

The cover features a central white rectangular area with the title and author information. This area is framed by a series of concentric, slightly offset lines. Surrounding this central area are various black silhouettes of people and objects. At the top, there are several people in various poses, including one with a bicycle. On the right side, there are silhouettes of a person sitting in a chair, a person sitting on the floor, a person walking a dog, and a person sitting on the ground. At the bottom, there are silhouettes of a person sitting in a car, a person standing, and three people with their arms raised. On the left side, there are silhouettes of a person standing, a person walking, a person pushing a stroller, a person in a long dress, a person walking a dog, and a person pushing a stroller.

RACE AND ORDER

Critical Perspectives
on Crime in Sweden

Leandro Schclarek Mulinari

Doctoral Thesis in Criminology
Stockholm University 2020

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Leandro Schlarek Mulinari

Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Friday 3 April 2020 at 13.00 in hörsal 5, hus B, Universitetsvägen 10 B.

Abstract

In this study questions of crime are used as a means to explore the relation between race and the social order. The aim is to empirically and theoretically expand the criminological understanding of racism as a structural phenomenon. Anchored in critical criminology, and particularly the work of cultural theorist Stuart Hall, the racialization of crime and its consequences is addressed, with a particular focus on the role of ideology and repression. Departing from a Swedish context, local and global power relations associated with the current conjuncture, such as neoliberalism and the colonial legacy of Western powers, are highlighted.

The four articles of the compilation thesis are intended to be read as a unit, but also stand on their own given that they address different dimensions of the social order where conflicts are played out. In the first article, the role of language in the racialization of official crime discourse is explored at the level of metaphors. In the second, attention is turned to why racist imaginaries of crime are contested by established journalists. The third article addresses security measures that target Muslims in the effort to combat terrorism. The fourth article focuses on racial profiling from a more general perspective, investigating stop-and-search practices as well as consequences of the intertwining of crime and migration control.

Keywords: *Law and order; ideology; repression; racialization of crime; racial profiling; migration control; stop and search; Anti-terrorism measures.*

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List of original papers

Article I. Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2015). “You are not welcome in our lovely Malmö”: Conditions for belonging in mobilization against organized crime. *Sociologisk forskning*, 52(4): 321–340.¹

Article II. Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2017). Contesting Sweden’s Chicago: Why journalists dispute the crime image of Malmö. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 34(3): 206–219.

Article III. Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2019). The spectrum of repression: Swedish Muslims’ experiences of anti-terrorism measures. *Critical Criminology*, 27(3): 451–466.

Article IV. Schclarek Mulinari, L. and Keskinen, S. Racial profiling in the racial welfare state: Examining the order of policing in the Nordic region. Status: Accepted in March 2020 by *Theoretical Criminology*.

¹ This article was originally published in Swedish, and has been translated into English for the purpose of the thesis. The original title is: ”Ni är inte välkomna i vårt fina Malmö’: Premisser för samhällsgemenskap i kamp mot organiserad brottslighet.”

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1. Introduction, aim and scope

In the 1970s, the topic of law and order became centrepiece in political campaigns, especially within conservative groups across the West. During the 1990s, liberal and social democratic parties, including those in Sweden, followed in this direction, making punishment and punitive measures the preferred response to social problems (Flyghed, 2005; Hörnqvist, 2004; Tham, 2001, 2018).

Spurred on by the media, the significance of law and order has grown steadily in different regions of the world. Rather than signalling just rule and stability, within the realm of critical criminology the current crime agenda has been deciphered as a way to encourage the expansion of the repressive powers of the state, while legitimizing inequalities of the current order. Scholars have described how across the ideological spectrum “governing through crime” (Simon, 2007) tends to imply “punishing the poor” (Wacquant, 2009) by the fomenting of a “culture of control” (Garland, 2001).

A central driving force in this regard are notions of race, a circumstance far too often overlooked, even though Stuart Hall and colleagues stressed it early on in their pioneering work *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (1978). In its wake, scholars – especially from the USA and Great Britain – have continuously shown that law enforcement practices fuel injustices by targeting communities racialized as non-white in a discriminatory and racist manner (for recent contributions, see Armenta, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017; Parmar, 2019).

Informed by this critical line of thought, in this compilation thesis I depart from a Swedish context. My overall aim is to produce empirically anchored, and theoretically initiated knowledge that expands the criminological understanding of racism as a structural phenomenon. I explore and add pieces to the puzzle concerning ways that crime is constructed and reconstructed, as well as experienced and imagined at the intersection of race and order. The ambition is to move the gravity of the discipline from race and crime to race and order. Given the close relationship that exists between biased definitions of crime with respect to repressive policies that target groups racialized as non-white, I contend that it is pivotal for the discipline to develop this focus further.

More concretely, the thesis is based on four articles and a contextualizing introduction where a general overview of the field is presented. The articles are

concentrated on different topics and have different aims. The aim of the first is to provide an understanding of the ideology of a municipal campaign intended at mobilizing residents of Malmö against organized crime by targeting the “black economy” of the city. The aim of the second is to contribute to the understanding of the room for resistance within the media by exploring why established journalists challenge the racialized crime image of Malmö as “Sweden’s Chicago”. The aim of the third is to clarify the type of power to which Muslims in Sweden are exposed in the attempts to prevent terrorism. The aim of the fourth is to untangle the power relations of which racial profiling is an expression in the Nordic region.

While developed as separate interventions, with distinct purposes, empirical interests, methodological considerations and theoretical discussions, the articles are united by a double-edged focus on the subject matters of ideology (Articles I and II) and repression (Articles III and IV). Thereby, they stand both on their own and form two pairs. My ambition, however, is that the thesis will be read as a unit engaged with overlapping subjects related to power relations that structure the current order, especially neoliberalism and the colonial legacy of Western states.

The tripartite analytical lens that I develop, focused on the categories of crime, race and order, knits the thesis into a whole. The cross-disciplinary aspiration of the thesis is also a uniting feature. Anchored in the tradition of critical criminology, I interweave contributions from other fields. I draw from urban and media studies, as well as from more general sociological accounts. Mainly, the inspiration comes from Marxism, postcolonial perspectives and critical race theories.

2. Central concepts: race, racialization and racism

While there is no scientific basis for dividing the human population into races, distinctions based on, for example, physical appearance have had, and continue to have, real effects. Regardless of the difficulties in defining, and even more in maintaining, race has been one of the most powerful categories that have served to shape the course of history (Omi and Winant, 2014). As such, it is a necessary analytical concept that is invoked in this thesis not in reference to biology, but as a social construction.

Specifically, race is defined as “a symbolic category, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific social and historical contexts, that is misrecognized as a natural category” (Desmond and Emirbayer, 2009: 336). This definition rests on the perception that race cannot be stabilized by reference to nature or difference in human essence: therefore it is a fragile, fluid, vague, flexible and slippery concept. Rather than a pre-given category, race is created and recreated in processes marked by force and consent, by contestations and internalization in the sense of acceptance of classifications as well as redefinitions (Hall, 1996[1988]).

Race acquires its meaning at the intersection of class, gender and sexuality as well as in relation to other social categorizations, such as nationality and ethnicity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005[1993]). While nationality refers to membership of a politically delineated territory, ethnicity is used to distinguish groups united by common cultural, historic, linguistic, or religious practices. Ethnicity and nationality are, in the same way as race, integral in the maintaining of borders and boundaries, shaping notions of “us” and “them”. These categories are mutually reinforcing: they influence each other and, in this process, sometimes function as substitute, as well as proxy, categories. This flexibility is central for their power, because it allows notions of race to be reproduced while adjusting to diverse settings across time and space (Goldberg, 2001).

In the contemporary Western context, race often appears at the intersection of its absence/presence. It is “buried, yet haunting; often un-named, yet effective; slippery and difficult to grasp, yet manifest in specific configurations” (Balkenhol and Schramm, 2019: 585). Therefore it must be unpacked. For this task, the concept of racialization has been developed to capture the process through which race becomes a

key factor for ways that social relations, practices or/and groups are defined, understood and ordered (Murji and Solomos, 2004).

The attraction of racialization as a concept rests partly on its use as an analytical tool that allows sidestepping the reification of race, while capturing the process underpinning this category (Barot and Bird, 2001). However, this manoeuvre is not without problems. The term “racialization” has been qualified as suffering from “chronic instability and potential vacuity” (Rattansi, 2004: 272). Its shortcoming is related to its dependency on prior definitions of race – a term that, as discussed, is fluid and potentially violent at its core. While there are limitations with the concept, according to the view developed in this thesis, racialization should be appreciated as a valuable and indispensable addition to the vocabulary of social science concerning the making of race.

A central theorist for the advancement of this line of thought is the postcolonial intellectual Frantz Fanon. For him, the “racialization of thought” (1991[1963]: 212) is related to the ways that Western powers have inscribed psyches and bodies into an ideological as well as material order based on white and Western superiority. Departing from Fanon’s conceptualization, racialization is understood as linked to the hierarchies imposed and institutionalized by the global world-system that structures humanity in the interplay with local histories and trajectories. Racism, in this respect, is a system of power, rather than a personal opinion, even if it can be both (Grosfoguel, 2016).

Racism as an ordering structure is politically, ideologically, culturally and economically (re)produced as well as represented. By tracing the role of race through processes of racialization, it is possible to explore racism, not as a mere product of race categorization, but as discursive and systematic practices related to modes of exclusion, as well as subordination and inclusion. These appear in everyday interactions (Essed, 1990) as well as in institutional forms (Lentin, 2007).

It is analytically important to differentiate between forms of racism through which inferiorization and dehumanization have been accomplished and maintained. Through the course of history, groups have been targeted in different ways, making it vital to distinguish between racisms. While shifting in its manifestations, racisms have operated through two main principles, “a racism of extermination or elimination (an ‘exclusive’ racism) and a racism of oppression or exploitation (an ‘inclusive’ racism)”

(Balibar, 2011[1991]: 39). What has been characterized as the classic forms of racism were imposed in the context of European imperial expansion and colonization: from the end of the fifteenth century, racism as a project of white superiority was legitimized ideologically through reference to biology as well as higher powers – divine and moral (Mignolo, 2005). Newer forms of racisms in the western context tend to rest on state power for legitimization, and a deeply liberal discourse based on notions of race-neutrality and colour-blindness, where racism prevails without racists (Bonilla-Silva, 2003).

3. Situating the introduction

There are many ways to write an introduction to a compilation thesis. I have taken this as an opportunity to carve out a genealogy on which my work rests. By presenting the criminological history of ideas from my perspective, I unfold the analytical map which has guided me, and that hopefully can help others to navigate in the field. In the proceeding chapters I trace the role of racism to the foundational period of the criminological discipline, underlining contributions from previous centuries. From there I move forward to the current times and contemporary contributions.

This historical approach should not be regarded as an attempt to present an encompassing overview concerning the relationship between race and order, and its intimate link to notions of crime. Rather, my aspiration is to situate questions of racism at the core of the criminological discipline. This allows me to track from where, with and against what, the four interventions that make up the thesis have been produced. The importance of contextualizing as a means to understand on whose shoulders we stand was persuasively addressed by Karl Marx:

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. (Marx, 1987[1852]: 595)

Marx's insights are applicable to criminological theorization. The history of the tradition is crucial to account for in order to understand the circumstances of one's own, and others', work – as well as its relation to the overall agenda of the discipline. According to my understanding, the intellectual labour of preceding scholars is a springboard to launch from, for better or for worse.

A consequence of the approach is that, chapter by chapter, I close in on the topics of the articles. Rather than exclusively focusing on ideology and repression, and how they relate to crime, race and order, my aspiration is that this introductory text is viewed as complementary to the articles. Thereby, it allows the thesis to address a

broader selection of issues, making it relevant to those who want to acquaint themselves with critical viewpoints on racism within criminology.

In the following chapter, “The shaping of a discipline”, I start by describing the crucial role that the race-crime nexus has had in the development of criminology by highlighting the foundational nature of Cesare Lombroso’s writings. I also pose questions that are intended to stimulate a discussion of the relation between the history of criminology and the present. The chapter that follows, “Beyond the race-crime nexus”, is concentrated on discussing the importance of the agenda of the discipline. Here, I underline how and from where my own has developed.

In “The contours of critical criminology”, I accentuate the relevance of W.E.B. Du Bois, a radical sociologist and an early civil-rights leader in the USA. In a quest to clarify the relation between the past and the present of this field, in “Critical perspectives on racism” I track how his work is linked to three theoretical traditions that have been influential in shaping how racism is theorized within the critical realm of criminology today. I then turn to contemporary contributions, providing a thematic and more empirical overview of explorations from where the critical field that places racism at the heart can be appreciated.

