Decontextualizing a Ban on Begging: A Multimodal Critical Analysis of Media and Political Discourse in Sweden

Petre Breazu

pb842@cam.ac.uk

Senior Research Associate, University of Cambridge

ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0679-9605

Dr Petre Breazu is a Senior Research Fellow at the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, University of Cambridge, and a former Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow at Loughborough University. Specializing in Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, Petre's research explores the representations of Romani communities within European media and political discourse. His work has been featured in several international, peer-reviewed journals, including *Discourse and Society*; *Discourse and Communication; Language in Society; Discourse, Context, and Media; and The Journal of Language and Politics.*

CRS Critical Romani Studies

Abstract

This article examines the representation of Romani migrants in the context of the 2016 debates to ban begging in Sweden, highlighting the ways in which media and political discourse misrepresented, simplified, or omitted the complexities surrounding this controversial policy. Drawing on Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) of media reports from two leading Swedish newspapers, this article reveals that media and political discourse often decontextualize the ban by employing three key strategies: (1) generalization and polarization, (2) victimizing the general public, and (3) concealing the historical and global context of marginalization and poverty. By portraying begging as an undignified and harmful practice, media and political discourse deflect attention away from the systemic inequalities and socio-economic conditions that lead to begging. This article argues that this decontextualization serves to legitimize and reinforce the ban on begging, creating a self-perpetuating cycle that obstructs meaningful dialogue and prevents the implementation of more effective and compassionate policy solutions that address the root causes of begging in Sweden.

Introduction

Roma, an ethnic minority group with origins across Europe, have faced a long history of persecution and discrimination on the continent (Hancock 2002; McGarry 2017). Since their arrival in Europe over 600 years ago, Roma have been portrayed through harmful stereotypes that persist today (Clark 2004; Liégeois 2007). European media frequently has represented Roma as exotic outsiders, depicting them as primitive, unclean, and inclined toward criminal behaviour (End 2017; Breazu 2020). Common stereotypes have included portrayals of Roma as nomads, unable or unwilling to settle into mainstream society, as beggars or involved in petty theft (Breazu and McGarry 2023; Hansson 2023). These harmful narratives have served to marginalize Roma, perpetuating a cycle of poverty and social exclusion. EU reports have documented that, as of today, Roma continue to be the poorest and most marginalized ethnic group in Europe, with 80 per cent of Roma being at poverty risk compared to the EU average of 17 per cent (FRA 2020). These socio-economic inequalities are absent or infrequently articulated in contemporary media and political discourse, which often acquaint the public with a Romani community that is reluctant to progress and resistant to social inclusion (Breazu and Machin 2022).

Research on the representation of Roma in the Swedish media is sparse. In mainstream media and political discourse, Roma are predominantly represented in association with begging and as undesirable EU citizens (Svan 2019; Arasu 2022; Breazu and Machin 2024). Studies on social media have found that Roma often face hate speech and discrimination (Enarsson and Lindgren 2019). Mostowska (2021) reveals that, despite Sweden's egalitarian self-image, Romani migrants are frequently depicted as inferior, passive, vulnerable, and undeserving citizens, which justifies dismissive policy attitudes. These well-trodden discourses also have contributed to their misrepresentation in public policy, which often displays a recurrent narrative: Roma as isolated, deprived, and in dire need of education (Vesterberg 2016). Mulinari and Neergaard (2017) interpreted these persistent negative stereotypes as institutional racism, which exacerbates the stigmatization and marginalization of Roma communities.

This article focuses on Sweden's media, examining how two influential Swedish newspapers construct the discourse around the 2016 controversial ban, which sought to criminalize begging and targeted Romani migrants living in Sweden. Drawing on MCDA, it shows how Romani migrants are represented in relation to this controversial proposal and reveals the discursive strategies used in Swedish media to camouflage the systemic inequalities and socio-economic conditions that lead to begging.

Sweden has long been considered to have progressive legislation to safeguard the human rights of immigrants and ethnic minorities. However, the arrival of Eastern European Romani migrants, especially Romani beggars, following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the European Union in 2007, was met with resistance from both politicians and the general public (Wigerfelt and Wigerfelt 2015; Hansson 2023). Some of these migrants struggled to secure stable employment and housing and, at times, resorted to begging or busking for income while residing in improvised settlements (Barker 2017; Hansson and Mitchel 2018). The widespread visibility of Romani beggars throughout Sweden rapidly sparked significant debates and led to considerable frustration among the Swedish public, who largely perceived it as an unSwedish phenomenon (Hansson 2023).

