Territorial stigmatization in action

Loïc Wacquant
Sociology Department, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, USA; and Centre de sociologie européenne, Paris; e-mail: loic@berkeley.edu
Tom Slater
School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh, Drummond Street, Edinburgh EH8 9XP, Scotland; e-mail: tom.slater@ed.ac.uk
Virgílio Borges Pereira
Departamento de Sociologia|Instituto de Sociologia, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Via Panorâmica, s/nº, 4150-564 Porto, Portugal; e-mail: jpereira@letras.up.pt
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Abstract. This theme issue of *Environment and Planning A* builds on the analytic framework elaborated by Wacquant in *Urban Outcasts* (Polity Press, 2008) and on the activities of the Leverhulme Network on Advanced Urban Marginality to synthesize and stimulate inquiries into the triadic nexus of symbolic space, social space, and physical space at the lower end of the urban spectrum. The concept of *territorial stigmatization* weds with Bourdieu's theory of 'symbolic power' Goffman's model of the management of 'spoiled identity' to capture how the blemish of place impacts the residents of disparaged districts, the surrounding denizens and commercial operators, street-level public bureaucracies, specialists in cultural production (such as journalists, scholars, and politicians), and state officials and policies. Spatial taint is a novel and distinctive phenomenon that crystallized at century's end along with the dissolution of the neighborhoods of relegation emblematic of the Fordist–Keynesian phase of industrial capitalism. It *differs from the traditional topography of disrepute* in the industrial city in that it has become autonomized, nationalized and democratized, equated with social disintegration, racialized through selective accentuation, and it elicits revulsion often leading to punitive corrective measures. The sociosymbolic strategies fashioned by the residents of defamed quarters to cope with spatial denigration span a *panoply ranging from submission to defiance*, and their adoption depends on position and trajectory in social and physical space. Territorial stigmatization is not a static condition or a neutral process, but a consequential and injurious form of *action through collective representation fastened on place*. By probing how it operates in different urban settings and political formations, the contributors to this issue advance our empirical understanding of the role of symbolic structures in the production of inequality and marginality in the city. They also suggest the need for public policies designed to reduce, not only the burden of material deprivation, but also the press of symbolic domination in the metropolis.

Keywords: territorial stigmatization, advanced marginality, urban inequality, spoiled identity, symbolic power, social strategies, space, Goffman, Bourdieu

At the meetings of the International Sociological Association in Barcelona in September 2008, a group of younger researchers interested in the changing structure, dynamics, and experience of urban marginality across borders coalesced around the project of testing the empirical claims and extending the analytic framework proposed by Wacquant (2008) in

Urban Outcasts to new cities, countries, and topics.[1] They shared the view, epicentral to the book, that relegation in the city is not everywhere cut from the same cloth, in spite of mounting transnational forces and homogenizing discourses; and yet that it obeys similar mechanisms and displays a number of germane spatial and social features across sites that are worth specifying. They wished to avoid the common mistake of artificially insulating the poor in social space and sought instead to link the transformations roiling the lower boroughs of the metropolis firmly to strategies and struggles traversing circles of power (Pereira, 2005). They yearned for a theoretically guided dialogue across national borders that would help them avoid getting locked into the parochial parameters of their local debates as well as guard against the surreptitious subordination of scholarly to policy agendas (Slater, 2006). Soon they formed an international network (coordinated via the website http://www. advancedurbanmarginality.com) bringing together students of the metropolis from multiple countries and disciplines who adopt field-based approaches (solo or in combination with historical and statistical methods) attuned to the texture of everyday life; endeavor to probe the dynamic interplay of spatial patterns, symbolic divisions, and social action; and are keen to underscore the multisided role of the state and assorted holders of economic and cultural capital in the production, distribution, and representation of problem categories and territories in the city.