The following chapter, “The relevance of Stuart Hall”, focuses on a theorist who has made a direct impact on my work – theoretically, empirically and methodologically. The four propositions that I present here are intended to elucidate how Hall’s work has set the ground for the thesis, but also his relevance for criminology as a discipline in general.

In the chapter “The articles in context” I present my main arguments and findings, as well as how the four articles of the thesis relate to one and other. This introduction to the thesis is closed with a “Concluding summary” and a summary in Swedish: “Svensk sammanfattning”.

4. The shaping of a discipline

According to the standard story, criminology as a scientific discipline was born in Italy with the positivist Cesare Lombroso. As a doctor working in prisons, he performed detailed empirical studies. In the book *L'uomo delinquente* (1876), he concluded that some are “born criminals”. This position was substantiated by measurements of the size and structure of human body parts such as ears, teeth, noses, cheeks, lips, chin, hair, palate and thorax. Lombroso linked the identified biological “abnormalities” and “anomalies” to specific defects: criminals were classified as experiencing less pain, smell, taste and hearing, but having greater physical strength. They were also considered to suffer from a lack of morality and characterized by traits such as cynicism, treason, vanity, impulsiveness, cruelty, an aptitude to participate in orgies, as well as a passion for games (for an overview, *see* Gabbidon, 2015).

While social and ecological factors are acknowledged, the overall idea that Lombroso proposed is that some races (and also women in general: *see* Lombroso and Ferrero, 2004[1893]) are inferior, and that crime must be understood in relation to this. The deterministic crime-biology relationship untangled by Lombroso is forged to a race-crime nexus that reaffirms white and Western superiority. According to him, the human population is divided into “light and dark haired” where he distinguished a “blond-haired race” (Lombroso, 1911: 26). In other instances, Lombroso divided the human population using classifications such as “Latins”, “Germans”, “Negros”, “savages”, and “wild people” where some, for example Roma, are seen as a “whole race of criminals” (*ibid*: 39). He also claimed that the high levels of murder in southern Italy were due to the presence of “African and Oriental elements” (*ibid*: 27). Inspired by Darwinian evolutionary logic, criminality is comprehended as a primitive phenomenon:

The criminal is an atavistic being, a relic of a vanished race. This is by no means an uncommon occurrence in nature. (...) The dog left to run wild in the forest will in a few generations revert to the type of his original wolf-like progenitor, and the cultivated garden roses when neglected show a tendency to reassume the form of the original dog-rose. (Lombroso-Ferrero and Lombroso, 1911: 135–136)

Lombroso's viewpoint is by no means exceptional for his time, nor for criminology. The notion of white superiority and the idea that more or less civilized races populate the world is widely accepted: these ideas prevailed in respected academic circles until the defeat of Germany in World War II. In its aftermath, racial biology became discarded, slowly but surely, as both unscientific and dangerous, and also, in its wake, the popularity of its advocates.

Sweden is a case in point where racial biology as a scientific field of research was not only sanctioned but also promoted by the state, through the institutionalization of its ideas. In the city of Uppsala the government founded The State Institute for Racial Biology in 1922, which operated until 1958. During this period, different forms of overt racist imaginaries prevailed in academia, and policies were developed by the state targeting groups that today are acknowledged as national ethnic minorities – Jews, Sami, Swedish Finns, Tornedalers and Roma.

Historians have documented Sweden's brutal and racist history of the first half of the twentieth century. Races considered inferior were targets of forced sterilization, registration, eviction, restriction and different forms of bans (Ericsson, 2016; Roll-Hansen and Broberg, 2005[1996]). A telling example is the widespread anti-Ziganism and anti-Semitism that was central to political considerations during the Second World War, a feature particularly salient in decisions regarding how to deal with refugees. Despite persecution by the Nazi regime, Sweden did not change its border control policies towards the Roma community: they were completely prohibited from entering the country, a policy that applied from 1914 until 1954. While some Jewish refugees were granted asylum, they were discriminated by restrictions. Criminologist Janne Flyghed (1992) has shown that these migration policies overlapped with security considerations, and were developed based on the perceived threat of race. In this regard, the idea of an international conspiracy of Jews was central (Blomqvist, 2013; for official accounts, *see* Bruchfeld and Levine, 1998; Ds 2014: 8).

Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that far into the 1950s racial biological studies were carried out within Swedish criminology without major protests among scholars. In the emerging welfare state, the purpose of criminal, social and migration policies had openly been regarded as a means to protect Swedish society, the nation and its race, from the ongoing degeneration within specific sections of the population (Pedersson, 2017).

Lombroso's legacy

In the light of this background, the question arises for contemporary criminologists as to what lessons may be drawn from Lombroso and the role of racism in the genealogy of the discipline and society at large.

One answer is that Lombroso should be understood as a historical parenthesis – an expression of an obsolete view of what counts as science, which should not be associated with the criminology of today. Criminologist David Garland (1988; also *see* Garland and Sparks, 2000) makes this argument in relation to the development of the modern branch of the discipline. Garland maintains that in the British case – a line of reasoning easily transferable to Sweden – criminology has had a deeply social-liberal core, structured by attempts to produce knowledge for the emerging welfare state. Attached to this viewpoint is the idea of a break during the 1970s, in line with the shift from treatment to punishment as the preferred governmental response to social problems. At that moment criminology recalibrated its role – a circumstance that is substantiated by the number of important contemporary critical studies on the punitive trend in crime policy (for Swedish contributions, *see* Barker, 2018; Hermansson, 2018; Hofer and Nilsson, 2007; Tham, 2018).

Based on this understanding, it could be argued that Lombroso's work should not be paid too much attention, other than perhaps in introductions to criminology as a reminder of the need for humility when making truth claims. Possibly, it could be claimed that what a century ago appeared as science, today strikes us as the opposite. How could Lombroso and so many of his time believe that there was a correlation between the shape of noses and criminality?

While some have wanted to downplay Lombroso's role in the history of the discipline, others have made a different evaluation. Revisionist scholars argue that there are great insights to be drawn from Lombroso's work if the standard story described above were to be reconsidered. Rather than focusing on the racist characteristics of Lombroso's work, these academics have re-engaged with his contributions by appreciating his empirical efforts and positivist logic (Knepper and Ystehede, 2012).

The desire to re-evaluate Lombroso could on the one hand be seen as an attempt to whitewash criminology (for clarification, *see* Henne and Shah, 2015), but can also be

read in tandem with the regaining presence of biological theories within the field. Based on this second line of argument, the following questions have been raised:

Should biosocial criminology be viewed as continuous with Lombrosian criminology, or should it be viewed as severable? What does contemporary biosocial criminology have to do with Lombrosian criminology? (Cole and Campbell, 2012: 150)

There are, of course, more critical questions that can be formulated in relation to the legacy of Lombroso. Scholars have underlined that it is productive to engage with Lombroso's work since it sheds light on the role of science as an ideological tool in the hands of those in power. The argument is that Lombroso symbolizes the role of the university as an institution that through the course of history has had a key role in producing knowledge that has been used to deny people rights, criminalize and sometimes exterminate ethnic minorities and groups racialized as non-white (Lynch, 2000). From this follows questions such as: Is there a contemporary agenda of criminology and if so whom does it serve?

This latter question should be read alongside the work of Biko Agozino. In *Counter-colonial Criminology: A Critique of Imperialist Reason* (2003), Agozino shows that Western criminologists have concentrated on exploring crimes committed by those racialized as non-white, while obscuring the atrocities of imperialism and colonialism. As such, it has been central in legitimizing white supremacy, reaffirming racism and a hierarchic world order dominated by Western states. Based on a similar logic, postcolonial historian Paul Gilroy (1982) criticized criminologists for reproducing "myths" about black criminality. By over-engaging with street crime, they turned the gaze towards the culture of marginalized communities, rather than addressing why people were disadvantaged in the first place.

An additional answer, and topic for discussion, that does not preclude the preceding ones, is that Lombroso's work highlights the relation between continuity and change that exists in the way that criminals have been represented and imagined. Criminologist Dario Melossi (2000) refers to Lombroso's work to situate the discussion of the evolving representations of the criminal "other" – often poor people who have migrated to new countries or within them. From this assessment follows questions such as: Is it class or racism that is the driving force in processes of

criminalization? Is it both? These questions are particularly important to address, given the longstanding interest in the relation between migration and crime. Almost a century ago, Edwin Sutherland – maybe the most influential criminologist to this day – stated the following: “One of the questions frequently asked regarding crime is: Do immigrants commit more crimes than the native-born?” (Sutherland, 1924: 97).

This research question has remained central in contemporary criminological explorations. About twenty studies in Sweden alone have compared crime between domestic and foreign-born since the 1970s. The results are relatively coherent, and show that foreign-born are over-represented in crime statistics, a disparity that increases in relation to coarser forms of crime (Backhans and Sundlöf, 2019; Kardell, 2011; Martens and Holmberg, 2005). While the question of migration and crime has been an important focus in Sweden, especially for research conducted by state institutions, the topic of discrimination within the criminal justice system has also been explored. Remarkably, studies of this sort are also relatively coherent, showing that resource-poor “foreign-born”, “ethnic minorities”, “immigrants” or people originating from “non-Western” contexts – different concepts are invoked in different studies – risk to a disproportionate degree being arrested, convicted and imprisoned. The general conclusion is that groups racialized as non-white – to use my own preferred vocabulary – are treated in all parts of the criminal justice system negatively, and in particular in police interactions (for Swedish contributions, *see* Martens, Shannon and Törnqvist, 2008; Sarnecki, 2006).

Given these different lines of reasoning, Lombroso’s legacy can function both as an argument to focus less on race, because of the risk of fuelling racism, and as a point of departure for theorizing changes and ruptures in the discipline regarding its understanding of race and racism.

5. Beyond the race-crime nexus

Independent of how one understands the influence of the “father of criminology”, it is clear that an important amount of criminological effort has been put into measuring, discussing and exploring the criminality of groups racialized as non-white. Needless to say, this still prevailing focus largely differs from Lombroso’s. Part of the engagement is related to efforts to address inequalities in society, as well as to nuance public debates – as, for example, underlined by Sutherland (1924) in the discussion following the previously quoted extract. Nevertheless, while not being the intention, a specific research interest consisting of two counterpoles has been reaffirmed, where groups racialized as non-white are constantly represented as the problem.

Criminological questions remain stuck in a binary of trying to explain the over-representation of Black men in the criminal justice system through explanatory paradigms of discrimination or offending propensity.
(Parmar, 2017: 36)

Criminologist John Hagan and colleagues (2008) have described the obsession of the field to link immigrants to crime as a form of “symbolic violence”. The problem is not this focus itself, but the fact that far too many criminological studies reproduce similar results based on similar questions, repeating the same discussions and offering the same answers. The theoretical challenge would be to try address continuity and change in regards to the phenomenon of discrimination as well as over-representation in the crime statistics. Another challenge is to expand the scope of criminology beyond this focus, an argument that has appeared recurrently within the field.

The stakes in the effort to renew the agenda of criminology are epistemological concerns regarding claims to truth, but also the sources on which criminological theory should rely. How do criminologists produce knowledge? What and whom should this knowledge serve?

Situating criminological knowledge

Based on the principles of anti-discrimination and anti-racism, criminologists Coretta Phillips and Benjamin Bowling (2003) advocate what they label “minority perspectives” within the discipline (also *see* Bosworth, Bowling and Lee, 2008).

According to Phillips and Bowling, criminology needs to address the fundamental role of racism in how society is ordered, starting by foregrounding the experiences of minorities racialized as non-white, locating them within a structural context.

A primary objective in formulating minority perspectives in criminology is to move beyond the so-called ‘race and crime’ debate that has preoccupied us. It is the need to refine this debate, extend its parameters, and to raise concerns about the nature of the discipline itself which has spurred us to propose a different approach. (Phillips and Bowling, 2003: 269)

The underlying idea in Phillips and Bowling’s intervention – which resonates with Agozino’s and Gilroy’s claims described previously – is that the race-crime nexus has been, and still is, narrowly defined within criminology. According to them, criminologists have focused mainly on crimes committed by the population racialized as non-white, paying less attention to topics such as racist violence, repressive policing and other forms of victimization that regulate the lives of minorities. The authors propose that criminologists should address both crime and criminalization, critically engaging with official statistics, exploring bias in the criminal justice field and deconstructing criminogenic knowledge claims about populations racialized as non-white. The inspiration comes from previous calls to develop a “black criminology” (Russell, 1992). Even more, it can be traced back to feminist criminologists who have successfully extended the focus of the discipline by exploring the role of women as offenders and victims, and also the vulnerable position of the LGBT community (for Swedish contributions, *see* Gålnander, 2019; Heber, 2015; Lander, Ravn and Jon, 2014; Tiby, 1999).

