

# The Role of Free Dailies in a Segregated Society

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## Abstract

Alongside subscribed morning newspapers, free dailies have assumed considerable importance in Swedish society. Like most Western countries, Sweden is socially and culturally segregated. Newspaper readership had been found to have increased substantially in recent years among residents of poor areas having high rates of unemployment, low income and low levels of formal education. The publication of free dailies has literally given people in these areas a newspaper, something they have not had access to before. Meanwhile, subscribed newspapers continue to hold their own in wealthier districts, whose residents have an entirely different socioeconomic and cultural background. The printed press is still a very vital medium in Swedish society, but today we note a primarily economic differentiation among newspapers in contrast to the political differentiation that prevailed a century ago.

**Key Words:** newspaper, free daily, segregation, class hierarchy, social geography

## Introduction

Sweden has one of the highest frequencies of newspaper reading in the world. Local and regional morning papers, which constitute the base, are nearly all subscribed. Seven households in ten subscribe to a morning newspaper. Nonetheless, there are major differences between different subgroups in the population; some areas are white spots on distributors' maps.

It is not a question of geography *per se*, but rather of structures that are related to where people live. These may be described in terms of local culture in a broad sense: who lives there, what the schools are like, employment and occupations, prevailing norms and values, and the type of housing (blocks of flats, single-family dwellings, etc.). The list could be made longer. When geographically defined localities are homogeneous and different from one another, we may speak of segregation. All segregation is about relations between the parts; areas are segregated in relation to each other, not in themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Just how much the structure or the culture decides how free residents are to choose how to live their lives is debatable. As I see it, social environments are decisive for people's opportunities, and since social environments or cultures are different for different people, it leads to different degrees of opportunity. At the same time, of course, we are hardly marionettes; we do have wills of our own.<sup>2</sup> My aim has been to study both structures and cultures and to examine the position of newspapers in different urban rooms.

## Urban Rooms

Cities, and Stockholm in particular, have played a vital role in the development of the Swedish press. It was here that modern newspapers were born and thrived. Roughly a century ago, Stockholm had ten daily newspapers. Outside the cities newspapers developed slowly, but then experienced a major boom. At this time, about 100 years ago, newspapers were not written for anyone and everyone; newspaper reading was confined to a rather thin stratum of society, and within this stratum the different substrata read different papers. Virtually every community was served by more than one paper.<sup>3</sup>

In the twentieth century, a new kind of newspaper, the so-called omnibus paper, emerged. As the name suggests, omnibus papers strive for a broad appeal; they contain something for everyone. In pace with the expansion of literacy, a higher level of education and lower newspaper prices, newspaper reading spread among the population.<sup>4</sup> Today, in the first years of the twenty-first century, we note a certain decline in newspaper reading. Also, the part of the branch that is doing best is no longer the morning press in Stockholm, but local morning newspapers in the provinces. Thus, one-hundred years on, the two categories have switched roles.

### *Mobility in Modern Society*

The modernization of Swedish society and the urbanization it entails have, among other things, led to aggregations of people in cities. This has in turn led to regional differences in the socio-demographic composition of the population. Particularly young people have moved from the countryside to the city, leaving elder generations behind them. Since access to higher education is one of the prime reasons why the younger generation moves, differences in the level of education between town and country more or less automatically arise.

For many years, public debate about geography in Sweden focused on regional imbalances.<sup>5</sup> But internal migration is not the only factor that affects the character of Swedish towns and cities. First and foremost among the factors that have polarized urban areas is global mobility, which has led to local segregation. This has been the focus of discussions of geography in the 1990s, a debate which will doubtless continue for years to come.<sup>6</sup> The mobility that is of relevance to the present study may be characterized, as follows:<sup>7</sup>

- The international division of labor. The transition from the dominance of industrial production to the 'service society' has given rise to a dualism in the labor market, where demand for labor is greatest among the highly educated and/or skilled and unskilled labor, respectively. As a consequence, large portions of the traditional working class are left out.
- Changes in the focus of welfare policy. The welfare state was previously geared toward integration, but as the public sector have become increasingly decentralized and the choices available to individuals have multiplied, social differentiation has assumed a different character: social problems covary to a higher degree, so that one social problem now tends to lead to several other problems.
- International migration. The major differences in migration that have been observed since the 1970s have left their mark on patterns of residence on the local level. Among the characteristics of recent migration are an increasing number of nationalities in the flow of migrants, so that the cultural distances between Scandinavians and

the migrants have increased. Secondly, we observe an increasing polarization in terms of occupations and wages. Furthermore, there is an immanent drive toward concentration in migration itself, whereby recent immigrants want to be near their extended families and compatriots.

