically my indicators to answer the research question.

3.3 BACKGROUND TO THE SWEDISH URBAN RIOTS

In this chapter I will briefly mention some relevant contextual issues which will facilitate while reading this report; usage of ‘disadvantaged suburbs’, the Swedish ‘miljonprogrammet’, the four cases that are studied in this investigation, riots in other countries in recent years and historical Swedish riots. The riots are not interesting ‘in themselves’ here, but they are a phenomenon that gives me an opportunity to study how riots might change political discourse. A short overview about riots outside Sweden is also necessary to know that this is not a
unique Swedish phenomenon. Political events, e.g. the rise of SD, that I will control for are included directly in the analysis.

DISADVANTAGED RESIDENTIAL AREAS
All four urban riots take place in segregated residential areas which are characterized by high unemployment, low income and high degree of inhabitants with foreign origin. The districts are part of the ‘miljonprogrammet’ (see next heading) they are mainly located outside the city centers (However Rosengård and Ronna are just about two-three kilometers away). From Rinkeby it takes less than 20 minutes to get to the Stockholm Central station by subway. Many different terms have been used while discussing the disadvantaged areas where the riots took place. In Swedish academic and political discourse, all different combinations have been used: “utsatta bostadsområden”65, “socialt utsatta områden”, “utanförskapsområden” and “segregerade förorter”.

Researchers studying riots in the English-speaking community do not use an unanimous term. E.g. Adman uses different combinations of disadvantaged districts/neighborhoods/city areas, in the same text.66 I will therefore not adopt a special term. In Sweden the suburb is the area that is seen as problematic, contrary to the city center, and it is often referred to as ‘miljonprogrammet’. In other countries, e.g. USA, the focus is not specifically on the outer city, because the ‘problematic’ areas are not limited to these places, they could also be found in the city center.67

MILJONPROGRAMMET
All my cases of riots have been taken place in the suburbs which are all part of the so called ‘miljonprogrammet’ (the Million Program). After the Second World War the housing shortage was extensive. Therefore the government launched miljonprogrammet and during the years 1965-1974 one million dwellings were built, including all forms of houses; large apartment buildings, but also smaller houses and villas. The construction of big apartment buildings was rapid and extensive in the start but decreased in the beginning of the 1970s due to the lower demand. The earlier housing shortage was eliminated and eventually, empty apartments were unable to rent out. The “epoch” of the program was thus over and

66 Adman, P. (2011)
67 Ibid.: p. 14
miljonprogrammet was already from the start very much criticized. Delivery of housing through the miljonprogramm was already from the start very much criticized.\textsuperscript{68} Today there is an extensive ethnic and socioeconomic segregation in many of these residential areas.\textsuperscript{69}

THE FOUR SELECTED CASES OF SWEDISH URBAN RIOTS
Now turning to the riot cases of this thesis. This brief introduction to the riots will give the reader a basic understanding of what happened during the violent unrest in these areas. However it is not intended to give a deeper overview and explanations to why they occurred etc. After this introduction I will shortly show some examples of riots in other countries. Finally I will describe some examples of earlier riots in Sweden.

RONNA (11 SEPTEMBER 2005)
The urban riot in Ronna, a district in Södertälje, started after an incident involving some teenagers that were harassing a girl. The girl’s father came and the situation developed into turmoil. In the fight the police was alerted and three of the boys were arrested. The riot started when friends to the arrested persons tried to free them. The peak was reached later the same evening when the police station in Södertälje was hit by automatic rifle fire, as “revenge” to the earlier arrests.\textsuperscript{70} In the riot, which lasted for three hours, around 100 persons were involved.\textsuperscript{71}

ROSENGÅRD (15-19 DECEMBER 2008)
Rosengård is a district located very close to Malmö city center. In Rosengård, an association premises, which earlier was used as a mosque, was closed in the fall of 2008 by the housing company. It was going to be renovated and was not intended to function as a mosque after that. This plan was not accepted by a group of people and they began to occupy the association premises.\textsuperscript{72} The occupation lasted for one month before the police decided to empty the association premises. Short time after this action violence started.\textsuperscript{73} There were approximately 100 rioters involved. After some days several far left activists came to

\textsuperscript{68} Boverket (2014-05-20), Under miljonprogrammet byggdes en miljon bostäder
\textsuperscript{69} Statens bostadskreditnämnd (2008): p. 8
\textsuperscript{70} Polisen (2015), Historisk tillbakablick
\textsuperscript{71} Aftonbladet (2005-09-12), Sköt skarpt mot polisen
\textsuperscript{72} Polisen (2015), Historisk tillbakablick
\textsuperscript{73} Kvällsposten (2008-12-19), Rosengård i lågor
Rosengård but their numbers were unclear. One article mentions a large amount of arrests of 17 people during one single day, several far left activists.\textsuperscript{74}

**RINKEBY (8-9 JUNE 2010)**

Rinkeby is a suburb in Stockholm and the riot took place close up to the parliamentarian election in September 2010. It started after some youths were denied access to a school party which ended in turmoil. Up to 100 youths took part in the violence, and a school was set on fire.\textsuperscript{75}

**HUSBY (19-24 MAY 2013)**

Husby is a suburb in Stockholm and just two kilometers from Rinkeby. The riot is definitively the largest case measured in both time and numbers of written articles. It started a couple of days after that the police tried to arrest a 69 year old man, 14 May. The man died during the arrest and this was seen as the ‘trigger’ of the violence that was going to follow. Schierup et al describe the riot in this way: “Cars, schools, youth centers, local shops, a kindergarten and a police station were set on fire.” The unrest spread also to the other main cities in Sweden.\textsuperscript{76}

During the first night there were around 30-50 rioters setting cars on fire.\textsuperscript{77} During the five days, 30 people in total were arrested in Husby and other districts.\textsuperscript{78}

**SIMILAR ‘URBAN RIOTS’ OUTSIDE SWEDEN**

The Paris riot started in October, in 2005, after the death of two teenagers. They tried to flee from the police, and were electrified when they hid in a transformer station. The unrest lasted for three weeks and the situation was so severe that emergency laws were declared. The interior minister Nicholas Sarkozy, later president, was very negative towards the participants in the riot.\textsuperscript{79} The material loss was very large, e.g. 10000 cars were reported destroyed and one person died during the three weeks of unrest.\textsuperscript{80}

The second large riot mentioned here is the London riot in August 2011. The trigger of the violence was similar to the Paris case; it started after the police-shooting of a 29 years old

\textsuperscript{74} Sydsvenskan (2008-12-20), *De ser en möjlighet att slåss mot polisen*, Göteborgs-Tidningen (2008-12-19), *De förstör allt de ser*. Aftonbladet (2008-12-18), *Här brinner Rosengård*
\textsuperscript{75} Dagens Nyheter (2010-06-09), *Polisen öppnade eld*
\textsuperscript{76} Schierup, C-U., Ålund, A., et al. (2014): p. 2
\textsuperscript{77} Kvällsposten (2013-05-20), *Maskerade ungdomar i uppropp*
\textsuperscript{78} Svenska Dagbladet (2013-05-25), *Skiftande bakgrund bland de hittills gripna*
\textsuperscript{79} Moran, M. (2011): pp. 298-300
\textsuperscript{80} Jobard, F. (2009): p. 235
man with foreign background. The circumstances about the shooting were unclear and a demonstration was held a few days after. The demonstration ended in violence and order was restored after four days. Five persons had died and more than 1500 were arrested. The Prime Minister Cameron described the participants in a hard tone comparing the rioters with criminals.\(^{81}\)

An older example of a large and devastating riot is the Los Angeles event in 1992. Four policemen were charged of using too much violence while arresting a young Afro-American man, but they were proclaimed as not guilty. This situation quickly started the riot which resulted in totally 50 deaths and 16000 were arrested. The economic damages were much larger than in Paris and London, they were estimated to one billion dollars. According to Adman up to 20000 policemen, military personal etc. were in action to retain order in Los Angeles and it went on for at least four days.\(^{82}\) These three examples illustrate that in France, United Kingdom and USA ‘urban riots’ are well-known and have many preceding cases.\(^{83}\)

**PRIOR SWEDISH RIOTS\(^{84}\)**

Riots in Sweden in the more general understanding, are not a unique event in our days. Here are some examples from the post-war time, located most often in Stockholm. Contrary to urban riots these ‘youth riots’ took place in the city centers, according to MSB.