Both minority and feminist perspectives share a desire to make the interest group visible, but the focus of this visibility is somewhat different. Whereas feminist criminologists have sought to expose the neglect of women as offenders and understand their treatment in the criminal justice system, minority perspectives will seek to redress a criminological imbalance. Empirical criminology has been overly concerned with minorities, particularly black minorities, as offenders. (Phillips and Bowling, 2003: 282)

I endorse Phillips and Bowling's attempt to shift the agenda of criminology by re-evaluating whose voices scholars should privilege. From my perspective, however, the topic of visibility is not only linked to race, and to whom we should listen. Criminologist Katja Franko Aas (2012) provides a complementary argument to that of Phillips and Bowling's. Highlighting the role of place for criminological theorization and from which perspective criminologists should look, Franko Aas advocates the need to develop "peripheral vision". This idea is linked to feminist scholar Donna Haraway's (1988) conceptualization of "situated knowledge" – a position that stands in sharp contrast to the "God trick" of objective knowledge claims that pretend to speak from nowhere and simultaneously everywhere.

The underlying notion is the acknowledgement that criminological theory is produced mainly from the perspectives of privileged citizens in the global North, from the perspective of particular nation-states located in the West. Franko Aas, who in her work pays extra attention to the ways in which migrants are criminalized, calls for challenging superficiality in criminological theory. In particular, she challenges methodological nationalism and eurocentrism: perspectives that naturalize the problems and definitions of Western nation-states.

(...) the growing awareness of global connectedness represents an impetus to develop methodological, theoretical and conceptual approaches which transcend the established ethnocentric frameworks and are built on a more expansive and inclusive geographical imagination. (Franko Aas, 2012: 8)

What unites the arguments laid out by Phillips and Bowling with respect to those of Franko Aas is their understanding that power structures social relations and therefore also academic enterprises. As such, they not only urge scholars to think about bias and neutrality, but also about what it means to position oneself. In my view, if Phillips and Bowling's and Franko Aas' perspectives are fused, an epistemological position emerges that is sensitive to the complex ways that criminological knowledge is produced.

To clarify my understanding: It makes a difference to see, look and define the problems with crime as it relates to questions of race and order from below, from the periphery, from the perspective of minorities, from migrants, from groups racialized as non-white, rather than from the perspective of the majority, from above, from the

centre, from the state and its officials or from whiteness as a naturalized position. This acknowledgement is fundamental when starting to explore why and how racialized definitions of crime are shaped, and processes of criminalization play out in the clash between forces at different levels of the social order.

6. The contours of critical criminology

In this chapter, I trace the roots of the criminological tradition engaged with questions of racism. In many instances the inspiration has come from Marxism. In a key discussion about primitive accumulation – that is, the process that precedes the privatization of property, paving the way for capitalism – Marx argues that the law is used as an “instrument of theft of the people’s land”. He continues by stating that it is a “parliamentary form of the robbery” which legitimized that “landlords grant themselves the people’s land” (Marx, 1993[1887]: 47). While still radical today, it is worth noting that this recognition of the class-based nature of the justice system has actually been quite commonplace: even Lombroso acknowledged it when stating that, “it is necessary to remember that the conviction of rich men is very rare, and that, when they violate the laws (...) they are not put into prison so easily as the poor” (Lombroso, 1911: 136).

An anti-racist forerunner

Drawing from this emphasis of the law as part of the overall power structure of society, scholars have addressed the race-crime nexus. A key, but often neglected, researcher in this respect is Lombroso’s contemporary W.E.B. Du Bois. He was not only an academic, but also a central figure in the civil rights movement in the USA. Thereby his work functions to highlight the recurring efforts to push the agenda of criminology since the early days of the discipline, paving the way for scholarship committed to social justice (for contemporary contributions, *see* Sudbury and Okazawa-Rey, 2009).

Du Bois (1990[1903]) is a forerunner in many regards, known mainly for his theorization of racism, stating that, “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line”. Related to this assessment, he coined two metaphors that have been important when theorizing racism: “the veil” and “double consciousness”. Cultural theorist Stuart Hall (2003) offers the following summary in a review of Du Bois’ life and thought:

The veil has biblical associations; double consciousness, philosophical ones. Du Bois argued that racism and the practices of segregation excluded blacks from mainstream American life – “shut them out of their

world by a vast veil". Exiled within, a stranger in his own home, always looking at himself through the eyes of another race, being both African and American, the Negro was destined to have a double self, a divided soul, the bearer of a "double consciousness" (...).

Du Bois has not only made interventions expanding the understanding of racism in general but also left substantial contributions to criminology (Gabbidon, 1996). As is the case with many innovative black and non-Western scholars, these are seldom acknowledged even though he was actually referenced by Edwin Sutherland in a footnote (1924: 103). His influence is nonetheless substantial.

In *The Philadelphia Negro* (1967[1899]) Du Bois queries the way that blacks are represented as the crime problem, and underlines the role of racism and discrimination in the production of crime statistics, in the administration of the law in general, as well as in society and in the formation of the USA as a nation-state. By addressing the social dynamic in poor communities that foments involvement in crime, Du Bois adds to the foundation of what later on will become the Chicago School of Criminology, known for emphasizing the spatial characteristics of neighbourhoods. Du Bois was also early in making the connection between the structure of society and the way that cultural norms in the USA, such as ambition, are connected to crime – an argument on which Robert Merton (1938) would elaborate and gain widespread recognition for (Morris, 2015). In Du Bois' own words:

The connection of crime and prejudice is, on the other hand, neither simple nor direct. The boy who is refused promotion in his job as porter does not go out and snatch somebody's pocketbook. Conversely the loafers at Twelfth and Kater streets, and the thugs in the county prison are not usually graduates of high schools who have been refused work. The connections are much more subtle and dangerous; it is the atmosphere of rebellion and discontent that unrewarded merit and reasonable but unsatisfied ambition make. The social environment of excuse, listless despair, careless indulgence and lack of inspiration to work is the growing force that turns black boys and girls into gamblers, prostitutes and rascals. And this social environment has been built up slowly out of the disappointments of deserving men and the sloth of the un-awakened. How

long can a city say to a part of its citizens, “It is useless to work; it is fruitless to deserve well of men; education will gain you nothing but disappointment and humiliation”? How long can a city teach its black children that the road to success is to have a white face? How long can a city do this and escape the inevitable penalty? (Du Bois, 1967[1899]: 351)

My interpretation is that Du Bois tries to break with the tradition among scholars to evaluate why people commit crime by exploring the role of individual shortcomings. Rather, he uses the question of crime to address the discriminatory and racist social order (Holt, 1990). As such, his remarks should be understood as a modified version of the appraisal proposed by Marx’s friend and partner Friedrich Engels:

Immorality is fostered in every possible way by the conditions of working class life. The worker is poor; life has nothing to offer him; he is deprived of virtually all pleasures. Consequently he does not fear the penalties of the law. Why should he leave the rich man in undisturbed possession of his property? Why should he not take at least a part of this property for himself? What reason has the worker for not stealing? (...) If the demoralisation of the worker passes beyond a certain point then it is just as natural that he will turn into a criminal – as inevitably as water turns into steam at boiling point. (Engels, 1993[1858]: 48)

In this interpretation, Du Bois’ effort should be considered as a very early attempt to construct a framework capable of addressing crime and criminalization within a general theory of social order, conjoining an analysis of class and race. The backdrop of this contribution is his analysis of the racial and colonial dynamics of capitalism, and in particular the role of slavery in the USA. In one of Du Bois’ (1933) interventions, he rhetorically asks, “How now does the philosophy of Karl Marx apply today to colored labor?” Identifying that “Negroes in the United States belong distinctly to the working proletariat”, the discussion then turns towards how Marxism has been focused on the white working class, neglecting racism as a structuring condition for social relations.

Racism in the margins

It is important to highlight that scholars within the critical tradition of criminology have had different ways of conceptualizing the social order. To place Du Bois at centre stage is not commonplace. Racism and those who have explored it as a structural condition of the social order in general, and the criminal justice system in particular, are often overlooked or pushed to the margins. In many exposés over the development of critical criminology racism is simply neglected. Traditional accounts tend to identify as founding for the critical tradition, the work of Dutch criminologist Willem Bongers (1969[1905]) who is mainly remembered for his contribution on the relation between crime and the egoistic and corrupting spirit encouraged by capitalism.

In some regards, the downplaying of racism among critical scholars should be understood as an intervention in the spirit of justice, although problematic. From their perspective, poverty and economic inequality – reduced to questions of class – have been the progressive lens through which crime and justice should be understood.

An illuminating example is the debates between critical criminologists from the 1970s concerning the role of law and order. With some notable exceptions, in several of the canonized books from the period there is a striking silence in relation to questions of racism. The focus here is directed towards what are believed to be the real conditions of production and reproduction. This feature is, for example, noticeable in William Chambliss and Milton Mankoff's *Whose Law? What Order?* (1976), as well as in Richard Quinney's *Critique of Legal Order: Crime Control in Capitalist Society* (1974). In the latter, the following argument is developed:

The social reality of crime is thus a process whereby conceptions of crime are constructed, criminal laws are established and administered, and behaviors are developed in relation to these criminal definitions. The legal order, accordingly, is a human activity. It is an order created for political purposes, to assure the hegemony of the ruling class. (Quinney, 1974: 7)

I find Quinney's understanding of the relation between crime and the social order clarifying, especially the emphasis on it being a human product. The single-minded focus on class as if it were not a fragmented category, however, leads to silences in regards to questions of racism. It should be noted that Quinney actually touches upon

the treatment of blacks in the criminal justice system. The attention paid to this issue is, however, “minimal” (Hawkins, 1987: 722).

To this day, racism far too often continues to be a blind spot within critical scholarship. Adhering to what can be described as the “colour-blind” critical tradition among the classics of the criminological field, questions of racism are, for example, absent in David Garland’s *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (2001). In this thought-provoking contribution, Garland explores the current period of “late modernity” as an order distinguished by neoliberalism – an economic, political and cultural force that has been central in the transformation of the subject matter of criminology. Among other things Garland points towards questions of security becoming a commodity, part of a dominating individualistic “consumer culture”.

While Garland’s work offers key insights needed to decipher the turn towards law and order in recent decades, the lack of attention to questions of racism is a shortcoming in the otherwise relevant analysis. In a book review, the criticism is specified in the following way:

However, it serves to highlight two startling and interlinked silences in this otherwise impressively embracing text. These are ‘drugs’ (there are three brief index references to the ‘war on drugs’, and none to ‘drugs’) and the racialized politics of the ‘underclass’ in the USA and ‘immigrants’ in the UK (no indexed references, and only one to ‘race’). Both the politics of race and drugs, plausibly, have played a critical role in shaping the politics of crime. (O’Malley, 2002: 260).

According to my understanding, this type of criticism, and ensuing intensive debates, have been very productive for the field. Certainly, I adhere to assessments that “criminology’s disciplinary norms [are] continuing to contend with race only at the margins” (Phillips et al., 2019: 9). From the margins, nevertheless, important advances have been made in exploring the role of race and racism for crime.

7. Critical perspectives on racism

In the 1960s, social movements and public intellectuals placed racism at the core of their analysis with renewed vigour, assessing the role of race and racism for crime and processes of criminalization. The writer James Baldwin captured the sentiments of the epoch in his essay *A Report from Occupied Territory* in 1966. The backdrop of his text is an urban uprising that started in Harlem after a white police officer shot dead a black youth. Baldwin places this event in the context of social exclusion and deprivation of the African-American population in regards to schooling, housing and work, and stresses the long history of police brutality in the USA:

[T]he police are simply the hired enemies of this population. They are present to keep the Negro in his place and to protect white business interests, and they have no other function. (...) This is why those pious calls to “respect the law,” always to be heard from prominent citizens each time the ghetto explodes, are so obscene. The law is meant to be my servant and not my master, still less my torturer and my murderer. To respect the law, in the context in which the American Negro finds himself, is simply to surrender his self-respect. (Baldwin, 2016[1966])

While anticolonial movements and intellectuals advocating justice fought to advance their positions in the radical climate of the 1960s, a decade later an academic explosion can be seen in writings on race and racism. This is noted by Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (2001), who describe the emergence of a complex body of “race critical theories”. In their pedagogical periodization of contributions from the end of the 1970s and 1980s, an epoch classified as intellectually “path breaking” in a previously unprecedented way, they include contributions from prominent scholars such as Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Patricia Hill Collins, Chandra Mohanty and Étienne Balibar.