Together, the mobility that is taking place nationally and internationally means that cities, and particularly metropolitan areas, are growing. Metropolitan cities are considerably more heterogeneous than towns and smaller urban centers inasmuch as a metropole is more than a geographical unit. It comprises a number of smaller cultural units that are more distinct than in smaller communities. They are not easily grasped in their entirety.

Cultural geography is a collective term for a number of different geographies: e.g., social geography, demographics and architectural geography, economic geography, and political geography.<sup>8</sup> Social geography will be of especial relevance here.

### *A Social Geography of Today*

The kind of polarization that previously characterized metropolitan cities is now observed everywhere in lesser communities, as well. Segregated residence is a feature of all kinds of communities in Sweden today, but the consequences of such segregation can be very different. In major cities, for example, segregated residence also means differentiated access to service, public and commercial.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, segregation per se is nothing new in Sweden. There has always been social stratification that has led to people living in different parts of town and having different living conditions and opportunities. What is new is that this stratification today has such a pronounced ethnic dimension. Whereas we once spoke of social segregation *but* cultural homogeneity, we may now speak of a social *and* cultural segregation.<sup>10</sup>

Households having poorer economic and social resources tend to aggregate in neighborhoods that are less attractive than others. Typical characteristics of such neighborhoods are largeness of scale, unrest and anonymity.<sup>11</sup> Of this we may deduce that the stratification is a question not only of ethnicity, but also of class, i.e., social stratification, but that the two largely coincide – and furthermore, coincide with the individuals' job security.<sup>12</sup>

Explanations as to the origins of residential segregation vary, with different researchers pointing to different causal factors. Factors frequently mentioned are economic resources, class, education, gender and ethnicity. The importance assigned each varies, however, depending on one's choice of approach to the subject. One may well introduce factors like attitudes, values, norms and expectations into an analysis.<sup>13</sup>

All in all, residence sets a framework for social participation. Voting behavior and leisure activities are influenced by place of residence. Reading of morning newspapers is influenced, too.

### *Studying the Social Landscape*

Studies taking their starting point in patterns of residence, which involve structure as well as cultural and social stratification, require an analysis of individual communities or aggregates of data on the community level. A number of factors have led me to choose to analyze the city of Göteborg. Göteborg is large enough for such an analysis, yet it does not have the characteristics of metropole that Stockholm, alone among Swedish

cities, has. Still, it is large enough to exhibit important geographical differences and similarities and, furthermore, there are ample data to permit a meaningful analysis.<sup>14</sup> We have every reason to believe that the patterns identified in Göteborg are present in many other cities, both in Sweden and abroad.

## The Social Urban Structure

The City of Göteborg is comprised of 21 districts. The districts differ widely, and the differences are not always intuitive from the point of view of geography. Low-income areas border on high-income areas. In Table 1 a number of social and economic factors are indicated for each district; the districts are ordered according to average personal income.

*Table 1. Some Distinguishing Features of Göteborg's Districts 2005*

District	Ave. personal income ('000 SEK)	Share immigrants (%)	Share welfare clients (% families)	Share higher education (%)	Share unemployd (%)	Health status (sick leave, days/yr)	Share living in the public housing sector (%)
Askim	292	9	2	35	4	28	0
Älvsborg	291	8	1	38	3	25	0
Torslanda	258	6	1	18	3	34	3
Örgryte	223	11	3	37	6	30	12
Kärra-Rödbo	221	11	3	11	5	43	0
Tynnered	221	17	7	22	6	46	24
Linnéstaden	218	13	5	41	6	33	14
Tuve-Säve	213	16	5	15	5	46	18
Centrum	210	14	3	42	6	28	23
Styrsö	205	4	3	24	4	38	4
Härlanda	202	12	4	34	7	33	21
Backa	190	24	7	14	7	54	32
Majorna	189	11	6	36	7	40	52
Lundby	188	20	8	21	7	44	22
Högsbo	176	14	5	24	6	48	33
Kortedala	168	27	11	16	9	58	47
Frölunda	161	22	9	18	8	58	59
Biskopsgården	157	36	14	12	10	63	45
Lärjedalen	146	44	27	11	12	52	54
Gunnared	144	46	25	11	12	61	68
Bergsjön	117	51	31	11	13	59	42
Average Göteborg	200	20	8	26	7	42	29