In the park *Berzelii parken*, in Stockholm city center, 1951, a large amount of youths gathered and turmoil erupted for several nights. At the worst moment 3000 youths participated in the unrest. According to the police lack of summer jobs was one important cause to the riots. In 1965, at *Hötorget*, very close to the Berzelii parken, some hundred youths gathered and the police saw that as a problem. The situation developed into violence and burnings.\(^{85}\) An example of a ‘political riot’ is the already mentioned the Göteborg riot which took place because of the EU-meeting in Göteborg, in 2001. The clash between activists and police was

\(^{81}\) Forskning & Framsteg (2012), *Därför blir det uppropp*


\(^{84}\) More information about different kinds of Swedish riots is found in: Nilsson, T., & Ivarsson Westerberg, A. (2011). They define six different categories of riots which of “youth violence” and riots in the suburbs are placed in one category.

\(^{85}\) Polisen (2015), *Historisk tillbakablick*
mainly at Avenyn in the city center. 53 police officers were wounded and even more among the activists.\textsuperscript{86}

3.4 MEDIA REPRESENTATION

I must acknowledge that I am going to analyze how discourse by the political elite in power is affected by the media representation of the riots. By media representation I mean how the riots are described by the media. Thus, I do not study the riots themselves and the focus is not to find out what really happened there during the riots. Nor will I dig deeper into the mechanism of the media; I use it in my case selection and as the main source in order to analyze elite discourse. The research question implies; how did the media representation of the riots affect the political discourse on disadvantaged districts; in the illustration below stage number two and three are relevant here:

1) Actual event (a riot) \(\rightarrow\) 2) Media reports about the event (media representation of the riot) \(\rightarrow\) 3) effects on political discourse

According to Richardson the media 'logic' is driven by news value which is the way for journalists to assess if an event is appealing enough for the media consumers. The news value functions as the basic principle of what is an “event” or “news” and it is thus a tool for the journalists to sort out interesting stories from the rest.\textsuperscript{87}

Furthermore, the basic assumption is that media in a relatively high degree will influence what is on the political agenda and discourse changes of the political elite. If riots would change anything media must be there covering them. The media chooses what to use and the political statements from the government are thus in the hands of the media. The parliamentarian material that I will use will work as a complement in this situation.

3.5 SOURCES

Here I will present the sources that will be used in the thesis. All material used in the study are public sources and therefore easy to get access to. In the media articles the politicians can give a more ‘spontaneous’ answer to the press in order to cope with the critical situation. In

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{86} Dagens Nyheter (2011-06-12), Göteborgskravallerna – EU-toppmötet som spårade ur
  \item \textsuperscript{87} Richardson, J. E. (2007): p. 91
\end{itemize}
the parliamentarian debates the reader will get the more ‘official’ views of political issues. The empirical material will be used in the analysis chapter. Key words are important in the finding of empirics, both media articles and sessions in the parliament.

3.5.1 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

The articles I use in this thesis are collected via the database Retriever Research (Mediearkivet). I have collected articles from the national and larger regional Swedish newspapers, both daily newspapers and tabloids (the last two):

- Dagens Nyheter (DN)
- Svenska Dagbladet (SVD)
- Göteborgsposten (GP)
- Sydsvenskan (SN)
- Upsala Nya Tidning (UNT)
- Aftonbladet (AB)
- Expressen (EP)

If my intention was to study also the local level of politics (e.g. see difference between politicians on municipality level and government level), I would have then included local newspapers.

Media tend to use the term ‘riot’ in a very broad sense. Sometimes it is enough to have a large gathering of people around a litter-basket or a container on fire. This made the work with the collection of articles quite extended. I committed basically two searches; the first was broad and the purpose was; 1) to specify which cases to use and not; 2) to get more information about the riots; the second search was more specified in order to find articles with politicians commenting the riots that I could have missed in the first broad search. When I have been working with the articles from the first search I learned that Swedish politicians across most parties tend to avoid direct references to riots in the suburbs\(^8\). These are the terms that I used when I searched for articles:

\(^8\) To increase the quality of the media searches, with a higher degree of relevant articles, elite-interviews would be a sufficient complement in order to get more knowledge about which specific terms are being used by actors in mind.
First search (S1): upplopp OR kravaller, AND (ronna OR rosengård
OR rinkeby OR husby)\textsuperscript{89}

Second search (S2): utanförskap* OR ”utsatta områden*”, AND förort*\textsuperscript{90}

In my first search (S1) I got around 1000 articles of which I selected 300. In the second search (S2) I got little bit more but I was more selective. This search worked as a complementary way of getting articles that I missed in the first one. In the political debate utanförskap and utsatta områden are the main words that are commonly used to discuss issues about the suburbs. Utanförskap, or ‘alienation’, is perhaps one of the most common term used in the Swedish political debate today and the usage is to measure number of people that are in some way ‘outside’ the society. It could be measured in many ways, e.g. unemployment, absence due to sickness etc. However it does not involve an ethnic dimension, degree of ethnic segregation. But often districts with high degree of alienation are populated with a high degree of immigrants.\textsuperscript{91} I combined each of these words with förort in order to avoid e.g. articles discussing utanförskap connected to unemployment in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Starting point</th>
<th>Ending point</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronna 11 September 2005</td>
<td>11 June 2005</td>
<td>11 December 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby 8-9 June 2010</td>
<td>8 March 2010</td>
<td>9 September 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby 19-24 May 2013</td>
<td>19 February 2013</td>
<td>24 August 2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The time period for the collection of articles will be three months before and after the riots. Whether there was any debate before and after the riots is an essential question. If it is, we have a so called salient issue. If there was no debate before the riots, the political statements after the riot are probably addressed due to the violence and we can see how important these events are for the actors. Three months are in a way an arbitrary time-limit. However the period is based on my empirical material. E.g. in the Husby-riot the number of articles were

\textsuperscript{89} Upplopp and kravaller are the two most common used words in Swedish for 'riots'

\textsuperscript{90} Utanförskap means alienation. Utsatta områden means disadvantaged districts and förort means suburb.

\textsuperscript{91} SOU (2012): p. 67
rapidly decreasing after one month. From this notion I argue that three months is a ‘generous’
time-span, in order to collect as many relevant articles as possible.

The important articles are the news and debate articles which express the views of the
political elite. Opinion articles (including ‘ledare’ and ‘insändare’) are therefore not
interesting. A few more articles were found because they were mentioned in the already
selected newspaper articles.

3.5.2 PARLIAMENTARIAN SESSIONS

To get access to parliamentary sessions I have made searches via parliamentarian website
Riksdagen.se\textsuperscript{92}. As I mentioned in the media chapter I learned that Swedish politicians in
most parties tend to avoid direct references to riots in the suburbs. In the material from
parliament sessions I will emphasize that there are complementary things to take into account.
There is a risk of misinterpretation when you compare discourses in media and parliament
debates. As I mentioned in chapter 3.4. In parliamentarian debates there are no media logic
‘censoring’ what could be taking up to the agenda. There is no filter and therefore such
material expressing the politicians’ standpoints could be analyzed more deeply. You have to
be aware of these differences.