With support from the Leverhulme Trust and from the home institutions of its key members, the network organized a series of activities punctuated by a 2010 workshop at the University of Edinburgh, an international symposium on "Territorial Stigmatization" at the University of Porto in June 2011, and a two-day conference on "Urban Marginality and the State" at the Collège de France that brought researchers from a dozen nations to Paris in Spring of 2012. This theme issue of *Environment and Planning A* on the logics of "Territorial stigmatization" builds on these events and results from the collective work of network affiliates, spanning sociology, geography, anthropology, political science, history, criminology, urban planning and architecture, and social work. It is an effort to synthesize and stimulate inquiries into the triadic nexus of symbolic space (mental divisions stipulating categories), social space (distributions of efficient resources among those categories), and physical space at the lower end of the urban spectrum.

Wacquant (2009a, pages 115–117) has recounted how he encountered the sticky reality of spatial taint in the course of transatlantic fieldwork in the early 1990s aiming to compare the ordinary experience of living inside the denuded hyperghetto of inner Chicago and the declining housing estates of outer Paris. In both places, residents loudly and harshly echoed urban denizens, public officials, and the commercial media in disparaging their own neighborhoods as nests of social vitriol, vice, and violence. They likewise displaced the stain of dwelling in an area deemed a sociomoral purgatory onto others just like them, thereby validating it and further spreading its effects around them. And they devised similar strategies to protect themselves from association with a tarnished place, such as hiding their address, avoiding bringing outsiders to their home, retreating into the family sphere and curtailing their involvement in local outfits, and migrating out at the first opportunity. More

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[1] The five analytic principles the book propounds for the comparative study of urban marginality across space and time bear reiterating here (Wacquant, 2008, pages 7–12): (1) establish a clear demarcation between folk and analytic concepts; (2) historicize urban forms over the longue durée; (3) use ethnography as an instrument of epistemological rupture and theoretical construction; (4) differentiate neighborhoods of marginality by condition, position, and function in the metropolitan ensemble; (5) and specify the degree and modality of state penetration into zones of dispossession. An additional principle was subsequently formulated: (6) situate the particular territory of relegation in the broader landscape of forms of sociospatial seclusion prevalent in the given city and society (Wacquant, 2010).

intriguing still, the blemish befalling these places contaminated the attitudes and actions of the high-level civil servants in charge of France's newly instituted urban policy: for instance, these functionaries considered receiving an assignment in one of the officially designated 'sensitive neighborhoods' a personal black mark and an impediment to their career advancement. Back in Chicago, the spatial defamation of the crumbling ghetto was an infectious feature of everyday intercourse feeding generalized scorn for and fear of their inhabitants, a staple of journalistic and political discussion picturing the Black Belt as "an American millstone" (*Chicago Tribune* 1986), and a doxic theme mined by the booming academic cottage industry investigating the alleged rise and spread of a terrifying urban 'underclass'.[2]

Wacquant mated Goffman's (1963) view of *stigma* as 'discrediting differentness' flowing from the ordinary gaze of others in face-to-face interaction with Bourdieu's (1991) theory of *symbolic power* as 'performative nomination' by an authority capable of making its representations stick and come true to forge the concept of *territorial stigmatization*. The notion captures the most salient symbolic property that, together with the fragmentation of wage labor on the material front, constitutes 'advanced marginality' in the dualizing metropolis at century's turn (Wacquant, 2007; 2008; 2010).[3] Where Goffman distributes stigmata among three broad classes based on 'abominations of the body', 'blemishes of individual character', and 'tribal' affiliation 'transmitted through lineages', Wacquant spotlights space as a distinctive anchor of social discredit. To Bourdieu's founding proposition that symbolic power contributes to 'making and unmaking groups' by cutting up social space in ways that (de)mobilize putative members, Wacquant (2014a) adds the *crucial mediation of place as material container, social crossroads, and mental imagery* carrying deep emotional valences, in and through which collectives will emerge (or not) through struggles to establish claims over the built environment. These two theoretical perspectives turn out to be not just compatible but complementary:[4] Bourdieu works from above, following the flow of efficient representations from symbolic authorities such as state, science, church, the law, and journalism, down to their repercussions upon institutional operations, social practices, and the self; Goffman works from below, tracing the effects of procedures of sense-making

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[2] See Jencks and Peterson (1991) for an emblematic text gathering the key constituents of this demonic academic myth and Katz (2013) for an updated historical critique. The spatial dimension of this scarecrow category solidified with the invention of the notion of 'underclass area' as a precinct of concentrated pathology.