*Note:* "Health status" is measured in terms of the per capita payments of public sick benefits (days per person) in the population aged 16-64 years; "unemployed" refers to those lacking gainful employment, including those engaged in public works programs; "higher education" refers to individuals having at least three years' education after secondary school; "immigrants" is defined as all foreign-born, whether Swedes or citizens of other countries.

*Source:* City of Göteborg: *Göteborgsbladet* April 2005.

The pattern that emerges is very clear and, with few exceptions, linear. Bergsjön and Askim represent the extremes. The average resident of Askim earns more than twice as much as the average resident of Bergsjön, is considerably healthier, lives in a single-family dwelling and, for the most part, has never had to turn to the community for fi-

nancial aid. The average resident of Bergsjön, by contrast, has a very low income and often needs financial aid; he or she has no post-secondary education, does not have a steady job, rents his or her apartment and has many days of sick leave each year.<sup>15</sup>

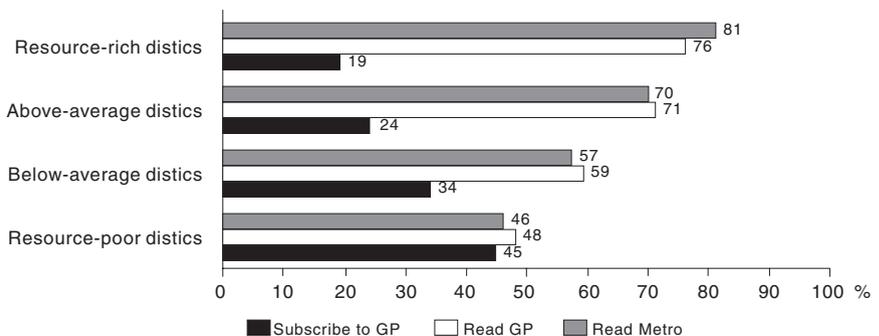
How important are our socio-geographic surroundings? Very important. The surrounding environment creates the framework that makes us feel “at home”. We are more familiar with some places than others, and that familiarity puts us at ease.<sup>16</sup> What is important need not necessarily be our domicile, it might equally be our workplace, for example. At the same time, home is the setting for our formative years, and even later we spend a lot of our time there. That is where our children spend their days, that is where we visit the doctor and where we shop for our food. Large cities are difficult to survey; the neighborhood or district therefore becomes our frame of reference, what we identify with.<sup>17</sup> Different surroundings set the framework for different subcultures and lifestyles. The various lifestyles that can develop will not be discussed here; suffice it to say that expectations, restrictions, opportunities and reality covary with where we live. What is possible for a 15-year-old in Älvsborg or Askim is not always possible in Bergsjön. It is a question of economic resources, but also of cultural capital, of habitus.<sup>18</sup>

### *Newspapers in the Social Structure*

Thus, it is not whether one lives in the northern or southern parts of town, but rather characteristics of the neighborhood or district that are important. In order to obtain as stable a basis as possible, an index was created on the basis of the different districts’ characteristics. Instead of 21 districts, we obtain four groups of districts that may be distinguished in terms of the amount of resources at residents’ disposal.<sup>19</sup> Residents of the wealthier districts have a lot of both economic and cultural capital, whereas residents of the poorest districts lack both kinds of capital. There are two intermediate groups, as well.

*Göteborgs-Posten* is the only subscribed local newspaper in the Göteborg region. Alongside it since 1998 is *Metro*, a free daily distributed mornings. *Göteborgs-Posten* regularly reaches about 65 per cent of the population, and *Metro* about 25 per cent of the region as a whole.<sup>20</sup> Figure 1 shows both how subscriptions and reading of the respective newspapers have developed throughout the Göteborg region.

**Figure 1.** *Subscriptions and Regular Reading of Newspapers in Different Types of Districts of Göteborg, 2004 (per cent)*



Note: “Regular reading” means reading 4 or more days/week.

Source: Västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2004, an annual survey conducted in Western Sweden, in the population aged 15-85 years.