The 2015 European refugee crisis, when large numbers of asylum seekers from the Middle East and North Africa sought safety and better living conditions in Europe, triggered a new wave of xenophobia and anti-immigration sentiments across the continent (Ekman 2019; Hagelund 2020). Research has shown that these anti-immigration sentiments have also extended to other groups, such as Roma, Eastern Europeans, or Muslims (Brljavac 2017; Breazu and McGarry 2023). Populist politicians and far-right political parties have exploited these fears, often promoting explicit racist and xenophobic agendas. They used the refugee crisis and the situation of Romani migrants as opportunities to advocate anti-immigrant measures (Persdotter 2019; Teodorescu and Molina 2021). In Sweden, the Sweden Democrats (SD),[1] capitalized on people's fears and concerns, and were able to gain significant support in Swedish general elections (Rydgren and Van der Meiden 2019). SD campaigned against the presence of Roma in the country, attributing increased crime rates and social problems to Roma (Bolton 2015). During this period, Romani migrants in Sweden experienced violent attacks by extreme right-wing groups and were vilified by right-wing populist rhetoric. They were often blamed for disturbing social order, posing threats to public security, or causing economic insecurity (Djuve et al. 2015; Ciulinaru 2017; Persdotter 2019).

This article examines how debates on banning begging in Sweden have been framed by different political actors with various political views. It highlights the nature of anti-Romani racism in two leading Swedish newspapers (*Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet*), especially during the 2016 debates on the begging ban, one year after the European refugee crisis and before Swedish elections.

1. Racism in Sweden: From Scientific to Colourblind Racism

Sweden has an international image as a humanitarian, progressive, and liberal state that is regarded as having the best integration policies and anti-discrimination legislation in the West (Hübinette and Lundström 2014). Despite this, statistics show that many immigrants, especially those with a non-Western background, live in the poorest and most vulnerable neighbourhoods, are being discriminated against in the job markets, and are at greater risk of experiencing racism (Carlsson 2010; Hübinette et al 2012).

Sweden's contemporary racism problem has been cultivated for a long time, which is evident in its history of slave trading, colonialism, and scientific racism (Hübinette et al. 2012; Antoine 2022). These parts of Swedish history have received little visibility in public discourse, whether nationally or internationally, and are in stark contrast to Sweden's global reputation as a champion of human rights (Antoine 2022). In 1922, Sweden established the State Institute for Racial Biology (*Statens Institut för rasbiologi*) which was the first government research centre dedicated to race science (Broberg and Tydén 1991; Hübinette et al. 2012). The Institute, which emerged from a collective decision by all political parties in parliament, promoted Nordic race supremacy. Some of its aims were to collect data

1 The party's origins are in a white nationalist and neo-Nazi movement, but in the early 2000s, the party underwent a transformation to become more politically mainstream.

on ancestry, social status, and phenotypical traits, especially from races of non-Germanic origin, such as Roma, Tornedalians, and Sámi, which were regarded as inferior (Kotljarchuk 2020; Antoine 2022).

Despite Sweden's significant involvement in the historical development of eugenics in Europe, the concept of 'race' has become largely invisible in contemporary Swedish public discourse (Hübinette 2013; Mulinari and Neergaard 2017). In fact, since 1996, the Swedish government has attempted to remove the term 'race' from all official documents, making discussions of 'racial discrimination' more challenging (Atak 2022; Osanami Törngren 2022). Instead, in 2001, the term 'ethnic discrimination' was introduced, referring to various forms of injustice that do not seem to be based on an individual's biological race. In Sweden, there is a prevailing assumption that human rights are upheld for everyone, and that the legal structures in place prevent racism from manifesting, rendering 'race' an irrelevant concept for examining discrimination or social inequalities (Mulinari and Neergaard 2017). By disregarding the category of race, a 'discourse of sameness' is created in which distinctions between black, brown, or white people are erased. As Antoine (2022) argues, this approach serves as a strategic method for dismissing racism and concealing white privilege.

In contemporary Swedish public discourse, race is often approached from a colour-blind perspective (Mulinari and Neergaard 2017; Breazu and Machin 2024), suggesting that race is not a significant factor in discussing socio-economic inequalities or discrimination (Bonilla-Silva 2013). This reluctance to engage in discussions about race has made it increasingly challenging to address pressing social issues related to systemic racism, segregation, and discrimination in Sweden (Hübinette et al. 2012; Krifors 2022). Scholars argue that despite being portrayed as a model of tolerance in the West, colour-blind racism persists in Swedish society. Colour-blind racism manifests through the myth of Swedish exceptionalism, which refers to Sweden's self-perception as an egalitarian, inclusive, and morally superior society (Hübinette and Lundström 2014). In reality, 'race' does matter in contemporary Sweden (Wigerfelt et al. 2014) and being classified as 'white' or 'non-white' largely defines one's socio-economic success and well-being. Krifors (2022) underlines that whiteness is a crucial element in the critical examination of racism and anti-racism in Sweden, and the exclusion of 'non-whites' results from racial hierarchical thinking and institutional racism (Hällgren 2005; Carlsson 2010).