[3] 'Advanced marginality' is the regime of poverty ascendant in the postindustrial cities of advanced society against the backdrop of resurging class inequality, welfare state retrenchment, penal state expansion, and spatial polarization. Territorial taint is the third of six properties that characterize it (Wacquant, 2008, chapter 8): (1) the growing internal heterogeneity and desocialization of labor; (2) the functional disconnection of neighborhood conditions from macroeconomic trends; (3) territorial fixation and stigmatization; (4) spatial alienation and the dissolution of place; (5) the loss of a viable hinterland; (6) the symbolic splintering of marginalized populations pulverized beyond the ambit of established instruments of collective voice (such as trade unions, community organizations, and left political parties).

[4] The common view that Bourdieu and Goffman are discordant social theorists [which Jensen and Christensen (2012) take to be a problem for Wacquant's concept of spatial taint] arises at the confluence of conventional misreadings of each of them: Bourdieu is often misinterpreted as a mechanical 'structuralist' who cannot accommodate creative action at the microlevel (when his core conceptual dyad of habitus and social space handles it fluidly), while Goffman is typically mistaken for a 'symbolic interactionist' in the mold of Blumer when he is a hard-nosed Durkheimian intent on uncovering the social morphology and collective representations specific to the 'interaction order'. (No wonder Bourdieu was a keen reader, intellectual admirer, and personal friend of Goffman, whose works he arranged to have translated into French in his book series with the avant-garde publisher Minuit).

and techniques of 'management of spoiled identity' across encounters and their aggregations into organizations. They can thus be wedded to advance our grasp of the ways in which noxious representations of space are produced, diffused, and harnessed in the field of power, by bureaucratic and commercial agencies, as well as in everyday life in ways that alter social identity, strategy, and structure.

What bears stressing, by way of prelude to this theme issue, is the thesis that *neighborhood taint is a new and distinctive phenomenon* that crystallized at century's end, along with the sudden breakdown or gradual dissolution of the districts of relegation emblematic of the Fordist–Keynesian phase of industrial capitalism: namely, the black ghetto in the United States, traditional working-class territories in the deteriorating central city or metropolitan periphery in Europe, and stabilizing shanty-towns across much of Latin America (Wacquant, 2014b). This claim does not imply that a *topography of disrepute* is a novel cultural constellation spawned by the postindustrial metropolis. Indeed, it is well established that the 'accursed share' of urban society has had its special wards, the *bas-fonds*, slums and rookeries, precincts of the *submundo* and *Unterwelt*, since the mid-19th century, as a result of the confluence of urbanization, industrialization, and upper-class fears as well as fantasies about the 'teeming masses' rallying the city. The classic depiction of Manchester's Irish Town by Friedrich Engels ([1845] 1993) in *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and the pointillist portrayal of Covent Garden drawn by Robert Mayhew ([1851] 2012) in *London Labour and the London Poor* suffice to attest to this. By the late 19th century, Montfaucon in Paris, Five Points and the Bowery in New York, Saint Giles and the East End in London—as well as La Boca in Buenos Aires and the Casbah of Algiers, to range beyond Europe—were notorious for being loathsome dens of "destitution, delinquency, and debauchery" (Kalifa, 2012, page 16).[5] But the disgrace that afflicts contemporary boroughs of dispossession differs from the spatial smear of earlier epochs in at least five ways.