Subscription and reading of a subscribed paper correlate closely in all districts. In resource-rich districts like Askim or Älvsborg three out of four residents read *Göteborgs-Posten* regularly – and they subscribe to the paper. *Metro* is not a particularly attractive alternative. But among residents in Gunnared, Lärjedalen or Bergsjön residents are as likely (or unlikely) to read *Metro* as *Göteborgs-Posten*. Just under half the population in these districts read *Göteborg-Posten* regularly.

Figure 1 only tells us about reading of the two papers at a certain point in time; it tells us nothing about either total reading or changes in reading habits over time. The figures do not tell us, for example, whether the same half of the population in a given category of districts read both newspapers or half the residents read one paper, and half the other. Nor do they tell us anything about the impact entry of the free daily onto the market in the late 1990s had. Was reading of *Göteborgs-Posten* considerably more common in the poor districts of Göteborg before *Metro* came on the scene, that is, was total reading about the same, but some residents simply switched to the free daily? Subscription prices are a common motive among those considering quitting a subscription; the free daily, *Metro*, provided a convenient alternative.

In order to form an opinion about *Metro*'s impact we need to examine newspaper reading over an extended period of time, and preferably start our analysis before *Metro* made its debut. The many figures in Table 2 show two things: (1) how reading of individual titles has changed over time in districts with different resource status, and (2) the trend in newspaper reading *per se* in the respective categories of districts.

First of all, we see a total measure of newspaper reading. Most interesting is the Difference column, which indicates *Metro*'s contribution to the total. The categories of districts differ widely in this respect: in Askim and other resource-rich districts *Metro*'s contribution is very slight, whereas in Bergsjön and other resource-poor districts, the increment is sizable. This pattern has been noted since *Metro* first entered the market. Thus, it is wrong to assume that many people in poorer districts formerly read *Göteborgs-Posten*, but switched to *Metro* when the opportunity presented itself. Instead, it appears that reading of *Göteborgs-Posten* had already reached “rock bottom” when *Metro* appeared on the scene.

The most remarkable feature, however, is that the frequency of newspaper reading in resource-poor districts, thanks to *Metro*, is today almost as high as newspaper reading in wealthy districts. People who have not had a morning newspaper now have one. The two intermediate categories fall between the extremes in this respect, as well.

A conceivable explanation might be that a greater share of the residents of resource-poor districts use public transportation and therefore have more direct access to *Metro* than others, who do not use public transportation to the same extent. This is not so, however. Use of public transportation is relatively evenly distributed over all districts of the city.<sup>21</sup>

As for individual papers, *Metro* has strengthened its position, in wealthier districts, as well. This does not result in a major increment, however, since most readers also read *Göteborgs-Posten*. In these wealthier areas we also find subscribers to the Stockholm morning papers, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, and the nationally distributed business daily, *Dagens Industri* – which are not included in the analysis. None of these titles reach enough readers to be considered rivals on the local market.

**Table 2.** *Reading of Different Newspapers in Different Types of Districts in Göteborg, 1996-2004 (per cent)*

	A morning paper excl. Metro	A morning paper incl. Metro	Difference	Göteborgs- Posten	Metro	Number of respondents
<i>Resource-rich districts</i>						
1996	86	–	–	83	–	230
1997	88	–	–	86	–	218
1998	82	83	1	77	8	221
1999	79	82	3	75	12	257
2000	79	84	5	78	11	253
2001	84	90	6	83	16	261
2002	76	85	9	75	18	267
2003	83	89	6	80	19	261
2004	78	87	9	76	19	250
<i>Above-average districts</i>						
1996	82	–	–	76	–	351
1997	81	–	–	74	–	331
1998	75	82	7	70	15	294
1999	74	82	8	69	19	327
2000	75	85	10	71	20	310
2001	73	80	7	70	19	335
2002	74	81	7	70	19	313
2003	71	81	10	69	22	324
2004	73	84	11	71	24	322
<i>Below-average districts</i>						
1996	70	–	–	64	–	233
1997	74	–	–	69	–	256
1998	64	76	12	58	21	241
1999	72	80	8	66	20	268
2000	66	79	13	63	23	273
2001	67	80	13	64	27	275
2002	65	81	16	63	32	271
2003	62	80	18	60	33	255
2004	62	82	20	59	34	281
<i>Resource-poor districts</i>						
1996	56	–	–	53	–	184
1997	54	–	–	49	–	205
1998	57	76	19	50	31	165
1999	57	73	16	53	29	203
2000	55	77	22	50	37	195
2001	59	81	22	55	37	216
2002	49	74	25	47	41	193
2003	53	78	25	48	42	212
2004	50	79	29	48	45	218

Source: Västsvenska SOM-undersökningen respectively year.