The in-depth MCDA analysis is instrumental in revealing how colour-blind racism operates subtly in Sweden's media and political discourse. The focus on the 2016 debates on criminalizing begging is important for various reasons. This period, following the 2015 European refugee crisis, was marked by a significant escalation in anti-immigrant sentiments in Sweden, affecting refugees as well as Muslims, Roma, and Eastern European migrants (Ekman 2019; Wernesjö 2020). Furthermore, 2016 stands out due to the heightened public debate regarding the criminalization of begging in Sweden (Barker 2017), a discourse that gained momentum in the lead up to the 2017 Swedish elections.

2. A Ban on Begging in Sweden

In Sweden, begging is not prohibited by law; rather, it is viewed as a form of free expression and is protected under the Swedish Constitution (Hansson 2023). Although begging was decriminalized in Sweden in 1964, discrimination against Roma continued (Selling 2019). Since then, various proposals

have been made to ban begging. For instance, in 2010, minister Tobias Billström from the Moderate Party advocated for the removal of Romani beggars from Stockholm, under the pretext of dishonesty, a stance later criticized by human rights organizations. The 2015 refugee crisis captured significant media, public, and political attention, leading to a change in the discourse surrounding vulnerable Romani migrants begging in Sweden (Baker 2017; Mostowska 2021; Enroth 2022). Increasingly, more political parties that were once vehemently against prohibiting begging began to entertain the possibility of implementing either a local or a national ban. This shift was influenced by then recent polls that showed major political parties in Sweden losing popularity to parties like the Sweden Democrats, which held strong anti-immigration and anti-Romani views.

In 2016 the situation of Romani beggars and the possibility of banning begging in specific municipalities became significant topics on the Swedish political agenda (Barker 2017; Zelano 2019). The proposed ban was introduced by the Moderate Party, a centre-right political party and was backed by Christian Democrats and Sweden Democrats. These parties contended that the ban was necessary to address the concerns of local residents and business owners, who believed that begging had become problematic in their communities (Ciulinaru 2017; Zelano 2019). However, the proposal faced opposition from other political parties and human rights organizations, who asserted that such a ban would violate the constitutional right to free speech and freedom of expression (Åberg et al. 2023). Critics have also argued that a ban on begging would not address the underlying issues that lead individuals to beg in the first place, such as poverty and homelessness.

The impoverished Roma begging on street corners and their improvised settlements throughout the country were an unfamiliar and disconcerting sight for Swedes (Djuve et al. 2015; Hansson and Mitchell 2018). On one hand, the visibility of these 'EU migrants' evoked sympathy and solidarity from various citizens and organizations concerned with the well-being and social inequalities faced by Roma. On the other hand, it gave rise to strong negative anti-immigration attitudes, which often manifested as violent physical assault against Roma by extremist groups, evictions, and even deportations (*The Irish Times* 2015; Ciulinaru 2017; Hansson and Mitchell 2018). Hanson and Michell (2018) describe this treatment of Romani migrants as an exception to the rule of 'the equality of all human beings' that characterizes Swedish society. Sweden Democrats fuelled anti-Romani sentiments, particularly through their provocative anti-begging campaign in Stockholm's subway stations (Bolton 2015; Baker 2017). However, the anti-Romani sentiments linked to begging in Sweden were not exclusively propagated by the far-right (Selling 2019). In this paper, I highlight three primary strategies employed by *Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* to play down the underlying social, economic, and political factors contributing to begging in Sweden.

3. Data and Method

The data presented in this article is part of a larger project on anti-Romani racism in Swedish media and political discourse which focused on four leading Swedish newspapers *(Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, and Svenska Dagbladet)*, which are well-known framers of Swedish public opinion. In this article, I examine the discourses we find in *Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, two Swedish newspapers with different styles of journalism and with slightly different readership. *Expressen's* editorial positions

moderately favour the right, although the outlet states its political orientation as liberal. Historically, *Svenska Dagbladet* was a right-wing publication but now maintains an independently moderate stance, aligning with the liberal conservatism of the Moderate Party. This approach complements our previous analysis of *Aftonbladet* and *Dagens Nyheter* (Breazu and Machin 2024), ensuring a well-rounded understanding of the media landscape and various perspectives on the begging ban in Sweden.