First, territorial stigma is closely tied to, but has become partially *autonomized* from, the stain of poverty, subaltern ethnicity (encompassing national and regional 'minorities', recognized or not, and lower-class foreign migrants), degraded housing, imputed immorality, and street crime. So much so that a new generic label has gained wide currency in advanced countries to designate those urban districts viewed as tears in, and threats to, the fabric of the nation: *banlieue-ghetto* in France, *quartieri degradati* in Italy, *Problemquartier* in Germany, 'sink estates' in Great Britain, *krottenwijk* in the Netherlands, and so on. Second, territorial stigma has become *nationalized and democratized*, so to speak: in every country, a small set of urban boroughs have come to be universally renowned and reviled across class and space as redoubts of self-inflicted and self-perpetuating destitution and depravity. Their names circulate in the discourses of journalism, politics, and scholarship, as well as in ordinary conversation as synonyms for social hell. This sulfurous image prevails not just among social and cultural elites—as with their predecessors of a century ago—but among the citizenry at large, including those who dwell in these damned districts and those entirely removed from them. Thus Swedes living in the country's remotest villages recoil in fear and loathing at the mere mention of the names Rinkeby, Tensta, and Fittja, even though they have never been and will likely never come near these infamous 'no-go areas' ringing Stockholm (Pred, 2000,

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[5] Kalifa (2012) paints a detailed historical panorama of the birth, evolution and dissipation of the bas-fonds as a core element of the Western urban imagery coalescing in the mid-19th century, with distant roots in the emergence of the category of the 'undeserving poor' in the 13th century and the stigmatization of vagrants and peregrinating Gypsies from Bohemia in the 16th century. He argues that this imaginary dissipated in the first half of the 20th century as a result of a shift in collective representations (poverty was socialized , unemployment was made into an official category, and criminals came to be seen as a distinct milieu) and vanished in the second half with the material upgrading of the economic status and housing situation of the working class.

pages 124–130). There is even an international dissemination of toponyms emblematic of urban perdition via movies, music videos, and video games—in lieu of novels and newspaper serials as in the 19th century. Thus 'The Bronx' has become global esperanto to designate cauldrons of physical, moral, and social degeneracy in the city in countries as far flung as Argentina (Auyero, 1999), France (Wacquant, 2008), and Australia (Birdsall-Jones, 2013).[6]

Third, the stigmatized neighborhoods of the postindustrial metropolis are pictured as vortexes and vectors of social *disintegration*, fundamentally dissolute and irretrievably disorganized, whereas the 'counterworld' of the classic industrial bas-fonds was seen as "a powerful and hierarchized counter-society," an "inverted double, a counterfeit and caricatural version of the organized society" surrounding it (Kalifa, 2012, pages 61–66). The label 'ghetto' is commonly hurled about to dramatize and denounce such disintegration—including by scholars oblivious to the sociological tenor of ghettoization as a mechanism of structural integration of a stigmatized ethnic category in the city (Wacquant, 2011a). This labeling points to a fourth difference: *racialization through selective accentuation or fictive projection*. The populations of these disparaged districts are nearly always painted in darker and more exotic hues than their demography warrants. Their cultural differences are exaggerated and turned into divergence if not hostility to dominant national norms—with religion often serving as the surreptitious agent of sedition—while their vulnerable class position is downplayed or ignored altogether. Incidents of deviance or violence in and around these areas are routinely sensationalized and referred back to the allegedly intrinsic sociocultural traits of the residents fit to brand them as outcasts. Such symbolic buckling can quickly turn any neighborhood sporting a small and stable minority of black or immigrant residents, a low crime rate, and drab but adequate housing into the specter of a hostile racial ghetto ready to erupt in mayhem any minute, as shown by the warped collective image thrust upon the district of St Paul's in Bristol (Slater and Anderson, 2012).[7]

Last but not least, the stigmatized districts of dispossession in the postindustrial city elicit overwhelmingly negative emotions and stern corrective reactions driven by fright, revulsion, and condemnation, which in turn foster the growth and glorification of the penal wing of the state in order to penalize urban marginality (Wacquant, 2009b; see also

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[6] Lately, the Rosengård district of Malmö has gained an ominous notoriety across much of Western Europe, due to the professional peregrinations of the Swedish soccer superstar Zlatan Ibrahimović, who is invariably presented in the various national media that follow him as 'coming out of the ghetto' of Rosengård. In his interviews and autobiography (Ibrahimović and Lagercrantz, 2014), Ibrahimović uses this widespread toxic vision to dramatize his ascent, enshroud his skills in mystery, excuse his unconventional behavior, and assert his inbred loyalty (he is fond of citing a polite variant of the black American maxim, "You can take the man out of the ghetto but you can't take the ghetto out of the man").