There are plenty alternatives to analyze political discourse in parliament debates. My focus is
time or event oriented (due to the riots) but there are great opportunities if the focus is
document oriented, to look after specific forms of debates. One example is the prime
minister’s annual declaration on what the cabinet is going to prioritize the coming year
(regeringsdeklarationer). Representatives from the cabinet also have weekly sessions in
Riksdagen (frågestunder) and several times per year it is party leader debates
(partiledardebatter) which could be used in a similar way. These examples of recurring
debates could be an easier way to analyze changes in discourse of the political elite during my
time period. However it would undeniably give a problem of separation. Are the changes an
effect of the riots? The structure of this thesis (studying before and after the riots) is mainly
created with this issue in mind. My time periods are quite ‘generous’ in order to also include
parliamentarian debates that could take place a longer time after the events than the media

\textsuperscript{92} Under the headline ‘Documents and laws’.
debate. The time periods are the same as in the media searches, Table 1 is being used here as well. To limit my material after my search I exclude debates on general subjects, e.g. integration or migration policy that do not discuss the urban riots or utanförskap in connection to disadvantaged residential areas.

These are my terms that I use when I am searching for parliamentarian material:

**Search Riksdagen (SR):** utanförskap AND ”utsatta områden”

The sessions in parliament are more extensive in length than in newspaper articles and there are much more to analyze. Therefore I narrow my material selection more than for the articles. E.g. the annual party leader debate some weeks after the Husby riot is more than four hours long (!).

### 3.5.3 SUMMARY OF EMPIRICAL MATERIAL

**Table 2:** Number of collected newspaper articles (with political statements by both governing and oppositional political elites)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>News articles</th>
<th>With political statements before riot</th>
<th>With political statements after riot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronna</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosengård</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All cases</td>
<td><strong>285</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Number of collected parliamentarian sessions (with political statements by both governing and oppositional political elites)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Parliamentarian sessions</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In total</td>
<td>With political statements before riot</td>
<td>With political statements after riot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronna</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosengård</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All cases</td>
<td><strong>79</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

3.6 STUDY DOCUMENTS

Studying documents is the relevant method to use when you are collecting large amounts of data trying to reconstruct ‘historical’ events; the riots. Doing interviews or sending out surveys would be relevant if my cases were taken place in the same time (and not dispersed throughout eight years) or if I just looked at one case, e.g. Husby as a method to talk to key-actors and thus getting first-hand information. When I study mainly ‘political’ documents it is important to understand what they represent, to be critical towards the sources and what you can use them for in relationship to the research question. There are four basic criteria regarding this issue according to Duedahl & Hviid Jacobsen:

1) Authenticity
Is the document what it is supposed to be, could it be manipulated in any way and could it be a fake copy of another document? All my sources are public sources accessible via internet, and therefore I do not see any problem with the authenticity.

2) Credibility
Are my sources, e.g. the news articles, credible in order to analyze political discourse? As I discussed in 3.4 I am aware of the fact that I am investigating the media representation of the riots and how this affects discourse, and therefore media articles are credible sources.
3) Representativity

This criterion is challenging in my case; how representative is the gathered material in order to answer how the politicians’ political discourse has developed? Is there any material, especially media articles, missing? Did I miss any relevant articles that would make my data collection more limited and make it harder to analyze the political discourse? My two article searches in the database aim to limit the problem of representativity, as a strategy to include as many articles as possible that might be relevant to this study. The ‘snowball method’ has been used and has resulted in a few more articles found when they were mentioned in the search-articles. To recreate the political discourse after the riot has from my perspective been unproblematic. However it has been more challenging to do the same with the discourse prior to the riots. My strategy has been to include terms as ‘alienation’ and ‘disadvantaged districts’ in the second search for articles. In this search I found several very relevant debate articles and I expect that this has increased the reliability. To get an even better representativity it might be fruitful to consult Swedish research on segregation to get more insight into political discourse before riots and how the elite has discussed disadvantaged districts when there are no riots.

4) Meaning

It is important to be aware of the meanings and values that are included in the different terms in the study. This criterion is also relevant having the media articles, but also parliamentarian material in mind during the searches in the databases. The media and the political establishment use different words describing problems in the suburbs, thus the meaning diverge and it is extra necessary to know my material. E.g. the elite politicians rarely use the word ‘riots’ while my impression is that the media will use it for almost all more or less ‘violent’ and ‘dramatic’ situations.93

4. ANALYSIS

In this empirical analysis I would like to emphasize that it is the empirics that will be in the center of this study. First every subchapter in the analysis will start with the political discourses ‘before the riot’ and then I will progress with the ‘after the riot’ in order to spot stability/changes in discourse. In each ‘before’ and ‘after’ I will start with political statements

from newspaper articles and then with the debates in the parliament. This separation is necessary because there are two forms of sources structured in two different ways.

Once again I want to stress the two primary elements when I look after political statements that are part of the so called ‘suburb-issue’, in my analysis apparatus: First, from Fairclough’s ‘critical discourse analysis’; I observe the structure of the categorization in the discourse by the cabinet-actors. Which people are included in the discourse about the disadvantaged districts and which people are not? And how divided are the actors from each other? Second, from framing theory; then I observe what is seen as the problem and how to solve it according to the cabinet-actors. See chapter 4.5 for a summary of the cases, and especially Table 5 for the first element and Table 6 for the second element.

There is a risk using quotations in a careless way in the analysis if it is not representative of the material itself. All quotations from the empirical material are translated by myself from Swedish.

As Table 2 illustrates, the media has in general covered the riots in all four cases. This is part of the definition of an urban riot. The important point is that the politicians know what is going on. The Rosengård and Husby cases were most on the media and political agenda in quantitative terms. A deeper comparison of the cases will be made in the discussion of the result (see chapter 5.1).

4.1 RONNA (11 SEPTEMBER 2005)

During the Ronna riot the Social Democrats were in power, until the party lost the election in September 2006. The center-right alliance, ‘The Alliance’ was created in 2004. It consists of four parties; the biggest party the Moderate Party (M), the Center Party (C), The Peoples’ Party (FP) and the Cristian Democrats (KD). The Social Democrats were in 2005 and to our days gathered in a looser bloc with the Left Party (V) and the Green Party (MP).

Some aspects might be relevant in the examination of this riot. The first is the terrorist attacks in USA in 2001 which started ‘the war on terror’. An attack in Europe was close to the Ronna riot, namely the attack in London in July, 2005. Due to this global issue, segregated
residential areas might be a more sensitive topic for the Swedish politicians. Another important aspect for this case is that the Paris riot took place during the Ronna time period.

**BEFORE THE RIOT**

The liberal opposition party the People´s Party is the main actor in this case with the party leader Lars Leijonborg. About four weeks prior to the riot the party published a debate article declaring that the “alienation is increasing”. This is according to FP a very serious problem for the country. They argue that the development is very negative in the residential areas in the major cities. They also state that “We see a country that is more and more damaged.” FP was keen to prioritize topics regarding disadvantaged districts: “…employment below 60 per cent and inadequate school results and low voter participation (in the election).”  

The size of alienation is increasing according to FP and this frame consists of the economy and the education categories. The party was very active in the debate both before and after the riot in comparison to other parties. The suburb-issue was however not salient in the Ronna case among the governing Social Democrats, which did not make any statements prior to the riot.

**AFTER THE RIOT**

In the direct aftermath of the riot there was no political attention directed at the riot. The exception is one article by a leading FP-politician arguing that immigrants are loyal to other criminal countrymen. In October, one month after the riot, FP including its party leader Lars Leijonborg published a debate article with a “guide” to solve the problems in Ronna. Now the party framed the problem more as an issue of integration:

“How much alienation can Sweden handle before it falls apart? That question should stay in the center for the parliament debate this day about the development in segregated residential areas.”

