

Geographica 21



Karin Backvall

# Constructing the Suburb

Swedish Discourses of Spatial Stigmatisation



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### **Abstract**

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By exploring representations of place, this thesis treats practices of spatial stigmatisation in the context of segregated Swedish cities. In three papers, different aspects of stigmatisation and place-making are discussed and analysed, where the overarching ambition is to identify and critically deconstruct the ideology behind stigma as well as suggest ways of making representation positive. In other words, this thesis takes issue with the negative labels attached to certain urban areas by exploring dominant discursive trends and mechanisms, or techniques, of creating spatial stigma.

Theoretically, the analysis is informed by postcolonial critical research on segregation and representations of people and place, where place-making is of particular importance. The case study consists of printed news media and political discourse concerning stigmatised urban areas in Sweden, and the method is inspired by critical discourse analysis.

The empirical material covers a period of twenty years, and the analysis is particularly focused on constructions of 'race' and poverty and how these two dimensions intertwine. The main findings point to a dominant trend of representing stigmatised neighbourhoods as failed and miserable places that are not considered part of Sweden. They become racialised both through representations of the neighbourhoods as foreign and unintegrated places and through representations of the residents, usually categorised as the 'immigrants', as culturally different from 'Swedes'. There are signs of a more critical discourse which challenges the negative representations, but it remains weak compared to the predominance of the negative reporting.

*Keywords:* Spatial stigmatisation, segregation, representation, suburb, discourse

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# List of Papers

This thesis is based on the following papers, which are referred to in the text by their Roman numerals.

- I Backvall, K., Molina, I., (2018) Mechanisms of Media Stigmatisation: Colonial Discourse and Racialisation of Swedish suburbs. Under review in an international journal.
- II Backvall, K. (2018) Who's to Blame? Segregation, Policy and Stigma in Swedish Editorial Discourse. Manuscript.
- III Backvall, K. (2018) Decolonising Residential Segregation and "Cultural Difference". Revise and Resubmit decision from an international journal.

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# Introduction

The most distressed areas are burning – garbage bins, cars, even schools are burned down. Rocks are thrown at buses, even though the buses could take the youth away from there (Sabuni/Dagens Nyheter, 2010: 6).<sup>1</sup>

This question was one of the starting points that set me on the path of writing this dissertation, and its origin came from the mix of concerns and curiosity regarding the powerful representations and perceptions of certain places, more precisely some of the neighbourhoods produced for the Million homes program from the 1960s and 1970s in Sweden. These will generally be referred to as *stigmatised neighbourhoods* in this thesis. It is always a challenge to position oneself outside of the discourse that is being studied. I have used the term “stigmatised areas”, not only in order to avoid commonly used labels such as “distressed”, “segregated”, “marginalised”, “problem area”, and even “Million homes area”, which has become a stigmatising label in itself, but also to point to the power relationship that constructs these places. The act of attaching stigma to anyone or anything is an act of power, and by using the term *stigmatised neighbourhoods*, I have tried to draw attention to this construction, rather than add another image to the ones already existing.

Every research project must begin somewhere, and the initial question of how neighbourhoods become “problem neighbourhoods” touches on many different areas: material conditions, social composition, policy-making, welfare investment, and discursive construction. The focus of this investigation will be on discursive constructions, whereas material and social factors function as backdrops for the investigation. Primarily, this initial question was aimed at problematizing which powers, ideologies, representations and ideas caused certain places to be perceived as good and certain plac-

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<sup>1</sup> Citation from the then Minister for Integration from the Liberal party in a debate article on the situation in stigmatised urban areas in Sweden. Judging by this quote, the minister does not believe in improving the neighbourhoods, but rather in the chances (such as taking a bus) for the residents to leave.

es perceived as bad. Therefore, this thesis deals with representation, place-making, power, and, particularly, inequality.

Place and space, which are central concepts in geography, have since long been convincingly argued to be socially constructed, even if they are often represented as bounded and stable (Massey 1995: 60-64). In fact, Massey (54), citing Allen and Hamnett (1995) claims that space is most appropriately thought of as “stretched out social relations”, in which places are increasingly difficult to pinpoint or demarcate. Naturally, this claim does not deny the existence of physical environments but makes the point that places and space are made of intersecting social relations that, together, shape what place is and where it begins and ends. This assumption leads to another point, which is central to the argument made in this thesis: space is relational. If places are characterized by social relations and movements between places, then the character of one place is often dependent on the character of another. There is a relationship between places and between the activities of different places, which means that one activity, one trait, is seldom isolated from another, no matter how distant they are geographically. Gillian Rose illustrates this by recalling Said’s (1978) particularly famous work on Orientalism, which describes how Western Europe and North America constructed a mythical vision of the East, a vision which said more about the Westerners who created it than it did about the “the Orient”. This image also influenced travellers, who interpreted what they saw based on the construction of the Orient (Rose 1995).

Practices of stigma often employ similar methods by creating an image based on rumours and word-of-mouth reputation, but unlike an orientalist discourse, stigmatisation only produces negative representations. An orientalist discourse sometimes informs such representations, through racist conceptions of places as well as the residents, but there are also other ideologies of power at work in creating spatial stigma, particularly the demonization of the poor. Clearly, social relations and economic values inform practices of place-making, where one outcome has been the framing of a structurally based problem - residential segregation - as a social problem within the Million homes neighbourhoods.

Making the argument that place is constructed is, of course, not the whole answer to the initial question. There are material circumstances as well as acts of political and civil action that also shape how a place is made. This side of the investigation involves issues of justice and equality or the lack of such conditions in Swedish urban environments. The reputation and history attached to the Million

homes program areas constructed in the 1960s and 1970s have much in common with high-rise projects in many other European countries. In interview and ethnographic studies, the effects of stigmatisation are often brought to attention by residents (Garbin and Millington 2012; Arthurson 2013; Slater 2015) From the interviews I made for my master's thesis in the Gottsunda neighbourhood outside of Uppsala, it became clear that people had many positive things to say about their neighbourhood: They enjoyed the community, close access to nature, feelings of safety, and good relations with the police, but there were also problematic issues such as lack of investment, alcoholism, and lack of attention and information from politicians and planners. Above all, they all attested to the discomfort and injustice they experienced as a result of the stigma attached to their neighbourhood. Some had experienced discrimination; others were worried what an employer might think if they found out they were from the infamous area of Gottsunda. Yet others were annoyed that, despite actually living in the neighbouring area of Valsätra, if something happened in their area it was usually reported as an incident in Gottsunda.

Together, the many forms that the social construction of place can take indicate that in order to understand place representations, the history of previous representations need to be taken into account and related both to current conceptualisations and to structural conditions. Therefore, one of the starting points of this investigation is that the problems which have arisen in stigmatised neighbourhoods as well as the ensuing discontent and frustration among residents are not unintended consequences, but the result of marketised housing politics that produce worse housing conditions for poor people than for the rich. This argument has been raised by many (Arbaci 2007; Flemström and Ronnby 1972; Grundström and Molina 2016; Purdy 2003; Slater 2018) and creates an imperative context for deconstructing and criticising “blaming-the-victim” practices that often underlie stigma.

## Changing housing visions

Before the Million homes program was launched, urban planning in Sweden had been influenced by ideas of social life in urban communities, and the capacity to create a good life through the right kind of living environment. The Million homes program represented a break from this previous ideal, moving instead in the direction of

technical solutions, designed to be functional, but not to govern the social quality of life. Large-scale construction and effective planning were dominating powers behind the design of the Million homes neighbourhoods. However, the social dimensions were soon back on the agenda, when the newly constructed neighbourhoods were considered failures of modern planning (Urban 2005:35-36).

Even before this, notions of “social hygiene” and common society values formed part of the housing discourse and the formulation of the welfare state in the early twentieth century. Later, the construction of people with an immigrant background in policy and public discourse can be seen as an extension of these values, where people with an immigrant background took on the role of the Other, previously held by Romani people, the mentally ill and many other social groups (Andersson and Molina 2003). While the discourses of the Million homes program initially focused on social problems as “a Swedish problem” that affected all the inhabitants of the areas, they soon began to incorporate racist dimensions (Ristilammi 1994; Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi 2000).

In Sweden, one of the factors behind the creation of the Million homes program was a severe housing shortage and poor living conditions for many people in Sweden (Molina 1997). The construction of one million modern housing units was therefore considered a sorely needed updating of the social conditions in Sweden. This goal was achieved, but there were also problems with the new housing areas, which soon drew media attention and started another debate, one that has laid the foundation for the long-standing stigmatisation of these neighbourhoods. One such example came from Bengtzon, Elden and Lundgren (1970), who used interviews with residents in Tensta to describe, on the one hand, the relief at finally living in a modernised apartment after years of insecurity, and, on the other, the lack of facilities, living on a construction site that never seems to be finished, expensive living and hostility from the landlords. While these perspectives deserve to be taken into account when one tries to understand the representations of the Million homes areas, Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi (2000) argue that reports like these unfairly represented the Million homes areas as disasters.

More recently, Sweden’s reputation for being a strong welfare state has been challenged by authors pointing to a neoliberalised housing system (Christophers 2013; Crush 2016). Sweden has also had a reputation for gender equality and for generous migration policies with a comparatively high percentage of foreign born residents (in 2014 16 percent of the population was foreign born, and

21 percent was Swedish born with two foreign born parents). However, recent developments, such as changes in refugee and migration policy have been taken as signs of a dismantling of a previously generous welfare model - changes which affect the poor, particularly women, the young, and migrants - particularly harshly (Mulinari and Neergaard 2015: 507). A critical moment followed the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 when a radical shift from a previously relatively generous migration policy was voted through in Swedish parliament. The new laws gave temporary residence permits for asylum seekers instead of permanent, which was the previous standard, and the laws also restricted opportunities for family reunification and made stricter demands regarding the ability to care for family members who have been granted reunification (Migrationsverket 2016).

Previously, Swedish national politics could be described by referring to the two so-called political blocs, consisting of the Red-Green Alliance with the Social Democrats, the Green Party and the Left Party, and the Conservative Alliance with the Moderates, the Liberals, the Christian Democrats and the Center Party. However, following the latest general election in September 2018, a new government was finally formed on the 21 January 2019 in a constellation that merges parties from both blocs: the new government is a division of power between the Social Democrats, the Green Party, the Liberals and the Center Party. This new alliance is the result of an election result which gave neither bloc majority in parliament, and in an effort at keeping the Sweden democrats out of government, these four parties have formed an alliance. It is not possible to develop the details of the new political landscape or how it came about, but there has been a shift in the power balance between the two previous blocs since before; not least, this can be illustrated with the Moderates' campaign which launched the so-called New Moderates in 2006, seriously challenging the Social Democrats' position as protectors of the welfare state.

An important role has also been played by the Sweden Democrats who were elected into parliament in 2010 and who have created a debate which challenges Sweden's previous policies of migration and refugee reception. The Sweden Democrats were formed as an openly racist and neo-Nazi organisation but are now more accurately conceptualised as culturally racist (Mulinari & Neergaard 2015). Upon their entry into parliament in 2010, the party received 5.7 percent of the votes, and by the next election of 2014 they became the third largest party (Mulinari and Neergaard 2015: 508-509). In January, 2017, an invitation from the Moderates to the

Sweden Democrats caused new debates about how the Sweden Democrats should be treated by the other parties, and in the latest general election in September, 2018, the Sweden Democrats received 17.5 percent of the vote. According to Wilson & Hainsworth (2012: 9-10), parties similar to the Sweden Democrats have recently gained political success in many European countries, and while they often mix messages from the left and right political scale, their core values generally revolve around populism, authoritarianism and nativism. The latter can be described as a combination of nationalism and racism.

Following the (up to now) increase in support for the Sweden Democrats, migration and integration have become key issues on the political agenda. In Sweden, public debate seems to have become increasingly polarised, as leading national newspapers have taken a critical standpoint against the Sweden Democrats, and party leader Jimmie Åkesson has responded by calling Swedish media “fake news” (see, for example, his appearance on Norwegian talk show “Skavlan” on September 14, 2018, and an interview with Swedish television SVT on September 2, 2018). The media plays an important role in the political climate, and previous research shows that the normalisation of racism in Denmark has to a large degree happened with the help of news media reports demanding changes in immigration policy as well as formulating verbal attacks against ethnic minorities (Hervik 2012), and Wren (2001: 154) finds that the Danish media persistently has produced prejudiced images of Muslim immigrants. According to Wren, during a period of monitoring, Danish press was even found by a UN press monitoring programme to be nationalist and racist in its reporting.

## Segregation in Swedish cities

Today’s housing situation once again calls for more housing. According to the Swedish National Board of Housing, Sweden needs to produce 70,000 housing units per year until the year 2020 to meet the population growth (Crush 2016: 146). As mentioned above, a similar situation preceded the launching of the Million homes program, when one million new housing units were produced over a period of ten years. For a long time, roughly between the 1930s and the early 1990s, housing provisions as a social right and tenure neutrality were central pillars of the Social Democratic government’s vision for Swedish housing Andersson and Kährrik 2016). *Tenures* or

*tenure form* refers to the different types of housing on the Swedish housing market, that is rental housing (provided both by the municipalities, known as *Allmännyttan*, and by private companies); cooperative housing (in Swedish *bostadsrätt*); and owner occupation (*äganderätt*). Tenure neutrality refers to a government decision from 1974 that concerned government subsidies, in the shape of tax and interest rates, which following the 1974 decision should favour all housing types or tenures equally (Bengtsson 2006: 106). From the 1990s onwards, Swedish housing politics have instead been characterised by deregulation and selective subsidies mainly targeting poor neighbourhoods. To some degree, this development was connected to the financial crisis in Sweden in the 1990s, but deregulation is also in line with neoliberalisation trends spreading across Europe. As a result, municipally owned rental housing has diminished from 23 to 18 percent of the housing stock between 1990 and 2010, meaning that around 14 percent of the population live in rental housing (Andersson and Kährrik 2016: 110-111).

The financial and housing crisis of 2008, which had severe repercussions around the world, did not affect Sweden as harshly as the 1990s crisis. However, unemployment rates, which increased in the early 1990s, have remained high. Exacerbated by financial policies which favour earners and punish the unemployed poor, income inequalities also shape spatial distribution of housing and social groups. Such inequalities are not evenly divided but affect low-income households in general and non-Western unemployed immigrants in particular. In addition, tenure conversions in Stockholm have taken different shapes in different neighbourhoods, where conversions in the inner city have often been from municipal housing to cooperative housing and, in the suburbs, from municipal to private renting (Andersson and Kährrik 2016:116-117, 119). In addition, living space across the country was roughly the same between 1997 and 2009, but viewed from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, living space has decreased in poor neighbourhoods, such as the Million homes program areas, and increased in rich areas. What is particularly important about this information is that the market has served the well-off and increased their living standards but did the opposite for low-income groups. Such evidence calls for economic aid rather than increased market power (Crush 2016).

These structural changes have resulted in a dramatic increase in socio-economic segregation in the Stockholm region, with the richest and poorest groups (the rich in particular) displaying the largest differences, or highest degrees of separation, from other groups.

Importantly, Andersson and Kährik (2016) state that, despite the overlapping nature of the ethnic and socioeconomic dimensions of housing segregation, these two traits also need to be considered separately.

## Policy approaches to segregation

Two years ago, in 2017, the Swedish government made the decision to create a new authority to fight housing segregation, known as the *Delegation against segregation* or *Delmos*. The background to the formation of this initiative is the many years of growing residential segregation in Sweden as well as previous policies designed to treat segregation in different ways. The new authority, just like previous initiatives, includes a broad scope of structural and locally defined measures with five focus areas: fighting crime, decreasing long-term unemployment, boosting schools, improving social services in distressed areas and strengthening civil society. Housing segregation is not the only concern for *Delmos*; school segregation is another facet which will be addressed, and with both residential and school segregation the government is looking to achieve a more socioeconomically mixed population, combined with other measures aimed at social stability (Regeringskansliet: kulturdepartementet). *Delmos* was an interesting and important initiative, but its budget was cut by a vote in Parliament in December 2018, where the intention is to close down this new authority completely. However, this decision has not been made yet.

There are further issues that are addressed specifically by the anti-segregation policy. Among them are attacks on emergency services such as police, fire department and ambulance staff in stigmatised areas and strategies against religious extremism. The attention to extremism is connected to widespread attention in the news media and from researchers about the threats of radicalisation in the suburbs (see Ranstorp and dos Santos (2009), who produced a report on radicalisation in the neighbourhood Rosengård in Malmö). However, these types of prognoses have also been criticised for producing colonialist representations of Muslims (see Bäcklin 2011) and for connecting Muslims in general to terror and religious extremism, in contrast to terror crimes committed by, for example, fundamentalist Christians, which does not result in reasoning based on such guilt-by-association (Flyghed and Hörnqvist 2011).

## *”Utanförskap”* and “segregated neighbourhoods”

Delmos was not the first attempt at breaking or decreasing segregation in Sweden, and the history of anti-segregation policies and concern over the situation in the housing areas constructed during the Million homes program can be traced further than the empirical focus of this dissertation. Following the debates that have surrounded the Million homes program, there have also been various government and municipal projects intended to improve what was often perceived as a problematic situation. Some of these initiatives will be outlined and briefly commented on here, with primary focus on the so-called area-based policies, which have been pursued in different ways in Sweden since the 1990s.

Andersson (2006) states that selective, area-based policies have been in place in Sweden since the 1990s, and according to Palander (2006), who documented the launching of the new urban politics in Sweden and its efficiency and effectiveness regarding its goal of breaking segregation, the new policies cannot effect this goal. Equally, when evaluating the success of area-based initiatives in Sweden, Andersson et al. (2010: 250) find that while the programs were successful in some respects, such as education and employment for individuals, the policies failed to affect ethnic segregation. In addition, analyses have shown that improvements in employment and reduced benefit dependency were related to macro-economic changes rather than the effects of the program. Karlsson (2016) comes to a similar conclusion after studying the outcomes of area-based anti-segregation strategies in Malmö, but she adds the lack of real civil society participation as a criticism to area-based policies.