The use of “race critical theories” as an umbrella term is a productive point of departure to understand the field engaged with questions about racism. Nevertheless, it also subsumes a great diversity. During the 1970s and 1980s an intensive debate took place within and outside the realm of criminology in relation to questions concerning it. In *Racism and Criminology* Barbara Hudson (1993) highlights

contributions in opposition to what she labels as the administrative search for “pure” discrimination in the criminal justice system. Hudson differentiates between “radical criminologist” and “critical criminologist”, drawing the line by referencing two books. The first is *What is to be Done about Law and Order?* This intervention by Jock Young and John Lea (1984) represents the radical “left realists” attempt to address street crime committed by poor black adolescents as a real problem. The second is *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* by Stuart Hall and colleagues (1978). According to Hudson, the adherers to the this perspective were united by their view that the academia should critically asses power abuses, especially state repression and practices of criminalization, rather than come up with policy solutions.

In parallel with the debate within criminology, a general discussion takes place in academia regarding the relation between race and class. Different positions crystallize in this context, all aimed at understanding the centrality of racism for the social formation. In a review of the classic contributions, sociologist Floya Anthias (1990) identifies four main viewpoints. The first explores the role of racialized groups as part of the underclass, a distinct segment of the working class, separated from their white counterpart. The second is concerned with migrant labour and addresses its role as a reserve army of labour for capital. Within the third approach, the focus is on ideology and the role of racism in dividing the working class as well as in producing differentiated interests and legitimizing colonialist economic relations. The fourth perspective is engaged with race as a factor producing its own conditions of struggle.

Translating these viewpoints to the realm of criminology, the arguments presented are important because they provide guidance in understanding the role of race for the social order, and thereby also why questions related to racism have become a key factor in the way that the criminal justice system works. Is it that groups racialized as non-white are discriminated against because of the colonial division of labour in capitalism, because of migration, because of racist ideology or is it because of racism as a system structuring the preceding factors?

Complicating the critical terrain

Since the height of the so-called race and crime debate, which in many respects can be seen as a disagreement with and within Marxism, the research agenda of

academics has expanded. According to Martin Bulmer and John Solomos (2004), no theoretical perspective on racism dominates today. This evaluation is certainly also true for criminology.

From the 1980s, the division between “radical” and “critical” approaches in criminology has become blurred and even obsolete in step with the latter term becoming encompassing. Partly, this is due to the evolution of critical thought into “a considerably more diverse intellectual movement”, where criminologists embraced a growing multiplicity of perspectives, reflecting “wider intellectual currents within social theory” of the time (Michalowski, 1996: 13). In parallel subcategories have emerged within the critical paradigm such as “border criminology” (Barker, 2017a) and “southern criminology” (Carrington et al., 2016). Within the scope of these traditions, important advancements have been made in regards to questions of racism, even though the main focus is on the topics identified by the labels.

A central scholar for this development is the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1995[1977]). His understanding of power as a productive, rather than repressive force transformed the critical terrain, especially by shedding light on the penal techniques of the self, and thereby the understanding of social control in modern times (Hörnqvist, 2010). Foucault’s specific relevance in relation to racism is attributed to his view of modernity as a project concerned in administering large groups through techniques differentiating bodies, regulating life and death (Mbembe, 2019).

What has emerged the last few decades is a multifaceted field that is permeated by conflicting critical evaluations of the social order, and questions of race, racialization and racism within it. While sometimes masked as conceptual disagreements between scholars, they are in fact deeply ideological. In some instances, the political differences are manifested through subtle use of words: for example, the difference between “perception” and “experience” when analyzing statements from informants. In other instances, the differences are expressed in heated debates concerning diverse topics such as the role of the nation and the welfare state, neoliberalism and fascism, globalization and modernity, citizenship and human rights, punishment and representation. Additionally, conflicting views prevail on how to understand the intersections of race with class, place and gender, as well as the language in which this should be done.

Structuring the field theoretically

According to my understanding the critical field can both be understood as a domain where numerous competing – and to some degree irreconcilable – interpretations coexist, and as a space that encompasses different theoretical perspectives. In this regard, three distinct but interlinked traditions can be identified as having a deep impact on criminology: Black Marxism, critical race theory and postcolonial perspectives. I find it valuable to trace the core arguments of these traditions separately, while acknowledging overlapping tendencies. The work of W.E.B. Du Bois is illuminating in this regard since it transcends boundaries, past and present.

Cedric Robinson (2000[1983]) describes Black Marxism as the “cross-fertilization” of classic accounts of Marxism with “a theory of the cultural corruption of race”. This tradition is the outcome of scholarship among black radicals, including W.E.B. Du Bois. Together they challenged the tendency within Marxism to address race and racism by generally or exclusively focusing on class and capitalism, as if it were not a system intertwined with the history of white domination.

The claim that these debates have transformed Marxism, and the Left in general, make some scholars today discard the epithet “black”, since it gives the impression that questions of racism are marginal and therefore need to be signalled out (Johnson and Lubin, 2017). In this regard, a highly relevant scholar for criminologists is Angela Davis (1990, 1998). She has followed the path set forth by Marxists in general and black radicals in particular. As an activist, Davis’ reputation was forged when the FBI put her on their Most Wanted list in 1970 because of her involvement in the Black Panther Party. As an academic, she has explored the phenomenon of mass incarceration in the USA, through the term “prison-industrial complex”, underlining the simultaneously racial and gendered dynamics of the political economy. In an interview, she makes the following claim:

The new field formation – critical prison studies and its explicitly abolitionist framework – situates itself within the Black Radical Tradition (...) through its relation both to the work of W.E.B. Du Bois and to historical Black feminism. (Davis, 2017: 242)

The intersectional lens adopted by Davis, where matters of racism have been explored from a feminist perspective, has a correspondence within critical race theory

that also claims Du Bois (Crenshaw, 1989; Crenshaw et al., 1995). This movement of thought started in the 1980s with scholars in the USA engaging in debates concerning the law. They argued that the law is central for reproducing racial domination and subordination, following the history of slavery to the contemporary “era of mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness”, to quote civil rights advocate Michelle Alexander (2010).

Du Bois is also central in postcolonial scholarship, a tradition that departs from the perspective of “the wretched of the earth” as formulated by the psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (1991[1963]). Following his example, scholars have critically engaged with Marxism. Influenced by poststructuralist theory, they often question grand narratives, critically assessing eurocentrism and the overlapping relation between power and knowledge. In the attempt to crystallize a common denominator for postcolonial criminologists, Chris Cunneen (2011) stipulates that colonialism has “ongoing and enduring” consequences on both the colonized and the colonizers, and as such for the way that race, crime and punishment are structured. A main contribution by postcolonial scholars is the engagement with questions on crime from the perspective of local history, particularly from the global South.

Beyond the USA-centred focus of critical race scholars, and conflicting positions on Marxism, the differences between these three traditions can be conceptualized as from where they address racism and enter criminology. Marxists depart from an analysis of “racial capitalism” – i.e. the racial dynamics underpinning the economic system (Robinson, 2000[1983]). Critical race theorists, for their part, proceed from the concept of the “racial state” – i.e. the racial dynamics that regulate inclusion and exclusion within the modern state formation (Goldberg, 2001; Omi and Winant, 2014). From there, they tend to engage in a critique of liberal societies that do not live up to their own principle of equality before the law. In parallel, postcolonial scholars start off by focusing on the relationship between race and place in a world of borders that create hierarchies between peoples and territories (Fanon, 1967; Said, 2000[1978]).

Structuring the field thematically

While it is valuable to trace the core arguments of theoretical traditions separately, at an empirical level, a series of lower-level descriptions can also be used to structure

the critical field. This is productive due to the fact that theoretical confines are seldom preserved within criminology, where scholars tend to engage with their empirical material in an eclectic manner, drawing from different sources depending on the research question.

To pinpoint this feature, Edwin Sutherland's (1924) classic definition is helpful. In his understanding, the scope of criminology includes a) the process of making laws, b) breaking laws, and c) the reaction to the breaking of law. Based on these categories I will present contributions relevant for criminology as a discipline in regards to questions of racism. Rather than limiting the overview to the work of critical criminologists, or to scholarship that necessarily shares my theoretical perspective, I have adopted an inclusive and cross-disciplinary stance. This is based on my ambition to make this introduction to the thesis useful also for those who engage with these topics from a more general standpoint. The weaving together of scholarship from both an international and a Swedish sphere is explained by the thesis' general investment in the Nordic context.

a) Making laws

One point of departure for critical scholars interested in questions of race, racialization and racism is a focus on the history that precedes the contemporary order of white domination. A clarifying example is sociologist Loïc Wacquant, who traces the roots of mass imprisonment in the contemporary USA by describing the role of the law during the era of slavery. Against this backdrop, he situates prison "in the full lineage of institutions which, at each epoch, have carried out the work of race making by drawing and enforcing the peculiar 'color line' that cleaves American society asunder" (Wacquant, 2009: 98).

It is necessary to analyze the role of racism in the process of making laws also in a Swedish context. As previously underlined, migration and security measures in Sweden were structured by racial and, in many regards, overtly racist logics, the first half of the twentieth century (Ericsson, 2016; Flyghed, 1992). The question of the law being a race-making instrument is, however, a topic not only of the past, as international scholars have continued to show. While many western nation-states today claim a liberal, race-neutral and colour-blind ideology, definitions of crime, and

who is constituted as a threat to the national order, are a deeply racialized matter (Alexander, 2010; Maynard, 2017; Owusu-Bempah, 2017).

An illustrative aspect in this regard is terrorism and questions related to radicalization. Legislation following the War on Terror post-9/11/2001 has targeted Muslims as a “suspect community” across the world (Cherney and Murphy, 2016; Pantazis and Pemberton, 2009). Swedish scholars have identified how the law has been used to sanction human rights abuses, including torture, in the name of security and liberal values (Flyghed and Hörnqvist, 2003; Gardell, 2008; Hörnqvist, 2004).

Another feature that underlines the racial component of law-making is related to order-maintaining policies. This has been understood as targeting the poor and socially excluded in general, and groups racialized as non-white in particular (Beckett and Herbert, 2009; Roy, 2019). In Sweden this is particularly noticeable in the way that local bans on begging and sleeping in cars have been implemented as a means to target EU citizens, many of whom identify as Roma (Amnesty, 2018; Persdotter, 2019; Hansson, 2019).

The laws that regulate border controls have also been identified as deeply racial. In recent decades, there has been a renewed interest in ways that nation-states in the global North have stitched together criminal law and migration law, and how this is related to penal order (Armenta, 2017; Barker, 2018; Bosworth, Franko Aas and Pickering, 2018; Bowling and Westera, 2018). Against this backdrop, Swedish scholars have explored punishment in the form of incarceration, deportation and the time stolen from asylum seekers and migrants who have not committed any crime, but nevertheless are treated as “illegals” (for Swedish contributions, *see* Djampour, 2018; Khosravi, 2018; Sager, 2011; Schoultz, 2014).

b) Breaking laws

When addressing the issue of racism, the basic argument developed by critical criminologists is that no one is inherently criminal, but becomes defined as such in relation to social forces, developments and conflicts within politics, culture and economy. Researchers have situated the question of why people racialized as non-white engage in law-breaking activities in the context of discrimination, deprivation and poverty. Urban scholar Mustafa Dikeç (2017) connects social uprisings, revolts and riots to the rise of inequality in recent decades, and to the “rage” this produces

among the poor in marginalized areas. An example of this could be seen in the Swedish neighbourhood of Husby in 2013 (also *see* de los Reyes et al., 2014; Schierup et al., 2014).

When exploring how groups racialized as non-white engage in criminal activities, critical scholars often apply a systemic and holistic approach, where life choices are seen in relation to material circumstances. Ethnographic accounts describe criminal involvement as part of the general human quest “in search of respect”, as formulated by Philippe Bourgois (1995). This pursuit structures in its turn “the code of the street”, to quote Elijah Anderson (1999).