[-]  

… with the integration policy we have today the majority of these people [refugees] will come directly into the crisis of alienation that Sweden experiences today. Ronna in Södertälje is a clear example of the problems that we have.

The problems in Ronna were according to FP the same as before the riot: high unemployment, low school results but now also including high degrees of criminality and integration. FP’s

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94 DN (2005-08-20), S2  
95 DN (2005-09-19), found outside searches  
96 AB (2005-10-14), S1
ambition was to emphasize the key role of the police in the segregated suburbs. This should according to FP lower the risk of getting the situation similar to the Paris riot. The Minister of Integration Jens Orback is partly positive to the idea of a stronger police force but he is not very specific on measures to identify what is the problem and how to solve it. This was different compared to the answer from the Prime Minister two days earlier where the suggestion by FP was rejected. Dialog was more essential according to Göran Persson. In sum the government ministers did not take the initiative in the debate following the Ronna riot.

In the parliament there were two debates concerning the situation in the disadvantaged areas. One was explicitly dedicated to the unrest and it was the Minister of Integration, Jens Orback, who represented the cabinet on this issue:

We have not reached the goal. We have not stopped the negative effects of segregation, but we see a positive development. The policies have made difference. The demands for social benefits have decreased. The unemployment has decreased. The level of education has increased.

He emphasizes that the ‘challenge’ for these neighborhoods are framed as economy and education, which an implicit focus on the state. The riot itself is not mentioned explicitly by the minister and the debate is on the phenomenon of disadvantaged areas. The other frame I note is the over reaction category. The minister does not mention any other actors involved in this process, except for the state that is going to solve the problems. However he mentioned that Sweden received many refugees in the 1990s in one sentence, in connection with these disadvantaged areas. The implicit point might be that it is the state that acts upon immigrants. In response to FP, which accuses the minister to neglect the existing problems, the minister says; it is a “enormous challenge” and the work must continue with reforms fighting the unemployment. Orback often emphasizes the over reaction to the events:

It is not through stigmatization we can stop segregation. Calling people´s districts ‘ghetto’ is not the way we stop segregation. Then we just create a ‘we’ and a ‘them’.

97 DN (2005-10-14), S1
98 SVD (2005-11-09), S1, DN (2005-11-10), S1, DN (2005-11-21), S2
99 DN (2005-11-12), S2
100 SN (2005-11-10), S1
101 Riksdagens protokoll (2005-10-14), SR
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid.
Almost two months after the riot the Prime Minister Göran Persson denies that issues in the suburbs would be a problem. There is a vastly difference between the ongoing riot in Paris and the one in Ronna, according to Persson. However the riot in Paris gives FP a further chance to talk about the Ronna riot.

In November there was a parliamentarian debate with the Prime Minister. The leader of the center party (c) Maud Olofsson asked explicitly about the riot in Ronna and problems related to it:

> The truth is that alienation is increasing. The unemployment among immigrants and among youths is increasing. That is what we are seeing and that is what these youths are feeling frustration about.

The framing is focused on the unemployment and thus the economy frame. The answer by the Prime Minister:

> Mr speaker! Maud Olofsson has a bad habit to make claims that are not true. Look at the development in the 24 most disadvantaged districts. You will see that the opposite development to what you are describing – higher employment rate, better results I schools and above all the most important of everything, namely that youths born in these areas are enrolled to the universities in the same degree as those born in Sweden. This is a result of the expansion of the university in Malmö, on Södertörn and in the rest of our country that we once in time agreed on, but when we now want to continue, the Center Party does not and I am sorry of that.

> It is a difficult task but definitely not of such a form that Maud Olofsson’s description can be seen as true and fair.

The rhetoric about segregated suburbs is thus exaggerated; it is not a problem that needs special attention. The response to the riot is according this statement a sign of an over reaction from the opposition, but there is an implicit suggestion that there is more to be done on unemployment and education. When the Prime Minister emphasizes the positive development in Södertälje he is clear that the existing problems are not related to immigration. But in the debate on the unrest in Ronna it was the Minister of Integration who represented the cabinet. The Minister of Employment would certainly be more suited for the task if the government
wanted to downplay the immigration frame and frame it as a primary economy frame including unemployment. Regarding the categorization aspect it is the state that is the actor involved and sometimes the inhabitants of Ronna. There are few actors involved which make it a strong categorization. It is unclear who the people (one of the entities involved beside the state) in Ronna are consisting of, more precisely. However the people in Ronna are separated from the state, they are therefore strongly insulated from each other and there is no dialogue and ‘interaction’ between them.

4.2 ROSENGÅRD (15-19 DECEMBER 2008)

In opposite to the Ronna case the center-right bloc, ‘the Alliance’, was in power. A contextual factor that might be important to have in mind is that the riot takes place in the shadow of the financial crisis, which means that governmental actors might be involved in other more pressing issues.

BEFORE THE RIOT

Several debate-articles were published on issues such as unemployment among newly arrived immigrants\(^{107}\) and also integration\(^{108}\). However these articles involved neither riots nor disadvantaged areas. A committee, for the Moderate Party, working on integration issues published a debate article claiming that the Alliance-government was not doing enough regarding the amount of alienation. The committee criticized the larger scale of criminality and unemployment that was presented by a state agency.\(^{109}\) I did not found any response from cabinet representatives. There was discussion on disadvantaged districts; however, ministers were not active in this debate. Thus the suburb-issue among ministers was not salient before the Rosengård riot.

In the parliament there was one session on the issue of unemployment among newly arrived immigrants, which was part of the same discussion in the articles mentioned above.

AFTER THE RIOT

When the riots started, four days passed before the first public statement from any government ministers was addressed. The Minister of Integration Nyamko Sabuni and the

\(^{107}\) DN (2008-09-19), S2
\(^{108}\) DN (2008-11-19), S2
\(^{109}\) DN (2008-11-24), S2
local Social Democratic leader in Malmö wrote a debate article, which condemned the violence: “Social difficulties, alienation and unemployment are no excuse to use violence.” The focus is to point out that the acts by the rioters are criminal and must stop:

According to the police a majority of the youths that started the unrest are either known criminal persons or activists that have travelled to the area, that do not have any significant interest for the district and for the best of its inhabitants.

[-]

In the direct aftermath of the beginning of the riot law and order is a responsibility for the police but all adults have a responsibility to help to lower the tension and to stop criminal persons, activists and misguided adults from bringing groups of youths into the type of incidents that we now unfortunately experience in Rosengård.110

The politicians see the rioters as criminals that are not part of the local community. Some of the rioters are living in Rosengård but they do not represent the district in general. The law and order frame is active but real propositions for more long term actions are not addressed. The actors do not explicitly connect riots and disadvantaged areas. The Minister of Law Beatrice Ask visits Malmö at New Year, and she has a different frame of the events. She says that “alienation and social problems” are the underlying causes to why violent-prone persons started the riot.111 She says among other things:

Sweden is a country with many immigrants and we are living in a globalized world. We have to work more to make all more curious on each other and more open both to ask questions and to feel respect for your own culture. We are still far away from a multicultural society.112

The number of articles related to the riot and problems in the suburb after New Year is declining. In February the Minister of Migration, including representatives from the earlier mentioned moderate committee came up with a proposal about restricting the right for refugees’ right to choose where to live when they come to Sweden. According to them the Swedish integration and immigration policies have failed because it takes too many years for refugees in general to get a job.113 Sabuni rejects this idea which, according to her, is not a government proposition.114 This discussion does not involve the riot or disadvantaged districts

110 SN (2008-12-20), S1
111 DN (2008-12-31), S2. SVD (2008-12-31), S1. SN (2008-12-31), S1
112 DN (2008-12-31), S2
113 DN (2009-02-17), S2
114 DN (2009-02-19), S1
explicitly, however it shows that there exists a debate about other issues related to the riot. The debate existed but not specifically on the suburb-issue.