The empirical data for this analysis was gathered from the Svenska Dagstidningar databases: *Expressen (53)* and *Svenska Dagbladet (30)*.

Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) is an interdisciplinary approach for studying social, political, and cultural phenomena through the examination of various forms of communication, such as language, texts, images, videos, and other multimedia (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001; Breazu 2020). MCDA is built upon the foundations of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which seeks to understand the ways in which language and other semiotic resources are used to construct and maintain power dynamics, inequalities, and social issues. Drawing from Foucault's (2013) perspective, 'discourse' is understood as social models shaping perceptions of the world. These discourses, often ideological, reflect the ideas and interests of dominant groups and influence societal actions, priorities, institutions, and moral judgments (Fairclough 2013).

While CDA focuses primarily on the analysis of written or spoken language, MCDA expands the scope of analysis to other modes of communication, such as visual, audio, and spatial elements (Breazu 2020). The term *multimodal* acknowledges that meaning is created through the interaction of different modes of communication (for example, textual, visual, audio, and spatial), which together contribute to the construction of meaning (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). MCDA draws on the social semiotic theory of communication, which emphasizes that various semiotic resources (language, visuals, typography and so on) used to create meaning in social contexts are active choices for those who seek to produce and disseminate discourse (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001; Breazu 2020). Social semiotics also recognizes that meaning-making is a dynamic process, shaped by the social, cultural, and historical context in which it occurs (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001). Following Van Leeuwen's (2008) concept of 'discursive scripts', this analysis identifies the elements that constitute a discourse, including participants, actions, performance modes, causality, evaluations, time, place, and resources. This means identifying the key elements of a discourse, including who is involved (participants), what is happening (actions), how it is presented (performance modes), and where and when it takes place (time and place). This approach allows us to understand how these scripts modify or add new elements to the representation of events, thus recontextualizing/decontextualizing them.

The analysis in this article focuses on the examination and language and news photography to reveal how the ban on begging was represented in the two newspapers. Van Leeuwen (2008) also has emphasized that critical discourse analysis transcends the mere examination of words and phrases present in a text, as it also considers the significant impact of what is absent, omitted, or implied. This holistic approach explores an intricate web of meaning, social context, and power dynamics that shape communication. By identifying the underlying assumptions, ideologies, and silences that inform a text, MCDA reveals the subtle interplay between what is explicitly stated or concealed beneath the surface (Van Leeuwen 2008; Breazu 2020).

4. Analysis

The thorough coding of the data found in *Expressen* and *Svenska Dagbladet* point to three common strategies through which the 2016 debates about banning begging become decontextualized in Swedish media: (1) generalization and polarization of the phenomenon of begging, (2) victimizing the general public, and (3) concealing the historical and global context of poverty and social exclusion of Roma.

4.1 Generalization and polarization

Sweden's press has focused increasingly on reducing the complexity of issues surrounding the proposed legislation to ban begging, subsequently presenting the topic in a polarized fashion. This has led to the portrayal of the begging ban as an endeavour to either curtail an undignified practice or maintain public order (Barker 2017; Hansson 2023), while neglecting to address the wider socio-economic factors contributing to begging. In contrast to other European media that ascribe a collective image of criminality to the Romani community (Kroon et al. 2003; Breazu and McGarry 2023), Swedish media demonstrates greater subtlety in its representation of minorities (Breazu and Machin 2024). As will be demonstrated, the narrative within the two newspapers focuses on 'begging' as a distinct phenomenon rather than on the individuals partaking in such activities, implying that the proposed prohibition targets a 'phenomenon' rather than the people involved.

> **Extract 1 (*SvD* 12 March 2016)**
> *It [begging] does not create good societies. A ban on begging, a faster tightening of refugee policy and perhaps a cap on how many asylum seekers Sweden accepts. This is how the S policy could have looked like if Göran Persson had continued to decide. It does not create freedom for a person to kneel in the street and beg, says Persson in an SvD interview.*

> **Extract 2 (*Expressen* 25 August 2016)**
> *The problems surrounding EU citizens begging around Sweden are extensive. Estimates show that it is about 4,000–5,000 vulnerable people. It is a regrettable and worrying development that often means difficult conditions for the people involved. The fact that they came to Sweden is usually due to the social vulnerability, discrimination and lack of work, education, and housing that they suffer from in their home countries, above all Romania and Bulgaria.*

> **Extract 3 (*Expressen* 25 August 2016)**
> *Begging in Sweden is neither a way out of poverty nor exclusion, write Tomas Tobé and Beatrice Ask.*