Studies that address the over-representation of crime among groups racialized as non-white tend to highlight two interrelated concepts. On the one hand they underline “masculinity” and how crime is gendered and related to both race and class (Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Messerschmidt, 1997). On the other hand they stress “alienation”, a state of estrangement and non-belonging that lowers the threshold to use violence against others, produced in relation to the economic structures which make some disposable, since they are regarded as superfluous (for Swedish contributions, *see* Lalander 2008; Sernhede, 2002). Leaning on Robert Merton (1938), scholars sometimes rather use the concept of “strain” to capture this state (for Swedish contributions, *see* Hällsten, Szulkin and Sarnecki, 2013; Pettersson, 2002).

Criminologists have also explored the role of groups racialized as non-white as victims, both in relation to crime exposure and as the result of an unjust criminal system. Victimological research addresses issues such as trafficking, racial harassment and hate crime (for Swedish contributions, *see* Atac, 2019; Heber, 2018; Kolankiewicz, 2019). The vulnerability of groups racialized as non-white has also been documented in studies related to the violence and terror of white supremacists (for Swedish contributions on this later topic, *see* Gardell, 2014, 2015).

By underlining discrimination in the criminal justice system, Swedish scholars have explored questions of racial profiling (for early contributions, *see* Hydén and Lundberg, 2004; Pettersson, 2005), as well as court proceedings that create inequality before the law (Elsrud et al., 2017; Lainpelto, 2019).

Explorations of everyday “micro-aggressions” as well as structural and institutional forms of racism have been concerned with punishment in its different manifestation. The empirical interests includes for example stop and search practices on the street, incarceration and legal repression in prisons, deportation regimes as well

as the expansion of policing to institutions outside the criminal justice system (Goffman, 2014; Golash-Boza, 2016; Parmar, 2019; Romero, 2006). This view on the criminal justice system explains why the topic of resistance against criminalizing practices and punishment is an important area of research (Bosworth and Carrabine, 2001; Glover, 2009; for Swedish contribution, *see* Söderman, 2019).

c) The reaction to the breaking of law

The basic assumption developed by critical criminologists is that poor people will continue to be over-represented in crime statistics as long as society is structured in economic classes. This is expanded to include groups racialized as non-white while racism prevails. In parallel, groups with a high economic and social status, often racialized as white, are less likely to be targeted by law enforcement agencies. How is it that “the rich get richer and the poor get prison” as formulated by Jeffrey Reiman (1979)? Approaching the second part of the question, scholars have differentiated between “governing crime”, i.e. measures deployed against real threats to people or property, and “governing through crime”, i.e. state policies and strategies that go beyond and expand the realm of the law (Simon, 2007).

The ideological component in crime policies has directed the attention of scholars to the racialization of crime, by the police, the media and the political field (Williams, 2015; for Swedish contributions, *see* Dahlstedt, 2010; Dahlstedt and Lozic, 2017; Estrada, 1999). The media is understood as having a central role, since crime news tends to be covered in a racializing and alarmist fashion (Rodman, 2014; van Dijk, 1991). Swedish media studies have identified the particular role of the “suburb” for connecting race to crime in a stigmatizing way (Brune, 1998; Ericsson et al., 2002; Lindgren, 2009; Stjernborg, Tesfahuney and Wretstrand, 2015).

Scholars have also connected the racialized reaction to the breaking of law to practices within the criminal justice system. This is particularly salient in police studies, where who gets stopped and searched is not necessarily linked to criminal involvement, but rather who is believed to be a criminal (Fassin, 2013; Gaston, 2019; Rios, 2011; Sausdal, 2018). In Sweden, groups racialized as non-white who live in poor neighbourhoods are particularly vulnerable when it comes to policing (Peterson and Åkerström, 2013; Thapar-Björkert et al., 2019; Wästerfors and Burcar, 2019). This also goes for Muslims, Afro-Swedes (Schclarek Mulinari, 2017) and members of the Roma community (Barker, 2017b).

When question of policy are addressed, then social work and community policing, rather than repressive or punitive measures, tend to be suggested as a progressive solution. Explorations concerning police culture as well as representation within the force and in the private security industry are related issues (for Swedish contributions, *see* Hansen Ljöfstrand, 2015; Granér, 2004; Wieslander, 2014). While some scholars advocate reforms of the institutions tasked with enforcing law and order, others have adopted an abolitionist perspective – stressing the importance of halting the expansion of the criminal justice system (for different lines of argument, *see* Camp and Heatherton, 2016; Davis, 2005; Vitale, 2017; Weitzer and Tuch, 2004).

Together, these contributions address the role of race and racism regulating the whole chain of crime, from its ideological construction to its repressive and discriminatory implementation. To be sure, rather than a unified theoretical tradition, a mosaic of perspectives and areas of focus have emerged, revitalizing the criminological gaze by challenging the race-neutral understanding of the criminal justice system.

8. The relevance of Stuart Hall

Through the development of criminology critical scholars have made efforts to address racism as a structural condition of the social order. A central intellectual in this regard is Stuart Hall. He was a prominent figure in the Birmingham School of Cultural Studies and is widely acknowledged for his contributions on racism. He has also left important contributions when it comes to the relationship between state and power, media and language, politics and economy as well as ideology and knowledge (Gilroy, Grossberg and McRobbie, 2000; Morley and Chen, 1996; for his impact in Sweden, *see* Fornäs, 2014).

The path set forth by Hall is followed in many respects in this thesis. In the articles, I scrutinize the racialized language of crime and, inspired by Hall, I address the role of the media, the police and the political field. The interest in ideology follows Hall's understanding of representation as central in the orchestrating of consent. My engagement with racial profiling and repression specifically is related to his notion of coercion as a normal expression of state power. In the proceeding sections, I clarify his relevance for my work in four general claims. My ambition is to underline aspects of Hall's work that have guided me empirically, theoretically and methodologically. In tandem, I want to highlight the possibilities for critical criminologists to engage with his intellectual gaze. Hence, I intertwine arguments from other scholars in the effort to situate Hall within the criminological field.

1) From race and crime to race and order

Among Hall's extensive production of work, the co-authored book *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (1978) is especially important for criminologists. Here, the way that "mugging" is translated to the image of "black crime" during the 1970s is analyzed. The book begins with the way crime is framed, stating that social causes of street crime constitute "only half – less than half – of the 'mugging' story" (Hall et al., 1978: vii). As such, it engages with the labelling perspective within criminology stressing that crime is a deeply social and political construction. Advancing from this line of thought, a central source of inspiration is the work of Stanley Cohen (2011[1972]). In *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, Cohen discusses how exaggerated social reactions

are produced through alarmist crime reporting of a conflict between two youth subcultures of his time. In a parallel exploration, Hall and colleagues engage with the representation of a “crime wave” attributed not to the white working-class youth, but their black equivalent.

In the study, the notion of crime is used in an original manner. Departing from it, Hall and his co-authors engage with the racialized nature of the state as a site where authority is reaffirmed through coercion and consent. The argument developed in *Policing the Crisis*, as well as in Hall’s essays of the same epoch, such as *The Birth of Law and Order Society* (2017[1978]) and *The Great Moving Right Show* (2017[1979]), is that the race-crime nexus paved the way for a conservative backlash. The government of Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990, succeeded in breaking with the post-war hegemony of the Keynesian social democratic model that had expanded the welfare state. A central formula in the success of Thatcherism was “authoritarian populism”, a tough-on-crime discourse that renders the roots to crime invisible by individualizing social problems (Hall, 1985a). By identifying this trait, Hall’s work sets the ground for analysis that relates questions of crime to “the neoliberal revolution”, i.e. the dominant project that has shaped the contours of modern capitalism since the 1970s (Hall, 2011).

I understand Hall’s engagement with crime as a successful attempt to move the criminological gravity away from race and crime to race and order. Given that social reactions to racialized notions of crime often have been more harmful than individual crimes on their own throughout the course of history, this is a crucial point of departure for criminologists.

2) The work of racism(s)

According to Hall, there is no general history of racism, but overlapping forms of racisms. These have operated in various ways, targeting distinct groups, based on specific claims. In a way, this is a banal point, if taking into account the changing nature of race and racialized relations, from the era of colonial expansion to the current world order. However, the implication of this argument is a productive gaze on how society becomes “structured in dominance” in the interplay between ideology and repression, channelled through the apparatuses of the state. This is a key concept in Hall’s thinking, borrowed from the philosopher Louis Althusser (1971). It indicates

that the capitalist system is a social formation regulated by different power relations of subordination and authority (Clarke, 2015).

One must start, then, from the concrete historical ‘work’ which racism accomplishes under specific historical conditions – as a set of economic, political and ideological practices, of a distinctive kind, concretely articulated with other practices in a social formation. (Hall, 1996[1980]: 52)

Hall insists on addressing racism as a productive and particular force that structures social relations in a complex and sometimes contradictory manner. In this setting, not only different social fields but also people and professionals have a “relative autonomy”, another key concept in Hall’s repertoire, which indicates both the limits and possibilities of action and thus outcome. Hall carves out a position between idealism and structuralism. On the one hand, he addresses the economic order as a structure in the sense of a system maintained by nation-states divided into the “West” and “the rest”. On the other hand, he draws attention to the ways social formations are represented in a process of interpretation where agency is key (Hall, 1997). In this regard, discourses and ideologies are central in Hall’s thinking:

What is more, the idea of “the West,” once produced, became productive in its turn. It had real effects: it enabled people to know or speak of certain things in certain ways. It produced knowledge. It became both the organizing factor in a system of global power relations and the organizing concept or term in a whole way of thinking and speaking. (Hall, 1992: 187)

Hall sidesteps the conflict between the two principal perspectives from where racism has been explored. This is done by situating the analysis in the production and reproduction of racializing discourses, as well as the signifying practices that precede and follow the processes of othering. The advocates of the first perspective tend to overemphasize economic relations, assuming that racial and ethnic features in the social formation are to be explained by reference to the global division of labour. The second camp claims a more sociological understanding, but here the mono-causal explanation is inverted to a pluralist one in emphasis. According to Hall, while the

former tends to be simplistic and reductionist, the second falls short, becoming far too “descriptive rather than analytic” (Hall, 1996[1980]: 20). The viewpoint developed by Hall transcends the confines of the race and class debates that preoccupied many critical scholars of the 1980s:

Hall’s notion of race as a discursive system was precisely based on the notion that race is never purely ideological or cultural but situated in everyday social and economic relations. This explains the detailed way in which Hall seeks to show both that race cannot be reduced to other sets of social relations and at the same cannot be fully understood outside of these very same relations. (Solomos, 2014: 1670)

Based on this understanding, Hall turns the gaze towards the work of racism in racializing the core structures of society and towards the lives and experiences of people who form their racial identities in a process marked by both resistance and creativity (Alexander, 2009). Hall’s argument is that race is a social construction, but not in the sense of a simple ideological distortion, the product of a “false consciousness” that divides the working class, as many Marxists have argued. Rather, it takes on different forms, transforms and becomes active or not in different settings. In a revealing passage, Hall states:

Race is thus, also, the modality in which class is ‘lived’, the medium through which class relations are experienced, the form in which it is appropriated and ‘fought through’. (Hall, 1996[1980]: 55)

The question then becomes when, how and why the analytical category of race, and overlapping concepts such as ethnicity, is made relevant. Through which intersections, on whose premises and against whom does this take place? In Phillips and Bowling’s account on the need to develop a minority perspective in criminology, this notion of lived experience is a crucial point of departure:

A central component of a minority perspective in criminology is to embrace difference by moving beyond crude and essentialist categorizations of racial and ethnic minorities. (...) As Stuart Hall (1988: 258) argues, individuals ‘speak from a particular place, out of a particular

history, particular experience, a particular culture', but they should not be contained by that position. (Phillips and Bowling, 2003: 271–272)

This leads to the question of the relationship between race as a socially constructed and contested category and racism as an organizing system that reproduces white dominance.

Racism, of course, operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness. (Hall, 1996[1988]: 445)

Following this line of thought, the role of criminologists becomes to uncover, deconstruct and analyse situations in which crime is the active agent in generating these imagined, but real, boundaries between people.