The area-based policies, just like the name suggests, are centred on specific neighbourhoods rather than structural conditions, and as such have been criticized for trying to treat the structural condition of residential segregation with local, area-based solutions. Related to these types of policies is the word *”utanförskap”*, which roughly translates as “outsiderness”. *”Utanförskap”* is one of the themes of this dissertation, and will be returned to, particularly in Paper III. Because of its significance for the Swedish discourse on segregation and spatial stigmatisation *”utanförskap”* will not be translated, but in similar international discussions the word “vulnerability” is sometimes used.

Strategies aimed at improving the situation in stigmatised areas, or “areas with socioeconomic challenges”, as they are named in the government report (Regeringskansliet, kulturdepartementet:12), have been pursued since 1975, which means there was political

concern regarding these neighbourhoods immediately after the completion of the Million homes program. This concern continued: in a government bill on housing politics from 1986/87 (Regeringens proposition om bostadspolitiken: 25), the government discusses the need for attention to the development of the Million homes program, stating first that the housing standards in these areas generally are good but that there are certain problems that require action: *“However, there is great need for an extraordinary amount of maintenance as well as various measures that would make these neighbourhoods more attractive and counter large turnover and social problems.”* Indeed, relatively soon after the completion of the Million homes program, improvements were already on the government agenda. Segregation is a concern discussed in this bill, but only in passing, and *ethnic* segregation is not addressed at all; there is merely a concern for the availability of affordable housing for marginalised groups, among them refugees. Relatively soon after this bill, a smaller government publication on immigration and refugee policy dedicates a section to “special measures in immigrant-dense neighbourhoods” (Invandrar- och flyktingpolitiken 1994/95: 39). It is symptomatic that this concern is raised in a bill on immigration rather than housing policy, and the bill touches on one of the major themes for this dissertation: the association and blame directed at people with an immigrant background in the discussion on segregation.

The concern around the development of the Million homes neighbourhoods subsequently resulted in three related government bills, or suggestions for new laws: Proposition 1997/98:165 *Utveckling och rättvisa (Development and justice)*, Proposition 1997/98:16 *Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden (Sweden, the future and diversity)*, and Proposition 1997/98: 119 *Bostadspolitik för hållbar utveckling (Housing policy for sustainable development)*, thus forming the foundation for the government’s vision for integration, housing and urban policy. These policies address housing politics, integration and urban policy, which means that the government had a broader agenda than simply tackling issues of residential segregation and housing. These bills were passed by parliament, although with some revisions, and generated a lot of interest from parliamentary members and other parliamentary functions. Subsequently, there were additional suggestions from the government to the new policies for housing and integration, but they were not expressed in the shape of new laws: Regeringens skrivelse Integrationspolitik för 2000-talet 2001/02:129 (*Integration policies for the*

2000s), Regeringens skrivelse *Lokalt utvecklingsavtal i storstäderna* 2003/04: 49 (*Local development in big cities*), and Regeringens skrivelse *Egenmakt mot utanförskap 2008/09: 24* (*Self-empowerment against "utanförskap"*) (published in a second version the following year and with the same title, Regeringens skrivelse *Egenmakt mot utanförskap* 2009/10:233). These bills and suggestions make it clear that distressed or stigmatised areas have been at the centre of the segregation debate since its inception, and current discourse and actions show no signs of decreasing interest for these neighbourhoods. Over the years, the number of areas deemed problematic and their geographical locations have changed, too. When the Metropolitan initiative was introduced in the mid-1990s, seven municipalities and 24 neighbourhoods were selected as particularly vulnerable, and these areas were offered to enter into what was called local development contracts with the government. Since then, neighbourhoods have been both taken away and added to this list. In 2007, under a newly formed liberal-conservative government, the seven municipalities had increased to 21, including 38 neighbourhoods. These became involved in similar types of local development work. The new projects ran for three years, 2008-2010, and were subsequently replaced with what was labelled "Urban 15", an initiative which included 15 neighbourhoods in nine municipalities. Urban 15 ended in 2014. In its evaluation of these measures, the government states that despite some success, particularly on an individual level, the lack of long-term considerations as well as an unaddressed need to incorporate structurally caused problems limited the effects of the local development initiatives (Regeringskansliet, kulturdepartementet: 12-13). In addition to the government's attention to stigmatised areas, Swedish police have produced several reports giving their perception on which and how many areas are at risk. The police focus on crime - rather than unemployment, education and welfare benefits, which are core focus areas for the government - and have named 61 different areas, 23 out of which are considered to be particularly volatile.

## Aim and questions

The research areas in focus in this thesis are neighbourhood stigmatisation and ethnic and residential segregation. Since housing segregation and stigmatisation are closely connected, the study of the stigmatisation of urban areas is also a study of the discourses on segregation. Therefore, the theoretical framework that will be de-

veloped draws on critical segregation literature, ideas of structural inequality and the importance of language in producing and reproducing representations of social reality.

From a critical and social constructionist perspective, the aim of this thesis is to problematise and criticise constructions and representations of stigmatised urban places in Swedish political and news media discourse. This aim was formed in response to previous evidence of demonizing labels of place, suggesting that the path to countering stigmatising practices lies in the deconstruction of such place-making representations; therefore, the practices of stigma will be approached from different perspectives, each with the intention of revealing place-making strategies, which in turn are connected to that social structures and ideologies that dialectically shape them. From such explorations, this thesis also aims to suggest alternate ways of representation, so as to contribute to destigmatisation of urban areas targeted by negative representations.

The overarching research question or problem outlined in the aim above has been broken down into separate but related aims which are dealt with in each respective article. These are as follows:

Article one aims to identify dominant themes in news media reportings of stigmatised neighbourhoods and the primary mechanisms behind those themes.

Article two aims to problematise the connection between stigmatisation and residential segregation in Swedish editorial discourse.

Article three aims to critically analyse the making of racialised constructions of residential segregation in Swedish political discourse.

## Paper summaries

### Paper I (Backvall and Molina): Mechanisms of Media Stigmatisation: Colonial Discourse and the Racialisation of Swedish Suburbs. Under review in an international journal

This paper aims to identify dominant themes in Swedish news media discourse on stigmatised areas. Additionally, a related goal was to also identify mechanisms of stigmatisation. In part, our interest was to follow-up on a previous Swedish study, *Miljonprogram och media* [The Million program and the media], which had documented Swedish news media representations of Million program neighbourhoods in a place called Järva outside of Stockholm. *Miljonprogram och media* uncovered several important themes in the reporting on stigmatised neighbourhoods, where reports of dirt and ugly buildings, crime and lack of safety, and the presence of people of immigrant background were dominant in the reporting. The report looked at news media coverage over a long period of time until the year 2000. Therefore, we chose to study the period afterwards, from the year 2000 until 2015, in order to cover as much as possible of the new, relevant discourse.

By drawing on international research of critical media studies, we attempted to critically explore how Swedish news media create meaning, with a focus on place-making strategies. From a theoretical perspective, our findings seemed to reflect common themes (internationally as well as in Sweden) for reporting on issues of segregation, such as crime, (lack of) integration and general misery in poor neighbourhoods, but we also identified more specific techniques for constructing stigmatised areas. These techniques, or mechanisms, became our focus, together with the themes of the different newspaper stories. The mechanisms consist of grouping neighbourhoods together; of contrasting them with other areas; and of portraying ethnic minorities as problems.

The results showed that leading national newspapers still use language of dramatic failure and unattractiveness in relation to the suburbs, expressed primarily through stories of violence, hopeless-

ness and un-“Swedishness”. In addition to the continuity with the previous report, *Miljonprogram och media*, we found an emerging theme of terror and Islamophobia which was connected to the suburbs. This finding calls for continued critical studies of news media reporting.

This paper contributes especially to the field of media studies by identifying not just dominant forms of news media representations, but what such representations consist of: in other words, the mechanisms of news media language *create* stigmatising representations both through specific words and through specific spatialised and racialised constructions.

## Paper II (Backvall): Who’s to blame? Segregation, Policy and Stigma in Swedish Editorial Discourse. Manuscript.

This paper is based on an empirical study of editorials from the two newspapers Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Aftonbladet (AB). Both of these two newspapers have national coverage, but are different types of newspapers: DN is a liberal morning paper and AB is a social democratic tabloid. Given the different ideological orientations of these two newspapers, DN being liberal and AB being Social democratic, I was interested in comparing their respective interpretations of segregation as well as their attention to stigmatisation. Using critical theory on segregation research, which argues in favour of structural interpretations as the primary explanation for ethnic residential segregation, I created an analytical framework for judging whether segregation was primarily thought of as an individual and local problem or as a structural one. Given the importance of ideological conviction, I used specific criteria for identifying ideological discourses when analysing the material.

The results showed a fairly clear division between the two newspapers, where AB editorials focused mainly on structural causes behind segregation whereas DN focused mainly on individual and local causes. These results could be considered unsurprising and consistent with the ideological orientation of the newspapers, meaning that a liberal newspaper is more likely to concentrate on individual efforts rather than structural change, and a Social democratic ideology would be expected to be in favour of explanations related to structural inequality. Moreover, it could also be argued that a liberal ideology still supports equality, though through different means. However, the evidence from research, which directs atten-

tion away from individual and locally based explanations in the context of segregation makes the individual and local focus as an explanation for segregation that DN is supporting problematic.

As mentioned above, my interest was not only in explanations for segregation but also in the attention to stigmatisation; since news media have been identified as major actors in the production of spatial stigmatisation, it was interesting to see if the editorials would discuss or acknowledge stigmatization as a problem, and if they would recognize news media as a factor in this process. The results revealed an almost complete lack of attention to stigmatisation as well as a lack of recognition of their own role in producing stigma: this should be considered an important result and an indication of the power behind how dominant representations are made.

This paper contributes in particular to the field of urban studies by identifying residential segregation as an ideological problem, which means that segregation not only takes on different meanings in different contexts; but the solutions to it also differ based on such conceptions. Therefore, ideological convictions will play a role not just in the framing of segregation but also in future segregation patterns.

### Paper III (Backvall): Decolonising Residential Segregation and “Cultural Difference”. Revise and resubmit decision from an international journal.

My research interest for this article was to trace expressions of racialisation in the political discourse on segregation. Racialisation is a concept that appears frequently in postcolonial work, and here it was used to refer to practices that draw on “racial” categorisation; in other words, treating perceptions of physical and cultural differences as traits which define and determine the acts and attitudes of different social groups. I traced these expressions by studying perceptions of “cultural difference”; in other words, practices and behaviour that are not considered Swedish or part of Swedish society. Theoretically, this article drew on postcolonial work that criticises the continued use of “race and “racial” qualities in public discourse, and looks at how such perceptions influence the understanding of residential segregation. Consequently, in this article the ethnic dimension of residential segregation patterns in Sweden was assumed to primarily be a condition of inequality and discrimination.

The empirical material consisted of parliamentary motions that were collected from the homepage for the Swedish Parliament

(Riksdagen) with the help of the following search words: segregation, segregated, Million homes program and suburb. Through a qualitatively guided content analysis, which focused on the meanings and constructions made in connection with certain words (“integration”, “ethnic”, “immigrant”, “immigration”, “Swedish”, “culture” and “*utanförskap*”), it was possible to identify different positions on how ethnic minorities are portrayed in relation to place and segregation. The results showed contrasting themes of both a growing number of motions which avoided constructions of a racialised nature, and frequent occurrences of themes which in different ways focused on ethnic minorities – “immigrants” – as the causes of segregation. The continuance of such constructions over time led to the conclusion that as of yet there is no general pattern of decolonisation of the Swedish political discourse on residential segregation.

The contribution of this paper lies particularly in the meaning of language in the construction of policy problems. With the replacement of old words with new ones, as well as new combinations of words, new political focus areas are created, and as such, policy problems should be considered not merely as reflections of reality but as constructions of reality.

# Introduction to theory

This thesis deals with constructions of people and place in the context of residential segregation. Therefore, an overarching theme for this thesis is practices of representation. The concept of representation will be treated as the foundation for processes of meaning-making, where my interest is in how such processes become damaging or “negative”. Representation happens in relation with other social practices, and the primary background as well as theoretical cornerstone for this thesis is residential segregation, which will be conceptualised as a condition of inequality. Representations of segregation in turn relate dialectically to another key concern for this thesis: spatial stigmatisation. Stigmatisation will be approached as a negative form of representation that constructs people and place in a manner that not only indicates difference but also a kind of hierarchy, where non-stigmatised people and places are constructed as better.

The figure below illustrates my reasoning behind how representations of segregation can become practices of spatial stigmatisation. The top circle refers to representations of difference, such as different spatial locations or different types of housing. Representations of difference are not necessarily negative, but when such representations are influenced by certain ideological expressions (the next circle on the right), the combination can result in a representation that indicates a spatial and social hierarchy (bottom circle), meaning that some places are valued higher than others. When negative representations then become attached to certain neighbourhoods, spatial stigmatisation arises. Stigma then influences other representational practices in turn.

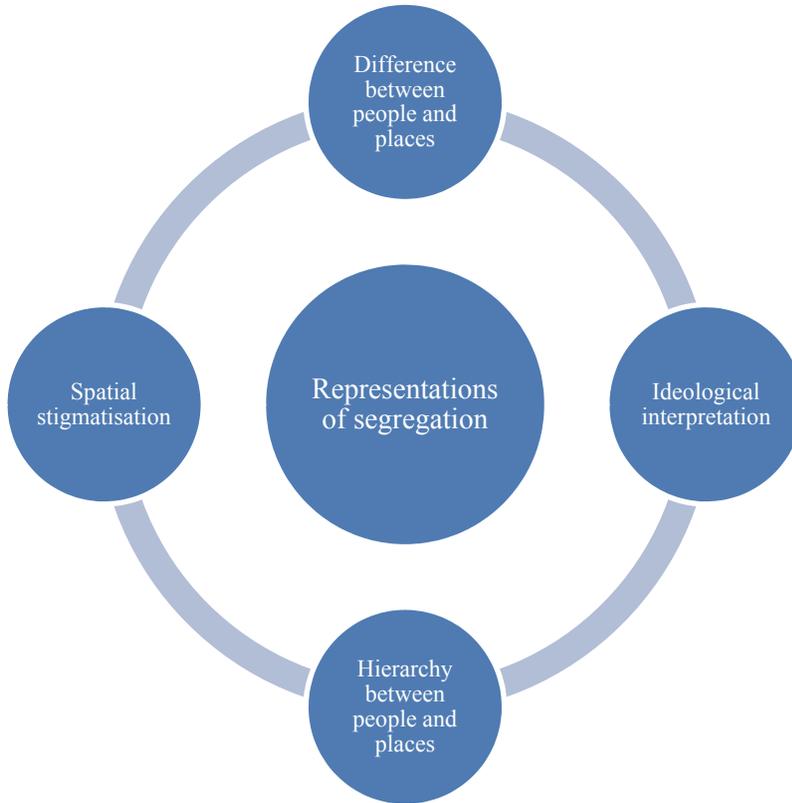


Figure 1. The process of spatial stigmatisation from a representational perspective.

## Social constructionism and representation

Primarily, I am concerned with different forms of representation and the underlying messages of such representations. This means that the process of meaning-making and language use are important foci for my research. Since this is a vast field of research, it is by no means my aim to render a complete overview; however, an orientation in this field and a clarification of my interest in it is necessary. With Hall (1997) as my starting point, I will begin this discussion with commentary on different types of representation. Hall differentiates between reflective representation, which refers to language as merely a reflection of what already exists; intentional representation, where language is believed to only represent the intentions of the speaker or writer; and, constructionist representation, in which meaning is made in relationship with language.

According to Hall, the constructionist approach has received the most attention in cultural studies, and it also connects with my interest in discourse studies, which treats discourse, or language, as a form of meaningful representation. In other words, language creates certain meanings through expressions, words and phrasings used by the speaker or writer, regardless of what the intentions of the statement was. How meaning is created is a more difficult question to answer, one which will be an important part of the research problem analysed in this thesis. This theoretical reflection and the thesis as a whole is concerned not just with the results or the actual constructions being produced in language use but the process leading up to such constructions. The *making* of meaning is important, and not just the meaning itself.

Social constructionism and meaning-making form one dimension of this thesis; power relations and inequality form another. Hall (1997) of course, discusses this other side of constructionist theory and how power relations are often inherent in any construction. By referring to Saussure (1960, cited in Hall 1997: 31-32), he introduces the notion of power with one of the most basic principles of constructionist theory: the importance of difference, such as the difference between the colours black and white. Through language, objects in the world are given certain meanings - certain associations - so that the relationship between the colour black and what we commonly associate with it (in the Western world it has often represented evil, darkness or sin), together with the contrast of what is commonly associated with the colour white in Western culture, produces meaning. Therefore, the (conscious or unconscious) use of certain *signs*, that is, objects, images, texts or other social phenomena, automatically also invokes certain associations, which will invite the observer of these phenomena to make specific inferences about a social event or practice. Following this theory of meaning-making, there are endless consequences for matters of inequality. For this reason, and following Foucault (1980) and Sheridan's (1980) interpretation of Foucault, it is not just language or linguistic expressions that must be analysed; but the power relationships which produce discourse must also be studied. In addition to the work of Foucault, this line of thought has been further developed in the field of critical discourse analysis (see, for example, Fairclough 2010; Wodak 1999; van Dijk 1993), which particularly points to the social context of discourse as imperative to understanding how discourse and power are created. Therefore, it is not enough to study the linguistic

or abstract theoretical implications; the social, political and historical contexts also shape discursive representations.