Finally, the frame involved was mainly the criminality aspect without a connection to disadvantaged districts. The categorization was strong; the police against the criminals. The entities involved were also strong because the entities (the police and the criminals) were specified. There were no parliamentarian debates about the Rosengård-riot or disadvantaged areas after the break-out of the violence.

4.3 RINKEBY (8-9 JUNE 2010)

The riot takes place three months before the parliament election in September. The uprising of the far right party SD might potentially affect the discourse of the political parties. On the other hand the ‘established parties’ do not want to cooperate with the Sweden Democrats. This may get the consequence that the discourse of the ruling political elite will not change, despite of riots.

BEFORE THE RIOT

The suburb issue was not salient before the riot in the Rinkeby case among elite politicians. The only newspaper article I found was about a proposal to give more money to schools in the suburbs.115

In Riksdagen there was only one single debate in the time period, which was prior to the riot. It discussed newly arrived immigrants possibility to enter the labour market.116 This discussion on unemployment was not connected to disadvantaged areas. However the total dominance of the employment aspect might indicate how the political elite’s view is in general. The opposite discourse could be the concerned or rather sceptic view of immigration; questions from such actors might be; how do we both work with unemployment and criminality among newly arrived immigrants or other issues posing immigration as a severe challenge. Another point may be the categorization of people involved in the discourse; the government/state which acts upon the newly arrived immigrants. And there are no other

115 DN (2010-05-22), S2
116 Riksdagens protokoll (2010-03-17), SR
actors, e.g. voluntary organizations, religious communities etc, involved. This pattern goes on in the earlier cases.

**AFTER THE RIOT**

The Minister of Education, Jan Björklund, and the Minister of Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, came quickly to Rinkeby, one day after the beginning of the riot. They stated that it was the failure of the integration policy that created “alienation” in Rinkeby.\textsuperscript{117} Sabuni said:

> “The integration policy has for many years been insufficient and has led to a significant alienation for those who are living in Rinkeby. We are trying to change the direction and we hope to see results in some years.”\textsuperscript{118}

The diagnostic frame is thus failure of the integration policy, but there were no suggestions to solve the problem. Luciano Astudillo, the spokesperson for integration for S, published a debate article on 11 June. He amongst others states:

> We are clear: clarity is needed against violence and riots, but also against the cause of violence and burnings. Social divides can and should be opposed. It gives more youths the opportunity to gain success in their lives and lower the risks for the youths to end up in a bad situation. That is the thing that for real can extinguish future fires.\textsuperscript{119}

After these few statements one month will pass until Sabuni writes two debate articles in July with a different discourse seeing more of a complex reality of the riot. There she argues that:

> … the aggression against the society [is not] dependent of foreign background, socio-economic status of the parents or living in an area that is dominated by alienation – it is about all these factors at the same time. It means that there are no simple solutions. The great challenge is all youths that neither work nor study.

> [-]

> A large group which is worrying of young people neither work nor study. They do not do anything that leads to a good future life. This group of unemployed is mostly found in disadvantaged neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{117} AB (2010-06-10), S1
\textsuperscript{118} SVD (2010-06-10), S1
\textsuperscript{119} SVD (2010-06-11), S1
\textsuperscript{120} Citations in DN (2010-07-11), S2, the other article; SVD (2010-07-24), S2
The focus here is different from the discourse about integration. Now it is the economy and education frames that are active diagnostically, and the prognostic frame is based on a rather vague action plan, to address these problems of unemployment and low school results. The categorization is, as in the earlier cases, strong; the state acts upon the youths. The entities involved are categorized as strong; the youths are young and not successful, and many of them live in disadvantaged areas. The actors that are found in the material are separated from each other. The youths are supposed to passively wait until the state decides to act and there is no dialog between the state and the youths.

There were no parliament debates about Rinkeby, not even in the party leader debate one week after the riot.

**4.4 HUSBY (19-24 MAY 2013)**

The political debate was, based on what I can see in debates in parliament, characterized by the focus on employment, in the aftermath of the financial crisis. The Husby case is quite different from the other cases in some regards. SD got less than six per cent in the 2010 parliament election with a discourse sceptic to immigration. We might assume that when the governing parties make statements on the Husby riot it is possible that they might have the Sweden Democrats in mind.

**BEFORE THE RIOT**

The suburb-issue is salient prior to the riot, more than the other urban riots. In March the Alliance agrees to give economic support to residential areas that are characterized by among other things a high degree of immigrants, unemployment and low school results. In April, one month before the riot happens, a debate article is published by high-rank ministers; among others the Minister of Finance Anders Borg, the Minister of Enterprise Annie Lööf and the Minister of Integration Erik Ullenhag. They argue for a new strategy to combat alienation in specific districts; they want to create a better climate for business in these neighborhoods. In a sentence where the ministers are talking about changes in the school system and job creation they continue:

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121 Dagens Nyheter (2014-11-05), *Variationde M-väljare gick till SD*
122 GP (2013-03-27), S2
123 EP (2013-04-19), S2
We also see that it is a need of special arrangements to increase the demand of workforce in areas where the alienation is the largest. With this background we are now reforming the integration policy from its foundation with more focus on jobs, knowledge in Swedish and individual adjusted integration arrangements. The shortcomings in the integration have unfortunately created disadvantaged residential areas and therefore arrangements are needed in order to create a positive development in these neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{124}

Two weeks later Ullenhag says that the government is reforming the integration policy.\textsuperscript{125} The governing elite actors are active in the suburb-issue, and we can thus see it as a salient issue among the political elite in power. The categorization is like before very strong and the entities are strongly separated.

It is more than one year until the next parliament election and this could make alienation a more important issue for the governing parties because it is, according to the article, a nodal point in their argumentation; create jobs in order to fight alienation. In an article prior to a party leader debate the government emphasizes this point.\textsuperscript{126} In this context the salience of the issue is logical, however the important aspect from my point of view is what they connect with and include in the meaning of disadvantaged areas. The actors involved in the discourse are the government, the actor who is going to act, and the people are part of the alienation and the reformed integration policy. The economy and school frames are present.

**AFTER THE RIOT**

One day after the start of the riot the first political statement was made by the Minister of Integration Ullenhag: “We have to get a positive belief in the future in the disadvantaged districts”.\textsuperscript{127} According to another article he says that the society must reject the phenomena of “…burning cars and throwing stones at the police.”\textsuperscript{128} The minister clearly rejects the violence. Ullenhag is quoted for saying that this violence is not “…representative for the youths in Husby.” The government got criticism from S-leader Löfven to be too passive and the question should be how jobs are created, how school results and housing opportunities will improve.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{124} EP (2013-04-19), S2  
\textsuperscript{125} EP (2013-05-01), S2  
\textsuperscript{126} EP (2013-05-05), S2  
\textsuperscript{127} GP (2013-05-21), S1  
\textsuperscript{128} SVD (2013-05-21), S1  
\textsuperscript{129} DN (2013-05-21), S1
After two days the Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt held a press conference. One statement: “I think that we should give Husby back to those who are living in Husby.” The riot is thus framed as a law and order, very few people are committing violent acts and they are not part of the other ordinary people living in Husby. “We have groups of young men that believe that you can and should change society with violence.” The actors involved are the “we” representing the society, the people in Husby and the individuals who are using violence. The Minister of Law, Beatrice Ask said similar things; that the individuals own responsibility is important.