3) Without guarantees

According to Stuart Hall, a fundamental task for critical scholars is theoretical labour, the praxis that allows us to “think behind or get beyond the chaotic way experience – reality – presents itself” (Hall, 2012: 37). This is defined by Hall as “a deadly serious matter” (Hall, 1996[1992]: 274). The statement should be understood in relation to the way he conceptualized his overall academic project as a means to fundamentally change social relations. More specifically, Hall advocates “Marxism without guarantees” – a favourite phrase of his (Surin, 2015). In his own words, he is “working within shouting distance of Marxism, working on Marxism, working against Marxism, working with it, working to try to develop Marxism” (Hall, 1996[1992]: 264). I interpret this in three interrelated ways that have all been important for my work. While the first is connected to a more general view of theory, the second is associated with theorization and the third with his specific views on Marxism.

Hall's vision of theory is dialogical, open and curious. In a cross-disciplinary approach, Hall brings together insights from literature, psychoanalysis, history, politics and economy, inspired by a wide range of scholars. Helen Davis makes the following claim in *Understanding Stuart Hall*: “Integration was the core wisdom of

the enterprise” (Davis, 2004: 27). This proposition has partly to do with Hall’s idea of “living with difference” in multicultural societies (Hall, 2007). It is also a consequence of his view that Marxism, and the Left in general, should engage with the new progressive social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, feminism and anti-racism in particular (Hall, 2017). Rather than discussing whether people are exploited because of class or race, capitalism or racism, ideology or migration, Hall expresses that it is imperative “to get past this impossible impasse, these irreconcilable either/ors” that in many respects have structured, and continue to structure, academic and political controversies (Hall, 1996[1989]: 229). His theoretical perspective has been described in the following way:

It is a tendency towards a selective, syncretic, mode of inclusiveness, dialogue and transformation – rather than to ‘critique’ and rejection of that which is opposed to his own point of view or position. (Morley and Chen, 1996: 19)

Hall’s relation to theory is closely linked to his emphasis on theorization as an unfinished and uncertain praxis. He approaches theory as a strategic means to engage in the concrete reality by making politically relevant interventions, preoccupied with questions that we lack answers to:

I want to suggest a different metaphor for theoretical work: the metaphor of struggle, of wrestling with the angels. The only theory worth having is that which you have to fight off, not that which you speak with profound fluency. (Hall, 1996[1992]: 265)

While the emphasis on struggle functions as a general proposition for theoretical work, my interpretation is that Hall’s insistence on this metaphor is of particular importance for Marxists. Among its advocates, there has been a strong tendency to explore the social world as if there were a master theory from where to draw certain conclusions. For Hall, the idea of speaking with “fluency” is a trap. According to him, part of the theoretical problem is that Marx’s and Engel’s general conclusions about history are translated to address specific circumstances. Hall’s argument is that one should always be ready to change one’s mind, since one can never guarantee the development of history in advance, nor whether the theory remains adequate through

the course of time. What Hall urges us to do is, rather than reaffirming the conclusions of our predecessors, to critically engage with them, using their concepts to explore new topics and questions. From this follows the importance to calibrate the analysis proposed by Marx in an often quoted, but misused, passage:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. (Marx, 1845: 92)

Hall's specific view on theory and how to conduct theorization is interwoven with his complex understanding of Marxism. According to him, classic Marxism has been limited by the metaphor of an economic base combined with an ideological superstructure, where the material conditions in "the last instance" function as a determinate providing a false illusion of certainty. Hall urges scholars to break free from this theoretical "straitjacket" (Hall, 2016: 23). The way to do so is by acknowledging that material conditions "are the necessary but not sufficient condition of all historical practice" (Hall quoted in Grossberg, 1986: 57). Based on this assessment, he stipulates that the material conditions regulate the terrain of social relations and action only in "the first instance".

The object of analysis is therefore not the single stream of 'dominant ideas' into which everything and everyone has been absorbed, but rather the analysis of ideology as a differentiated terrain, of the different discursive currents, their points of juncture and break and the relations of power between them: in short, an ideological complex, ensemble or discursive formation. (Hall, 1996[1986]: 434)

For Hall, ideologies, in the same way as the state, its institutions and civil society, have distinct and dominant tendencies, though not in the sense of a coherent class character from where they can be interpreted. In this regard, Hall highlights that the "ruling bloc" – a concept borrowed from the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, his main source of inspiration – has "advanced in real historical situations by a variety of different ideologies". Moreover, they have always been preoccupied with internal struggles over which ideas and practices may best serve their interests, and not seldom advanced "one ideology and then another" (Hall, 1985b: 97). Hall's argument

is that, for those interested in how hegemony is concretely fortified, it is misleading to depart from a notion of a unified ruling class that controls the state and makes it work for them:

Where Gramsci departs from classical versions of Marxism is that he does not think that politics is an arena which simply *reflects* already unified collective political identities, already constituted forms of struggle. Politics for him is not a dependent sphere. It is where forces and relations, in the economy, in society, in culture, have to be actively *worked on* to produce particular forms of power, forms of domination. This is the production of politics – politics as a production. This conception of politics is fundamentally contingent, fundamentally open-ended. There is no law of history which can predict what must inevitably be the outcome of a political struggle. Politics depends on the relations of forces at any particular moment. (Hall, 1987: 20, emphasis in orig.)

Hall uses Gramsci as a way to challenge the policing of Marxist theory by insisting on the role of politics. Interestingly, this is the argument provided by Marx and Engel themselves, whose writings aimed to mobilize the working class, because of its revolutionary potential. By underlining the constant battle between the “relations of forces” and the fact that hegemony constantly needs to “be ‘worked on’, maintained, renewed, revised” (Hall, 2011: 26), Hall is able to situate his thinking within a powerful order that both structures and acknowledges agency. From this follows that what previous generations of intellectuals provided is guidance, rather than a clear answer to what the outcome of historical accounts will be:

We mustn't *use* Gramsci (as we have for so long abused Marx) like an Old Testament prophet who, at the correct moment, will offer us the consoling and appropriate quotation. (...) Gramsci gives us, not the tools with which to solve the puzzle, but the means with which to ask the right kinds of questions about the politics of the 1980s and 1990s. (Hall, 1987: 16)

To address crime as a puzzle is to acknowledge the perspective of the Norwegian criminologist Nils Christie:

Crime is an endless supply. Acts with the potential of being seen as crimes are like an unlimited natural resource. We can take out a little in the form of crime – or a lot. Acts are not, they become: their meanings are created as they occur. (Christie, 2004: 10)

What do “we” take out and keep of crime? What role does crime play for social changes, ruptures and conflicts? These are only some of the questions that are central to address based on the writings of Hall.

4) The shifting terrain of forces

Through the course of the thesis, whether I have conducted textual analysis or analysis of interviews, Hall’s voice has echoed in my head when interpreting, structuring, and trying to make sense of my empirical material. Rather than reducing methodology to a formal account based on practical techniques, I have interpreted it in line with Hall’s view of a “creative process of articulating, of thinking relations and connections” (Slack, 1996: 115). Needless to say, this process is not politically neutral. According to Hall, the aim of theoretical labour is to impose “a system of meaning” (Hall, 2016: 66). The bond that exists between power and knowledge makes it impossible to assert a clear division between ideology and social science. Thereby, it becomes pivotal to acknowledge ambivalence and tension, the fact that what is counted as science, and consequently the methods on which knowledge is produced, is a matter of negotiation.

This should not be misinterpreted to mean ‘anything goes’. Analytical rigour is central for Hall. In his view, it relates to the careful practice of interpretation, where connections and meaning are created based on the empirical material collected (Hall, 2012). Hall names his method “conjunctural analysis”. Key notions here are “setting”, “establishing”, “defining the limits”, “parameters” and the “space of the concrete” (Hall, 1996[1983]: 44). Both what is present and what is absent should be highlighted in order to contextualize, thus rendering understandable the “terrain on which historical forces move” (Hall, 1996[1986]: 422).

According to my understanding, Hall’s approach is particularly well equipped to address the consequences of the “rapidly changing character of criminology’s subject matter”, and thereby the recurring “challenge of our times” that criminologists are

confronted with in every epoch, as described by David Garland and Richard Sparks (2000: 189). In *Policing the Crisis*, it is concretized how this can be carried out:

We need to distinguish, again provisionally, between those occasions where the scale of criminal activity and the scale of measures taken to contain crime stand in some rough balance to one another – where crime control is best understood as a part of the ‘normalised repression’ of the state [respectively when] the pace of legal repression and control rapidly increases. For these latter moments have tended, both in the past and in the present, to coincide with moments of a wider historical significance than is contained by the play of normalised repression over the structure of normal crime. Such moments of ‘more than usual alarm’ followed by the exercise of ‘more than normal control’ have signaled, time and again in the past, periods of profound social upheaval, of economic crisis and historical rupture. (Hall et al., 1978: 186)

Time in its different manifestations, past and present, is central when uncovering the dynamics of the social order. This interest is, of course, common for Marxists in general, as well as for criminologists who have translated its core ideas to the discipline. When describing the first “lesson” of criminology based on sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s work, it is stated that, “criminologists should always historicize their objects of study” in order to “initiate the long and painstaking process of denaturalizing the socially given” (Shammas, 2018: 203).

For Hall, the analytical mission is “to differentiate (rather than to collapse as identical)” traits and tendencies (Hall, 1996[1986]: 418). By exploring continuity and change in the social formation, it becomes possible to reveal the broader significance of events. He is preoccupied with particular contexts, and the way that power operate “at its different levels of expression – political, ideological, cultural and economic” (Hall quoted in Hall and Massey, 2012: 65). In his view, the conceptualization of neoliberalism is central, since it allows him to address the way that capitalism has been reorganized since the 1970s. While neoliberalism is a productive concept in Hall’s repertoire, he acknowledges the problems of the term. Becoming a catch-all phrase, it has been used in diverse settings such as Europe, Latin America and Asia to describe and explain distinct developments.

Intellectual critics say the term lumps together too many things to merit a single identity; it is reductive, sacrificing attention to internal complexities and geo-historical specificity. I sympathize with this critique. However, I think there are enough common features to warrant giving it a *provisional* conceptual identity, provided this is understood as a first approximation. (Hall, 2011: 706, emphasis in orig.)

Hall underlines the role of pragmatism when conducting research. The emphasis on the “provisional” is related to the strategic need of a position from where to start. Analytical work is dependent on preliminary concepts as points of departure. Following Marx, Hall argues that, “critical thought often begins with a ‘chaotic’ abstraction – though we then need to add ‘further determinations’ in order to ‘reproduce the concrete in thought’” (ibid). This methodological chain exercise is dialectical. The initial approximation accomplished through generalizing concepts is modified in the process of concretization. Thereby, the distinguishing but common features of the current conjuncture can be exposed.

9. The articles in context

The purpose of this section is to account for the distinguishing traits of the four articles of the thesis, but also to pinpoint their overlaps and the ways they complement each other. With this in mind, I provide both a summarizing overview and the contexts and arguments of each of the publications. As previously indicated, the articles can be approached as separate interventions or as a complex unity.

Article I: Conditions for belonging

The first article, *“You are not welcome in our lovely Malmö”: Conditions for belonging in mobilization against organized crime*, departs from explorations of the impact of neoliberalism on notions of crime and security at the city level (Davis, 1990; Smith, 1996). Here, I explore the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2011) and its relation to the right to the city (Marcuse, 2009).

My point of departure is the acknowledgement of neoliberalism as a force that has transformed the current order, both materially and ideologically (Hall and O’Shea, 2013; Harvey, 2005). In Sweden, the erosion of the public sector, followed by the rapid growth of social inequality, has paved the way for the emergence of a racialized working class, particularly present in the informal economy (Likic-Brboric et al., 2013; Sager, 2011; Schierup et al., 2013).

A parallel feature of neoliberalism identified by international scholars is that the production of welfare has been replaced by an emphasis on law and order that obscures poverty, inequality and other structural foundations of crime (Lynch et al., 2013; Wacquant, 2010). This is particularly visible in the security agendas of cities, whose main goal is often to attract investments and inhabitants considered employable and law-abiding. Simultaneously, those considered disrupting order, i.e. the socially excluded and poor in general, and groups racialized as non-white in particular, are targeted (Aalbers, 2010; Coleman, 2003; Samara, 2010).

This is the descriptive, analytical and theoretical framework of the first article that engages with Malmö and its local security agenda. The focus on this city is interesting because of the municipal development strategies that have aimed at transforming the old working-class city into a centre of knowledge and entrepreneurship (Holgersen, 2014; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012). More concretely, I closely examine a campaign

magazine produced in a situation where several murders had occurred in Malmö. The publication, distributed to all the households in the city in 2012, is named *Root for Malmö! Malmö's biggest gang – Fighting organized crime* (Heja Malmö. Malmö's största gäng – Mot organiserad brottslighet). This should be considered as a regulated and strategic form of political communication, a response to the crisis that the local authorities claimed that Malmö was in.