[7] Periodic street skirmishes between local young men and the police are rashly elevated to the rank of 'race riots' by mere dint of the darker skin tone of the rioters. The martial rhetoric of 'war' is then rolled out and mixed with the racial vocabulary of (post)colonialism to produce an explosive vision of total and irresolvable urban conflict rooted in centuries of merciless confrontation with Islam tailor-made to draw media attention and to sell books, as exemplified by Hussey's (2014, page 12) farcical *The French Intifada: The Long War Between France and its Arabs*, in which we read: "The rioters at the Gare du Nord or in the *banlieues* also often describe themselves as soldiers in a 'long war' against France and Europe. To this extent, they are fighting against the very concept of 'civilization', which they see as a European invention. The so-called 'French intifada', the guerrilla war with police at the edges and in the heart of French cities, is only the latest and most dramatic form of engagement with the enemy. This war began with Napoleon's cynical aggression in Egypt in the early 1800s, marking the start of a French lust for all things Oriental" and it is now blossoming into "the Fourth World War", pitting France against a combo made of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Instead of eliciting disbelieving hilarity, this book has received rave reviews in the British press (*The Sunday Times* called it "fascinating, convincing and hugely readable") and it is sure to enjoy wide acclaim in those sectors of the academe where rhetorical ranting serves as a low-cost substitute for research.

Beckett and Herbert, 2011; Clear, 2007; Mucchielli, 2008; Peck and Theodore, 2008). Long gone are the ambivalent fascination and lurid attraction that political and cultural elites felt for the sordid bas-fonds of the emerging industrial city, which made them upper-class playgrounds for excitement, mysterious sites of social voyeurism, moral transgression, sexual fantasy, and artistic inspiration, as demonstrated by the conjoint invention of 'slumming' and 'undercovery' journalism centered on the derelict districts of the metropolis (Kalifa, 2012). In the 1880s, the upper crust of Victorian London rode crowded buses from their posh enclaves to go on midnight tours of the slums of East London, where they got to witness firsthand the titillating spectacle of 'pauperism' and gape at the outlandish sights, sounds, and scenes of destitute fellow Londoners (Koven, 2006). In the 1980s, no rich Chicagoan would envisage, let alone dare, to drive down and ogle around the Robert Taylor Homes on the city's South Side, least of all at night. When persons of power and eminence visit such districts nowadays, it is more often than not in a martial mode, to announce measures designated to root out rot, restore order, and punish miscreants. One illustration: the defamed neighborhood of Easterhouse in Glasgow is repeatedly visited by Tory politicians in their efforts to corroborate the need and elicit support for the regressive welfare reforms currently sweeping across Britain (Slater, 2014).[8]

Territorial stigmatization, as specified above, is not just a novel urban phenomenon characteristic of the post-Fordist metropolis; it is also a *deeply consequential form of ramifying action through mental and objectal representation* (Bourdieu, 1991, pages 220–221). As the papers gathered in this issue amply document, it affects how myriad agents feel, think, and act as it percolates down and diffuses across the social and spatial structures of the city. Ascending from ground level to the higher reaches of government, the denigration of place impacts:

(1) the *residents* of defamed districts by corroding their sense of self, warping their social relations, and undercutting their capacity for collective action, as it sparks strategies of coping that tend to validate, amplify, and proliferate the discredit at its core, even as some strive to disregard or to resist spatial stigma;

(2) the surrounding *urban denizens and commercial operators*, as evidenced, for instance, by patterns of avoidance among neighbors and 'address discrimination' by employers;

(3) the level and quality of service delivery of *street-level bureaucracies* such as welfare, health care, and the police (who are wont to deploy intensive surveillance and aggressive tactics that would be unacceptable in other sectors of the city);

(4) the output of *specialists in symbolic production*, including journalists, scholars, policy analysts, and politicians; and, last but not least,

(5) the beliefs, views, and decisions of *state officials* and, through them, the gamut of public policies that, combining with market and other forces, determine and distribute marginality and its burdens.

