

Network for the Study of Advanced Urban Marginality

International Conference on
Territorial Stigmatization

Instituto de Sociologia • Faculdade de Letras • Universidade do Porto

22 June 2011

PROGRAMME

09:00 – Welcoming of Participants and Opening Address

Virgílio Borges Pereira (University of Porto, Portugal)

09:15 – Session 1: Social Divisions and Territorial Stigmatization in European Cities

Chair: José Madureira Pinto (University of Porto, Portugal)

Class, space and stigma: social divisions and symbolic boundaries in a council housing area of Porto (1977-2010)

Virgílio Borges Pereira (University of Porto, Portugal)

Social differentiation of the residents of the dilapidated urban areas in Denmark

Troels Schulz-Larsen (Roskilde University, Denmark)

The reputational ghetto: territorial stigmatization of and in St. Paul's, Bristol

Tom Slater (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Discussant:

Marta Cruz (University of Porto, Portugal)

11:00 – Coffee break

11:15 – Session 2: Territorial Stigmatization, Resistance and Mobilization in the “Global South”

Chair: João Queirós (University of Porto, Portugal)

Smell, space and stigma in Postcolonial Kampala

Stephanie Terreni-Brown (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Violence, social conditions and rights of the poor in São Paulo

Eduardo Marques (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole, São Paulo, Brazil)

Une ville et son double. Migrations rurales, ségrégations urbaines et mobilisations sociales à La Paz et El Alto, Bolivie

Franck Poupeau (Université de Paris 8, Paris, France)

Discussant:

Izabela Naves (University of Porto, Portugal)

13:00 – Lunch break

14:00 – Session 3: The Implications of Urban and Housing Policies

Chair: Eduardo Marques (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole, São Paulo, Brazil)

Social housing demonization and demolition as state-led gentrification in Porto

João Queirós (University of Porto, Portugal)

“The cités strike back!”: challenging stigma in two housing estates in Nîmes, France

Paul Kirkness (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Politics of stigmatization against multiethnic neighborhood: the case of Milan

Alfredo Alietti (University of Ferrara, Italy)

Discussant:

Sandra Marques Pereira (Dinâmia, ISCTE – Lisbon University Institute, Portugal)

15:45 – Coffee break

16:00 – Session 4: Managing Territorial Stigmatization

Chair: Tom Slater (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Ethnic, class and territorial stigmatization. On the symbolic and institutional management of the Netherlands’ deprived neighbourhoods

Justus Uitermark (Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands)

Advanced marginalization and the re-criminalization of undocumented immigrants in the US

Kenosuke Tanaka (Hosei University, Japan)

Women’s imprisonment and changing dynamics of stigmatization: a comparative ethnographic perspective

Manuela Ivone Cunha (Universidade do Minho, Portugal)

Discussant:

Bruno Monteiro (University of Porto, Portugal)

18:00 – Final Session

Chair: *Virgílio Borges Pereira (University of Porto, Portugal)*

Territorial stigmatization revisited: symbols, space and state

Loïc Wacquant (University of California-Berkeley, USA ; Centre de Sociologie Européenne – Paris, France)

Discussant:

Sonia Paone (University of Pisa, Italy)

All sessions will take place at *Anfiteatro Nobre (Main Room), Faculdade de Letras, University of Porto.*

Free Admission.

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20h30 – Conference Dinner at Casa da Música Restaurant

[all participants invited]

Organization: Virgílio Borges Pereira, Tom Slater and Loïc Wacquant

Local Executive Committee: Virgílio Borges Pereira and João Queirós

Sponsors: Leverhulme Trust, FCT, Instituto de Sociologia da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Reitoria da Universidade do Porto

For additional info, visit:

<http://www.advancedurbanmarginality.net> or

<http://isociologia.pt>.

Abstracts

Session 1: Social Divisions and Territorial Stigmatization in European Cities

Class, space and stigma: social divisions and symbolic boundaries in a council housing area of Porto (1977-2010)

Virgílio Borges Pereira (University of Porto, Portugal)