## Stereotypes of the Other

Given this dissertation's focus on representations of people constructed as "different" or "other" and the places associated with such groups, theories of language and representation form just one relevant dimension: the field of postcolonialism offers an approach to unequal power relationships, which is relevant for analysing negative constructions of belonging as well as exclusion. Postcolonialism, in Young (2003), represents a set of theories and approaches for academic research that focus on issues of power relationships between Western and non-Western people, with an explicit goal of eradicating inequalities in such relationships. Further, postcolonialism is the "theoretical and empirical work that centralizes the issues stemming from colonial relations and their aftermath." (Kirkham and Anderson 2002: 3). Based on this rather broad definition, Kirkham and Anderson argue that postcolonialism spans several academic disciplines and methods with prominent scholars from different theoretical backgrounds, whose contributions focus on critical theories of some of the central components of postcolonialism: "race", nationalism, subjectivity, power, hybridity and ethnicity. Postcolonialism, then, is centred on representations and inequality stemming from power relationships; in identifying and criticising such relationships, postcolonialism utilises theories of difference and of the Other.

Much important work has been done on the ideology behind colonialism, where Said's (1978) work on Orientalism was (and still is; see, for example, Bakic-Hayden 1995; Maira 2009) one of the central contributions to this field. A cornerstone in Said's theory is that the concept of the "Orient" was made in relation to the image of the "West". In this way, Said shows that constructions of the Orient, whether positive or negative, were not just constructing the Orient; they were constructing the West at the same time, though indirectly. Said was not denying the existence of different traditions, habits and ways of life in different parts of the world. Instead, he drew attention to the hegemony, grounded in socio-economic and political institutions, which sustained this discourse and gave it power. Importantly, by stressing the political nature of academic work, Said posited that it is vain to believe that academic knowledge produc-

tion could be objective. This argument also led him to believe that, through awareness of the ideological nature of knowledge, it is possible to change orientalist discourses. Said illustrates this position in the following passage:

What I am interested in doing now is suggesting how the general liberal consensus that “true” knowledge is fundamentally non-political (and conversely, that overtly political knowledge is not “true” knowledge) obscures the highly if obscurely organized political circumstances obtaining when knowledge is produced. No one is helped in understanding this today when the adjective “political” is used as a label to discredit any work for daring to violate the protocol of pretended suprapolitical objectivity. (Said 1978, quoted in Young 2003, p. 59).

Said exemplifies how attempts at questioning the dominant discourse and power relations can be constructed as invalid simply because they are believed to be subjective rather than objective. This belief in turn rests on the misinformed idea that there is such a thing as neutral values. By labelling those ideas or people who question power relations and norms as deviant, unequal power relations are upheld, since dominant opinions will then be considered to be beyond criticism. Instead, Said attempts to draw attention to how such dominant opinions are equally political. His argument relates to his view on how the Orient was constructed: as Grossberg (2015) argues, Said’s theory of Orientalism conceived of Orientalist discourses as reflections of the Western self-image, making the Orient into a negative Other within this self-image. There is an important point to be made here about the nature of otherness: for Grossberg, theories of otherness treat difference as historically produced. While such theories do not deny that certain differences exist (such as differentiating between a, b, and c), difference itself is not a fundamental quality. In Grossberg’s (p 94) words: “Rather, they begin with a strong sense of otherness which recognizes that the other exists, in its own place, as what it is, independently of any specific relations.” Further, they state, “The Oriental, as it were, existed independently of the Orientalist. The act of power comes not in creating something from nothing, but in reducing something to nothing (to pure semantic and differential terms), in negating the positivity of the Arab world with all of its diversity, for example, to nothing but a singular constitutive other, to the different” (Grossberg p 96).

Hall (1997: 229) argues that one common feature of representing the Other, any person or group who is considered different, is repre-

sentation through binaries, using opposite traits such as good and bad, civilized and primitive, different (and therefore repelling) and exotic (and therefore compelling). Often these opposites are ascribed to the Other at the same time, making discourse ambiguous and contradictory. Importantly, Hall also points out that binary opposites almost always reduce the complexity of what they are representing by forcing the entity in question into an either/or format. In addition, binaries are not only a way of marking the difference of the Other; they are also a way of representing power, since one of the opposite poles is usually considered better or has more power. Hall (1997: 235) indicates this by illustrating the binaries thus: **white/black**, **rich/poor**.

Reflecting on representations of the Other also includes how otherness is conceptualized. Identity, culture and ethnicity are commonly used terms, as is “race”. Depending on how they are used and combined, these words can be highly problematic. For example, Grossberg (2015) draws attention to how discussions on multiculturalism often assume a relationship between identity and culture without specifying in what sense this relationship should be conceived. Is the relationship, for example, historical, spatial or ethnic? In either case, historical events and global migration complicate such relationships and could simultaneously make them very conservative. One way forward, according to Grossberg, is to study intersections and complexities of identity and difference rather than assuming that categories such as “women”, “men”, “black” and “white” are always separate categories of people. Thus, the social reality of various social identities, values and behaviours cannot easily be theorized since they are characterized by highly complex relationships, and any labels attached to perceived social groups risk reducing such complexities. The word “race”, though central to the postcolonial mission, is put within quotation marks to signify its unscientific origin, and it is used in this dissertation to refer to the imagined qualities which have become ascribed to certain groups and social practices, not to different dimensions of difference between people.

## Persisting structures of racism

The discursive techniques of representation are central to post-colonialism, for they offer a theoretical approach to the deconstruction of the crucial issue of “race”, which, according to Mishra and Hodge (1994: 285), lies at the heart of post-colonial concerns. For Fanon (1994: 38), the colonial enterprise was not primarily about specific national traits or cultures, but rather white culture, where the opposite was, not black culture, but the word negro, which was made to represent everything dark and savage. Even in writings which appear to argue for equality, traces of the colonial ideology that conceived of white culture as superior can sometimes be observed. One such example is the reflections of Robert Park of the Chicago school, who in an influential paper from 1914 argued on the one hand for the similarities between different nationalities and the importance of class rather than skin colour, and on the other hand for the value of slavery regarding the relationship between black and white people. In his discussion of slavery, Park claims that:

It is difficult to conceive two races farther removed from each other in temperament and tradition than the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro, and yet the Negro in the southern states, particularly where he was adopted into the household as a family servant, learned in a comparatively short time the manners and customs of his master's family. He very soon possessed himself of so much of the language, religion, and the technique of the civilization of his master as, in his station, he was fitted or permitted to acquire. Eventually, also, Negro slaves transferred their allegiance to the state, of which they were only indirectly members, or at least to their masters' families, with whom they felt themselves in most things one in sentiment and interest (p. 612).

Park's celebration of slavery and his racist conception of black and white are clearly illustrated above. He focuses on how black people, despite their assumed “racial” traits, can learn to behave like white people, and slaves in general are assumed to feel nothing but loyalty to the slave-owner. He goes on to state:

Where the conditions of slavery brought the two races, as it frequently did, into close and intimate contact, there grew up a mutual sympathy and understanding which frequently withstood not only the shock of the Civil War, but the political agitation and chicane which followed it in the southern states. (...) No doubt kindly relations between individual members of the two races do exist in the South to an extent not known in the North. As a rule, it will be

found that these kindly relations had their origin in slavery. The men who have given the tone to political discussion in southern states in recent years are men who did not own slaves (p. 614).

In his eagerness to defend slavery, Park's statement is not just an example of an outdated type of language, but an active defense of the exploitation and oppression of black people by white people. Difference between black and white people is assumed, similarities are largely ignored and the horrors of slavery not even addressed. Since Park's work on social life in American cities is regarded as an important contribution to the field of urban studies and celebrated for its attention to human behavior and social relations (Janowitz 1984), it is serious that his work was also informed by racist conceptions of black and white.

At its core, racism is about exclusion, about not being considered part of the group or the community based on perceived physical or behavioural traits (Goldberg 2009). Racist representations today often take the deceptive shape of cultural racism (see Gilroy 1991; Pred 2000), which designates people as bearers of certain behavioural qualities based on preconceived ideas of their "cultural" or religious associations. This is often argued to be a new form of racism, but for Gardell (2015), racism took the shape of cultural and religious persecution long before biological racism became established, making it an equally powerful and influential form of racism when compared with the more commonly recognized form of racism which is based on for example colour of skin.

For example, it is important to recognize that discursive separation and categorisation of people based on what is perceived to be non-Swedish identities (the construction of "Swedishness" also falls into this pattern) forms part of an old racist structure. The lack of recognition of cultural racism could be a result of the history of the research of racism. According to Bowser (2017) racism became publicly known as a term in connection with the persecution of Jews in the 1930s and in connection with the civil rights movement in the US in the 1960s. Bowser argues further that cultural racism is the reason that racism lives on, even after the end of slavery and the subsequent civil rights movement: racism embodies a certain worldview which can be observed empirically and should inform theories of racism. At the same time, the shifting shapes of racist relationships across place and time should not be taken to mean that skin colour no longer matters in present-day representations. On the contrary, studies on whiteness (e.g. Holloway 2005; Shaw 2006)

continue to emphasize white power and white privilege in different matters of social justice.

Racist ideology is being opposed in many ways, certainly not only in an academic context. For example, Cho and Westley (2002) claim that the civil rights movement and subsequent student protest movements formed an essential part of the advancement of critical theory, which also points to the necessity of theory to be connected to social or “real-world” events. However, there are certain claims that are particularly important to address from a theoretical perspective in the context of anti-racism. First, Valdes, McCristal Culp and Harris (2002), address the argument that if “race” and “cultural difference” are ignored, racism would not be an issue anymore. During the current era of neoliberalism, this is a position that has been growing in strength, where individual agency and freedom (for those who can access it) are heralded as the opposites of racist categorisations. This position often results in the neglect of racial discrimination or is betrayed by the attempt to represent ethnic minorities and other racialised groups in terms which make “them” seem like “us” (see also Gilroy 1991). Second, critical theory should address the systematic and structural qualities of racism rather than specific acts of individuals. While laws against discrimination are helpful in dealing with individual acts, such forms of state intervention do not target discrimination inherent to a society’s institutions, such as housing allocation or the job market. Thus, the sometimes-controversial claim of structural racism is incredibly important since it points to the aggregate causes and manifestations of racist expressions and does not simply refer to individual acts. Thirdly and finally, critical theory needs to maintain an intersectional approach since issues of racism often are intertwined with sexism or homophobia. Based on these arguments, it is my contention that a discussion of racism is not enough; instead a wider claim of inequality, where racism is one expression, and oppression of the poor another, better captures the scope of the problem, and this complexity is at the centre of intersectionality. Thus, given the emphasis from many authors on the interlinkage between “race” and class, there is cause to recognize capitalism and not just racism as one of the ideologies that underlies colonialism. As argued by Chrisman (1994: 500) criticism of Western political economy offers an opportunity to define and criticise this hegemony, as a complement to the common focus on practices of Othering.

## Stigma and the making of a “problem-area”

He possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated. We and those who do not depart negatively from the particular expectations at issue I shall call the normals. (...) We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class (Goffman 1963:5).

Goffman's (2007) theory on stigma concerns individuals and their perceived deficiencies, but as Wacquant (2008a) convincingly has argued, stigma also applies to places. Goffman differentiates between three different types of stigma: Physical attributes; character traits; and, finally, what Goffman calls “tribal stigma”, referring to, for example, “race”, nation or religion. However, such physical or social markers do not in themselves cause stigmatisation; instead, Goffman describes stigmatisation as a relationship involving both the attribute – or social trait – and the stereotype. The result is a negative label that discredits those targeted by it. The notion of the relational nature of stigmatisation is important, for it adds a dimension of interpretation, which in turn means that stigma is a social construct.

An often-cited source when it comes to stigmatisation and place is the work of Wacquant, who coined the term *territorial stigmatisation*. Neighbourhoods become stigmatised based on prejudicial beliefs about their characteristics, such as dangerous or dilapidated or having a foreign or poor population; whether or not is the characteristics are representative does not matter, the belief that it is true is enough to judge the neighbourhood (Wacquant 2008a). Wacquant's argument rests on the assertion of a new form of marginality which he claims has been emerging in both the United States and in countries in the European Union. Even if American and European conditions still differ, he argues, they are both affected by a change in the structure of contemporary society towards a neoliberal reconfiguration of the welfare state. Wacquant's work, although an important inspiration for this thesis, is not the only example (or the first) of studies of practices of stigmatisation, nor is his conceptualisation a foundation for this work. Thus, whereas Wacquant discusses *territorial stigmatisation*, I generally refer to *spatial stigmatisation* so as not to misuse Wacquant's term.

In response to Wacquant's work on stigmatisation, other researchers have challenged some of the ideas in Wacquant's theory.

For example, Garbin and Millington (2012), Qvotrup and Christensen (2012) and Kirkness (2014) have drawn attention to how residents do not always respond by accepting stigma but may protest against it, thus countering the image of residents as victims, and Gilbert (2010) has argued that Wacquant's theory of stigmatisation contributes to an essentialisation of place, thereby ending up reproducing the image of certain urban areas that he set out to criticize. Gilbert's criticism is important, especially from an urban geographical perspective, because it takes issue with the practice of taking place for granted; that is, with assuming that stigmatisation, in opposition to what the geographical tradition has stated (Pred 1984, Massey 2005), would merely be a consequence, not a constituting practice, of the identity and characteristics of place.

Related to the issue of place identity is the conception of the residents. Gilbert criticises the often uncritical construction of the residents as an underclass. In this dissertation, the construction of poverty and poor people is intimately tied to the construction of stigmatised areas, since the residents are often used to define the social character of a neighbourhood.

Theodore (2013:171) is particularly critical of the concept of the "underclass" and how it is often combined with notions of "culture", arguing that: "According to this line of analysis, the interaction between social isolation and deepening poverty in urban settings results in anti-social behaviors, survival strategies, and a worldview that together form an identifiable culture. In the U.S. context, it is the concentration of these forces in predominantly African American (and perhaps Latino) urban neighborhoods that are said to, in time, become an all-pervasive, motivating force in the proliferation and legitimization of anti-social behaviors." Theodore's criticism challenges the idea that the condition of being poor automatically determines behaviour (ie leads to criminal and destructive behaviour) and argues for a more analytical approach to the causes of both crime and poverty.

Importantly, Wacquant (2008a) does argue that the stigmatisation of place is exacerbated by already existing discrimination such as racism, but he also claims that territorial stigma is characterised by its connectedness to place: in other words, if you leave a stigmatised area, you also leave stigma behind. This separation of the combined forces of oppressive structures risks minimising how in public, policy and academic discourse, spatial stigma is often transferred to the residents, too; in turn, the stigma attached to the poor or to ethnic minorities is often assumed to define place. For example, the

notion that stigma is connected primarily to place is challenged by, among others, Jones and Jackson (2012), who claim that the image of the “black ghetto” in the U.S. is a powerful image, associated with crime, poverty and violence. The idea of the ghetto is imagined by those with little or no experience of the ghetto, and this idea also shapes how black people are treated “outside the ghetto”. This means that the interconnectedness of the processes behind stigmatisation must be acknowledged, where demonization of place can both connect with existing oppressive structures, such as racism, or create new stigmas.

For example, for Smith (1993), practices of claiming space in order to construct a different image can lead to new structures of oppression. When a place is represented as “different” – exotic, dangerous, unattractive, foreign, violent – such representations not only attach a stigma; they also create a false image of places or certain groups of people. This is a practice that is relevant also for other forms of spatial constructions and social identities: for example, Stenbacka (2011) has drawn attention to the power relationship between the urban and the rural, arguing that Swedish media construct the rural as an inferior place, a construction which also is transferred to constructions of rural masculinities as unequal and traditional. At the same time, Heldt Cassel (2007) argues that ideas of culture and social capital which also become assigned to place are often difficult to define and identify, which makes constructions of “successful” and “unsuccessful” places arbitrary and often unfair.

This thesis argues that, in the Swedish context, spatial stigmatisation is but one part of a deeply embedded structure of inequality which manifests itself primarily in terms of repression through constructions of “race”, place and class.

## Ideologies of stigma

Ideology is a disputed term but one which is important for this thesis since it concerns the practice of representation and, more precisely, how representations convey certain messages. Hastings (1999) claims that ideology can be observed in taken-for-granted statements which shape the perception of what is being said. Similarly, Dikeç (2007:21) discusses the relationship between space, politics and urban policy and theorises this as a “practice of articulation”, arguing that space is ordered according to “descriptive names, categorisations, definitions, designations and mappings”. Urban poli-

cy, in Dikeć's definition, is a specific kind of representation which leads to a particular kind of discourse about certain areas. In this discourse there is a spatial division, where some areas are associated with certain problems as well as specific solutions to treat these problems. However, Dikeć (2007: 6-7) also states that political discourse is not necessarily one-sided or coherent. He argues that it is a common assumption that social constructionist work builds on an understanding that the state and state actors are deliberately positioning themselves outside or in a different social reality than the places that are the targets for urban policy; he criticises this assumption, and calls attention to how state actors use information such as policy documents to produce a certain understanding of space and the spatial order.

This means that ideology is not always a conscious act, but it may have important implications from a perspective of power, and it is the relationship between ideology and power which is particularly relevant for this dissertation. Therefore, the meaning of an ideological statement can fruitfully be related to the social and material forces which surround it, in order to understand the construction of urban places. For example, in the context of the Swedish suburb, Blokland (2008: 377, cited in Castañeda 2012: 159) argues that what is interesting is not "which area is a ghetto" but rather 'how do mechanisms of border creation and maintaining create areas where residents consider themselves involuntarily segregated and what processes and mechanisms contribute to this understanding of social reality?'"