One important aspect of the statement by Reinfeldt is that it is the first time a Swedish Prime Minister makes a statement directly after a riot, when I take my material into account. In comparison with the Ronna case the elite politicians are much quicker to comment and the presence of the Prime Minister shows that it is more important. The party leader of S, Stefan Löfven made a comment the day after:

> We cannot have a policy as the government has, where you send the Minister of Integration to Husby. The events which are taking place there are caused by people feeling frustration, long term unemployment and bad conditions in school…”

The S-leader focuses on the economy and education diagnostic frames in opposition to the representatives from the Alliance. He also rejects the violence, but according to Löfven it is vital to “understand” why this occurs in a situation of high long term-unemployment. One of the two leaders for the Green Party claims that these events are a “failure” for Sweden when violence spreads in “suburbs”. The opposition has a very different interpretation of the riot than the governing parties, with the economy and education frames. The Minister of Integration illustrates the difference when he says: ”I am quite irritated on those that are trying to make the stone-throwers to spoke-persons for Husby…”

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130 SVD (2013-05-22), S1
131 UNT (2013-05-22), S1
132 Ibid.
133 EP (2013-05-23), S1
134 Ibid.
135 UNT (2013-05-22), S1
136 UNT (2013-05-24), S1

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SD was very active in the events after the riot and how did the party frame the riots? In total SD published two debate articles and took an initiative for a parliamentarian debate in the beginning of June. They emphasize problems of criminality and they also promote the idea that a strong decrease in immigration is the key to solve the problem. Economic factors are not efficient to solve the problem:

“More money has [-] not shown to be the solution. There has never before been spending so much money on the immigrant-dense suburbs as what is being made today.”

In parliament there are at least two debates on the riots. On 23 May the Prime Minister Reinfeldt participated in a general debate. S focuses on unemployment stating that it is the highest among the Nordic countries. S is thus interpreting the riots as part of something more of a structural failure of the government to solve economic problems in Sweden. The focus is moved from the Husby riot itself to be used more as a means to an end. The Prime Minister chooses to follow this approach stating that employment is rising and the alienation as a consequence of this is decreasing. The Prime Minister is thus rejecting the view of failed policies and the following statement by Reinfeldt reminds me of the Ronna riot:

“If you are going to play with numbers, you must read all numbers [-] and learn how it looks like.”

In the Ronna case the Prime Minister Persson strongly emphasized the frame of over reaction. Here we see a similar response from the Prime Minister Reinfeldt. S is framing the Husby riot as an event which is a proof for something wrong and the state must create new policies within the economy and education frames. Reinfeldt did, as Persson eight years earlier, acknowledge that there are problems but we should not exaggerate the scale of them. The Green Party emphasized the divide between the ”suburbs” and the ”inner city”. The Prime Minister replies:

“It is dangerous to create an image of a divided Sweden with cities separated from its suburbs. I do not think it is true. I believe that the dividing line goes across Husby, between the majority population that wants peace and quiet, that wants a stop of the violators, that wants respect for the

137 SVD (2013-05-22), S1. AB (2013-05-31), S2
138 SVD (2013-05-22), S1
139 Riksdagens protokoll (2013-05-23), SR
140 Ibid.
property and to walk freely in their own local community, and the scares numbers of violators that believe in violence as working method.”

His message is that we should not “divide” people between Husby and the rest of Sweden. He makes a strong categorization of ‘we’, the majority population against ‘them’, the few “violators”. Another party that is active is SD which sees the riots as a failure of the integration policy. The Left Party sees the riots as a breakdown of the public welfare. The SD party leader Jimmie Åkesson mentions many cases of riots and asks the Prime Minister:

How far, Fredrik Reinfeldt, should it continue before you realize that your irresponsible multicultural politics of splitting gets this type of consequences?

Due to SD the riots are a very salient issue in the Swedish parliament during the actual events in May. The special debate on the unrest in the suburbs initiated by SD was taking place on the 31 May. Minister of Law Beatrice Ask is the cabinet-representative, focuses on criminality and violence. The task ahead is for the police to restore order.

Young, angry men – almost all the time there are men – act aggressively, use violence and expose others for crimes and tremendous risks. Cars and schools are burning and there are stones that are thrown against police, fire patrol and ambulance. I want to be clear that this is something that is totally unacceptable. There are no excuses. There are maybe explanations but no excuses. Each person has its own responsibility [and] its own choice.

The most important at this type of events is of course to end violence and vandalism. It is the duty of the police to regain safety and security, in first hand to protect life and in second hand to prevent extensive vandalism.

The included actors are the police and those that are participating in the unrest. S does agree with this standpoint without any special criticism explicitly, then turning to economic issue in order to decrease unemployment. They are balancing between the criminality, economy and education frames. Other parties, e.g. FP, C and V argue within either the criminality frame on the one hand or the economy and education frames on the other hand, or they combine all

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141 Riksdagens protokoll (2013-05-23), SR
142 Ibid.
143 Riksdagens protokoll (2013-05-31), SR
three. SD is the only party framing the riots in the suburbs as an issue of a failed immigration policy and a need for a more restrictive direction.\textsuperscript{144}

On 12 June there was a party leader debate in the parliament. About three weeks had passed since the end of the riot. The Prime Minister does mention Husby in one part of the debate and he focuses on job creation.\textsuperscript{145} The classification is the same as before, a small part of young people are the problem. The rest of the debate is mostly about job creation and based on this fact there is a logic to include the Husby case into this discourse. Those who have a job among the “adults” in Husby, are according to the Prime Minister important “role-models for youths”. The entities are what I see quite strong as in the other cases. Jobs are here the key to solving problems in suburbs but there are no specific plans that are directed to Husby. The diagnostic frames are criminality but also economy and education, which were not present when the riot was still going on. The prognostic frame is emphasizing law and order, as I showed earlier, and also action plan, to fight unemployment, but not with an ‘area-based’-approach. This makes it easier to include it into the general political discourse that Reinfeldt already is using. In this debate, the riot itself tends to have a marginal effect on discourse. Other parties that mention the riots are SD and FP.\textsuperscript{146}

In debates after the end of the unrest the salience goes down, without references to the riot. But are there any changes caused by the riots themselves? Before the riot the frames were economy and education and during the riot criminality was emphasized. But some weeks after the beginning of the riot when the media did not write as much about it as before, the economy and education frames came back again.\textsuperscript{147} I interpret this to be a sign, that the Alliance-actors do not see the riot as problems located to the suburbs in mind. I have probably not seen signs of a discourse change in the Husby case.

During the period after the riot the cabinet-representatives were: the Prime Minister, the Minister of Integration and the Minister of Law.

\textsuperscript{144} Riksdagens protokoll (2013-05-31), SR
\textsuperscript{145} Riksdagens protokoll (2013-06-12), SR
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{147} DN (2013-06-10), S2
4.5 SUMMARY OF THE FOUR URBAN RIOT CASES

The three following tables illustrate the results from the analysis. The first table basically shows if the suburb-issue was salient among the ruling political elite in each case. The second table shows the categorization in the discourse by the ruling political elite. The third table presents the used frames from the analysis.

**Table 4 - Salience of the suburb-issue among the ruling political elite**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Newspaper articles</th>
<th>Parliament debate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salience of the suburb-issue before riot</td>
<td>Salience of the suburb-issue after the riot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronna</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosengård</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5 - Complexity of discourse by the ruling political elite**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Before or after riot</th>
<th>Categorization</th>
<th>Entities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronna</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosengård</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 - Framing disadvantaged districts by ruling political elite; diagnostic and prognostic both before and after riot.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Before or after riot</th>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Prognostic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diagnostic</td>
<td>Prognostic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ronna</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Over reaction, economy,</td>
<td>Over reaction, action plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosengård</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Criminality</td>
<td>Law and order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinkeby</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
<td>Not salient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Failure of integration,</td>
<td>Action plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>economy, education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husby</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Economy, education</td>
<td>Action plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>After</td>
<td>Criminality, over reaction,</td>
<td>Law and order, action plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Economy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. DISCUSSION

The result, how I interpret it and some methodological issues is going to be discussed in 5.1. And in 5.2 I will bring up some general remarks and some aspects that might be relevant for future work on this issue.