### *Residential Careers'*

The concept of making residential careers' is well known in cultural geography. When people move, change their addresses, it generally has to do with changes in their life cycle – marriage, having children – but there is also another kind of residential careers where some groups are considerably more mobile than others.<sup>22</sup>

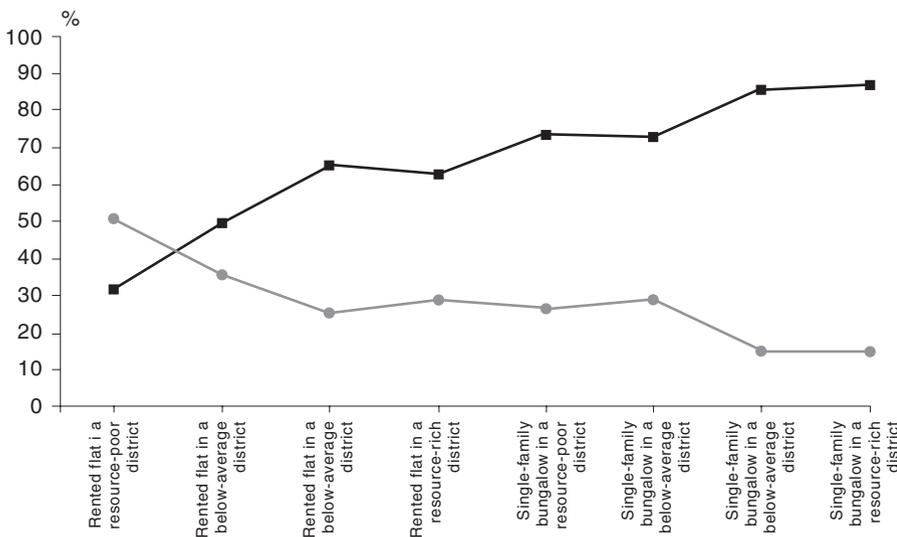
Most immigrants do not reach as far in their ‘careers’ as native Swedes. Upon arrival in Sweden immigrants generally lack economic resources, contacts, and information about housing alternatives, how they work and don’t work. The first offer they receive generally comes from the community housing authority and involves a flat in one of the mass housing projects of the 1960s and 1970s. Once installed there, conservative forces start working in the direction of segregation rather than integration; they militate against a residential career.<sup>23</sup>

One factor behind the phenomenon is economic, but it also has to do with opportunities and limitations that are built into the structure – all of which have consequences with respect to our media consumption. If we combine our analysis of different categories of districts with a categorization of type of housing, the pattern observed earlier is accentuated. In Figure 2 we have a hypothetical residential career on the x-axis in the form of a rented flat and a single-family bungalow, respectively, in the different categories of districts.<sup>24</sup> This is a hypothetical example, which may not exist exactly like this in reality, but it is nonetheless illustrative.

If we accept the pattern on the x-axis as a plausible residential career, the path of the traditional paid morning paper follows it quite closely. The further along in our career, the more likely we are to read a subscribed newspaper. And vice versa: Metro plays a major role at the start of a residential career, but then declines in importance.

Many other factors are naturally at play here: the population in single-family dwellings is older, for example, particularly in well-to-do districts. Even so, the pattern is quite distinct.

**Figure 2.** Reading of Different Newspapers by Housing Situation and Type of District, Göteborg 2003/2004 (per cent)



*Note:* Reading is defined as reading four or more issues a week. Reading of GP and Metro, respectively, overlaps. The number of responses varies between 94 and 313.

*Source:* Västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2003 and 2004 (two sets of data have been combined to improve the quality of the results).

Metro is considerably stronger than Göteborgs-Posten in one particular category, namely, tenants in blocks of flats in poor districts. Otherwise, Göteborgs-Posten predominates, and the gap between the two titles widens as we progress along the residential career. Overall, however, we find indications of an interest in reading a newspaper among residents of poor districts, as well – but not if they have to pay for it.