Several authors researching stigmatisation have called attention to neoliberalism as one of the logics behind the construction of place (Slater 2012; Mooney 2009; Dikeć 2007; Wacquant 2008a). Harvey (2005) argues that there has been a turn towards neoliberalism in political and economic thinking since the 1970s, and neoliberalism has become a hegemonic discourse. There have also been studies on the Swedish context (Hedin, Clark, Lundholm 2012), arguing for an ongoing neoliberalisation of Sweden, manifested, for example, in the Swedish housing market. The political level of discourse is important for the stigmatisation process since political ideology is used to justify special measures and actions in distressed areas that are considered to be outside of the society's norms, and such actions can unintentionally worsen the deprivation and stigmatisation (Wacquant 2008a). Urban regeneration policies and narratives in the media and among politicians play an important role in creating stigmatising representations of areas. Spatial stigmatisation

is seen as a crucial part in legitimising regeneration policies and punitive measures by both enacting neo-liberal values of accumulation strategies and shifting the attention from state responsibility. In spite of claims of neoliberal roll-backs of the state, the state is in fact playing an active role in this process (Gray & Mooney 2011).

The actions by the state are interpreted by Slater (2011) as the state's attempt at treating a situation of urban problems such as poverty - caused in turn by previous policies that themselves were implemented by the state - with ineffectual measures, which means that the state has both caused the problem it is now trying to solve and is employing a solution that contains the problem rather than eliminates it. In addition to shaping a certain understanding of segregation and concentrated poverty, an ideological framework can have concrete material effects. According to Atkinson and Jacobs (2010), public spending decisions are negatively affected by the stigmatisation of certain areas, but ideological convictions of reductions in welfare provisions in combination with a public, social and media climate against solutions based on welfare contribute to these problems.

Neoliberalism is described by Wacquant as an ideological project and governmental practice in favour of the free market and individual responsibility. Growing neoliberalism is combined with proactive law enforcement policies targeting marginalised groups in the new economic and moral order (Wacquant 2009). Neoliberal ideology has led to what Wacquant (1999) terms “a penal common sense” aimed at criminalising poverty and normalising precarious wage labour. Discourses of “urban violence” and “problem neighbourhoods” are reshaping ideology in Western Europe and the United States in a transition from social welfare to penal management of rising social marginalisation leading to a “militarisation of urban marginality” (Wacquant 2008b). A similar argument is put forward by Dikeç, who claims that changes in the rhetoric of the French state regarding stigmatised areas has been influenced by a neoliberal logic.

For Dikeç (2007), the evidence of the influence of neoliberalism lies in the rationality with which the French state is arguing for a certain type of urban policy. An awareness of previous work on the spread of neoliberalism is an important part of understanding the political context, as is the proposition from van Eijk (2010), who argues that the attention to neoliberal restructuring of urban policy and practices neglects another ideology which is equally forceful in shaping notions of exclusion of certain groups: the idea of national

unity. She argues that although neoliberal economic influences are certainly important, there are other factors that drive urban restructuring and result in exclusionary practices.

Van Eijk (2010) claims that oppressive forces seek the support of the middle classes in the US, and the group under attack is the homeless, while in European countries it is often the working class which is addressed, and ethnic minorities, Muslims in particular, are targeted as the problems. Thus, the practice of controlling marginalised groups seems to be a common trend, but the target groups differ. Using a new urban policy in Rotterdam as an example of marginalisation, van Eijk shows how the idea of integration and inclusion of minority ethnic groups is intertwined with the idea of mixed neighbourhoods and de-concentration. Equally, Lewis and Neal (2005) state that in spite of their different histories of migration and policy approaches to ethnic diversity, the UK, France and Germany have experienced similar developments, moving in the direction of “integration” or “assimilation”. The reasons behind this shift can be found in a concern for national identity based on core values that are considered to represent their society and people. The integration of those seen as national outsiders will then be judged by the degree to which they adapt to cultural values and habits of the receiving society.

Thus, to account for the influence and relevance of neoliberalism in research on stigmatisation requires an understanding of these interconnected trends of blaming both the poor and ethnic minorities. The problems caused by a neoliberal ideology are clearly outlined by Lamont (2018), who describes how the celebration of individual success and self-reliance, which is at the heart of neoliberal logic, simultaneously constructs anyone who does not fit this image (the poor, immigrants [who are often in need of welfare], and the unemployed, among others) as failures, with themselves to blame. This conditioning takes place not only in the material realities of home ownership and everyday consumption such as being able to afford food and clothes, but also culturally, by representing the poor on TV and in magazines as negative, while middle- and upper-class lifestyles are represented as the (for many groups unattainable) dream. In this charade, ethnic minorities are often portrayed as threats to resources such as welfare and housing, thereby causing stigmatisation of these groups as undeserving and culturally distant Others.

## Housing segregation, discrimination and inequality

It is one of the arguments of this thesis that spatial stigmatisation must also be considered in relation to the process of housing segregation. In part this is because the understanding of segregation can have an impact on stigmatisation, when, for example, minority groups are blamed for the existence of segregation. In addition, housing segregation, which refers to separation or division, is a form of division that results from inequality, which in turn means that segregation is connected to power. Consequently, segregation is not merely a matter of empirics but deserves to be treated from a theoretical perspective. Segregation research goes back many decades, and one of the central arguments of many critical researchers on housing segregation has been to state that segregation is not a matter of individual neighbourhoods but of the relationship between neighbourhoods (see, for example, Andersson, Magnusson Turner and Holmqvist 2010). This means that it is the city - not the neighbourhood - that is segregated. This is an important distinction, in part because whether segregation is considered to be the result of a certain area or of underlying structures affects the measures employed to battle segregation, and in part because when certain areas are pointed out as the causes of segregation, this causes stigmatisation.

As noted above, the issue of “race” is a central component of postcolonial research, and it needs to be addressed in the context of residential segregation. However, in contrast with the common association between ethnic minorities or “immigrants” and segregation, “race” will be addressed here as a matter of discrimination and inequality which coincides with housing patterns. One seminal Swedish study of this phenomenon is *Racialisation of the City* (Molina 1997), which found divisions between white Swedes and non-white immigrants or people with an immigrant background, a condition which could be related to socio-economic constraints. In Sweden, people with an immigrant background not only belong to the lowest income groups, but also become concentrated in certain areas. Due to the structures of the housing market, which favour high-income groups, as well as the geographical distribution of tenure, different income groups become separated from each other. For people with the financial means to choose where to live, this is a matter of preference, while for low-income groups, this is a consequence of a society’s structures. It is imperative that misconstrued

ideas of why segregation occurs are countered, in part because perceptions of place play an important role in causing segregation but also because the understanding of why segregation occurs also impacts policy-making and political measures taken to break or lessen housing segregation.

As discussed in the introduction, in addition to academic research on segregation, there have traditionally also been political concerns regarding segregation, where segregation is and has been perceived as a problem by policy-makers. Primarily, two areas of concern can be identified. First, segregation is believed to be linked to problems such as crime, unemployment and poor school results. This perspective underlies many policies on social mixing and integration, sometimes with an assimilationist perspective. Secondly, and related to the first point, segregation is increasingly believed to be a threat to social cohesion and national identity, where lately the attention to terror threats has led to a focus on the integration and housing patterns of Muslim groups in particular. However, these assumptions deserve to be critically examined, and issues of racialisation, discrimination and obstacles to inclusion should be taken into account (Bolt et al. 2010).

Many critical writers on segregation have instead pointed to the discriminatory practices and policy realities that cause ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation. For Wacquant (2008a) segregation is not an expression of cultural sameness or minorities wanting to live together but the result of, on the one hand, discriminatory practices and, on the other, housing policy, which has resulted in a segmented, divided and exclusionary housing market. Similarly, Andersson (1998) identifies cultural dimensions, discrimination, and structural factors as possible explanations behind segregation but claims that structure and discrimination appear more likely.

Though this dissertation does not look at the development of segregation research over time in too much detail, it is relevant to note the early beginnings of segregation studies in the work of Robert Park and Ernest Burgess of the Chicago School of Sociology. Burgess (1928) developed a theory which conceived of the city as consisting of *concentric zones*. These zones consisted of the central business district zone, a transition zone, a zone of workingmen's homes, a residential zone, and, furthest away from the city centre, a commuter's zone. According to this theory, newly arrived migrant groups would settle at first in the zone of transition and then, subsequently, try to move to the outer zones. The human ecology perspective

employed by Burgess has been criticized for its position, which presents segregation as a natural process in the city, rather than as an expression of inequalities between rich and poor and black and white in urban processes (Brâmă 2006). This argument is of interest not only because of how it conceives of the relationship between rich and poor people but also because of how it conceives of the places where the poor live: as places which must be abandoned as soon as possible. This perspective can still be observed in discourses on residential segregation. Indeed, Pain (2000), writing specifically on social and spatial processes of fear, notes the problematic tendency to continue to build on the idea of the separate zones of the city and how such constructions can create further exclusion and the othering of disadvantaged groups, a process which may be translated to the construction of place as well.

# Methods

## Introduction to methods

Method and methodology are central components of academic work and define the type of study that is conducted. Methodological choices involve not only finding the most suitable method for a particular research project but also taking on an epistemological and ontological positioning. It is relevant to note that certain methods often are associated with certain limitations and views of the world that are considered incompatible with others. According to Philip (1998), methodological divisions in geography have been connected to the association between positivism and quantitative methods, and philosophies such as humanism and post-structuralism are associated with qualitative methods. However, the differences implied by such divisions should not be taken for granted, according to Philip. Instead, he argues for a more open-minded view on the role of epistemology, which he claims should “inform, rather than dictate, methodological choices.” Different epistemologies, in his view, can thus be combined, an approach which also opens up for wider linkages between methods (Philip 1998: 263).

Cresswell (2014) argues that qualitative studies aim to explore and understand meaning from the perspective of an individual or a group of people. This research often has an inductive approach, where a specific experience or characteristic is analysed and interpreted by the researcher. Quantitative studies, on the other hand, focus on testing theories by comparing variables to each other as well as comparing possible relationships between the variables. The analysis is typically conducted through various statistical procedures and softwares.

Since this dissertation is based primarily on qualitative interpretation, the attention to different methodologies may seem superfluous, but there are some aspects of the analysis that have been conducted with a more quantitative approach. The purpose of employing both theoretically informed interpretation and quantitative analysis has been to offer a more thorough account of the material; this means that the methods chosen complement each other; they do

not offer separate analyses and separate results. While the quantitative approach used here has the advantage of offering a clear overview of the contents of the material, it also comes into conflict with aspects of the qualitative objective, the main aim of which is to explore and critically deconstruct meaning-making in the discourse on stigmatised neighbourhoods. The conflict between these two approaches lies in, on the one hand, assigning meaning to the frequency with which a word or a construction appears, and, on the other, noting that certain kinds of constructions exist and identifying what such constructions reveal about the underlying ideology. Thus, if too much emphasis is placed on the frequency of different constructions or different themes, the value of the message of the theme is reduced. In other words, my primary interest is not in how many times a certain observation appears but, rather, in finding the core of the argument or ideology. Nevertheless, some measures of frequency have been included, but the quantitative dimension plays a small part in the analysis overall, and it has less importance, since my main interest is in documenting stigmatising practices in constructions of place.

The value of studying the context and frequency of certain words is not only to create an overview of the type of language used but also to connect it to the wider socio-political milieu. For this purpose, content analysis is a useful approach. There is no perfect division between a qualitative and a quantitative content analysis; rather, the difference has to do with the emphasis placed on interpretation (making it more qualitative) or on counting or measuring (quantitative). Content analysis is particularly useful for comparing different texts and/or for studying change over time. The logic of content analysis builds on the assumption that certain words carry messages of certain trends in society; in other words, the frequency and/or context of certain words, concepts or arguments indicate something about social life (Boréus and Bergström 2017).

## Approaches to discourse

Discourse analysis and the idea that constructions of reality are worthy objects of study both belong to the field of social constructionism. Thus, this project subscribes to the overarching idea that social constructions play an important part in how we understand, behave in and shape society. From this position, it follows that identities and other often taken-for-granted ideas such as culture, ethnicity,

“race”, male and female are treated as value-laden concepts that are socially constructed rather than biologically inherent. That they are constructed does not mean that they are not real; on the contrary, they form social relations in society and have vast impacts politically and economically on different scales. Deconstructing and problematising the assumed natural quality of constructions as well as their roles in far-reaching inequalities in society is part of the objective of this thesis, and to achieve this aim, critical discourse analysis has been an important inspiration.

According to Hollingworth and Archer (2009: 586) discourses are different expressions and ways of describing the world, but discourses also have more than a descriptive effect and should therefore be considered as productive and active social processes. There are many different approaches within the field of discourse studies, and this project will primarily employ methods and theories for uncovering the connections between discourse and power. Discourse as a concept is used here to refer to the construction of stigmatised places in Swedish political and news media debates and statements. This means that it is neither news media nor politics that form my primary research object: my interest is in the discussion and perception of the suburb in the context of segregation and urban inequality. By referring to this construction as a discourse, I am referring to the competing understandings, values and ideologies that characterise the construction of the suburb and how these can be related to other ongoing social and political events and trends. Thus, following Waitt (2005: 164-165) this construction will be related not only to statements but also to the regulatory frameworks for how statements are produced and communicated as well as to the structures that maintain certain orders and norms in society. Again, my focus on place-making also means that my aim is not to cover political or news media discourse in its entirety; rather, the goal is to identify and deconstruct representations of stigmatised neighbourhoods.

Discourse and text analysis is a wide field of research, where studies can range from work where the theoretical approach itself is determined by the approach to discourse, to work where primarily linguistic aspects of a text are explored. The different directions within discourse studies are described by Winther et al. (2000), who lay out a continuum, firstly of the concept of discourse, which according to Winther et al. can be either *constitutive* of social practices, or *constituted* by social practices. The former perspective belongs to discourse theory, primarily represented by Laclau and

Mouffe, whereas the latter belongs to other Marxist perspectives of economy as the defining structure in society. For Winther et al., the Marxist perspective should not be considered discursive at all since it reduces discourse to a function of the economy.

Offering a middle way between these respective ends of the continuum is critical discourse analysis, theorised by Fairclough (1995; 2010; 2013), among others. According to a critical discourse analysis perspective, there is a contingent relationship between discourse and structure, and the job of the analyst is to disentangle this relationship. In particular, critical discourse analysis is concerned with inequalities and unequal power relationships in society and often sets as its task to uncover, address and offer solutions to such inequalities.

The second continuum worth addressing is the focus of attention, or the study object, within different discourse approaches. Roughly, these can be divided into everyday discourse, which is the primary concern of discourse psychology (which is positioned between critical discourse analysis and discourse theory), and abstract discourse, which is the focus of discourse theory. Critical discourse analysis can generally be described as a middle-way between these two positions (Winther et al. 2000). These divisions are not perfect but are merely guidelines for the principal contributions and study objects of different approaches.

Even if there are some important differences between the different approaches to discourse analysis, the differences should not be overstated. For example, Carpentier and De Cleen (2007) claim that discourse theory and critical discourse analysis have common goals of producing critical research that addresses power relationships in society. However, these two approaches also differ in their view on discourse and structure, in that discourse theory follows a post-structural approach and critical discourse analysis places more emphasis on structures and their relationship with discourse. Importantly, this means that critical discourse analysis thinks of discourse as one social dimension among others, whereas discourse theory treats the social world as one discursive field, where meaning is achieved through discourse.

The discourse approach developed by Fairclough (2013) gives explicit attention to linguistics, but argues that a complete analysis must also relate this level of investigation to wider structures in society. According to Fairclough, "Discourse is not simply an entity we can define independently: we can only arrive at an understanding of it by analyzing sets of relations. Having said that, we can say what it is in particular that discourse brings into the complex relations that constitute social life: meaning, and making meaning." (Fairclough 2013: 3). This quote

puts focus on what comes out of discourse rather than its specific contents. Thus, it asks what the results of a certain discourse are, or what it symbolizes. To answer such questions, interpretation is necessary as well as an understanding of the social and political context that informed the discourse. Fairclough is, of course, not the only one to have addressed these matters, but his theoretical approach to discourse is more pragmatic than the abstract nature of, for example, Foucault (e.g. 1980). In the following section, critical discourse analysis will be described in more detail.

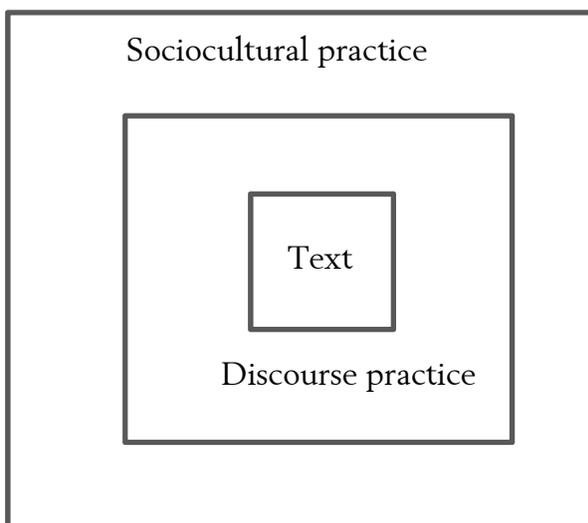
## Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been theorised by Fairclough (1992; 1995; 2010) and other prominent authors such as van Dijk (1993); Boréus & Bergström 2017; and Wodak (1999). CDA is the study of the relationships between power, dominance, discourse, social inequality and the position of the analyst in these social relationships. For van Dijk (1993), there are many directions for the study of social inequality, and to approach this topic focus should be on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance, where dominance is defined as the exercise of social power by elites, groups or institutions, with social inequality as its result. CDA is particularly focused on what structures or strategies in, for example, speech or text are important in the reproduction of inequality (van Dijk 1993:300). CDA, with its focus on social inequality, forms one of the guiding factors for the theoretical and methodological aim of this project.