In his framing address to the Porto conference Wacquant (2011b) revisited his earlier analytic framework and proposed to differentiate the social and symbolic strategies fashioned by the residents of disparaged districts according to whether they submit to and reproduce, or seek to defy and deflect, spatial stigma as summed up in table 1. He proposed that the propensity

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[8] On the other side of the Channel, the most famous visit of La Courneuve's infamous Quatre Mille housing project by a national leader in recent memory is Nicolas Sarkozy's sortie on 20 June 2005, during which the then-Minister of the Interior and soon-to-be President of France promised, in reaction to a criminal incident, that he would "clean the scum out" of the area with a Karcher (a high-power hose). His foray was followed by the rolling out of a military-style police sweep expressly staged for the media involving more than 200 officers trailed at every step by television cameras and swiftly broadcast on the eight o'clock news—even as it yielded not a single arrest and no seizure of any criminal loot.

Table 1. Distribution of strategies designed to cope with territorial stigma (source: Wacquant, 2011b).

Submission ←	→ Recalcitrance to resistance
1—dissimulation	6—studied indifference
2—mutual distancing and elaboration of microdifferences	7—defense of neighborhood (individual or collective)
3—lateral denigration	8—stigma inversion (hyperbolic claiming)
4—retreat into the private (family) sphere	
5—exit	

to adopt this or that strategy (and to assemble them into roughly coherent strings) depends on position and trajectory in social and physical space. It will therefore vary significantly with class, age and lifecycle stage, housing tenure, seniority in the neighborhood, and ethnicity (defined in Weberian fashion as a credible claim to a quantum of honor).

To illustrate, consider these two ideal-typical situations. Ceteris paribus, a long-time elderly homeowner with many family members dwelling nearby in an economically secure position is more likely to retreat into the family ambit, stress what sets him apart from neighbors, and denigrate those same neighbors in line with dominant representations (strategies 4, 2, and 3) than he is to migrate outside the area or claim the negative identity ascribed to its occupants (strategies 5 and 8). Alternately, the young son of immigrant tenants who recently settled in the area is more likely to embrace territorial stain and practice "in-group alignment" (Goffman, 1963, pages 112–114) with his teenage peers by celebrating and even flaunting the badness of his 'hood' or *cité* in a collective effort to invert the stigma, whereas his parents might prefer to leave the area or cultivate a front of indifference (strategies 5 and 6). But he practically acknowledges the vainness of this efforts when he also alters his dress and tweaks his speech in his self-presentation outside the neighborhood and lies about his address on job applications (Truong, 2013). In such a scenario the seemingly incongruent mating of strategies 1 and 8 is stabilized by strictly segregating the scenes on which each is deployed.

This theme issue of *Environment and Planning A* brings together seven in-depth studies of territorial stigmatisation in action in eight different national settings (France, Portugal, Canada, Australia, Scotland, Holland and Turkey, and Denmark) distributed across three continents. Drawing on diverse research strategies, the papers that compose it traverse scales from everyday life to the higher reaches of the state and variously validate, complicate, but also challenge Wacquant's framework by taking it onto new geographic, empirical, and analytic terrains.[9] Collectively, they confirm the pervasiveness, existential burdens, and intricate reverberations of spatial taint in the lives of the residents of wards of relegation; they broaden and deepen the repertoire of strategies of coping, recalcitrance, and evasion that these residents develop in response; and they demonstrate how the blemish of place can be fueled, harnessed, and manipulated by private concerns (such as the media, employers, and real-estate firms) and public officials (in both the political and the bureaucratic fields) to promote their own agendas, such that spatial disgrace operates as a *symbolic lynchpin between inequality and marginality* in the metropolis.