The aforementioned excerpts underscore the notion that the prevalence of begging and the significant influx of asylum seekers have negative consequences on Swedish society, thereby legitimizing the need for more restrictive measures. The stance for the prohibition of begging is evident in the lexical choices used: 'it does not create good societies' (*det skapar inte goda samhällen*), 'the problems surrounding EU citizens begging throughout Sweden are extensive' (*problematiken kring EU-medborgare som tigger*

runtom i Sverige är omfattande), 'it is a regrettable and worrying development' (det är en beklaglig och oroväckande utveckling), suggesting that begging is detrimental to Swedish society and, consequently, undesirable. However, the nature of the issue, or how the ban will enhance Swedish society, as well as the experiences of those engaged in begging, remain ambiguously defined. It is subtly suggested that begging and the escalation of immigration following the 2015 refugee crisis pose threats to the welfare of Swedish society, potentially fuelling anti-immigration sentiments (Hansson and Michell 2018).

The prohibition of begging is framed in terms of concern for individual dignity: 'It does not create freedom for a person to kneel in the street and beg' (*det skapar ingen frihet för en människa att stå på knä på gatan och tigga*); 'it is neither a way out of poverty nor exclusion' (*är varken en väg ur fattigdom eller utanförska*p). References to the 'lack of freedom for those begging in the streets' or 'begging is not the solution to poverty' can be interpreted as paternalistic, suggesting that the government possesses both empathy and superior knowledge regarding what is most beneficial for these individuals. Yet, such statements disregard Romani agency and the intricate factors that have driven people to resort to begging. Notably, the language used in reference to Romani migrants is characterized by positive terminology such as 'EU citizens' and '4,000–5,000 vulnerable people', implying that they need support. However, by emphasizing the structural factors in their countries of origin – 'they came to Sweden due to the social vulnerability, discrimination, and lack of work, education, and housing that they suffer from in their home countries' – the responsibility of Sweden, as an EU member, to address the issue is deflected, thus playing down the need for local actions to alleviate the situation. The fact that these statements originate from politicians who previously opposed the ban on begging indicates that Swedish society has become increasingly conservative regarding immigration and social matters (Jylhä et al. 2019; Zelano 2019; Hellström 2021). These politicians, representing a spectrum of affiliations from left to right, position themselves as experts on the subject, collectively adopting a critical stance toward begging and portraying it as an ineffective and detrimental social practice, as evidenced by their linguistic choices: '[begging] is not the solution to poverty', 'is neither a way out of poverty nor exclusion,, and 'does not create good societies'. It becomes clear that all featured politicians emphasize the same issue, namely, that begging does not alleviate poverty or social exclusion, and their statements imply the consideration of alternative policy measures or social programmes to tackle these problems. Nevertheless, these statements remain vague, failing to offer explicit information regarding potential alternatives, except for the assertion that solutions lie within Roma migrants' countries of origin – a common discourse when it comes to social responsibility (Carrera 2013; Breazu and Machin 2018). By refraining from proposing alternative resolutions, such statements exacerbate the marginalization of those who depend on begging for survival. These statements serve to legitimize policy measures and social attitudes that discourage begging without providing sufficient context to thoroughly evaluate the implications.

The visual elements accompanying these news reports appear to represent begging as an undesirable and negative phenomenon. While Swedish news consumers may readily associate such imagery with Romani beggars, within these reports the visuals primarily serve to illustrate the issues associated with begging. In figure 1, a woman wearing heavy clothing is depicted kneeling on the street and clutching a cup. A headline, occupying more than half of the image, poses the question of whether Löfven (the then prime minister) is ready to act against begging: (*Är Löfven beredd att agera mot tiggeriet?*). The image presents a faceless woman engaging in the act of begging, suggesting that it does not target a specific group, as

race or ethnicity are not immediately discernible. Similarly, other images symbolically portray the act of begging through the depiction of two outstretched hands holding coins, with no visual cues about the identity of those engaged in begging.[2] This manner of representation aligns with Sweden's colour-blind discourse on race (Mulinari and Neergaard 2017). The textual references in the visual design also suggest that the ban is not aimed at criminalizing individuals from a particular community but rather the act of begging itself. Concentrating on the 'phenomenon of begging' diverts attention from the experiences and motivations of those who resort to begging. Although these visuals may evoke a range of emotions and reactions, such as sympathy, compassion, or discomfort, the overarching discourse emphasizes the detrimental impact of begging on both the individuals involved and society at large. In this context, the ban may appear to be a sensible, even beneficial, solution for Romani migrants, though this assertion remains ambiguous.