According to Wodak (1999), CDA is not a homogeneous theory but, rather, a research program with many different methodological approaches. The term “critical” has often been misunderstood since it does not only mean uncovering the negative aspects of social interaction; rather, “critical” means identifying complexity and breaking down dichotomous explanations. For Fairclough (2010: 231), “critical” means “to contribute to addressing the social ‘wrongs’ of the day by analysing their sources and causes, resistance to them and possibilities of overcoming them.” Fairclough (1992) argues that language is the focus area of discourse analysis, and he uses an understanding of language where language use is shaped socially and not individually. This means that variations in language are not based on individual use, which would make them unpredictable, but can be studied systematically. Fairclough goes on to state that

what makes language use systematic is its connection with social factors, so language varies according to different relationships between people in interactions, the social goals people might pursue in an interaction, and the type of social event, among other factors. This definition of language means that discourse is seen as a mode of action and as a mode of representation, and it also establishes a dialectical relationship between social structure and discourse. In this way, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structures such as class and other social relations, by institutions such as education, and by different norms. However, discourse is also socially constitutive which means that discourse contributes to all the social structures that shape discourse.

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, discourse is dialectically related to structure, which means that discourse is socially contingent, and the character of the discourse is dependent on the social process that it is a part of. With the concept of social process, Fairclough (2010: 132-133, 232), has in mind the relationship between the different dimensions of discourse, illustrated by his model where the dimensions of discourse can be divided into three interrelated parts: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practices (sometimes referred to as structures). The text dimension is approached through the description of the text, discourse practice through the interpretation of the relationship between discourse practice and text, and these two dimensions, in turn, lead to an explanation of the relationship between discursive practice and structure.



Source: Fairclough (2010: 133).

Fairclough's model and theory are helpful in the sense that he convincingly shows the dialectical nature of discourse production and the necessity of understanding discourse in a social context when the objective is to uncover meaning or ideology imbued in discourse. However, it is not clear how these dimensions should be separated from each other, or if it is even possible, and the contingency of the different concepts such as ideology, discourse and practice makes it analytically difficult to apply in practice. Therefore, it has not been my aim to follow Fairclough's model and theory fully, but merely to use them as a guide when conducting critical social research.

All the papers included in this thesis mainly make note of techniques related to the second dimension, such as how texts are reproducing themes that suggest that "immigrants" have different behaviours and preferences to "Swedes", or creating new themes, such as linkages between terror and foreign "culture". Aside from using word frequencies, the Text-dimension has not been studied in detail. In theory this dimension should correspond to linguistic structures such as grammar and vocabulary and how these traits influence discourse practice, but it is very complicated to draw a decisive line between the first and second dimension. For all articles, the social context in the shape of political events and developments in or related to stigmatised neighbourhoods have, together with critical theory, functioned as a frame of reference, which discursive practices can be related to and contrasted with.

## Discourse analysis and housing studies

This study takes issue with the constructions and understandings of residential segregation and stigmatised neighbourhoods in Sweden as well as with spatial stigmatisation that is a part of the segregation process. Following the constructionist approach, this project is less focused on the material facts of housing segregation but, instead, attacks the processes behind constructions of place, the ideological underpinnings of such constructions and the relationships between different discourses on segregation.

The empirical material chosen consists of print news media and parliamentary motions that cover a period of sixteen and twenty-one years respectively. Part of the objective is to study change over time but the study also aims to observe the reactions and suggestions offered within a certain political and policy framework: area-

based policies. Several authors (Jacobs and Manzi 1996; Jacobs and Manzi 2000; Jacobs, Kemeny and Manzi 2003; Jacobs 2006; Marston 2010) have pointed to the usefulness, attraction and potential pitfalls of employing discourse analysis in the study of housing issues and policy. As made evident in the discussion above, discourse is not merely confined to the field of linguistics but is also highly relevant for social theory inquiries, an idea that is supported by Hastings (2000). She claims that previous work involving discourse analysis often has settled for a too-narrow area of inquiry, working only with official documents. Parliamentary motions, which form part of the empirical material here, are one such example of official documents, but they are complemented by news media, which represent a related field of discourse production. However, parliamentary motions are not uninteresting in themselves; they reveal not only how housing and welfare issues are talked about but may also be more telling of the wider social climate since they are slightly more spontaneous and personal than, for example, government bills. Even if the details of the relationship between politics and media are not the focus here, news media and politics form parts of an interdependent relationship (van Aelst et al. 2014), making differences and similarities between them interesting from a power perspective.

As Jacobs & Manzi (1996) state, the language of housing policy can be usefully and significantly linked to a surrounding culture, which makes the study of language crucial in order to understand changes in society and the impact of policy. By linking certain words to the context in which they were made, such as other current processes and connections between policy statements and other debates in society, a connection between housing policy and culture is achieved. In this way, not only certain words but also their construction, such as the use of metaphors and symbolism, are powerful ways of ideologically shaping text and speech. Jacobs & Manzi (1996: 558) state, "*A study of the language of housing enables a contextualization of policy within social and political environments. It combines an exploration of wider social processes with a study of the perceptions and values of key actors.*" For this thesis, the dialectical relationship between (policy) language and the surrounding social and political climate is central, which means that a contextualisation of language is very important for my analysis. However, the attention by Jacobs and Manzi to "perceptions and values" is not one of my focus points, in part because of the difficulty in actually assessing other people's values, and in part because it is not the inten-

tion of a statement that interests me most, but the meaning it conveys.

Similarly to Bacchi (2001), the analysis assumed that the discourse on segregation would involve some form of (more or less) conscious construction, where segregation would be represented as a social issue, though in different ways, and with different perceptions of whether this issue was a problem or not. Thus, the analysis served both to reveal the political (constructed) nature of the debate on residential segregation and to make an assessment of what the differences consisted of. The central issue here is that the objects of study, news media and political discourse, are considered to be representations of reality rather than facts, which make them suitable for close analysis. From a critical discourse perspective, such a standpoint even necessitates critical analysis to avoid representations and ideologically based arguments being accepted as truths. Importantly, Bacchi (2001: 9) states, "So, while I believe that there are a multitude of disturbing social conditions, once they are given the shape of interpretation, once they are characterised as a 'problem' or as a 'social problem', they are no longer 'real' They are interpretations or constructs of the 'real'. We can have no direct access to the 'real'." This is not to say that social inequalities are not real; it is a way of making a distinction between how problems or social conditions are talked about and their "actual" state. Thus, this approach brings into focus how representations are made and the power they hold over understandings and actions taken to remedy, treat or enable social events. Therefore, I see the construction of segregation and stigmatised neighbourhoods as another dimension of reality, and one which intertwines with material conditions and political decisions. Bacchi (2001: 12-13) suggests some preliminary questions, aimed at deconstructing a political representation, four of which are particularly relevant: "what is the problem represented to be; what assumptions underlie the representation; what effects are produced; and what is left as unproblematic?"

These questions have served as a guide when working with the empirical material, and they are particularly useful for interpreting power relations, as they draw attention not just to what is being said, but also to what is being hidden.

## Analytical approach

This thesis consists of two sets of empirical material: print news media and parliamentary motions. These different types of material were collected and analysed using slightly different approaches, and there have also been particular problems along the way. Methods for collecting each respective set of the material will be described in the sections below, but first I will outline the general approach used for both of these types of material.

Regarding both types of material, the process of analysis consisted of first reading through the material in order to familiarize myself with it and to gain an understanding of the type of language used, the arguments presented and the message of the material. This initial read-through was then repeated a number of times. Fairlough (1995) argues that when exploring power relationships and inequality, the positions of gender, minorities and class are of particular importance, and in the discourse on segregation, class and ethnic minorities have been revealed by my analysis to be particularly prominent, but gender appears as part of the mix too, particularly in the discussion on crime, riots, or *uprisings*, and the constructions of honour violence. In the two former examples, young men are often discussed, and in the latter the debate often centres on young women in the suburbs being victimized and controlled by older men and male relatives (see also Brune 2004 on news media coverage of refugees, Habel 2002 on news media constructions of the state and gendered citizen relations).

However, to return to the positions of class and minorities, these are, perhaps naturally, central in the discussion on socioeconomic and ethnic housing segregation. After all, housing segregation, in Sweden and elsewhere, has been recognized as a structure of inequality that concerns several dimensions: discrimination by housing agencies, housing shortages, socioeconomic marginalisation and stigmatisation (Andersson 1998). Housing preferences also play a certain role, but, primarily, the pattern of certain groups, in particular minority groups and poor people, living in certain neighbourhoods must be considered a matter of poverty and racist discrimination (see, for example, Molina 1997).

Even though there were clear signs of shifts in the material, the overwhelming results point to negative representations concerning the Million homes neighbourhoods, ethnic minorities and the poor. On the one hand, such results offer many examples of a similar type of discourse, thus indicating that the conclusion is reliable and relatively self-evident, but there are also difficulties of working with

such predominantly negative material. When the same types of representations are repeated over and over, in different newspapers, by different political parties and by different types of actors, such as party leaders, editors, journalists, political analysts, and researchers, the impression may be that there are no nuances at all and that the conclusion, regardless of how the material is approached, will be the same. This makes it more difficult to identify specific qualities that can be linked to theory. In this respect, dividing the material into articles rather than combining the analysis in the shape of a monograph has been an advantage.

## News media

No, during all these years, it's just you and a few others who have done well. You have been a good role model (Wallgren/Dagens Nyheter. 2015: 10)<sup>2</sup>.

The empirical material informing this part of the dissertation was collected in collaboration with one of my supervisors, Irene Molina, and consists of print text from two major newspapers in Sweden with a national coverage, Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Aftonbladet (AB). DN is a morning paper with a liberal orientation, and Aftonbladet is an afternoon/evening tabloid with a social democratic orientation. Since AB and DN have different political orientations and different styles, where tabloids, represented by AB, often employ a more sensationalist style, and morning papers, represented by DN, often try for a more serious approach, two important genres of newspapers were included.

The choice to include only two papers was in part inspired by the previous report, *Miljonprogram och media*, where four newspapers were included. One of the findings from that report was that all the newspapers in the sample produced the same types of representations. This conclusion, combined with the expectation that the search would generate a lot of material from two newspapers alone, suggested that including several more newspapers was not necessary. *Miljonprogram och media* also inspired the period of time covered by the news media material for this thesis. *Miljonprogram och media* covered a long period of time until the year 2000, which was

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<sup>2</sup> This quote comes from a newspaper article where a resident was commenting on the life and success of a famous Swedish musician who grew up in a stigmatised area. According to this quote, only a few of the thousands of people living in stigmatised areas have been successful.

then selected as the starting point for this study. We collected material which covers a period of 16 years, until 2015.

Two of the papers that comprised this dissertation used the news media material: one focused on news reports, and one, on editorial discourse. News reports are articles that report on current events, in this case taking place in stigmatised neighbourhoods or using them as the primary frame or context for the story. Some reports are short, whereas others are several pages long (in Swedish often referred to as “reportage”, where the newspaper develops a longer story). Typically, in the latter case, one or several journalists visit a stigmatised neighbourhood due to recent events, such as uprisings or a new academic publication discussing residential segregation, resulting in a vividly descriptive report of life in poor neighbourhoods. The focus in the article using news reports was on dominant themes and mechanisms of stigmatisation, that is, the various techniques in news media discourse that appear in the reporting on stigmatised areas. In the article based on editorial discourse, my interest was in representations of segregation from different ideological perspectives.

Deciding on these two focus areas for the two articles using news media was not a straightforward process and was complicated by the vast amount of material. For example, selecting the news stories rather than working with the entire contents of each newspaper, which was the first approach, not only made the corpus more manageable but also provided a clearer focus since different genres of newspaper material use different styles or writing.

## Collecting news media

Are you living in a neighbourhood with low social status and many rental apartment buildings – a neighbourhood like Rosengård, Hammarkullen or Tensta? Then it is likely that you are an overweight, low educated smoker with ten times the risk of becoming committed to a psychiatric clinic (Hedander/Aftonbladet 2000: 31).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> This quote comes from an AB report on longevity in different types of neighbourhoods. Apart from the association made between rental housing and social problems, this quote also lists, and mentions by name, three stigmatised neighbourhoods considered to be particularly bad. These neighbourhoods are grouped together and used as examples of various threats to healthy living.

The news media sample was collected with the help of search words<sup>4</sup>, and our reasoning behind the choice of words was primarily guided by the aim to cover as much as possible of the relevant discourse on stigmatised areas. Instead of focusing on place names, words which refer to place were used to collect the material. This was in part because the number of places in Sweden now identified and mentioned in the news media as “utsatta” (vulnerable) now amount to 61, following an influential police report from 2017 (Utsatta områden 2017, Polisen).<sup>5</sup> This means that a search involving all these place names over time would have resulted in an almost impossible amount of material to read through. By avoiding the place names, we could also capture articles which were relevant for the topic of segregation and stigmatisation but which did not mention specific places.

It may appear that the search words are primarily negative, thus resulting in a biased sample, but many of these words are assumed to be negative because of the values that have become ascribed to them. Words like “immigrant” “Million homes program”, “suburb”, and “integration” are not necessarily negative but can appear so due to the context in which they usually appear, which means that one of the interesting findings when analysing the material was to observe what kind of sample that these words would generate. “*Utanförskap*” is a word that can have both a stigmatising and a critical effect, depending on the context and set of explanations that appear with it, such as different interpretations of exclusion. Racism, poverty and stigmatisation are words that were chosen to capture counter-discourses since they often are associated with critical representations. The aim with the search words was to acquire ma-

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<sup>4</sup> We combined references to place, “Million homes program”, “suburb”, “neighbourhood” and “area” (in Swedish Miljonprogram, förort, stadsdel and område) with certain key words identified as central in the debate on stigmatised neighbourhoods: “segregation”, “integration”, “immigrant”, “stigmatisation”, “racism”, “poverty”, “poor”, “radicalisation”, “*utanförskap*”, “xenophobia”, “discrimination”, “extremism”, “distressed” (in Swedish “segregation”, “integration”, “invandrare”, “stigmatisering”, “rasism”, “fattigdom”, “fattig”, “radikalisering”, “*utanförskap*”, “främlingsfientlighet”, “diskriminering”, “extremism”, “utsatta”).

<sup>5</sup> The publication of this kind of police reports started in 2014 with the first report identifying 55 areas considered as “utsatta” (vulnerable), 53 in 2015 (Polisen 2015. *Utsatta områden – sociala risker, kollektiv förmåga och oönskade händelser*. Nationella operativa avdelningen (NOA), underrättelseenheten. Stockholm: NOA) and 61 in 2017. The reports have gained much attention of the media and have been important in the establishing of dominant discourses on e.g. “No-go-zones”, an interpretation done by controversial Gudmunsson in 2014 (<https://www.svd.se/55-no-go-zoner-i-sverige>).

terial that covered as many relevant expressions and examples of discourse related to housing segregation as possible, both negative and critical discourses, while still ending up with a manageable set of articles. In the original sample, no discrimination was used regarding the type of articles, meaning that we included the entire contents of each newspaper and subjected them to a thematic analysis. The reason for this was, once again, an attempt at not excluding relevant aspects of discourse, but also because the entire newspaper is of value when its message, style of reporting and choice of subjects is analysed. However, as discussed above, a more specific selection was subsequently made since the two articles that are based on news media analysis are focused on news reports and on editorial articles respectively.

From the initial sample of 1500 articles, 254 were selected for the final corpus. These were all articles that directly concerned segregation and stigmatisation. This figure includes the entire contents of the newspaper: editorials, debates, news and columns. 94 out of these came from Aftonbladet. This means that our search words were far more common in newspaper articles from DN than from AB. Had we been interested in detailed comparisons between these two newspapers, the imbalance in number of articles between DN and AB could have been problematic, but, here, focus was on news media representations of stigmatised areas and not the specific differences between the two papers. However, in the article based on editorials, the ideological differences between the two newspapers were a key area of interest, which made a close comparison more interesting. The differences in number are most pronounced in the news reports: editorials, debates and columns are more evenly distributed between the two papers. This result may be a mere coincidence, and different search words could have generated a more evenly distributed sample between the two papers. However, it is also a possibility that DN simply gives more attention to issues of segregation and stigmatised neighbourhoods than AB. This finding should be further researched, perhaps with a different method for collecting material, to see if DN really is dominating this debate.

As mentioned above, the contents of both newspapers were divided into different categories according to genre or type of article. The articles were divided into editorials, columns, debates, news reports and readers' letters. Generally, the different genres were easy to identify, but in some cases, particularly with older articles from AB, it was not clear from the format the material was delivered in if an article was for example an editorial or a column. In

these cases, I visited the Carolina Rediviva library in Uppsala, where most Swedish newspapers are stored on microfilm. By viewing the relevant microfilm editions of the original print, I could confirm the genre of the different articles.

As illustrated in Table 1, the news reports are the largest category among the genres. 142 is the total number of relevant articles from this genre, and 128 is the number of articles without the counter discourses. Columns and editorials are different versions of rather similar types of articles, in which the author has some independence in formulating an analysis of the situation, however with the crucial difference that editorials are produced by members of the editorial office. The debates are often written by politicians, researchers and representatives of various organizations, whereas editorials and columns generally are authored by employees at the newspaper, though there is some variation. 44 articles out of these different genres (excluding news reports and editorials, which were subjected to a separate analysis) were labelled “critical” or counter-discourses. Critical representations, or counter-discourses, are articles that attempt to counteract dominant stigmatising discourses. This means that they often engage with stigmatising representations in order to question and deconstruct them. Among the news reports, there are very few of these, but in the debates and columns sections, we found a significantly larger number of articles which fulfilled these criteria. This is perhaps not surprising since debates and columns can be authored by actors with political beliefs that differ from those of the newspaper, but it is still an interesting finding that critical voices are published relatively often in both newspapers.