In "The *cités* strike back", Kirkness (2014) draws on two years of field observation in two defamed housing estates in Nîmes, in Southern France, to dissect how their inhabitants simultaneously acknowledge and contest territorial stigma. He stresses restive practices of 'emplacement', through which the latter seek tactically to reappropriate their life-space, and

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[9] For a broader panorama of recent studies engaging the notion of territorial stigmatization across topics, disciplinary divides, urban sites and national boundaries, see the bibliography assembled by Slater et al (2014).

the performance of 'counterscripts' whereby they endeavor to project positive images of their district and of themselves. But their very resistance to territorial stigmatization keeps them deeply enmeshed in the nefarious net of deprecative symbolism. The same abiding 'sociological ambivalence' (Merton, 1976) prevails among the inhabitants of the Bairro do Viso, a large and well-known public social housing estate in Porto, in Nothern Portugal. In "It's not a *bairro*, is it?", Pereira and Queiros (2014) wed ethnography, semistructured interviews, and a sample survey of local families, set against the backdrop of the history of housing in Porto, to map the social divisions, forms of ordinary sociability, and symbolic boundaries that pattern intercourse on the estate. They find that residents react to territorial taint by limiting their public intercourse to subsistence activities and by embracing a nostalgic language conceding that the area is simply "not a *bairro*" anymore. These strategic responses of 'subsistence sociability' and 'focused avoidance' muddle the exit–voice and conformity–rejection dualities and pave the way for a more subtle analysis of the management of spatial blemish in everyday life.

In "Challenging the rhetoric of stigmatization", August (2014) further mines the theme of begrudging attachment and spotlights the forgotten benefits of concentrated poverty in Toronto's notorious Regent Park. While a top-down discourse of isolation, disorganization, and danger has long enshrouded Canada's first public housing estate, this trope has recently been invoked to justify state-sponsored gentrification via 'socially mixed' redevelopment. But interviews with residents reveal that, in spite of its physical deterioration and nefarious repute, residents value their dwelling place for anchoring dense webs of friendship and reciprocal support, proximate amenities, and local agencies providing services finely tailored to their needs. The housing complex remains a "communal 'place' bathed in shared emotions and joint meanings, supported by practices and institutions of mutuality" instead of an "indifferent 'space' of mere survival and relentless contest" (Wacquant, 2008, page 241) as pictured in the policy vision driving redevelopment. Arthurson, Darcy, and Rogers (2014) take us to Australia to probe this recurrent disconnect between dominant and subaltern images of urban marginality and its effects. They scrutinize how social housing tenants in Sydney and Adelaide perceive, react to, and reflect upon the "televised territorial stigma" diffused by the TV series *Housos*. The popular show feeds on parodies of ordinary scenes on the estate and cartoonish stereotypes about their denizens. The latter are portrayed as incompetent and antisocial people living in dysfunctional households bent on shirking work—in short, as the living desecration of the values central to the ascendant neoliberal ethos of 'individual responsibility'. The collaborative study design enables tenant participants to express how they think and feel about the 'links between place and disadvantage' while confirming the staying power of territorial stigmatization among nontenants.[10]

In "Gentrifying marginality on Edinburgh's periphery", Kallin and Slater (2014) focus on the linked relationship between the active defamation of declining working-class areas and their revamping for and by private real estate through public policies calibrated to the wishes of middle-class households. Drawing on archival materials and in-depth interviews with former and current residents, they delve into the conception and implementation of the recent 'regeneration' project intended to turn Craigmillar, an enclave of deep poverty caused by deindustrialization on the southeast edge Scotland's capital, into a showcase for urban renaissance. They reveal how state agents fashioned and fastened territorial disrepute onto the neighborhood and then invoked that very disrepute to justify razing the two large housing estates anchoring it, in utter disregard for the collective needs of its denizens. This case study is emblematic of the multisided political manipulation of territorial taint, whereby it