Figure 1. Is Löfven prepared to act against begging?
(*Expressen* 25 August 2016. Copyright: Lars Kastilan.)

In the following extracts it becomes apparent that the discourse around the ban on begging shifts towards indirectly criminalizing Romani migrants:

Extract 4 (*Expressen* 20 August 2016)
It is true. But a ban, on the other hand, could alleviate and in some cases also solve many of the social problems and crime that follows in the wake of begging in Sweden, such as illegal settlements, environmental crime and trafficking. This is not an insignificant task for Swedish politicians.

Extract 5 (*Expressen* 25 August 2016)
But begging in Sweden is neither a way out of poverty nor exclusion. Instead, it leads to continuing poor living conditions and risks of exposure to violence, pressure, and exploitation. It is undignified and unacceptable.

---

2 "The Government Is Considering a Begging Ban in Sweden." *Expressen* (Stockholm). 19 August 2016.
https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/regeringen-overvager-tiggeriforbud-i-sverige.

Extract 6 (*SvD* 20 April 2016)

The law does not allow for the prohibition of begging. We cannot, in our regulations, single out begging and say that it is not permitted. Only when it is disturbing or creates insecurity. Therefore, we use our toolbox to address the problem, says the Moderate Party's chairman of the traffic committee, Kristoffer Tamsons to Dagens Nyheter.

The debate surrounding the criminalization of Roma beggars in Sweden has gained considerable attention in recent years (Barker 2017; Hansson and Mitchell 2018; Zelano 2019). The portrayal of begging as a detrimental practice connected to criminality and the disruption of social order instils a sense of urgency, prompting Sweden's politicians to address the issue. As evidenced in the above extracts, advocates of the ban rely primarily on two arguments: exploitation and trafficking, and public order and security. It is important to discern the primary social actors and their roles in Extract 4: Swedish politicians, who bear the responsibility of tackling the issue, and individuals engaged in begging, who are represented as sources of social problems and crime in the country. The text frames begging as a problem in need of a solution, with various adverse consequences such as crime, illegal settlements, environmental offences, and trafficking, implying that a ban on begging could mitigate or even resolve these problems. In Extract 5, those engaged in begging are not directly associated with criminal activities but are instead portrayed as victims of violence and exploitation. The contention is that by outlawing begging, the government could potentially dismantle trafficking networks and allow individuals to break free from the cycles of exploitation and poverty. However, it remains unclear who the exploiters or perpetrators of violence are, and it is even more uncertain how the prohibition will improve the lives of impoverished Roma. In Extract 6, the emphasis is not on the broader issues leading to begging but on the legal constraints related to the prohibition of begging in Sweden. In Extract 6, begging is characterized as a matter of public order and security, which can be addressed through accessible 'tools' when necessary. The chairman of the traffic committee implies that a direct prohibition of begging is not legally viable in Sweden and that regulations must be justified by 'disturbance' or 'insecurity'.

While concerns regarding public order, security, and exploitation are legitimate, the criminalization of begging raises questions about discrimination, marginalization, and personal liberties. In this section, we observed how the discourse concentrates on the undignified and harmful practice of begging, shifting the focus away from the vulnerable individuals who may resort to this activity due to a lack of viable alternatives for survival.

4.2 Victimizing the general public

The visibility of Eastern European migrants begging in major cities throughout Sweden has emerged as a novel and unsettling phenomenon for Swedish society (Djuve et al. 2015; Hansson and Michell 2018). As illustrated above, one argument favouring the criminalization of begging is the enhancement of public order and security. Advocates contend that the presence of beggars on the streets creates an unsafe and disorderly environment, impacting the overall quality of life for residents and tourists alike.

Extract 7 (*SvD*, 12 March 2016)

But Göran Persson disapproves of the government's position. Many feel cornered by the beggars, according to Persson.

Extract 8 (*SvD* 3 May 2016)

I know many people are very concerned about the situation. I think the numbers reflect a frustration with the situation (Åsa Regnér, S).

Extract 9 (*SvD* 20 April 2016)

The occurrence of begging has completely exploded in recent years. It is a rapidly growing source of insecurity among travellers and one of the most common questions, says Kristoffer Tamsons (M).

Extract 10 (*SvD* 20 April 2016)

I also want to open up for a ban on begging in public transport. 'It is meant for travel, not for living or begging there,' says Kristoffer Tamsons.