This paper presents some results of a research project that is being developed since the beginning of 2008 by a multidisciplinary research team, focusing on the relationship between the state, housing and the «social question», as seen in Porto over the last century. In a more restricted sense, we wish to analyse the effects of housing projects on their potential target groups. This aspect of the research was conducted in 9 representative housing projects, under a procedure that combined the development of a survey to 800 households and more than 120 semi-directive and in-depth interviews to local inhabitants and professionals. Taking as reference a segment of information collected during extensive fieldwork in one of those social housing estates, the paper seeks to establish a set of interpretative coordinates on the social composition of the neighbourhood under review, and analyse the relationships that can be identified between this composition and the practices and the representations that its inhabitants develop of local daily life. With the help of multiple correspondence analysis and the study of the narratives of life experience of the inhabitants, it is possible to understand the processes of de-industrialization of the local social space, the growth of routine employees, the impact of unemployment and the ways of investing the local world with meaning. The management of this meaning is an important dimension of local everyday life and is established under relevant practical and symbolic divisions. Giving origin to processes of avoidance and individualization, territorial stigmatization has a major role in the (re)production of these divisions. It is, thus, the management of stigma and the social grounding of avoidance and individualization that is taken into account in the present paper as well as a discussion, in the light of Wacquant's *Urban Outcasts* and Bourdieu's *Distinction*, of the main social and symbolic properties of routine employee's world in the bairro.

Social differentiation of the residents of the dilapidated urban areas in Denmark

Troels Schulz-Larsen (Roskilde University, Denmark)

Based on Bourdieu's model of the principal principles of social differentiation in social space this paper seeks to investigate, whether or not the residents of four dilapidated Danish neighbourhoods are socially differentiated by the same principles (eg. capital volume, capital composition and social trajectory (Bourdieu 1984:126ff)). The empirical material used is based on a questionnaire with 1017 respondents from the four dilapidated neighbourhoods, collected in the winter of 2006/2007. Based on the findings of a multiple correspondence analysis of the questionnaire data, a method chosen specifically due to its ability to differentiate and illustrate geometrically the relational properties between the residents, it is argued in line with other investigations concerning the Nordic countries (Hellebrekke & Korsnes 2009, Prieur et.al. 2008, Rosenlund 2000) that it is possible to differentiate not only social space in general but also the bottom strata within this social space (Bourdieu 1984:372ff) according to the residents capital volume and capital composition of economic and cultural capital (ref. also Blausis & Friedrichs 2008). This social differentiation is then used as a springboard for a discussion of the different housing lifestyles in the dilapidated urban areas and the viability of Bourdieus concept of the 'taste of necessity'.

The reputational ghetto: territorial stigmatization of and in St. Paul's, Bristol

Tom Slater (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

This paper intervenes in the debate on ethnic segregation in British cities by paying attention to the hitherto neglected phenomenon of territorial stigmatisation. It discusses how the stigma attached to the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, Bristol, is felt and negotiated by local residents 'from below' and has an effect on how that neighbourhood is managed by policy elites 'from above'. The paper critically reviews

some recent influential treatments of ethnic segregation in the UK and moral panic over ghettoisation, before explaining how the racialization of urban space and extreme events such as the riots of 1980 and recent high-profile activities connected to Bristol's crack cocaine economy have installed a damaging reputation of St. Paul's as a segregated 'ghetto' of violence and delinquency. Using a mixed-methods approach, we show that black-white segregation in St. Paul's is in fact low, and then explain how its ghetto reputation impacts upon the experiences of residents. The paper concludes by arguing that territorial stigmatization must be subjected to analytical scrutiny in order to move the segregation debate forward from statistical approaches which, at the moment, seem very distant from life in stigmatised territories.

Session 2: Territorial Stigmatization, Resistance and Mobilization in the "Global South"

Smell, space and stigma in Postcolonial Kampala

Stephanie Terreni-Brown (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

The Nakivubo Channel is an open drainage canal that cuts across Kampala, encompassing a cross-section of urban life in its assemblage. Designed purely as a drainage channel, the Nakivubo has become adopted as the default sewage disposal place for residents of the city that do not have access to toileting facilities, yet one of its tributaries flows through the exclusive golf club and Centenary Park, a fashionable dining and recreation area; the sight and smell of waste is, however, managed in radically different ways across the city by the municipal authorities. This research shows how colonial urban binaries of distinct 'clean' spaces for Europeans and of malodorous spaces for 'Others' is a perpetuating dualism. The Nakivubo Channel ethnography illustrates a very apparent class distinction, with spaces being imagined along a spectrum of (in)formality, (il)legality, and (il)legitimacy. Such imaginations mediate responses to shit – formal bourgeoisie areas along the canal have no smell and are visually pleasant, whereas the persistence of inadequate sanitation responses in informal spaces are legitimised precisely because of the precarious informal/illegal imaginary that they occupy in the representational space of Kampala (Lefebvre, 1991).

Violence, social conditions and rights of the poor in São Paulo

Eduardo Marques (Centro de Estudos da Metrópole, São Paulo, Brazil)

This article discusses recent social dynamics in Brazilian cities, especially in São Paulo, in face of recent discussions on advanced marginality. Poverty, social inequalities and stigmatization are constitutive problems of Brazilian and Latin American cities. These elements derive from the success of a certain kind of economic capitalist development, and not by the lack of development per se.