*The Class Hierarchy Lingers on*

So far, we have considered horizontal stratification: different parts of the city may be characterized according to the social and economic status of the people who live there – and all that implies. Now we turn to look at vertical stratification, that is, we shift our focus to the hierarchical differentiation in individual districts.<sup>25</sup> Although structures have successively become less pronounced, social class still has significance in Swedish society. Place of residence is one aspect of social stratification, but social class, too, is an important factor.

Social stratification based on class is essentially a question of economic resources: disposable income, wealth, property, occupation, education, access to other kinds of material resources. But it also has to do with access to cultural expression: the Arts, theatre and so forth. Class society is reproduced within the family, and thus the structures and our class perspective are imprinted early in life.<sup>26</sup> One might say that class is an individual characteristic, whereas place of residence is a structural one. The two covary closely, however. The number of highly educated individuals who choose to live in poor districts is relatively small, just as rather few members of the working class reside in wealthy districts. All combinations do exist, however, and the question is, which characteristic exerts the stronger influence on newspaper reading and choice of newspaper.

Figure 3 shows the results of an analysis of the resource-richest and resource-poorst districts of Göteborg (the intermediate districts have been excluded). A second factor

**Figure 3.** *Reading of Morning Newspapers among Individuals in Working Class and White-collar/Academic Households in Wealthy and Poor Districts of Göteborg, Respectively, 2003/2004 (percentages)*

	Wealthy districts			Poor districts		
	Working class households	White collar./acad. households	Difference	Working class households	White collar./acad. households	Difference
Read morning paper (Metro excluded)	68	87	19	45	68	23
Read morning paper (Metro included)	81	92	11	76	86	10
Difference	13	5		31	18	

*Note:* “Read” means reading of 4 or more issues a week. Class affiliation is self-reported. The number of responses in the respective cells varies between 120 and 300.

*Source:* Västsvenska SOM-undersökningen 2003 and 2004 (two sets of data have been combined to improve the quality of the results).

is (self-reported) social class. The third factor is reading of a morning newspaper, with the free daily, Metro, included and excluded, respectively.

First of all, we can compare the figures within each set of districts. In wealthier districts we find the greatest difference in newspaper reading (19 percentage points) between working class and white collar/academic households when reading of Metro is excluded. About the same difference (23 points) is found between the two groups in resource-poor districts. In the poorer districts, however, we find the most marked difference (31 points) among working class households, with Metro included and not included as a morning newspaper, respectively.

A second kind of comparison may be made between the same cells in the respective categories of districts, e.g., working-class households in resource-poor and resource-rich districts, respectively, and differences in reading of morning papers when Metro is included versus when it is not included. We note the biggest difference (23 percentage points) between the cells in the upper left-hand corner of each side, that is, between working-class households when Metro is not included: working-class families that reside in resource-rich districts appear to be more influenced by the “norm” of reading a morning paper than working-class families living in resource-poor districts. The same pattern is noted among individuals who consider themselves “white collar or academic” when Metro is not included, but the difference is not as marked, and the overall level (share reading) is much higher than among the working class.

A third comparison focuses on the extreme cases. The one extreme is working-class households in a resource-poor district, if Metro does not qualify as a morning paper. In this case, somewhat less than half the group read a morning paper regularly. The other extreme is white-collar/academic households in a resource-rich district, where Metro is included among morning papers. Here, regular reading is as high as 90 per cent, nearly double the rate in the former case. What we see here is that working-class families in resource-poor districts are weakest in terms of access to a morning newspaper.

Working-class families in resource-rich districts display largely the same newspaper-reading behavior as white-collar/academic families; the culture of the district “spills over”. Conversely, white-collar/academic households in poorer districts are not entirely in line with the prevailing pattern in the district. Thus, both individual and structural stratification factors play a role – and, furthermore, often reinforce one another. Consider, for example, the pattern observed with regard to newspaper reading and residential career.

## **Structures and Cultures**

In terms of geography, resource-rich and poor districts of Göteborg live literally side by side. The borders, while not razor-sharp, are often clear-cut. All geographical units have internal structures and patterns that reinforce one another. To exaggerate slightly, we might speak of positive and negative spirals. Or, to borrow from the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu: we all bear our own particular habitus.<sup>27</sup> Although Swedish society of today is more individualistic than ever before, structures live on, and with them subcultures. Newspaper reading patterns of the kind discussed here – where reading/non-reading of newspapers is closely related to social and ethnic stratification<sup>28</sup> – were manifest in the USA decades before they were first observed in Sweden.