In the article, I argue that the mobilizing ambition of the campaign is based on the obscuring of class as a central line of conflict in society. Furthermore, I show that the representation of organized crime as nurtured by the “black economy” constitutes a racialization of the crime problem. Discursive chains and the use of metaphors are central in this regard. While the relationship between the murders, organized crime and the concept of a black economy is not defined, it is singled out through references to low-budget businesses. In that sector young people, refugees, undocumented and foreign-born mainly work, according to one of the texts in the campaign magazine.

Although this fits well with descriptions of neoliberal bias in crime policy, with its tendency to govern through crime at the bottom of the social pyramid, I show contradictions: structural problems with poverty are acknowledged. I interpret this as the racialized meaning of crime being forged in the clash between neoliberalism and the traditional social democratic and liberal welfare state ideology. The concept of “revanchist ambivalence” is developed in order to capture the position where the city formulates the problem with crime and security, privileging groups who already have gained from the transformation of Malmö, while at the same time acknowledging that some groups' positions have weakened due to these changes.

Article II: Contesting Sweden's Chicago

The second article is entitled *Contesting Sweden's Chicago: Why journalists dispute the crime image of Malmö*. In this contribution, I engage with resistance, and how journalists navigate in a context where a dystopian image of Malmö is central in fomenting a race-crime nexus. The article is based on nine interviews conducted in 2015 with well-established journalists who challenge alarmist notions of crime in the city. The theoretical backdrop is the long trajectory of studies that have identified the media as a central actor and arena where racialized crime images are constructed and

attached to specific places (Hall et. al., 1978; van Dijk, 1991). The article is a complement to these critical descriptions.

The first and second articles of the thesis share several features. Both focus on the role of ideology in the way crime is constructed at the intersection of race and place in regards to Malmö. Researching the role of ideology, in the first article I explore the way crime is defined within the context of political communication on a linguistic level. In the second, I highlight personal, professional and political dimensions that are crucial in relation to the media (Alemán, 2014; Chibnall, 1977).

This analytical shift is related to methodological considerations. While both first and second articles have been undertaken within the framework of the qualitative tradition that emphasizes interpretation when conducting research (Back, 2012), the methodological premises of the articles differ. In the first, I analyze the ideology of the campaign magazine in question in order to capture it as a system of representation (Hall, 1985b). Specifically I read the publication sentence-by-sentence, exploring six aspects central to the polarizing effects of ideologies, namely membership, activities, goals, value, position and resources (van Dijk, 2005). The process that led to the second article started in a similar fashion. As a first step, I closely read, listened to and watched media coverage concerning crime in Malmö. With the second step, however, I decided to conduct interviews with journalists. This choice was informed by the idea that interviewing is a method that enables access to ideology beyond what is publicly communicated.

The second article is the outcome of a process where I have wanted to add components to the thesis, and thereby expand the understanding of the current conjuncture. This ambition both explains the shift in methodological procedure, and the shared engagement in Articles I and II in regards to neoliberalism as a transformative phenomenon for the subject matter of criminology (Gibson, 2004; Kern, 2010). In the second article, I add dimensions to the understanding of neoliberalism by exploring how it relates to the recent advancement of extreme-right parties, nationalism and overt racism, within and outside of parliament. In their effort to challenge the current order, these forces have been very successful in transforming the agenda on crime throughout the west (Schuermans and Maesschalck, 2010).

I argue that when journalists dispute the image of Malmö as Sweden's Chicago, it is done in opposition to movements who link crime to race by focusing on groups racialized as non-white in the city. Thereby the journalists align with perceptions of

national belonging related to notions of tolerance and Sweden as a multicultural society. I also show how this disputing is entangled with a neoliberal agenda advocated by the municipal authorities, who are keen on putting out a positive image of Malmö. While the claim of the first article is that the transformation of the city in a neoliberal direction has consequences for the racialized framing of the crime problem, the argument in the second is quite the opposite. Here, neoliberalism is identified as having a cooling effect, in the sense that it counterbalances a racializing and alarmist crime ideology.

Article III: The spectrum of repression

The third article is entitled *The spectrum of repression: Swedish Muslims' experiences of anti-terrorism measures*. With this, the thesis leaves the focus on Malmö and the impact that global conflicts have on a local level. The thesis also gravitates away from the questions of ideology and race, to the way that crime policy and security measures in Sweden are implemented in a criminalizing and racializing manner. This is done by the focus on the experiences of those targeted.

The shift of focus to repressive state policies for groups racialized as non-white is important for the understanding of racism in Sweden. In the first two articles, I focus on elite discourses concerning crime and race (van Dijk, 1993). Both in relation to the municipal campaign in Malmö, and in relation to the viewpoints expressed by journalists on the city, I unpack the role of race and racism. This analytical manoeuvre is relevant because of the liberal ideology that has long dominated in Sweden. This ideology, while appearing colour-blind and anti-racist in relation to movements with an overt racist agenda, downplays racism as a structural phenomenon. Therefore, in order to uncover the role of race and racism beyond the role of ideology, it is pivotal to engage with its racializing consequences.

The analytical bridge between the first two articles and the third is revealed through the engagement with Stuart Hall. The first article is a theoretical exploration that, in a rather traditional manner, follows his insights on the role of language for the racialization of crime. In contrast, the second is an attempt to struggle with the “angels”. Rather than once again reaffirming that the media reproduces alarmist notions of crime, I study the opposite phenomenon, where journalists try to de-escalate a situation. The focus on repression can also be seen as an attempt to go

beyond Hall's writings. His main interest is ideology. By engaging with the role of repression I address a topic that he sporadically touched upon, but highlighted as pivotal when making sense of the ways that racial hierarchies are reproduced.

The concrete backdrop of the third article is the observation that repressive measures have expanded across the West post-9/11/2001 (Fekete, 2004), a development that has reaffirmed the representation of Muslims as the criminal other prevalent through history (Said, 2000[1978]). This also goes for Sweden. Rather than focusing on how to protect human rights, during the past decades Sweden has expanded its anti-terrorism legislation. In its wake, Muslims have become a particularly vulnerable group, targets of state measures that aim to prevent terrorism. To acknowledge this issue is important for the thesis as a whole. Here, rather than engaging with racism in general, I zoom in on one particular form – islamophobia (Kundnani, 2015; Semati, 2010). Specifically, I engage with Muslims' experiences of disproportionate security controls and encounters with the Swedish Security Service (Säpo).

In the article, I develop the concept of “repressive consent” as a means of grasping situations in which people are influenced to do things against their will, meaning when consent does not appear spontaneously (Burawoy and Wright, 1990). The exercise of this form of power balances on the thin line between ideology and repression (Althusser, 1971). I also expand the understanding of “surplus repression” by demonstrating that repression inflicted on subjects from external actors binds people together (Marcuse, 1955; Ahmed, 2004). My argument is that experiences of becoming a target of repressive measures are linked across time and space, and that they are felt beyond the primary target of state intervention. Additionally, I discuss “repressive tolerance” as a central feature of liberal societies (Marcuse, 1969; Brown, 2006).

Article IV: The order of policing

The fourth article, *Racial profiling in the racial welfare state: Examining the order of policing in the Nordic region*, is written in collaboration with Professor Suvi Keskinen. In many regards it is a continuation of the third article, but with a broader scope. The empirical material, consisting of interviews from Sweden and Finland, allows it to go beyond the national confines of Article III. Moreover, rather than

engaging with the perspectives of one particular group, the article focuses on racial profiling in a wider sense, underlining experiences from members of the Roma community, Afro-Swedes/Finns and also the police.

The article adds several dimensions to the thesis. Here, the policing of ethnic minorities and groups racialized as non-white is situated in relation to the engagement of the Nordic region in the European “civilizing mission” (Jensen and Loftsdóttir, 2012; Keskinen et al., 2009). This acknowledgement of the deeper roots of racism complements the emphasis in the previous articles on the forces that affect the relationship between race and order, and its association to notions of crime. By situating the exploration beyond the confines of neoliberalism and current trends within politics, the continuity and change of racializing and criminalizing discourses and practices is appreciated.

From the exploration of the historical roots of racial profiling, the relationship towards the present is expanded in the thesis (Kalra et al., 2013). Some of the aspects of policing highlighted in the article can be attributed to the relatively recent neoliberal transformation of the Nordic societies: for example, racial profiling conducted by private security guards in shopping malls. Stop-and-search practices attributed to more recent efforts to reduce “levels” of asylum seekers are also underlined, and how these are related to recent reforms marked by welfare chauvinism (Keskinen, 2016). However, the intertwinement of migration and criminal law is not a new phenomenon in the region. Based on this assessment, it is argued that profiling has to be understood in relation to the role of the police in producing the imagined community (Anderson, 2016[1983]).

The theoretical perspective of the article departs from the notion of the racial state (Goldberg, 2001). We expand the understanding of this concept by underlining that racial profiling is a fundamental technique in the development of the “racial welfare state”. With the use of this concept, we link policing to the flexible and multilayered role of Nordic whiteness as part of the building of racial nation-state formations (Omi and Winant, 2014), as well as to the colonial legacy of the transnational crimmigration control system (Bosworth et al., 2018; Bowling and Westenna, 2018). The boundaries of belonging upheld through practices of racial profiling are explored in relation to the racial inequalities of the world order (Golash-Boza, 2016; Gutiérrez Rodríguez, 2018), as well as in the intersection of axes of inequality, such as place and class (Parmar, 2019).

The fourth article, like the third, is the offshoot of a project on racial profiling that I carried out on behalf of civil rights defenders (Schclarek Mulinari, 2017). Within the scope of that work, I conducted five focus group interviews with a total of 28 people who had experienced racial profiling. The focus groups were then supplemented by eight individual interviews. Additionally, seven representatives from the police force were interviewed. While the third article departs from interviews with the Muslim informants who had experiences of racial profiling, the fourth compares the results provided in my report to the analysis offered by Suvi Keskinen and colleagues in the publication *The stopped: Ethnic profiling in Finland* (2018).

In regard to methodology, Articles III and IV, as well as the two previous articles of the thesis, are undertaken within the framework of the qualitative tradition. While sharing this general trait, the third and fourth articles are specifically informed by critical race methodologies (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Rather than attempting to demonstrate whether racism exists, the point of departure of this approach is the recognition of racism as a phenomenon that structures social relations (Lawless and Chen, 2019). The application of this method can be seen as an expression of the process of development that a compilation thesis is the outcome of. In the first article, I close in on the relationship between race and order. In the second, I address this relationship more directly. Here, I use my theoretical preunderstanding concerning racism in the press to introduce a productive tension between the voices of the informants with respect to my interpretations. The methodological approach in the third and fourth articles differs in this regard. While the empirical material of the second, third and fourth articles is based on interviews, in the latter two I have approached the statements of the informants with a different analytical intention. In line with the argument of critical race scholars (Glover, 2019), I use the experiences of those exposed to racism as a point of departure for the analytical work undertaken.

10. Concluding summary

The overall aim of this study is to both empirically and theoretically expand the criminological understanding of racism as a structural phenomenon. In the introduction to the thesis, I therefore trace the role of racism for the field of criminology, beginning with the writings of Cesare Lombroso (1876). The historical exposition is followed by a description of criminology as a contested space. Against this backdrop, I situate my research within the contemporary critical tradition, tracing it back to contributions by scholars such as W.E.B. Du Bois (1967[1899]) and Stuart Hall (1978). By pointing out the genealogy on which my work rests, I hope to encourage other critical scholars to pursue a line of research that focuses on the relationship between race and order.

While the introduction to the thesis urges criminologists to refocus from questions of race and crime to matters of race and order, the four articles address how crime is constructed and implemented in a racializing manner. Focused on Sweden and the current neoliberal conjuncture, I underline questions of ideology and repression (Althusser, 1971; Burawoy and Wright, 1990).

In the first article, I trace the discursive chains through which crime is racialized in a municipal crime-fighting campaign, addressing the importance of metaphors in the way that suspicion is produced. While the first article is concentrated on a linguistic level (van Dijk, 2005), the second highlights the politics of this process, and its link to personal and professional values of journalists (Alemán, 2014). I argue that when established journalists contest the racialized and alarmist image of Malmö as “Sweden’s Chicago”, they participate in the battle of hegemony. In this struggle, movements that forge a nexus between crime and migration challenge the liberal and social democratic values on which the welfare state has traditionally rested. They also dispute more recent neoliberal standards.