However, the return to democracy brought new elements to prominence.

Urban violence increased intensely, with important effects on living conditions, especially for the poor. On the other hand, recent economic and political changes, as well as public policy reforms, expanded social policies, especially for the poor, as well as reduced poverty and inequalities.

The recent period, therefore, combines processes of precarious social integration with the granting of rights by State policies and institutions, increasing social participation and, more recently, some reduction of economic inequalities. The article discusses these sometimes incongruent processes, and suggests that this situation does not express a new pattern of exclusion, but a part of the contradictory process of citizenship construction in contemporary Brazil.

Une ville et son double. Migrations rurales, ségrégations urbaines et mobilisations sociales à La Paz et El Alto, Bolivie

Franck Poupeau (Université de Paris 8, Paris, France)

Les problèmes d'accès à l'eau constituent, dans les métropoles du Sud, des indicateurs pertinents d'inégalité sociale : ils permettent une analyse systématique des formes contemporaines de pauvreté, depuis les conditions matérielles de logement jusqu'aux pratiques culturelles et politiques. A partir d'une enquête menée dans la ville de El Alto (Bolivie), dont le taux de croissance est resté supérieur à 9

% par an tout au long de la décennie 2000, cet article élabore une perspective sociologique sur les transformations récentes de l'espace urbain en question. Tout en reconnaissant l'apport des approches géographiques, et de l'analyse spatiale tout particulièrement, l'étude des inégalités socio-spatiales d'accès à l'eau, combinant ethnographie des quartiers populaires, cartographie des données statistiques et diffusion d'un questionnaire auprès d'un échantillon représentatif des résidents des zones périphériques, permet de mettre en évidence l'importance des stratégies familiales d'installation dans les zones périphériques, qui ne peuvent se réduire à un simple produit de la « migration rurale » et de l'« explosion urbaine ». D'un point de vue méthodologique, elle montre l'intérêt de combiner des indicateurs de localisation avec les indicateurs traditionnels de position sociale, afin d'appréhender de façon plus fine les inégalités qui structurent ces espaces urbains en expansion.

Session 3: The Implications of Urban and Housing Policies

Social housing demonization and demolition as state-led gentrification in Porto

João Queirós (University of Porto, Portugal)

Drawing on some of the results of an ongoing research on the structuring and social consequences of the public housing policies that have been put forward in Porto's city centre throughout the last five decades, this paper tries to historicize the case of a strongly stigmatised and disadvantaged working class social housing neighbourhood whose demolition was recently announced by local state authorities. Built in a riverside location just outside the city centre in the mid-1970s to accommodate 320 families displaced from the city's ancient core as a result of the urban renewal of that area, *Bairro do Aleixo* has become one of the most demonised public housing neighbourhoods in Porto and even in Portugal, especially since it started to be publically presented as an irreparable «drug supermarket» and «urban cancer». This paper wishes to address the ways through which state (in)action contributed to the degradation and stigmatisation of this neighbourhood – once a proudly publicised social housing «pilot project» –and, eventually, to the presentation of its demolition (as in a «self-fulfilling prophecy») as the «inevitable» remedy to an otherwise «unsolvable» problem. Also, it'll be discussed how the current trends in social housing management in Porto – which entail the demolition of the most stigmatised neighbourhoods and the scattering and further displacement of their inhabitants – are intertwined with the overall conception of what the city centre should be, as the «loser's side» of state-led gentrification.

“The cités strike back!”: challenging stigma in two housing estates in Nîmes, France

Paul Kirkness (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)

Territorial stigmatization in France is produced and enacted through a large number of mediums: media, political discourse, academic work on the 'ghettoization' of French suburban areas and urban policy itself (the *Politique de la Ville*). The stigmatization of France's suburban areas, known as the *banlieues*, is not a novelty, but current representations of these places link them to ethnicity and religion as well as youth and criminality. They construct the *banlieues* as veritable communitarian no-go zones in need of perpetual policing – even to the point of militarizing them. This paper will depart from attempts to frame and understand the representations which produce these pervasive stigmatizing images and focus on the perspective of the stigmatized themselves. Bourdieu's notions of symbolic violence and habitus are deployed in his analysis of 'site effects' (1993) and he seems to suggest that inhabitants of France's *banlieues* internalize the stigma which is attached to their place of residence. With concrete examples taken from research which was conducted in two stigmatized housing estates in the town of Nîmes, in the South of France, this paper questions the internalization of negative imagery by residents of the *banlieues* and it proposes instead that their perceptions of stigma is more ambivalent. I wish to show that there is room for the agency of residents to resist these representations, transgress the coded norms of dominant society and displace the language of stigma.