Table 1 (source: Retriever Research)

Types of articles	No (254)
Editorials	38
Columns	33
Debates	31
Readers' letters	10
News reports	142 (128)

## Parliamentary motions

Regarding the political material, this consists of parliamentary motions. Motions are suggestions by the parliamentary members to parliament. Most motions are not passed by Parliament but have been included here nonetheless since the aim is to capture the rep-

representations in the motions and not the actual policy. Often, the motions published are written by politicians from parties in the opposition, meaning that the political parties in control of the government are usually less active, resulting in an uneven representation of the different parties depending on who is in government. With this in mind, a motion published by one of the ruling parties can be considered extra interesting since it is criticising its own party's or a political alliance's politics. Some motions are authored by a single politician, some by several politicians, and some are so-called party motions, where the party leader is expressing the visions of the whole party. Some motions are even collaborations between different political parties, but these were more unusual in my sample.

In the analysis, motions were considered both according to party belonging and according to their respective bloc. Each cited motion in Paper III is cited according to party and not bloc, but the relative similarities between the parties in each bloc means that divergences from these positions are interesting in the analysis. This means that I expected the Red-Green bloc to focus more on inequality, and the Conservative Alliance to focus more on '*utanförskap*', but since these patterns were not always consistent, it was interesting to discuss each party rather than each bloc. Furthest to the right, but so far separate from collaborations with the other parties in parliament and government, there is the culturally racist party the Sweden Democrats. Their voter support has been growing, but so far the other parties have avoided collaborations with them, at least on a national scale. The influence of the Sweden Democrats over the other political parties is still difficult to determine, but the increase in critical representations as well as representations that reproduce the idea of culturally distant groups can be considered a reflection of the impact that a racist political party can have on political discourse. Motions from the Sweden Democrats have been treated as a separate bloc in the analysis.

Parliamentary motions on housing segregation and stigmatised areas published between 1996 and 2016 have been analysed. Swedish political material is dated with the autumn term as its starting point, which means that the motions and bills are dated 1996/97 and 1997/98, for example. In my work, motions starting from 1996/97 and continuing to 2015/16 have been included. Consequently, only half of the start and end points of the time period have been studied. The three related bills from 1997/98 (discussed above in the section "*Utanförskap*" and "*segregated neighbour-*

*hoods*’) were an inspiration for the beginning of the time period for the political material. However, I was curious about the state of the discourse *before* these new policies were introduced and, particularly, about the systematic use of the word “*utanförskap*”. Consequently, I extended the start of the period by one year, from 1997-1998 to 1996-1997.

Primarily, the motions originate from the Committee on Civil Affairs (previously the Committee on Housing) and the Committee on Social Insurance (which among other responsibilities is in charge of matters of immigration and integration), but the wide scope of these policies has resulted in motions also from other departments, such as the Committee on the Labour Market; the Committee on Justice; and the Committee on Education. Just like news media, the motions were collected with the help of search words (segregation, segregated, Million homes program, suburb and distressed areas), in this case from the homepage of the Swedish Parliament, *Riksdagen*.

The motions were selected for several reasons. First, they have not been analysed before to this extent, which makes them an exciting new source of political discourse. Second, previous work has analysed both preceding investigations and early government bills, which means that there is already some knowledge of these documents. Motions, similarly to parliamentary debates, make suggestions and demands on policy-making, which means that the various positions effectively can illustrate discursive conflicts as well as agreements across party and bloc lines. As discussed in the section *Changing Housing Visions* above, the traditional political blocs in Sweden, previously consisting of the Red-Green bloc, with a leftist orientation, and the Conservative Alliance, with a rightist orientation, have now taken on a new shape.

# Conclusion

This thesis has explored very old but continually topical problems of socioeconomic inequality, racism and housing segregation. Even stigmatisation, which has been receiving growing scholarly attention, is not a new problem. As was outlined in the introduction, I began this process with some familiarity with the ideas and representations surrounding the Million homes program, and a curiosity regarding the detailed development and current state of these representations. Therefore, one of the most clear conclusions is that this dissertation contributes to the knowledge regarding representations of these stigmatised neighbourhoods. I argue that as long as representations of these neighbourhoods function as a form of discrimination, there is value in continued knowledge about the characteristics of this discourse. Since power relationships and inequality have been key concerns for this thesis, I have placed particular emphasis on a postcolonial interpretation, thereby arguing both for the usefulness of this perspective when analysing aspects of inequality and for recognizing the representations of the stigmatised neighbourhoods of the Million homes program as not only discriminated against based on socioeconomic factors but also as expressions of a racist ideology.

Racism carries such heavily negative connotations that it is almost counter-productive to label representations as racist; the reaction is likely to be denial because a racist label is so undesirable. As van Dijk (1993) also states, most elite actors (such as politicians, news media producers and academics) claim to be against racism, which makes an anti-racist position relatively mainstream rather than critical. However, my argument here is not so much a practice of placing blame on the producers behind such representations, particularly since the likely intentions in most of the cases studied here have not been to reproduce a racist discourse but to express concern over the development in stigmatised neighbourhoods; instead, my aim is to draw attention to why certain common constructions and labels, such as “immigrant-dense”, are problematic from a postcolonial perspective. This point is not merely theoretical; it also

influences social realities and everyday life when arbitrary and hierarchical categorisations of people are made and reproduced.

On the subject of trends in the reporting on the Million homes program, it is interesting that a relatively large part of the material, both politics and news media, actively attempted to counter the negative images. The shape of existing critical discourses has not been developed in this dissertation since focus eventually was on stigmatising practices rather than all types of representations that exist, but in the context of discussing attitudes to inequality, it is interesting that there is a definite counter-current against stigmatising representations. When studying stigma, one of the revealing traits for identifying the characteristics and limits of the discourse is to observe counter-discourses. There are different types of counter-discourses: some actively engage with stigmatising representations, and others simply offer more positive stories without becoming involved with the established negative images. From analysing both politics and media, it seems that the counter-discourses are a strong presence in the discourse on segregation and stigmatised areas. However, they are not strong across the board. To begin with, both newspapers publish articles containing critical messages, where the representations quite clearly aim to criticise the stereotyped portrayals of stigmatised areas, and to some degree they also criticise policies which worsen segregation, but such critical voices are unevenly distributed. In *Aftonbladet*, critical voices appear mainly in the editorial and debate sections and to some degree in columns. In *Dagens Nyheter*, critical representations are almost exclusively represented on the debate pages and sometimes by individual columnists.

In the political material, critical representations are stronger with some parties, particularly parties on the left, but attention to discrimination and inequality has been growing stronger within both blocs (except with the Sweden Democrats). This is an interesting trend, and it appears that there has been a change in the attention to inequality. This rather exciting finding says something about the general trend in society, but since it is combined with such a large amount of negative representations (which are still in clear majority) this seems to indicate a trend of division rather than an altogether positive development.

Another point needs to be made regarding critical representations, and this concerns the mixed nature of many newspaper articles and parliamentary motions. Mixed messages appear in both sets of the material, and they convey both something positive and some-

thing negative; therefore, they were not categorised as critical. Often, such examples use the established form of negative representation but also make an attempt at countering the negative by suggesting ways of improvement or by reporting on a positive development. These types of representations are of a highly ambivalent nature, and it is therefore important not to categorise them as positive. The trickiness of identifying which practices that either challenge or reproduce stigmatisation is one of the challenges of interpreting news media and political discourse, which have similar qualities, and it should be considered an important trait of the reporting on stigmatised urban areas: in other words, a negative construction can be hidden and pass unnoticed if it is expressed in conjunction with a positive framing, such as describing a positive development but using racialised terms.

## Politics and media

The relationship between politics and media has been explored elsewhere (e.g. Fairclough 1995; Cook 1998; Strömbäck & Shehata 2010), and was ultimately not the focus for this dissertation, but the results clearly indicate that there are similarities in the type of representations used by both politicians and news media, not just regarding the types of social issues they address but also the interpretations, such as focusing on “immigrants”, lack of integration and subcultures when discussing suburbs from the Million homes program. In a sense, this is not surprising since news media and perhaps national media in particular should closely follow issues of political concern. Likewise, politicians are likely to be informed of the reporting in influential newspapers. The results of these similarities suggest that there is a form of *mega* or *macro* discourse in the shape of a social structure consisting of a racialised construction of people and place, using constructions based on ideas of “race” and “racial” traits, expressed in terms of “Swedish”, “immigrants”, foreign background and “culture”; however, returning to Fairclough, dividing these constructions between the level of discursive practices and social structure is a very complex exercise. Rather, the similar interpretations of residential segregation in Swedish news media and political discourse may be thought of as an expression of an order of discourse (Fairclough 2010: 265), defined by Fairclough as: “... the way in which diverse genres and discourses and styles are networked together. An order of discourse is a social structuring of semiotic

difference – a particular social ordering of relationships among different ways of making meaning, i.e. different discourses and genres and styles.” Another such formation may be assigned to the construction of *”utanförskap”* which, similar to the construction of “Swedes” and “immigrants” with very few exceptions, is not questioned by either politicians or news media.

These discursive formations form a logic that shapes social relations and material conditions. These words are not problematic in themselves: they are problematic in a process of meaning-making that constructs one group of people as the norm and others as the deviants. Indeed, *”utanförskap”* deserves to be related to racially valued words because of its construction as a cultural quality and individual trait. This does not make *”utanförskap”* a racist label, but it means that constructions of *”utanförskap”* use a similar logic to racist constructions. When *”utanförskap”* becomes the new linguistic paradigm for addressing people and places considered not to belong to Sweden, the process of othering continues and is given a racialised quality through the construction of what is “Swedish” and what (or who) is not.

There have been signs, particularly in the political material, of a lessening of the number of references to residential segregation in favour of discussions of *”utanförskap”* and place. This means that the interest in segregation and issues (believed) to be related to segregation has not decreased; instead the terminology and the object of attention has changed. Some caution is needed here because the patterns are slightly different in news media and in political discourse. As noted above, there are also differences within these two sets of material. First of all, in news media, it seems that liberal Dagens Nyheter is dominating the discussion with frequent references to segregation, thereby also dominating the interpretation of segregation, whereas in the political debate, parties to the right increasingly offer a place-based discussion, which seems to be replacing previous talks of segregation, and parties to the left focus increasingly on structural inequality. The fact that use of the actual word “segregation” appears more frequently among the parties to the left, in the context of issues of structural inequality and as a place and individual problem in news media discourse, positions segregation as a highly ideological problem and not just an empirical fact.

Performing analysis and drawing conclusions from similar types of material that asks, to some degree, similar types of questions, produces similar results for the different articles that make up this

thesis, but it also allows for an in-depth analysis of highly related issues. It is possible that a monograph might better captured the rich nature of the empirical material, but separating the material into different papers instead allowed me to identify clear focus points and different perspectives on similar types of material. Then again, the conclusion has grown out of the combined results of the three papers, and the findings of each paper have proven important in order to develop the others. For example, it was necessary to work through the entire set of news media material before the division into different genres could be made. Similarly, the many positions on how to explain and solve residential segregation that I found in the early stages of working with the political material became a starting point for developing some of those positions in another article with another form of political discourse: newspaper editorials.

The relationship between politics and news media is not the only interesting dimension; there are also interrelationships of the different genres of news media. Articles One and Two in this thesis are based on different news media genres: news stories and editorials respectively. These are interesting to compare to each other since the news reports, which form a substantial contribution to spatial stigmatisation, rarely are addressed by the editors of the same newspapers. To some degree, this finding must be considered in the context of the empirical sample, which is the foundation for this thesis, since there may be other examples that have not been included here. Nevertheless, the seeming lack of reflection regarding how newspapers represent social events is an important aspect in the reproduction of inequality and power. This finding is perhaps particularly interesting in the case of *Aftonbladet*, whose editorials offered a more consistently critical interpretation - an interpretation that did not extend to criticism of news media representations - which was not reflected in the news stories published by the same newspaper.

## Postcolonial theory and stigma

Stigma and residential segregation form both the starting points and the area of research interest for this dissertation. The aim has never been to present a solution to all forms of housing segregation, particularly since residential segregation in its wider meaning, separation of different groups across space, does not necessarily equal a

problematic situation. However, the segregation which is and has been debated in Sweden for some decades now is a result of socio-economic inequality and different forms of discrimination, and these are problems which need to be addressed. There is a complexity here related to the discussion above on how representations of stigmatised neighbourhoods generally and most likely come from an expression of concern: poverty, crime, lack of maintenance and other basic society functions such as supermarkets or post and bank offices are naturally problems which need to be addressed; politically and academically. My issue is not with the practice of recognizing such problems but with the manner – the representation – of how these problems have come about. Thus, it is relevant to research such conditions as relationships between poverty and tenure, between rates of crime and neighbourhood, or the nature of moving patterns for different social groups. In part, ongoing research is important because the results may not always be what prejudice or previous results might suggest, and in part because this information can be used to counter stigmatisation. The more we know about how divisions in the housing market occur, the less substance there is in reproducing prejudiced interpretations. When stigmatising representations guide the discourse so that components such as crime, social composition, tenure and geographical location are directed back to place and to the residents, the incentive for addressing inequality is lost.

Stigmatisation has been explored from a dialectical view, where it contributes to segregation and informs policy, and at the same time it is exacerbated by segregation, or at least by the values connected to segregation (particularly since segregation, in public debate, is practically synonymous with Million homes neighbourhoods) and by policy decisions of regeneration or labels such as “particularly distressed” or “no-go zones”. This could turn into a “chicken and egg” type of problem, where one might ask if stigma arose first as a result of the creation of certain places, which would connect it mainly to certain urban environments and the socioeconomic characteristics of certain places, or if the stigma is a result of an existing discourse which, when connected to certain urban places, takes the shape of spatial stigma. The first explanation places more focus on the actual environments, and the second is centred on ideology and power.

Certainly, as pointed out throughout this thesis, stigmatisation of place is not a new phenomenon, even if negative discourses of place have not always been recognized as stigma. Regardless, the power of

making the interpretation appears crucial, and it is intertwined with other forms of oppression, such as structural poverty and racism.

Again, the conclusion to such discussions is not that the subject – issues in the suburbs and the situations of their residents – are not real; it is about recognizing that the interpretation, the discourse, is not real, at least not in the sense that it can offer objective truths. Given this conclusion, the dominance of negative representations of the suburb appears as a serious form of injustice, one which has not been given enough attention in public debate or academically. Recognizing where stigmatisation comes from is also related to my aim as described in the introduction to this thesis: it is imperative to construct a discussion about the nature of problems in some neighbourhoods that does not direct undeserved blame to these very places and their residents. Therefore, the description “stigmatised” is important, but it is also risky if it becomes yet another label attached to the Million homes suburbs; in other words, there is a danger that “stigmatised neighbourhood” becomes a synonym for certain places rather than a concept that refers to the process of making spatial stigmatisation.

This discussion is related to the issue of how to make representation positive or, rather, non-oppressive. In this thesis, primary focus has been on the meaning-making process of stigmatisation, not just the identification of the social constructions themselves, but *how* they are made and which ideologies that underpin them. This is an important distinction, for whereas the constructions may be damning enough in themselves, in order to counter the construction of stigma we need to deconstruct its logic. Deconstructing stigmatisation and pointing to the logic or ideology that governs it can more effectively achieve change, since misinformed attempts at changing a negative image may produce new stigmas instead. I have pointed to such instances in my material, such as finding new words for “immigrants”, which has been an active goal of Swedish governments, but the lack of awareness of the effects of naming a (constructed) group as different reproduces stigma, regardless of the term that is used.

The counter-discourses, of course, say something about which types of representations are becoming unfashionable. There are already clear signs of a shift in style regarding representations of the “immigrant”, but the construction of the Other remains. In other words, language is changing but not ideology. By grounding the discussion in theories on “race” and the different constructions of racism, I draw attention to a persisting logic of dividing people and

places from each other, a logic that not only reduces difference to a simplified construction of “us and them” but that often is hard to detect, given its changing expressions over time. Spotting previous racist constructions is generally easier than spotting the current ones, and neglecting to speak of racialised differences is one of the practices which normalises racism. One of the findings of this thesis is the tendency to use racialised language, that is, language that continues to construct people as “Swedes” and “non-Swedes”, or that treats culture as a biological trait, but in a positive framing, or a framing that locates this practice “with the Swedes too”. Such interjections are accepting the logic of racism and reproducing it instead of taking it apart.

Finally, Sweden’s image as a nation of equality and justice is challenged not just by growing socioeconomic divides but also by political and news media representations that still single out various constructions of “immigrants” as un-Swedish, and the housing estates of the Million homes programme as foreign places. This in itself is not new information, but the continuation of these types of representations as well as their frequent appearances is striking. Importantly, whereas current social events naturally have an impact on public opinion, these types of representations are not explained by recent refugee immigration or dissatisfaction with political leadership alone; they must also be related to the history of Sweden as a country guilty of various forms of racialised oppression, partnered with the heralding of white people as the image of physical and moral perfection. Without involving issues of long-time structural oppression in discussions of social problems and inequality there can be no change in the causes behind these conditions. News media and politicians are influential and powerful actors, and in the context of issues of structural inequality their message about relevant measures - or even about whether to treat inequality as a problem in the first place - is a central concern for critical research.