The issue of banning begging has gained traction in Sweden, especially in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis and subsequent general elections (Barker 2017; Teodorescu and Molina 2021; Hansson 2023). Political parties and candidates frequently employ this topic within their platforms to address social issues and appeal to voters. Right-wing parties, such as the Sweden Democrats and the Moderate Party, openly support a ban on begging, arguing that it is necessary to maintain public order, protect vulnerable individuals from exploitation, and preserve the country's social welfare system. In contrast, left-wing parties, including the Social Democrats and the Green Party, oppose the ban, contending that it would criminalize poverty and infringe human rights.

The extracts above capture the political discourse on the issue, emphasizing that its motivation stems from public perception and dissatisfaction around the unresolved nature of the matter. Intriguingly, both newspapers feature an interview with Göran Persson, the former prime minister, who is presented as a politician who appears to endorse the ban on begging. As a member of the Social Democrat party, his statement is controversial, inviting readers to question the government's and his own political party's stance. The statement in extract 7 refers to '*tiggarna*' (the beggars) as a social group causing discomfort for numerous individuals, a term which for the Swedish public is synonymous with Roma. The term '*trängda*' (cornered) implies that Romani beggars create pressure and unease for the general public. This representation contributes to negative perceptions of beggars, thus exacerbating existing social divisions and marginalization.

Similarly, Kristoffer Tamsons (Moderate Party) shares his perspective on issues surrounding begging. He positions himself as an advocate of the concerns of the general Swedish public, highlighting that the increase in begging has caused insecurity among travellers. The statement in extract 9 juxtaposes the social group of beggars with a group of travellers (*resenärerna*). Beggars are portrayed as a source of insecurity for travellers, which contributes to the negative perceptions of this group and reinforces existing social divisions. In extract 9, the use of '*fullständigt exploderat*' (completely exploded) to describe the increase in begging also suggests a sense of urgency or crisis surrounding the impact of begging on public safety and travellers' well-being. Tamsons differentiates between the 'us' (the general public) and 'them' (those who misuse public transport) by employing the 'inclusive we' in both cases (Breazu 2020): 'It is meant for travel, not for living or begging there.' This suggests that the race or ethnic background

of those begging is irrelevant to the proposed measures or policymaking (Hübinette 2013; Mulinari and Neergaard 2017) and that such measures are in the interest of the Swedish people, who are depicted as a vulnerable group experiencing insecurity due to the presence of beggars. Therefore, more stringent decisions, such as altering rules on public transport, appear to reflect the desires of Swedish people.

The perceived inconvenience posed by Roma to the general public is also evident in news photography.

The images circulated in these news outlets capture some of the adverse consequences associated with begging. One such image in the print version of an article published by *Expressen*[3] displays a split screen of the then prime minister, Stefan Löfven, who was hesitant to prohibit begging, juxtaposed with an improvised settlement. The visual composition is noteworthy. A close-up of the prime minister, looking off-camera, is an 'offer image' as described by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2020) since Löfven does not directly interact with the viewers. In this specific context, considering the prime minister's stance on the proposed ban, the image serves to contrast his position with the reality of illegal settlements inhabited by Romani migrants. His pensive expression conveys concern, uncertainty, and perhaps pressure from the public, signified in the headline: 'Begging must be stopped, Löfven.' The image of the makeshift camp serves as evidence for the broader negative environmental, humanitarian, and socio-economic impact that 'begging' has on Swedish society. Litter-strewn fields in news photographs, particularly in the context of large-scale migration, are indicators of negative environmental consequences, such as waste and pollution in transit areas (Breazu and Machin 2018). They are also associated with health risks for both migrants and the wider population due to the lack of proper waste management and sanitation facilities. Viewers are invited to evaluate the situation and question Löfven's stance, especially since the arrival of Romani migrants appears to have altered the physical appearance and environmental quality of certain locations. It is implied that Romani migrants are the active agents of change, while the Swedish people are the passive recipients of these transformations.

Aesthetic concerns about changes in public spaces are also evident in visual representations of begging. This is exemplified by visuals of individuals, either men or women, kneeling and begging on various busy streets in Stockholm. This is illustrated by a newspaper photograph published by *Svenska Dagbladet*.[4] The photograph in question captures a poignant scene on the streets of Stockholm which showcases the stark reality of begging within the urban landscape. In the image, a man is seen kneeling on the pavement and praying – a pose which provokes a mix of empathy and discomfort for the viewers. On the one hand, the visibility of beggars in public places challenges the belief that the system is functioning effectively, leading to feelings of unease or disappointment. On the other hand, it contests the self-reliance and self-sufficiency culture in Sweden, with beggars perceived as violating these norms. More importantly, the presence of beggars raises aesthetic concerns, as they are regarded as a disruption to the orderly and clean appearance of public spaces, which has become a daily reality for those living in Sweden.