[10] This paper also indirectly confirms the organic link between the spread of advanced marginality in, and the spatial tarnishing of, the public housing sector of the Australian city detected by Morris (2013).

supplies the symbolic springboard for and practical target of state-driven gentrification while also fostering the censorship of alternative policies of social investment that would frontally tackle poverty and housing disrepair in the chosen area.[11]

By comparing the "restructuring of stigmatized neighborhoods in Amsterdam and Istanbul", Sakizlioğlu and Uitermark (2014) further illuminate the symbolic politics of urban displacement. Notwithstanding deep differences in state structures, political repertoires, and urban organization, they uncover two striking similarities in the sociopolitical course of gentrification in these two Dutch and Turkish global cities. In both sites the public backers of neighborhood upgrading engage in subtle campaigns of cultural 'divide and rule' by deploying classifications that splinter the local population into disconnected or antagonistic categories; and the private promoters make tactical use of time to tire out and further splinter their opponents. The combination of these two strategies effectively preempts, blunts, or otherwise overcomes individual and collective resistance to displacement and helps also account for cases where neighborhood encroachment occurs without much countervailing mobilization. The ability to move people and places up and down efficient classifications thus turns out to play a pivotal part in the material transformation of the urban landscape.

Finally, Schultz Larsen (2014) invites us on a historical journey to "Copenhagen's West End a 'Paradise Lost'" as he dissects the political production and uses of territorial stigma in the Danish metropolis. He links the involutive trajectory of the housing estate of Tåstrupgård from prestigious harbinger of high modernity a half century ago to defamed redoubt of dereliction nowadays to patterned battles over space waged inside the state. Combining Bourdieu's field theory with ethnographic observation allows him to show that the consolidation of advanced marginality and the correlative spread of territorial taint in Copenhagen are products of policy decisions issuing from contests traversing the bureaucratic field. These contests have determined the spatial bunching of deprived households and the collective denigration of their districts via the institutionalization of an asymmetrical housing market and dualizing urban policies that systematically privilege private ownership at the expense of public lodging. Here again, the state emerges as the key agency, terrain, and stake in the material and symbolic struggles that produce, spread, and validate spatial stigma, such that the everyday predicament of the urban precariat cannot be grasped, let alone resolved, by a narrow focus on the bounded quarters in which it coalesces.[12]

Territorial stigmatization is not a static condition, a neutral process, or an innocuous cultural game, but a consequential and injurious form of *action through collective representation fastened on place*. By displaying how the constituent properties and operant mechanisms of spatial disgrace specify themselves in different types of urban settings and political formations, the contributors to this issue advance our empirical understanding of the *role of symbolic structures in the production of inequality and marginality* in the city and, beyond, enrich our theoretical grasp of the flexible connections between social space, symbolic space, and physical space (Wacquant, 2014a). They furnish us with lush materials for drawing a more complex and nuanced picture of social structure, dynamics, and identity in those disreputable districts of the polarizing metropolis that are the focus of renewed media fascination, political worry, and scholarly attention across national borders. They directly

[11] This strategy is forcefully advocated in the seemingly desperate case of the American 'inner city' (that is, remnants of the historic black ghetto) by Pattillo (2008) in her provocative piece, "Investing in poor Black neighborhoods 'as is'".

[12] Schultz Larsen (2014) also fruitfully engages the growing body of theoretical and empirical writings by Scandinavian scholars who have pondered and tested the applicability of Wacquant's concept of territorial taint to Nordic societies characterized by compressed urban inequalities and inclusive social citizenship [see, in particular, Sernhede (2009), Delica (2011), Jensen and Christensen (2012), and Jensen et al (in press), and the references they cite].

counter the suffusive portrayal of those areas as boiling cauldrons of social decadence, moral dissipation, and national debility. And they point to the urgent need for policy measures designed to reduce, not only the burden of material deprivation, but also the press of symbolic domination in the metropolis.

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