5.1 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Initially I found strong evidence that riots are a phenomenon that is discussed when they have started and not otherwise. In the strict sense, my ‘quantitative’ material (table 2 and 3) suggests that the riots and the disadvantaged areas were salient in the ‘public debate’ in a very small degree before they occurred. Among the cabinet-actors the suburb-issue was only salient in the last, the Husby case. Hence neither riots nor these areas are a debated topic before the breakout of the violent unrest. After the riots the political actors made statements, especially in the Husby event which was a sort of extreme case compared to the others.

Salience of the disadvantaged districts is very important from an analytical perspective because my indicators and the results are dependent on it. These districts were just salient in
one of four cases before the riots. This limits my ability to answer my research question; did the political elite in power frame the riots differently after the unrests? If we take a look at the Husby riot which was salient both before and after, what can we learn from that? In this case, but also in the Rosengård case, the statements from the Alliance indicate that the ministers do not connect the acts by the rioters with the disadvantaged areas. The cabinet actors talked about the districts both before and after the riot, in terms of economy and education frames. However during the worst and most intensive period, in time of violence, the ministers did only comment the riots as acts of criminality. The problem for the youths is criminality, but the districts suffer from other problems, mostly of unemployment and thus the economy as the primary frame that the political elite has used. This is a strong indication that they separate these two phenomena. If I ignore the Husby riot itself and only observe the political discourse on the disadvantaged areas, there are no real signs of a discourse change. On the other hand, if I only observe the ‘framing of riots’ after the beginning of the violence the discourse certainly diverge between the S-government in the Ronna case, and the center-right government in the other cases.

Despite the limitations I can spot some interesting patterns from the comparative perspective. The discourse among the four cases is not characterized by stability. The actors do not have a coherent discourse and from the material I can observe several factors that might be fruitful to explain some of this variation over time. It seems to be clear that party politics is important to understand why riots and disadvantaged suburbs are framed in a specific way. In 2005 the Ronna riot was used by the liberal party FP in order to criticize the social democratic government. The riot was strongly connected to disadvantaged areas and a sign of a failure for these suburbs. However, when the party was in power together with the Alliance, riots were seen as a criminal act committed by youths. The riots are used in the political competition and often within existing discourses, e.g. Ronna and Husby. Does the existence of SD has an effect on the discourse? In 2013 SD had a similar position as FP had in 2005.

According to Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup issues related to immigration, which these riots are indirectly due to high degree of immigrants in the areas, are in general dominated by right wing-parties. These parties, that often have a critical view towards immigration issues, have strong incentives to emphasize issues related to immigration. However, in government position, the Alliance has not often connected the riots with integration and never with immigration. More far-right parties may win on this issue which makes the Husby riot an
interesting case. As I discussed earlier, the Husby event was from the Alliance’s perspective, more seen as an act by criminals than by immigrants. The frame which emphasizes the problems among the ethnic minorities themselves was never found. When the failure of integration frame was active in the Rinkeby case, the focus was on the state and not the immigrants. The presence of far-right SD seems to have small effect because the focus in not on the immigrants as a group.

I also noted that with the proximity to an election, Rinkeby in 2010, the right wing government treated the riot as a general failure of integration and unemployment. The criminality frame was absent. One clue might be that the Alliance wanted to control the agenda for the upcoming election. The criminality frame might have been seen as an ‘inconvenient’ and hard approach and change focus of the upcoming election campaign. Is there a difference in the ‘colour’ of the cabinet of how they respond in the period after the riots? The Ronna riot might not be a sufficient riot to give us answer because this was the first urban riot. The Social Democratic government was, as I assume, not used to this phenomenon of dramatic unrest in Sweden compared to the Alliance government. But the S government did not however emphasize criminality.

One might also ask if the size of the cases affect the discourse. The Husby case got most attention and it might be that because it was the largest, counted in days. But it seems to be of a small importance when it comes to the discourse. The Rinkeby case was small both in number of days and written articles and the frame was on ‘social issues’. One might think that the criminality frame was used in cases that received much attention, as in the Rosengård and Husby cases. This might be the case, but I would argue that the proximity to the election in the Rinkeby case is more decisive than the size of the riot.

There have been much focus on unemployment in the discourse, however I never found statements from the Minister of Employment. Instead the Minister of Integration was often, e.g. in the Ronna case, making statements about the urgent need of more jobs. This is an interesting observation. When the Prime Minister was present in the last case it must be a sign of that the ruling political elite is more aware of the riots. Statements from the highest political representative in the country could not be totally random. The over reaction frame

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from the Prime Minister in 2005 was similar to the frame in 2013. But in 2013 Reinfeldt made his first statement after two days, in the Ronna case Persson waited two months. This might indicate that the Husby riot is more salient among the political elite in power.

So far I have discussed qualitative differences in the political discourse. There are also quantitative differences that are significant which is illustrated by table two; the attention is much larger at the Husby case than for the Rinkeby case. This involves other dynamics than in the qualitative discussion which only focus at the political elite and their framing. The quantitative part includes other actors; e.g. media, that have the opportunity to make it salient and thus, more statements from the politicians.

The issue of generalization is also important to mention. My view is that I cannot compare with other earlier historical ‘riots’ due to the context. According to MSB the riots have moved out from the core of the city to the periphery.\textsuperscript{149} In Sweden of the 1950s people experienced a rapid social change in many regards. In the beginning of the new millennium segregation also has an ethnic dimension too, in addition to the economic dimension. Ethnically segregation, discrimination and racism were not big issues back then in the post-war period. Causes of riots might of course be similar, e.g. unemployment and not ethnic segregation. But I study the effects of riots, and effects of the earlier riots could not possibly involve an ethnic dimension due to the low degree of immigration in that historical context.

If I turn back to the method again and the fact that the suburb-issue was not much salient before the riots. The question is if I could have done the study differently in order to identify the structure of the discourse both before and after. This is a hard task when the actors in at least two cases see the riots as separate episodes. The view in the Rosengård and Husby cases is also that it is a task for the police to handle and it is thus not a political issue. The view from the political elite in power is that there are a number of rioters creating violence which do not represent the inhabitants in the suburbs. Another study has raised similar notions: de los Reyes, Hörnqvist, et al. have written a report on the Husby event and when they studied the parliamentarian debate initiated by SD they noticed that the Alliance-representatives:

\textsuperscript{149} Nilsson, T., & Ivarsson Westerberg, A. (2011): p. 43
…discussed social problems of different kinds in the suburbs but did not want to talk in terms of a connection between them and the unrests.  

The discourse is therefore not easy to study before the riots. Therefore to study effects of riots is perhaps only possible if one might study policies instead of discourses.

The case selection is an important topic to mention here. In the thesis I have treated the riots as equal cases despite that they are different in some regards. From a methodological view it is almost impossible to select cases that are similar in all regards. In the Rosengård case groups of far left activists participated but they did not start it. The problematic issue is rather the fact that without their presence the riot would have instead developed into a low-intense ‘micro’ riot and thus excluded as an urban riot. This is a trade-off I have to make and acknowledge that all criteria cannot be met completely.