Politics of stigmatization against multiethnic neighborhood: the case of Milan

Alfredo Alietti (University of Ferrara, Italy)

The metropolitan area of Milan is a paradigmatic example of stigmatization politics against popular and multi-ethnic neighborhoods. These neighborhoods, in most cases, characterized by social deprivation (i.e. unemployment) have become a central issue in securitarian practices promoted by the municipality. Some events of deviant behavior and lawlessness that has involved some migrants have helped to build an emergency which in turn has legitimized a “state of exception”.

This state of exception is developed by means of action that effectively suspend the rights of immigrant citizens by subjecting them to constant repression (for example, by curfew).

In particular, this view reinforces the stigma of neighborhood and the xenophobic attitude, building a vicious cycle that feeds a local latent conflict between the migrants and autochthonous . All this is part of a social-political climate that legitimizes the xenophobic public discourse.

The analysis focalize the politics of stigma in three popular multi-ethnic neighborhoods of Milan through the reconstruction of the interventions promoted by the local authority.

Session 4: Managing Territorial Stigmatization

Ethnic, class and territorial stigmatization. On the symbolic and institutional management of the Netherlands’ deprived neighbourhoods

Justus Uitermark (Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands)

Stigmatization essentially is a highly skewed symbolic power relation between dominant and dominated groups where the former ascribe negative characteristics to the latter. Dominant groups can define and stigmatize dominated groups on the basis of their inferior class position, their ethnic or religious alterity and/or their habitat. While these various forms of stigmatization intertwine, we can nevertheless observe that some markers of identity have more prevalence than others. The paper argues that in the Netherlands symbolic power relations are mainly structured around ethnicity and religion, not territory or class. Drawing on secondary research, the paper argues that (1) the national debate on minority integration revolves around ethnicity and religion, with class and territory as secondary concerns, (2) especially Moroccans and Turks suffer from discrimination in everyday life, the justice system, and the labor market (3) territorial stigmatization serves at most as an indirect form of ethnic stigmatization (ie people are not stigmatized because they live in a certain neighborhood but the neighborhood is stigmatized because certain – ethnic and religious – groups live in them). Drawing on primary research, the paper suggests that the Netherlands’ policies towards deprived neighborhoods can be understood as an attempt to regain control over areas with a strong presence of stigmatized groups.

Advanced marginalization and the re-criminalization of undocumented immigrants in the US

Kenosuke Tanaka (Hosei University, Japan)

To follow.

Women’s imprisonment and changing dynamics of stigmatization: a comparative ethnographic perspective

Manuela Ivone Cunha (Universidade do Minho, Portugal)

Drawing upon a comparative ethnographic study in a women’s Portuguese prison and some of the systemic transformations that took place within the span of a decade both inside and outside the carceral setting, I will focus on changes in the dynamics of stigmatization as they are expressed in negotiations of identity, law enforcement and crime control. More specifically, I will focus on a general blurring of previously active intra-prison boundaries, including ethnic boundaries, and the way it partakes in a wider reconfiguration of stigma. Stigma became less attached to prison and imprisonment than to categories of urban territories which present a particular interplay between ethnicity, class, and the economy of retail drug markets. The selective targeting of specific socio-spatial categories by law enforcement styles shaped by drug control reflect this same reconfiguration.

Final Session

Territorial stigmatization revisited: symbols, space and state

Loïc Wacquant (University of California-Berkeley, USA ; Centre de Sociologie Européenne – Paris, France)

I recount how and why I came to forge the concept of territorial stigmatization to capture one of the salient symbolic dimensions of advanced marginality in the dualizing metropolis at century's turn. Neighborhood taint is a distinctive phenomenon, correlative of the breakdown or dissolution of neighborhoods of relegation of the Fordist-Keynesian period of industrial capitalism (the black ghetto in the US, working-class territories in Western Europe). It is closely tied to, but becomes autonomized from the taint of poverty, ethnicity, and vice and violence. The denigration of place exerts a causal impact on the dynamics of marginality via cognitive mechanisms insofar as it impacts (1) the social structure, strategies, and experience of residents of derelict districts; (2) the perception and behavior of operators in civil society and the economy, such as parties, associations, and firms; (3) the output of specialists in symbolic production such as journalists and scholars; and, last but not least, (4) the beliefs, views, and actions of state elites, and through them the gamut of public policies that determine and distribute marginality and its burdens.