## Contribution and final thoughts

Building on the study of representations of stigmatised neighbourhoods, this thesis aims to make a contribution to urban studies on spatial segregation. In the introduction, this study set out to explore the question of when a neighbourhood, or a group of neighbourhoods, becomes “problem places”. This question attempts to question the process which creates the belief that a neighbourhood is

problematic, rather than actually trying to offer an answer to when the line is crossed and a neighbourhood is no longer “good” but “bad”. By combining geographical notions of the constantly changing nature and complexity of place (see for example Pred 1984; Massey 2005) with critical postcolonial theories of power, this thesis contributes to the knowledge of how representations of difference are made into discriminatory representations. Without labels, categories and place-names, it becomes impossible to discuss the various processes that form social life, and equally, without knowledge of the meaning that arises as a result of such spatial labels and categories, a major dimension of the social structure in society is lost. In this way, the intention here is not to claim a prohibition of certain words, but rather to argue for a critical reflection of what the problem of spatial stigmatisation is and how it should be addressed. What kinds of difference are relevant to draw attention to in a certain situation, and why? How are these differences constructed and how can they be justified? These are questions that political and news media discourse does not always make room for, which in itself is an act of power. Despite the benefits of critical reflection, which may lead to a better understanding of social events, critique directed at news media and politicians is sometimes countered with the argument that such reflection will limit and constrain the discussion, an argument which is used as a justification for using discriminatory labels.

On a related note, this thesis also contributes to a critical understanding of how place is made by discussing different types of political and news media discourse and the representations that they use. Paper I focused on mechanisms of news media language and how they create hierarchies of places, Paper II on ideological framings of segregation, and Paper III on how political discourse, through constructions of opposites and associations, uphold racialised perceptions of place. Without the analytical frame of postcolonialism, many of the constructions recognized in this thesis would have appeared only as differences, and not as discriminatory constructions. This is a contribution both to the field of segregation studies, but also to geographical understandings of place-making and to the necessity of using postcolonial theory in the study of political and news media discourses.

In conclusion, this thesis supports a combination of theoretical approaches in order to capture the complexities of social life as well as the value of a critical perspective in social science. Not least, the practice of identifying, reproducing and challenging categories is often central to the social sciences, which suggests that reflections

on how such categories are made should be part of all stages of research, and not merely be an empirical finding. This research makes evident the potential of incorporating spatial perspectives based on representations into both media studies and postcolonial research. At the same time, in the opposite direction, this thesis shows that postcolonial perspectives and studies of news media representations can enrich the field of urban studies considerably.

## Swedish summary

Den här avhandlingen behandlar representationer av platser, eller närmare bestämt hur platser pratas om och därmed skapas i offentlig diskurs. Utifrån en fallstudie av nyhetsmedia och politisk diskurs undersöks hur de platser som ofta benämns som utsatta områden framställs i den offentliga debatten. I avhandlingen benämns sådana platser som *stigmatiserade bostadsområden*, och syftet med denna benämning är både att separera avhandlingens analys från en redan etablerad negativ diskurs, men också att använda begreppet stigmatisering som en del av ett teoretiskt ramverk för att kritiskt granska hur negativa representationer uppstår, vad de består av och hur de kan motverkas. Med stigmatisering avses här en negativ stämpel, eller en negativ representation, som i det här fallet konstrueras som ett platsattribut. *Diskurs*, som är ett annat viktigt begrepp i den här avhandlingen, syftar här på de olika uttalanden som utgör och formar konstruktionen av förorten i svensk debatt. Med diskurs menas alltså i denna avhandling en avgränsad diskussion som berör just segregation och stigmatiserade områden.

Så kallade utsatta bostadsområden och boendesegregation är ett sedan länge känt politiskt fokusområde, där tidigare forskning framförallt har identifierat strukturella faktorer såsom fattigdom, brist på bostäder åt socioekonomiskt utsatta grupper och diskriminering som orsaker bakom segregation. Ett centralt argument inom kulturgeografisk forskning är att segregation är ett relationellt fenomen och inte ett områdesspecifikt problem. Trots detta hamnar ofta de bostadsområden som producerades under Miljonprogrammet (1965-1974) i centrum för debatten och betraktas som "segregerade områden". Idag fungerar både begreppen förort och miljonprogramsområde som vanliga benämningar på områden som associeras med de problem som följer på segregationen, oavsett om de är förorter från Miljonprogrammet eller inte. Denna process som både skiljer ut och kopplar samman vissa platser utifrån föreställda uppfattningar om deras egenskaper är en av avhandlingens fokuspunkter.

Eftersom avhandlingen har en uttalat kritisk utgångspunkt gällande att både identifiera och motverka negativa diskurser, så är

teorier som behandlar maktrelationer och ojämlikhet centrala för analysen. Utöver teori om stigmatiseringsprocessen så grundas den teoretiska utgångspunkten på kritisk segregationsforskning och postkolonial teori om hur rasistiska kategorier av människor och platser skapas. Syftet med att diskutera den svenska debatten om stigmatiserade bostadsområden som präglad av rasistiska konstruktioner är inte att skuldbelägga de som producerar diskursen, utan att uppmärksamma hur vardagliga konstruktioner kan ha en mycket negativ betydelse och både upprätthålla och ge upphov till nya former av diskriminering.

Avhandlingen är helt baserad på kvalitativ metod, och det empiriska materialet består dels av nyhetsmaterial från de två tidningarna Dagens Nyheter (DN) och Aftonbladet (AB), och dels av politiskt material bestående av riksdagsmotioner. Valet av empirin baserades på ett intresse av att studera just makt: både media och politiker är aktörer med stort inflytande i samhället, och deras röster är av stor vikt för hur sociala problem både framställs och hanteras i samhället. Omkring 250 tidningsartiklar och ca 200 motioner ingår i avhandlingens empiriska material. Nyhetsmaterialet kommer från det digitala arkivet Retriever Research, och motionerna från Riksdagens hemsida.

Avhandlingen består av tre vetenskapliga artiklar: samtliga behandlar platskonstruktioner från olika perspektiv men baseras på olika typer av material och teorier. De två första artiklarna är baserade på nyhetsmaterial från DN och AB, där den första artikeln analyserar nyhetsrapporteringen och den andra ledare från de båda tidningarna. Den tredje artikeln är baserad på politiskt material i form av riksdagsmotioner.

## Avhandlingens delstudier

Den första artikeln är samförfattad med min handledare Professor Irene Molina, och syftet var att identifiera både övergripande teman, inklusive motdiskurser, och mekanismer i svensk medierapportering av stigmatiserade områden. Bakgrunden till studien utgörs av en tidigare svensk studie, *Miljonprogram och media*, som dokumenterade svenska medierepresentationer av miljonprogramsområden, specifikt områden på Järvafältet utanför Stockholm. *Miljonprogram och media* identifierade flera viktiga teman i rapporteringen om stigmatiserade områden, där rapporter om smuts och fula byggnader; brott och brist på säkerhet; och förekomsten av personer med

invandrarbakgrund var dominerande i rapporteringen. Rapporten undersökte en längre period av mediebevakning fram till år 2000. Därför valde vi att studera perioden efteråt, från 2000 till 2015 för att täcka så mycket som möjligt av den nya relevanta diskursen.

Med stöd i internationell forskning inom kritiska mediastudier försökte vi kritiskt analysera hur svenska nyhetsmedier framställer olika platser och vilka egenskaper de tillskrivs i diskursen. Studien omfattar ett långt tidsperspektiv vilket också ger en förståelse för hur diskursen har förändrats över tid. I sammanställningen av resultaten kunde vi fastställa att våra resultat till stor del återspeglar tidigare internationell forskning angående segregation och stigmatiserade områden, där våra resultat visade på brottslighet, brist på integration och allmänt elände i fattiga stadsdelar som vanliga teman, men vi identifierade också mer specifika tekniker för att beskriva stigmatiserade områden. Dessa tekniker, eller mekanismer, utgjorde tillsammans med temana vårt fokus i analysen. Mekanismerna består av att gruppera områden utifrån uppfattningar om gemensamma egenskaper; att kontrastera dem med mer attraktiva områden; och slutligen av rasifiering som vi definierar som representationer som framställer etniska minoriteter som problem.

Sammanfattningsvis kan vi konstatera att ledande svenska rikstäckande tidningar fortfarande använder ett dramatiskt språk som beskriver förorter som misslyckade och oattraktiva; dessa representationer tog sig främst uttryck genom berättelser om våld, hopplöshet och kulturellt främmande miljöer. Resultaten pekar på flera likheter med den tidigare rapporten *Miljonprogram och media*, men också ett nytt tema som består av berättelser om terror och terrorverksamhet i eller relaterat till förorterna. Från ett teoretiskt perspektiv bidrar vår studie särskilt till medieforskningen genom att inte bara identifiera dominerande teman i rapporteringen om miljonprogramsområden, men också genom att identifiera mekanismerna bakom dessa teman.

I den andra artikeln, som också baseras på mediematerial, undersöks hur ledarsidorna i de båda tidningarna Dagens Nyheter (DN) och Aftonbladet (AB) diskuterar boendesegregation och stigmatisering. Eftersom DN och AB har olika politiska inriktningar, DN är liberal och AB är socialdemokratisk, så var det extra intressant att jämföra och granska de olika orsaker och konsekvenser som respektive tidning gav uttryck för när de diskuterade segregation. Eftersom medieforskning har visat att nyhetsrapportering är en viktig faktor bakom stigmatisering, något som inte minst artikel I visade, så var ytterligare en intressant faktor ledarnas diskussion av stigmatisering

av förorter. Den teoretiska utgångspunkten var kritisk segregationsforskning, där argumentet är att strukturella faktorer bör betraktas som den främsta förklaringen till etnisk bostadssegregation. På detta sätt skapades en analytisk ram med syfte att undersöka huruvida segregation betraktades som ett individuellt och lokalt (dvs områdesbaserat) problem eller som ett symptom på strukturell orättvisa. Eftersom ideologiska skillnader var en viktig del i analysen använde jag specifika kriterier för att identifiera ideologiska diskurser vid analysen av materialet.

Resultaten visade på en ganska tydlig uppdelning mellan de två tidningarna, där ledare från AB huvudsakligen fokuserade på strukturella orsaker bakom segregation, medan DN huvudsakligen fokuserade på individuella och lokala orsaker. Dessa resultat kan betraktas som väntade i och med att de är förenliga med tidningarnas ideologiska inriktning; med andra ord, det är mer sannolikt att en liberal tidning koncentrerar sig på individuella förklaringar snarare än strukturer, och en socialdemokratiskt grundad analys kan förväntas vara mer positiv till förklaringar baserade på strukturell ojämlikhet. Dessutom kan man också hävda att en liberal ideologi fortfarande stöder jämställdhet, men på ett annat sätt. Dock så visar forskningen att orsaksförklaringar till segregation som baseras på individuella och lokala förhållanden skapar en skuldbeläggning som i sin tur leder till stigmatisering.

Framställningen av just områdesstigmatisering som ett resultat av nyhetsrapportering var ett relaterat syfte med studien, och det är både mycket intressant och problematiskt att ingen av tidningarna uppmärksammar stigmatisering som ett problem. Avslutningsvis så bidrar denna studie med att identifiera segregation som ett ideologiskt problem, där uppfattningen om vad som är problematiskt med segregation, liksom hur den bör åtgärdas, skiljer sig beroende på ideologisk övertygelse.

Den sista artikeln i avhandlingen behandlar inte mediediskurs utan politisk diskurs i form av motioner. Artikelns fokus var att analysera rasistiska framställningar i den politiska debatten om segregation med hjälp av begreppet rasifiering. Rasifiering är ett begrepp som ofta förekommer i postkoloniala studier, och syftar i denna studie till konstruktioner som delar upp människor utifrån föreställningar om rasmässiga skillnader, uttryckta antingen genom fysiska eller kulturella egenskaper. I analysen fokuserade jag på uppfattningar om svenskhet och skillnaden mellan "svenskar" och "andra".

Den teoretiska ramen utgjordes av postkoloniala teorier som kritiserar hur idéer om "ras" fortfarande uppträder i offentlig diskurs,

och hur dessa också påverkar förståelsen av boendesegregation. Studiens argument är att etnisk boendesegregation i Sverige främst är en följd av ojämlikhet och diskriminering.

Det empiriska materialet i denna studie bestod av riksdagsmotioner som hämtades från Riksdagens hemsida med hjälp av följande sökord: segregation, segregerad, Miljonprogram och förort. Genom en kvalitativ innehållsanalys som fokuserade på betydelser och konstruktioner som tillskrevs vissa ord ("integration", "etnisk", "invandrare", "invandring", "svensk", "kultur" och "utanförskap"), identifierades olika ståndpunkter om hur etniska minoriteter skildras i förhållande till plats och segregering. Resultaten visade både att det finns ett växande antal motioner som undviker konstruktioner av rasistisk karaktär, men också många motioner som på olika sätt framställde etniska minoriteter - "invandrare" - som orsaker till segregering. Dessa konstruktioner kunde också observeras över tid, vilket ledde till slutsatsen att den svenska politiska diskursen om bostadssegregation ännu inte är avkoloniserad.

I det empiriska materialet framkom också att ordet "*utanförskap*" spelar en central roll i hur förorter uppfattas. "*Utanförskap*" används som ett attribut som tillskrivs både de boende och områdena, vilket skapar en skuldbeläggning genom att "*utanförskap*" syftar på individen snarare än strukturer.

Studiens bidrag ligger särskilt i språkets betydelse för hur politiska problem skapas och framställs. När gamla ord byts mot nya skapas nya politiska fokusområden, och därför bör politiska problem ses inte bara som reflektioner av verkligheten utan också som konstruktioner av verkligheten.

## Slutsatser

Bland avhandlingens viktigaste slutsatser finns upptäckten av en fortsatt starkt negativ form av representation som ofta bygger på skillnader mellan vad som uppfattas som "svenskt" och "annorlunda", där det annorlunda vanligen utgörs av utländska eller "osvenska" kulturer. De negativa framställningarna förknippar också Miljonprogrammets områden med allvarliga problem såsom kriminalitet, desperation, våld, förtryck och terror, där platsen och de boende ofta identifieras antingen som offer eller som ansvariga för problemen. Avhandlingen visar också att språket eller framställningen av olika problem förändras, men de ideologiska motiven bakom framställningen förblir i stort desamma. Detta är en indikation både

på vikten av att studera och informera om språkets betydelse, men också på de maktrelationer som ligger bakom diskursen om stigmatiserade bostadsområden i svensk offentlig debatt.

Avhandlingens bidrag ligger dels i betydelsen av postkolonial teori, som har varit avgörande för att kunna analysera framställningen av miljonprogramsområden som orättvis och diskriminerande; utan denna analysram hade många av framställningarna av platser och människor förefallit vara beskrivningar av *skillnader* snarare än konstruktioner av stigmatiserande stämplat. Avhandlingens resultat visar därför på vikten av att kombinera urbana studier med geografiska teorier om platskonstruktion och kritisk teori; avhandlingen har också visat att plats också är en viktig del av medieforskning.

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# Appendix: quotes in their original language

## Kappa

Det brinner i de mest utsatta områdena - soptunnor, bilar, till och med skolor bränns ner. Det kastas stenar mot bussar, fast det är just bussarna som kan ta de unga bort därifrån (Sabuni/Dagens Nyheter, 2010: 6).

- Nej, det är du och några till under alla år som det har gått bra för. Du har varit en bra förebild (Wallgren/Dagens Nyheter. 2015: 10).

Bor du i ett område med låg social status och stort antal hyreslägenheter - ett område som till exempel Rosengård, Hammarkullen eller Tensta? Då är du förmodligen en överviktig, lågutbildad rökare som löper upp till tio gånger högre risk att läggas in på psykiatrisk klinik (Hedander/Aftonbladet 2000: 31).

## Paper I

Man kommer hit med spårvagnen, kliver upp på torget och möter hela världen i en by byggd i betong. Hundratals parabolantennor sticker ut som stora öron från huskropparna, riktade mot en annan värld. Ytan är färggrann, varm, exotisk. Livet under den hårt och farligt. Utanför skolsköterskans och kurators mottagningar på Hammarkulleskolan surrar en ständig svärm av ungar, de sitter och ligger på de slitna stolarna (Kellberg/Dagens Nyheter 2000: 6).

Hon säger att det är som i sagan om skorpionen och grodan. Skorpionen ville ta sig över floden genom att sitta på grodans rygg, men grodan var rädd att han skulle bita honom. "Då drunknar vi ju båda två", sa skorpionen. När de var mitt på ån bet han ändå grodan. "Jag kunde inte låta bli", sa han. Många ungdomar här ute kan inte låta bli att bitas. De biter det "snälla" Sverige, de har präglats till det (Kellberg/Dagens Nyheter 2000: 6).

Gissa vem som kommer på middag? En 16-årig alban med kedja runt halsen och gnistrande glasdiamanter i öronsnibbarna. Han heter Enis Gashi och ser ut ungefär som unga, tuffa invandragrabbar brukar göra. Den han kunde komma hem till middag hos heter Julia Hansveden, 18 år och blond, en typisk infödd svensk. (...) Det handlar om invandrarna. Och i ett avseende skiljer sig Landskrona verkligen från alla svenska städer. Invandrarna bor mitt i stan. I alla andra svenska städer är invandrarna förpassade till städernas ytterområden. Där lever de sina liv långt borta från de etniska svenskarna. Vi behöver inte beblanda oss (Kadhammar/Aftonbladet 2006).

- Här passerar hela världen, säger Munum och ler brett. Han har koll på alla som passerar. Där kommer de nyanlända kristna eritreanerna och de ensamkommande somaliska grabbarna släntrande, och där mor och dotter från Polen med en kasse varma pizzor och där den syriska familjen som ska skicka pengar till släkten via Western Union, som Munum är ombud för. Och där är kosovoalbanerna och turkarna och kurderna och den ensamme mannen från Afghanistan som ska äta kebabpizza och så de allra senast anlända, troligen irakier, som bor i den nedlagda skolan längre bort. Och till sist en pursvensk familj som cyklat hit för att köpa läsk. (...) Det tar en, ibland en och en halv timme. Vi lämnar den rondelltäta industristäppen på Hisingen, passerar Göteborgs glittriga stadskärna med avenyer och eleganta kaféer och når ödsligheten i Bergsjön, tallarnas torftiga parabolland (Granstrand and Funck/Dagens Nyheter 2015: 8, 12).