In the third and fourth articles, I turn to questions of repression and highlight the particular vulnerability of groups such as Muslims, Afro-Swedes and Roma, but also policing practices that impact groups racialized as non-white in general. I show that when the police enforce order, it is often based on racialized imaginaries, and the intertwining of criminal law and migration policies. To understand why this is the case, policing has to be explored in relation to the racist legacy of Western powers

(Fanon, 1967; Said, 2000[1978]) and the colonial world-order that continues to regulate the present (Bosworth et al., 2018; Bowling and Westenra, 2018).

In the thesis, I claim that scholars interested in racialized constructions of crime have to address how ideology is transformed into practice. In liberal nation-states, questions related to race tend to be obscured in discourse, but visible in practice (Balibar, 2011[1991]; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). In pace with the advancement of neoliberal crime control policies (Amar, 2010; Wacquant, 2009), this relationship is even more important to unpack. In the Swedish case this is particularly significant, given the rapid growth of social inequality and, in its wake, the rise of a racialized working class (Likic-Brboric et al., 2013; Schierup et al., 2013).

While neoliberalism is a necessary concept in order to close in on the distinguishing features of capitalism in the current era (Harvey, 2005), as Stuart Hall argues (2011), the global claims attached to it risk blurring local complexity.

The first article argues that the acknowledgment of structural problems of poverty in the municipal crime-fighting campaign should be understood as the outcome of a specific mix of liberal, neoliberal and social democratic ideology that appears in the restructured welfare state. The second article is also preoccupied with the intersection between the local and the global. Here, I show that ideas of national belonging related to Sweden as a tolerant and multicultural society are one of the factors that explain why established journalists challenge alarmist notions of crime.

In the third and fourth articles, I also engage with specificities of the local setting in the present. In the third, I highlight the particular repressive features that Muslims are exposed to in Sweden. I discuss coercive, but also consensual forms of repression based on notions of tolerance. This later form of repression should in a Swedish context be understood in relation to liberal values still regulating the increasingly authoritarian apparatus of the welfare state.

The focus of the fourth article is the link between policing and the specific features of Nordic whiteness. A central claim is that the move towards a more chauvinistic welfare model makes authorities less attuned to questions of migrants' rights, and more inclined to police groups racialized as non-white. This shift transforms the relation between race and order. The question that follows is whether it also suggests that society is gravitating towards a new conjuncture defined by state policies that no longer – not even discursively – adhere to principles of race-neutrality, colour-blindness and to values such as tolerance and respect of the multicultural society.

The overall contribution of the thesis can be encapsulated in the following:

1. It enriches the tradition in criminology focused on the role of racism as a central feature of the social order. The theoretical and empirical foundations for these critical perspectives have not previously been identified in a Swedish context. Thereby, it paves way for future studies that, departing from a Nordic horizon, want to address race as a socially constructed category while researching its relationship to criminality.

2. It offers a broadened understanding of how questions of crime are racialized, and what its consequences are. Experiences that previously have not been given significant space in Swedish criminology are highlighted and turned into the point of departure of the analysis. Formulating and understanding criminological research questions focused on the experiences of people exposed to repressive state measures – for example, refugees, undocumented, foreign-born, Muslims, Afro-Swedes, Roma or other groups racialized as non-white – enables an expansion of criminology’s knowledge claims.

3. It deepens the meaning of ideology and repression for notions of race, processes of racialization and racism in the context of a transformed welfare state. This is done through:

a) Highlighting how neoliberalism and the colonial legacy of Western powers are forces that regulate security discourses and police control measures that affect ethnic minorities and groups racialized as non-white. Here, both continuity and change are analyzed in the production of suspicion and in the drawing of boundaries between “us” and “them”. The resistance involved in these processes is also underlined.

b) Developing concepts and introduction of new terms that enable a widened understanding of the relation between global and local conditions through which crime comes to be governed. This includes a discussion of phenomena such as “ambivalence” in neoliberal crime-fighting strategy, “consent” to the repressive exercise of power, and the characteristics of racial profiling in the “racial welfare state”.

c) Accounting for how notions of crime are shaped at the intersection of race and order. This entails a focus on the relationship between place and class, as well as on social processes that materialize at the level of language and metaphors, in the personal, professional and political spheres as well as through institutional practices.

The relevance of the study should be understood in the light of an ongoing repressive and authoritarian social development, where the relationship between race and order is becoming increasingly central, via questions of crime. Investigating how, why and who are constructed as a threat to the imagined community, and thus transformed from individuals and groups in need of protection into targets for law enforcement practices, will continue to be important for critical scholars.

11. Svensk sammanfattning

På 1970-talet blir diskursen om hårdare tag mot brottslighet central i politiska kampanjer i väst, särskilt bland konservativa. Under 1990-talet följer liberala och socialdemokratiska partier efter i denna repressiva riktning, även i Sverige. Forskare har visat att agendan kring lag och ordning är knuten till ras som analytisk kategori och till frågor om rasism som strukturellt fenomen. I det banbrytande arbetet *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (1978) belyser Stuart Hall och hans kollegors hur kriminalitet rasifieras och hur svarta ungdomar misstänkliggörs som förövare. I denna process omvandlas frågor om brott till att handla om den rådande ordningen.

Avhandlingen tar avstamp i denna kritiska tradition och dess förståelse av samhällsutvecklingen. Den består av fyra artiklar och en introducerande kapp. Kappan är ett idéhistoriskt komplement, där frågor om rasism placeras i centrum för kriminologin som disciplin. Här beskrivs också Stuart Halls relevans för kriminologin generellt, och avhandlingens utformning specifikt. Influenserna från Halls arbete löper som en röd tråd i avhandlingen och ligger till grund för ambitionen att förflytta kriminologins fokus från föreställningar om ras och brott, till ras och ordning.

De fyra studierna kan både läsas som separata bidrag och som en helhet sammanhållen av avhandlingens övergripande syfte som är att expandera det kriminologiska fältets kunskap om rasism som strukturellt fenomen. Analyserna kretsar kring kategorierna ras och ordning, samt dess relation till frågor om brott i den nuvarande konjunkturen. Två aspekter i den rådande eran betonas: transformationen av välfärdsstatens i nyliberal riktning, samt konsekvenserna av arvet av en kolonial världsordning som polisen är satt att säkerställa. I artiklarna belyses frågor om ideologi och repression för hur rasifierade konstruktioner av brottslighet uppstår, utmanas, implementeras och erfars. Detta är ett internationellt väletablerat problemkomplex som inte har adresserats tillräckligt i svensk och nordisk kriminologi.

Avhandlingens första artikel publicerades 2015 i tidskriften *Sociologisk forskning*. Den heter ”Ni är inte välkomna i vårt fina Malmö”: *Premisser för samhällsgemenskap i kamp mot organiserad brottslighet*. Här undersöks innehållet i en kommunal kampanjtidning mot brott. Dess syfte är att mobilisera stadens goda

krafter mot organiserad brottslighet. Genom ett rasifierat metaforiskt språk förankrat i en nyliberal konsumtionsdiskurs kring den ”svarta ekonomin” omvandlas problemet. Från att vålds- och mordvågen stått i fokus övergår diskussionen till att handla om arbetare och konsumenter i Malmös lågprissektor. Enligt publikationen arbetar i huvudsak ungdomar, flyktingar, papperslösa och utrikesfödda där. Genom begreppet ”revanschistisk ambivalens” synliggör artikeln hur stadens brottsförebyggande vision förstärker föreställningar om ”vi” och ”dom”, samtidigt som strukturella ojämlikheter också faktiskt erkänns.

Avhandlingens andra artikel publicerades 2017 i tidskriften *Critical Studies in Media Communication* med titeln *Contesting Sweden's Chicago: why journalists dispute the crime image of Malmö*. Här intervjuas etablerade journalister kring varför de försöker nyansera bilden av Malmö som en särskilt brottsbelastad stad. I analysen betonas att orsakerna är sprungna ur personliga, professionella och politiska värden. Bland dessa ingår viljan att motverka en utveckling där öppet rasistiska krafter försöker sätta likhetstecken mellan invandring, brott och Malmö.

Den tredje artikeln heter *The spectrum of repression: Swedish Muslims' experiences of anti-terrorism measures*. Den publicerades 2019 i *Critical Criminology* och är baserad på intervjuer med muslimer i Sverige. Den undersöker deras erfarenheter av den svenska säkerhetstjänsten (Säpo) samt av generella säkerhetskontroller i kölvattnet av kriget mot terrorism. Här synliggörs maktutövningens olika skepnader i skärningspunkten mellan samtycke och tvång. I artikeln utvecklas begreppet ”repressivt samförstånd” för att fånga hur muslimer försöker förmås att agera mot sin vilja.

Avhandlingens sista artikel är skriven tillsammans med professor Suvi Keskinen och accepterades för publikation 2020 i tidskriften *Theoretical Criminology*. I *Racial profiling in the racial welfare state: Examining the order of policing in the Nordic region* jämförs polisiära praktiker i Sverige och Finland. Här lyfts erfarenheter av rasprofilering bland grupper som rasifieras som icke-vita i allmänhet, med särskild lyhördhet inför romer och afro-svenskar/finländares perspektiv. Genom att diskutera rasprofilering i relation till framväxten av ”the racial welfare state” synliggörs att polisarbete i den nordiska regionen har varit, och fortfarande är, tätt knutet till föreställningar om vithet, som i sin tur är kopplat till idéer om vem som ingår i nationen, men också i den föreställda västerländska gemenskapen.

Studiens övergripande bidrag kan sammanfattas i följande punkter:

1. Avhandlingen skriver fram den tradition inom kriminologi som fokuserar på frågor om rasism som en central aspekt av samhällsordningen. De teoretiska och empiriska grundvalarna för dessa kritiska perspektiv har tidigare inte identifierats i en svensk kontext. Därigenom bereds väg för framtida studier som, utifrån en nordisk horisont, vill adressera ras som en socialt konstruerad kategori, samt redogöra för dess relation till kriminalitet.

2. Avhandlingen erbjuder en breddad förståelse av hur frågor om kriminalitet rasifieras och vilka konsekvenser detta får. Erfarenheter som tidigare inte getts nämnvärt utrymme i svensk kriminologi lyfts fram och görs till utgångspunkt för analysen. Att formulera och förstå kriminologiska frågeställningar med fokus på människor som utsätts för statens repressiva åtgärder – exempelvis flyktingar, papperslösa, utrikesfödda, muslimer, afro-svenskar, romer eller andra grupper som rasifieras som icke-vita – möjliggör en expansion av kriminologins kunskapsanspråk.

3. Avhandlingen fördjupar betydelsen av ideologi och repression för hur föreställningar om ras, rasifieringsprocesser och rasism tar sig uttryck i en transformerad välfärdsstat. Detta sker genom:

a) Synliggörandet av hur det nyliberala projektet samverkar med ett kolonialt arv vid produktionen av de säkerhetsdiskurser och polisiära kontrollåtgärder som drabbar etniska minoriteter och grupper som rasifieras som icke-vita. Här analyseras såväl kontinuitet som förändring i misstänkliggöranden och gränsdragningar mellan ”vi” och ”dem”. Det motstånd som dessa processer innefattar lyfts också fram.

b) Vidareutveckling av begrepp samt introduktion av nya termer som möjliggör en ökad förståelse av relationen mellan globala och lokala kriminalpolitiska förhållanden. Detta inbegriper en diskussion kring fenomen så som ”ambivalens” i nyliberal brottsbekämpningsstrategi, ”samtycke” till repressiv maktutövningen samt rasprofileringens särdrag i ”the racial welfare state”.

c) Redogörelse för hur frågor om kriminalitet bestäms i skärningspunkten mellan ras och ordning. Detta inbegriper ett fokus på förbindelsen mellan plats och klass, liksom på samhällsprocesser som utspelar sig på språket och metaforernas nivå, i den personliga, professionella och politiska sfären samt genom institutionella praktiker.

Studiens relevans bör förstås i ljuset av en pågående repressiv och auktoritär samhällsutveckling, där relationen mellan ras och ordning får en alltmer central plats via frågor om kriminalitet. Att undersöka hur, varför samt vilka som konstrueras som ett hot mot den föreställda gemenskapen, och därmed omvandlas från personer och

grupper i behov skydd till mål för brottsbekämpningspraxis, kommer också fortsättningsvis vara viktigt för kritiska forskare.

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