These structures and patterns will prevail unless restraining thresholds are removed – as in the case of the free daily, Metro, where the cost of a newspaper constituted the threshold. Interest in reading a paper existed; otherwise, Metro could hardly have at-

tained the penetration is has today. Another contributing factor is most likely Metro's form and style of address, with short bulletin-style stories that appeal to new readers who may find other newspapers too 'heavy'.<sup>29</sup>

The consequences of segregation in urban settings in a broader societal perspective is far too big a question to be broached here, but some of the consequences for the community, for individual companies and for reading of newspapers in hard copy may be mentioned:

Long-enough gone, the segregated city can break down the cohesive mortar that allows its residents to develop a more or less common sense of "we", just as major regional differences in living conditions can challenge the legitimacy of the nation state.<sup>30</sup>

Local newspapers are often spoken of as a cohesive factor – one, however, that is not equally present in all the rooms of the city.<sup>31</sup> Or, is it perhaps a misrepresentation to say that some of the city's rooms are left out? Such a statement is based on the notion that the only true newspaper is a paid newspaper. There are other ways of looking at the branch.

From a commercial point of view, the start of a daily free daily is not necessarily positive, inasmuch as the free daily represents a rival, albeit on the margin. From the point of view of the local community, however, a free daily may be seen as a bridge-builder, something that transcends the inner frontiers in a segregated society. The cohesive mortar is not of the same consistency, but unless we are prepared to dismiss large numbers of people's choices, we have to accept that different kinds of mortar may do the job.

## Notes

1. E.g., Stigendal (1999).
2. Cf. Bourdieu (1989); Dear & Wolch (1989); Giddens (1997); Lull (1995); Stigendal (1999).
3. Gustafsson & Rydén (2000); Severinsson (1996).
4. See, for example, *Den svenska pressens historia, band II [A History of the Swedish Press. Vol. 2]* (2001).
5. Ahrne et al (1996); Andersson (2000); cf. Sibley (1999).
6. Andersson (2000); cf. Johansson (2003). For an international comparison, see Cousins (2005) i.a.
7. Andersson et al (1998); cf. Inglehart (1990); Schön (2000); Sernhede (2003).
8. Berger (1995)
9. Andersson (2000); Andersson et al (1998); Stigendal (1999); cf. Ahrne (1996); Dear & Wolch (1989).
10. Cf. Ahrne (1996).
11. E.g. Johansson (2003); Sandstig (2003).
12. Magnusson (2000); Stigendal (1999); cf. Bourdieu (1989).
13. See, for example, Dear & Wolch (1989); Molina (2003); Sibley (1999).
14. See, for example, Nord & Nygren (2002) and Wadbring (2003) for similar studies of Stockholm and Stigendal (1999) for a study of Malmö, which, however, does not include media.
15. The indicators are hardly a flawless mirrors of reality. For example, lengthy periods of illness or convalescence and lengthy periods of unemployment have more serious consequences than a day or two at home with the flu or "a few days off" between jobs. But, the differences between the communities are clear enough, even without considering the chronic dimension.
16. Molina (2003); cf. Nordström (1986); Sandstig (2003).
17. E.g., Janowitz (1967); cf. Dear & Wolch (1989).
18. Bourdieu (1989); cf. Johansson (2003).
19. The index is a composite of rankings of different characteristics of the districts into four groups of about the same size.
20. Bergström & Weibull (2005).

21. Wadbring (2003).
22. Andersson et al. (1998), Mörck (1997); cf. Magnusson (2000).
23. Molina (2003).
24. Forms of housing that involve some form of co-ownership have been excluded as they are too few to produce reliable results.
25. Johansson (2003).
26. Cf. Ahrne (1996), Bourdieu (1986), Giddens (1998), Inglehart (1990).
27. Bourdieu (1989).
28. Cf. Bogart (1981). Age, of course, is another important factor.
29. Reichenberg & Wadbring (2004).
30. Andersson (2000:223f, my translation).
31. Weibull (2000) For a discussion of the role of the media in making Sweden Swedish, see Löfgren (1990).

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