As I mentioned in the method chapter there is a risk with my approach to analyze the material. According to Chong & Druckman “manual coding” which is my approach is creating lower reliability. The manual coding takes time, especially when the material is extensive. I have been aware of this issue and therefore I have read the key parts of the empirical material several times. The method chapter has in total been the most time-consuming in order to systemize the material and how it was going to be analyzed.

5.2 SOME REFLECTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

After the Husby riot there were even a group of academics that demanded an investigation on the riots. According to them segregation is a major problem and the situation in the Swedish major cities is the worst in the northern parts of Europe. The focus is on the cause of the riot, and they emphasize on the politics of neoliberalism and increased inequalities. I chose not to study the cause of riots because it is a more studied topic than the effects of riots. My contribution to this other debate might be that the Alliance does not view the riots as signs of structural problems. This comparative study aims to give facts on how the political elite treats the urban riots and stimulate more future research of how we could understand this phenomenon. How the new center-left coalition that has been in power since September,
2014, consisting of the Social Democrats and The Greens will frame the riots and disadvantaged districts is to come. One thing is certain; they will not send the Minister of Integration to the suburbs because no one has this title among the new cabinet-ministers. The importance of ethnicity has often been downplayed as a cause of riots. The socio-economic explanation has been promoted. However despite this, in suburbs with a high degree of foreign born, the economic situation is worse than average.\textsuperscript{153} According to Schierup, Ålund, et al. the question is if the Husby riot might be a sign of growing political force which aims for “social justice”. This stands opposite to the goals of the government. According to a SOU-report, the integration policy in the Alliance government was:

\begin{quote}
The goal for the Swedish integration policy is ‘equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all regardless ethnic and cultural background.’ One of the areas that is identified as extra important to work with to achieve this goal is ‘more people in work, more entrepreneurs.’\textsuperscript{154}
\end{quote}

The government, based on the studied riots, seems to downplay these goals and indications of social problems. This might make the situation worse in these areas, by not seeing it as a political issue. As I stated in the analysis the cabinet-ministers made strong classifications which meant that it was the government that acted upon the rioters. There were no signs of a ‘dialogue’ from the Alliance to discuss problems in the disadvantaged areas. The statements often emphasized the other aspects e.g. that the police should handle the situation. The advantage of the categorization tool from discourse analysis has been to identify who are included in the political discourse by the governing political elite.

In several riots, both among my cases and Paris in 2005 and London in 2011 the police has in fact been a trigger of the violence which I have shown. But still the ministers did see the violence as acts of criminal youths and it is the police that is going to solve the problem. But if the riots are signs of a widespread frustration as stated earlier, it would be a democratic problem when the riots are not seen as a political issue. In general, violent protests do not occur that often even in “riot-prone cities” according to Adman.\textsuperscript{155} If the assumption is that there is a democratic ‘challenge’, one interesting topic for future research might from my view be on how to create more including political structures that can absorb these unrests.

\textsuperscript{153} Malmberg, B., Andersson, E., et al. (2013): p. 1031
\textsuperscript{154} SOU (2012): p. 68
\textsuperscript{155} Adman, P. (2011): p. 7
The Sweden Democrats were relatively active in the Husby-case and it is evident that riots might be exploited by far-right parties which are sceptic to immigration. If the mainstream parties downplay structural ‘challenges’ in disadvantaged areas I assume that the far right might use them, as in the Husby case. This would be a very relevant field to study in the European ‘urban riots’; how has it been framed by populist parties like SD, and has it been important in their discourse? Riots do not happen that often, as Adman noted, and when they do it is an easy way to confirm your own views, e.g. automatically connecting ethnicity as a cause of riots.

In 5.1 I made some suggestions to what affects the discourse on the riots and the disadvantaged districts. The riots themselves had no significant effect of what I could observe. As a final remark, it would also be relevant for future research to study what factors are important to form the political discourse on the riots and/or disadvantaged districts.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Urban riots are a relatively new phenomenon that in some aspects have gained more attention in Swedish politics. My empirical material suggests that the urban riots are a more salient issue in 2013 than earlier on. In the Ronna case it took two months before the Prime Minister made a statement concerning the riot. In Husby it took two days. The riots were salient in all cases after the start of the violence.

The empirical material also suggests that the disadvantaged districts were salient before the riots only in the Husby case, thus in one of four cases. This makes me unable to draw conclusions from a comparative perspective about the effects of riots on the political discourse about disadvantaged districts. To observe the effects of riots it was essential to have a ‘before’ and an ‘after’ to compare with. However in the last case, the Husby riot, the so called ‘suburb issue’ was salient both before and after the riot. The elements from framing theory made it possible to categorize frames based on the political statements. The riot itself was diagnostically framed as acts by criminal youths but it was not connected to the disadvantaged districts. The problem in the districts was both before and after the unrest framed as unemployment, and thus an economic focus. Thus there were no observable riot effects on political discourse in this regard.
Using the discourse analysis elements, classification and entities gave insight into the boundaries of the political discourse. In all cases the political discourse had a strong divide between the state and the inhabitants in the suburbs. Even though urban riot may be a complex phenomenon the discourse by the cabinet-actors was mainly focused on the active state and the passive citizens.
7. LIST OF REFERENCES

FRONT PAGE PICTURE
It shows Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt on a press conference during the Husby riot, on 21 May 2013, internet link:

JOURNALS


**REPORTS**


Statens Bostadskreditnämnd (2008), Upprustning av miljonprogrammets flerbostadshus – Statlig medverkan i finansieringen.

BOOKS

Beckman, L. (2005), Grundbok i idéanalys: det kritiska studiet av politiska texter och idéer, Santérus, Stockholm.


INTERNET SOURCES

Newspaper articles labeled as S1 and S2 see next heading.


Dagens Nyheter (2011-06-12), Göteborgskravallerna – EU-toppmötet som spårade ur, internet link:
EMPIRICAL MATERIAL

Due to the limited number of used parliamentarian sessions, each of them is included below. Newspaper articles (S1 and S2) are presented in this chapter as the Retriever Research-documents. Articles that have been used outside the analysis are presented in the last heading.

PARLIAMENTARIEN SESSIONS


**NEWSPAPER ARTICLES**

I gained access to these media articles through Uppsala University Library, internet link: http://ub.uu.se/soktips-och-sokteknik/databaser-a-o/, all references to newspaper articles with S1 or S2 codes are part of these following documents which I created in the database.

**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-11-25), Nyhetsklipp, S1, 301 articles.
**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-12-11), Nyhetsklipp, S2 Ronna, 20 articles.
**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-12-11), Nyhetsklipp, S2 Rosengård, 22 articles.
**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-12-14), Nyhetsklipp, S2 Rinkeby, 13 articles.
**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-12-15), Nyhetsklipp, S2 Husby, no. 1, 15 articles.
**Retriever Research (Mediearkivet)** (2014-12-15), Nyhetsklipp, S2 Husby, no. 2, 7 articles.

**NEWSPAPER ARTICLES USED OUTSIDE ANALYSIS**

**Aftonbladet** (2005-09-12), *Sköt skarpt mot polisen*
**Aftonbladet** (2008-12-18), *Här brinner Rosengård*
**Dagens Nyheter** (2010-06-09), *Polisen öppnade eld*
**Göteborgs-Tidningen** (2008-12-19), *De förstör allt de ser*
**Kvällsposten** (2008-12-19), *Rosengård i lågor*
**Kvällsposten** (2013-05-20), *Maskerade ungdomar i upplopp*
**Sydsvenskan** (2008-12-20), *De ser en möjlighet att slåss mot polisen*
**Sydsvenskan** (2013-05-23), *Kravallerna i Husby*
**Svenska Dagbladet** (2013-05-25), *Skiftande bakgrund bland de hittills gripna*
**Svenska Dagbladet** (2013-06-02), *Utred kravallerna i Husby*