Succén för Kista Science City betyder att de fattiga barnen i Rinkeby får mindre pengar. - Det är förödande att dra ner på resurserna där man i stället borde göra tidiga, förebyggande insatser, säger oppositionsborgarrådet Karin Wangård (S). Stockholms stad ser över hur pengarna till ekonomiskt bistånd fördelas mellan stadsdelarna. Enligt förslaget ska priset på marken i området få större betydelse. Ju högre markvärde, desto lägre är risken för förekomst av socialbidrag, resonerar staden. Markvärdet avspeglar det sociala nätverk befolkningen i området har, ett nätverk som kan träda in vid tillfälliga ekonomiska kriser (Tottmar/Dagens Nyheter 2012: 4).

Abidnasir vill ha ett jobb. Men det är svårt här i "lilla Mogadishu". I Borlänges miljonprogram är arbetslösheten hög och bostäderna slitna. Här känner många att dörren till Sverige är stängd. (...) Kanske blir det färre, kanske fler. Ingen vet riktigt. Men en sak är politikerna i Borlänge överens om. Det kommer för många. Eller i alla fall fler än vad kommunen klarar av (Kazmierska, Habul, and Mattsson/Aftonbladet 2013: 6).

Invandrantäta förorter är osäkrade handgranater, vad som är rätt och fel blir ointressant när det är makt eller maktlöshet som är den viktigaste frågan. Den som har en väldigt trasig hemmiljö och turbulent uppväxt har heller aldrig haft någon makt eller kontroll över sitt liv. (...) 40 procent av ungdomsrånen i Stockholm begås av ungdomar

födda utomlands. Social klass, segregerat boende och utanförskap anses förklara överrepresentationen mer än den etniska tillhörigheten.(...) Vi har valt att inte skriva namnet på de skolor vi besökt. De ligger i Stockholms utkant och är ganska typiska förortsskolor (By/Dagens Nyheter 2001: 6).

-Ju fler invandrare som flyttar till Malmö, desto större blir marknaden för olika etniska produkter och för extrema tolkningar av islam. Det blir enklare och enklare att leva som i hemlandet även om man bor i Sverige. -Man måste bryta segregationen. Enda sättet att göra det är att stoppa inflyttningen av fler invandrare till Malmö. Men det ställer ingen upp på i det politiska systemet. Därför är det som vi ser nu bara början. Det kommer att bli värre (Rothenborg/Dagens Nyheter 2009: 24).

Hiba, 24, sitter ensam framför datorn i en svensk förort. Hon har inga vänner här och söker kontakt med andra muslimer på nätet. Hon vet inte var hon ska börja men det visar sig vara lättare än hon kunde föreställa sig. En Facebookvän leder till en annan, hon blir inbjuden till slutna grupper. Plötsligt har hon 90 vänförfrågningar (Helin et al 2015: 16-19).

## Paper II

Under hela 1990-talet har olika insatser för att bryta segregationen diskuterats. Den socialdemokratiskt ledda Storstadskommittén konstaterade 1998 att ett av de viktigaste verktygen för att lyfta de utsatta förorterna var att blanda olika former av bebyggelse och upplåtelseformer. Då förbättras möjligheterna att göra boendekarriär inom ett område. Fler bostadsrätter gör att både det personliga engagemanget och ansvarstagandet för bostadsmiljön ökar. På så sätt kan man undvika den utveckling mot kriminalitet, förslumning och flykt från vissa förorter som i dag är ett tilltagande problem (Frieborg/Dagens Nyheter 2002: 2).

Den individ som frånsäger sig ansvaret för sin livssituation och ser sig själv som ett offer förlorar också makten att förändra sitt liv. Den känsla av uppgivenhet som vissa av Husbyborna uttryckte under kravallerna i våras förtjänar att tas på allvar. Men den förtjänar också att ifrågasättas. Det är inte de tiggande rumänerna i Stockholm, som saknar både mat på bordet och tak över huvudet, som kravallar. Det är förortsungdomar som bor i normala lägenheter och som oavsett sina föräldrars inkomster kan - om de vill och kämpar för det - läsa samma höga utbildningar som alla andra födda under bättre socioekonomiska omständigheter (Kjöller/Dagens Nyheter 2013: 5).

När Europas ekonomier sackar efter och arbetslösheten växer och efterfrågan minskar, drabbas de som står längst ned i hierarkien hårdast. De barn och ungdomar som ser sina föräldrar stå utanför, tror sig inte om att själva få det bättre, om att någonsin lämna dessa illa berömda stadsdelar. För dem finns bara gatan och gängen, brotten och missbruket. För några bland dem öppnar sig också en annan utväg: tron och hängivenheten för en Sak (Dagens Nyheter 2005: 2).

Svenskarna tar sina kulturella normer för givna till den grad att de inte tror att kultur har någon betydelse. De höga trösklarna på svensk arbetsmarknad avspeglar detta homogenitetstänkande. I ett sådant land är det mycket svårt att bli integrerad. Invandrare måste tillåtas att - inom vissa ramar - bevara en egen kultur som kan skapa självrespekt i stället för kravaller. Arbetsmarknaden måste anpassas så att även den med små kunskaper om Sverige kan klara sig själv (Dagens Nyheter 2008: 2).

Det går säkert att hitta akademiska invändningar mot Hewstone och den redovisade studien. Inte heller erbjuder rapporter som denna en rak motorväg till ett fördomsfritt samhälle. Finns det inte många exempel på hur människor med "svensk" bakgrund flyr från kvarter som blivit "för etniska"? På tilltagande segregation där människor snarast flyr till områden fulla av människor som liknar dem själva? Jo, men det finns också gott om blandade områden och skolor där det dagliga livet går sin gilla gång utan större åthävor (Dagens Nyheter 2014: 4).

På papperet låter det allvarligt. "Andelen människor med invandrabakgrund har ökat kraftigt i vissa stadsdelar, även på mindre orter." Men frågan är om man måste bli så upprörd, eller ens förvånad. Egentligen visar siffrorna bara det vi redan visste, nämligen att Sverige har tagit emot många invandrare sedan 1992. En hel del av dessa är flyktingar, som kommer till det nya landet utan språkkunskaper, kontaktnät eller yrkeskunskaper som är omedelbart översättningsbara. Chansen att de ska ta, eller få, ett lån på 8 miljoner kronor och köpa en villa i Vellinge är försumbar. (...) Att flytta till en plats där det redan bor många landsmän är naturligt. Kanske ses det till och med som ett sätt att underlätta integration i det nya landet - det är enklare att flyta in i ett nytt sammanhang om man omger sig med människor som talar samma språk och redan anträtt samma resa. Tillfällig segregation måste inte vara ett problem. Och vem har ritningen på ett samhälle där nyanlända omedelbart kan delta på bostadsmarknaden på samma villkor som de som bott i landet i årtionden? (Dagens Nyheter 2012: 2).

Enligt en undersökning från Malmö högskola, som presenterades i går, är det snarare de flyktingar som själva valt boendeort - och då ofta bosatt sig bland landsmän - som bäst lyckats komma in sam-

hället och skaffa jobb och bostad. Förklaringen är tillgången till sociala nätverk och gemenskapen bland släkt och vänner. Flera internationella studier stödjer tesen att en lyckad integration faktiskt bygger på att olika invandrargrupper tillåts behålla sin kulturella identitet och bygga upp fungerande nätverk för ömsesidig hjälp och företagande. En etniskt präglad stadsdel förvandlas till ett getto först när människor hålls utanför arbetsmarknaden och normlösheten tillåts få fotfäste (Boström/Dagens Nyheter 2008: 4).

De senaste åren har klyftorna ökat i Sverige och värst har utvecklingen varit i de stadsdelar Erik Ullenhag nu vill lyfta. 60 procent av alla utlandsfödda ensamstående föräldrar har låg ekonomisk standard. Det är en tredubbling sedan 2001. I barnhushåll med två föräldrar av utländsk bakgrund är andelen fattiga också mycket hög, närmare 40 procent. OECD pekar på att det svenska skatte- och socialförsäkringssystemet tidigare jämnade ut klyftor väl, men i dag är den omfördelningseffekten nästan helt bortblåst. Hårdast drabbas, förstas, de som redan har det svårt (Swedin/Aftonbladet 2012).

Till nästa år planerar Malmö att bygga 1800 lägenheter. Det är många. Men i veckan kom en ny befolkningsprognos som visar att det kommer att behövas ungefär 4000. 600 000 BEHÖVER BOSTÄDER. Problemet är bara att de planerna motsvarar ungefär hälften av behovet av nya lägenheter, enligt prognoser från Boverket. Prognoser som dessutom gjordes i vintras, innan årets flyktingström. Fler och fler experter har i ren desperation börjat föreslå "social housing", det vill säga särskilda lägenheter för ekonomiskt svaga grupper. Det är en väg som Sverige hittills inte velat slå in på, eftersom det riskerar att förstärka segregationen ännu mer (Pettersson/Aftonbladet 2015).

Är krav verkligen lösningen på att företagen i dag inte anställer högt utbildade och meriterade personer på grund av mörkare hy och ett annorlunda klingande namn? frågar han. Socialdemokraterna borde fundera på det. Partiets migrationsgrupp har lyckats skriva ett program som inte med ett ord nämner Sveriges problem med strukturell rasism och etnisk diskriminering. Det är pinsamt (Pettersson/Aftonbladet 2008: 2).

I de invandratäta storstadsförorterna ska socialbidragen slopas och ersättas med ett villkorat bidrag. Bara den som accepterar det arbete kommunen erbjuder ska få detta tillfälliga ekonomiska bistånd, föreslår moderaterna. Sådana åtgärder snarare stärker än bryter marginaliseringen. De omyndigförklarar människor som bor i invandratäta bostadsområden. På Östermalm blir det okej att leva på socialbidrag, men inte i Rågsved. Så signalerar politikerna att människorna i Rågsved är annorlunda och måste omfattas av särskilda regler (Aftonbladet 2000: 2).

Människor som bor i Biskopsgården tjänar mindre, lever kortare liv, har kortare utbildning, är oftare arbetslösa och utsatta för våld än sina medmänniskor i stadens välmående villaförorter. Klyftorna mellan fattig och rik har vidgats, både i Göteborg och i Sverige, under de åtta år som passerat. Ahmed sa att han inte tänkte rösta i valet (Swedin/Aftonbladet 2014).

Här bor många med låga inkomster. Jag stoppar några förbipasserande, frågar vad de känner till om motorvägen. Om de vet att större delen av vägen kommer att byggas som tunnel förutom just i dessa fattiga områden. Här kommer den sexfiliga motorvägen gå ovan jord, precis utanför Akallabornas fönster. Den som vill förstå hur segregation fungerar borde studera motorvägar. Miljardprojektet Förbifart Stockholm, en motorväg på två mil, ger en bättre förklaring än att enbart räkna hur många etniska svenskar det bor i ett område (Al Naher/Aftonbladet 2015).

## Paper III

De utsatta bostadsområden som benämns invandrantäta kan också kallas invandrarrika, eller ännu hellre flerkulturella, eller allra helst internationella miljöer. Detta är i allmänhet ett positivt värdeord uttryckt, och den internationella miljön utgör dessa områdens mest attraktiva sida. I de sammanhang där man önskar betona just problemen kring områdenas utsatthet bör man tala om områden där det bor många fattiga (The Left Party 1997/98:Sf12).

Men vad menar vi egentligen med integration i det svenska samhället? Vad vill vi uppnå? Är vår vilja och mening att "göra svenskar" av invandrarna eller är det att låta människor skapa sig en egen tillvaro utifrån sina förutsättningar och utifrån de skyldigheter och rättigheter som existerar i Sverige? (...)Det är hög tid att sluta se alla invandrare som socialt utslagna människor som till varje pris måste tas om hand. Tvärtom är de ofta starka, driftiga och initiativrika och kan göra stora insatser i sitt nya hemland. Som ett led i att motverka segregation måste invandrare först få instrumenten att bli en del av det svenska samhället (The Moderates 1996/97:Sf630).

Konstruktionen med nystartszoner riskerar dessutom att låsa in människor med invandrarbakgrund som söker jobb i vissa områden där de redan bor och utgör en hög andel av de boende, en inläsningseffekt som inte främjar integrationen utan snarare riskerar att öka segregationen (The Social Democrats 2013/14:Fi317).

I många av våra förorters skolor studerar i dag barn från jordens alla hörn och med ett stort antal olika bakgrunder medan barn från majoritetssamhället och dess normer och kultur är nästan helt frånva-

rande. Det innebär en nästan omöjlig situation för dem som arbetar med integration av värderingar och rättighetsfrågor i vårt land. I de segregerade storstäderna med miljonprogramsområden tömda på människor med svensk bakgrund tar för vårt samhälle främmande värdegrunder lätt över. I dessa områden finner tyvärr även en del politisk och religiös extremism sin grogrund. Unga människor söker efter en identitet, men det är svårt om man saknar utbildning och är utan arbete och bostad, vilket är verkligheten för många i våra utsatta och segregerade områden (The Left Party, 2015/16:988).

Det invandrantäta bostadsområdets verklighet är massarbetslöshet, fattigdom, bidragsberoende, våld, diskriminering, utanförskap och känslor av hopplöshet. Det är inte farligt att människor från olika nationaliteter lever tillsammans. Det som är farligt är att just dessa områden är hårt drabbade av massarbetslöshet, utanförskap, vana makt och hopplöshet (Social democrats, 1997/98:Sf1).

De storskaliga miljonprogramsområdena löste dåtidens bostadsbehov, men kom sedan att många gånger utvecklas till problemområden. Människor har sedan dess flyttat runt och problemen också. Att i dagens Sverige vara flykting, utan kunskaper i svenska, utan arbete, med en udda etnisk och kulturell tillhörighet kan innebära totalt utanförskap. Men det är ytterligheten. Vi har hela skalan - och alla som inte känner sig behövda, som inte har en uppgift, ett arbete, hamnar lätt vid sidan av. Frustrationen över den egna hjälplösheten och bristen på delaktighet, skapar gäng och grupper av ungdomar utan ansvarsreferenser, som gör gatorna osäkra och människor rädda. Kriminaliteten kommer som på beställning (The Green party, 1996/97:Bo208).

När det socioekonomiska utanförskapet sammanfaller med kulturella och etniska olikheter bildas en mycket explosiv blandning. Samhället splittras på ett sätt som kan få tragiska konsekvenser (The Moderates, 1999/2000:Sf617).

Därför är det en paradox att det förekommer – även om det är ovanligt – att människor väl i det nya landet accepterar och t.o.m. ibland stärker hävdandet av en oacceptabel syn på kvinnor och kulturella traditioner. Här finns ett samband med utanförskapet i Sverige. När människors identitet blir svår att upprätthålla och självkänslan bryts ner av arbetslöshet, svag social status och utanförstående, så återstår bara att söka sig tillbaka till och ibland t.o.m. stärka värderingar från förr (Moderates 2002/03:Sf332).

Den långvariga normaliseringen av utanförskapet leder till svårigheter att vända utvecklingen. I de områden där utsattheten är som störst förekommer parallella strukturer vid sidan av det demokratiska rättssystemet. Det handlar om organiserad kriminalitet som utövar makt genom att anspela på sitt våldskapital. Det handlar också om nor-

mer, ekonomi och rättskipning. Allt fler vittnar om kvinnoförtryck, starkt fördömande attityder mot hbt-personer, hederskultur och religiös fanatism (The Liberal party, 2015/16:3403).

Under alltför många år har Sverige tagit emot fler invandrare än vad samhället har klarat av. Olika bostadsområden har blivit allt mer segregerade, vilket är ett av de tydligaste bevisen för att det har gått för långt. Det handlar bland annat om vissa bostadsområden som har en befolkningsstruktur som skapar såväl ekonomiska som sociala problem. När nyanlända invandrare koncentreras till vissa särskilda områden kan segregationen öka, utanförskapet förstärks och trångboddheten blir allt värre (The Sweden Democrats, 2013/14:C390).

Med den ökande invandringen har områdena fått en alltmer mångkulturell prägel. Vankelmodet i fråga om huruvida olikheterna skulle bejakas eller förnekas, och huruvida skilda livsstilar skulle uppmuntras eller enbart tolereras, har varit stort. Ibland har man med olika ingrepp försökt hindra segregation, genom att förbjuda invandrare med likartad bakgrund att bosätta sig tillsammans (The Moderates, 1997/98:A63).

EBO kom till för att man lättare direkt skulle kunna bosätta sig där det finns jobb och bostäder. Istället har det visat sig att man som flykting väljer att bosätta sig hos anhöriga som tidigare kommit till Sverige som flykting eller anhöriginvandrare. Det medför att elva av Sveriges bostadsområden idag står för merparten av svensk flykting- och anhöriginvandring och dessa bostadsområden har stigmatiserats av denna utveckling (The Social Democrats, 2013/14:Sf304).

När invandrade flyttat in har standarden på samhällsservicen i vissa områden försämrats. Konsekvensen av den strukturella rasismen har lett till att de med låga inkomster frivilligt eller ofrivilligt har fått stanna medan de rika kunnat flytta till mer attraktiva områden. Forskning visar att etniska grupper söker sig till varandra. Problemet är att man fastnar i förorterna som invandrare eftersom det är svårt att få boende i centrum. Det tar mer än 15–20 år att kunna få bostad i centrum i större orter för många invandrade personer (The Left Party 2011/12:C403).