---

3 "Begging must stop, Löfven." *Expressen* (Stockholm). 6 October 2016. https://www.expressen.se/ledare/tiggeriet-maste-upphora-lofven.

4 "Professors: 'For whom is begging a problem?'" *Svenska Dagbladet* (Stockholm). 23 August 2016. https://www.svd.se/a/5yr76/professorer-for-vem-ar-tiggeri-ett-problem.

4.3   Concealing the historical and global context of marginalization and poverty

The discourse surrounding the proposed ban on begging in Sweden tends to overlook the historical and global context of marginalization and poverty faced by Romani migrants (Breazu 2020; Friberg 2020). The textual and visual representations of begging and beggars tend to focus on the immediate consequences of begging, such as public order, aesthetics, and security concerns, disregarding the broader socio-economic factors that have contributed to the vulnerability and displacement of the Romani population. Van Leeuwen (2008) highlighted that discourse does not account for only what is expressed in words or images but also for what is absent, omitted, or supressed. The discussions about banning begging in Swedish media often lack historical and global context, resulting in a limited understanding of the issue. For instance, the long history of poverty of Roma in Europe, individual experiences of racism, and the rationale that led to begging in Sweden received little attention in the mediatized debates on the prohibition of begging (Djuve et al. 2015; Teodorescu and Molina 2021). In a sense, Swedish media employs a strategy of objectivization, as the entire debate is framed around the phenomenon of begging, with people being left out of the conversation, except when discussing the negative impacts on the environment, public spaces, and society. In such instances, Romani migrants are portrayed as active agents of negative change in Swedish society.

In extracts 7-10, we catch a glimpse into the public perception and the internal feelings of ordinary Swedes who appear to be concerned and dissatisfied with the unresolved issue of begging in their cities. However, there are no stories that showcase the experiences of Roma with begging, whether they feel 'concerned', 'cornered', or 'unsafe'. Swedish media coverage often neglects to report on the violence suffered by Romani beggars at the hands of extreme far-right groups (*The Irish Times* 2015; Ciulinaru 2017; Hansson and Mitchell 2018). Such stories frequently remain untold in the mainstream media, as they do not serve to legitimize the prohibition of begging, or the mistreatment of Roma migrants witnessed across Europe.

Historically, Romani communities have faced significant discrimination, social exclusion, and economic hardship across Europe (McGarry 2017). Reports from the Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) show that Roma has the lowest life expectancy in Europe, and face intense discrimination within health care services, labour and housing markets. Yet, such reports are excluded from debates on the prohibition of begging. This long-standing marginalization has resulted in perpetuating the cycle of poverty and social exclusion for Romani people (Kócze and Rövid 2017). As with other European media, these discourses are little or infrequently articulated in Swedish media (Breazu and Machin 2018; Breazu and McGarry 2023), with few references to the historical marginalization and social exclusion experienced by Romani communities in Romania and Bulgaria. References to the ill-treatment Roma face in their home countries is no way to understand why people resort to begging: rather, it serves to divert responsibility elsewhere. The argument that begging is not the solution to poverty is often emphasized, while actual solutions are presented as the responsibility of the Roma's home countries, rather than being addressed in a broader, more comprehensive manner. This neglects the complex interplay of historical marginalization, global migration trends, and socio-economic disparities that shape the experiences of Romani migrants in Sweden, as discussed in previous sections.

Additionally, Romani migrants often face negative stereotypes and prejudices, which hinder their integration into society and exacerbate their marginalization (Matache 2017; McGarry 2017). The media play a critical role in shaping these perceptions about Roma, and this representation has a profound impact on how they are viewed by a broader public (Breazu 2020). Despite the fact that many Romani migrants in Sweden, who are often seen begging, are indeed European citizens – entitled to reside anywhere within the EU – their true status frequently is overlooked. They are often perceived as 'the other Europeans', with their lifestyle that appears at odds with contemporary societal norms.

The immediate focus on the concerns of ordinary Swedes and the exclusion of Romani voices in this discourse also reinforces prevailing social divisions (Roma and non-Roma) and stereotypes. It is difficult for the casual reader to sympathise with Roma or understand the complex circumstances that lead Roma to beg in Sweden. A shift in this narrative must acknowledge the systemic barriers and discrimination that Roma face in contemporary Europe.

Conclusions

This article highlights the problematic nature of the decontextualization of the 2016 debates to ban begging in Sweden, demonstrating how media and political discourse often gloss over systemic anti-Roma racism. Compared to other European media, Swedish media carry more subtle representations of Roma, especially since racial characteristics are removed from both language and visuals. Yet the ideology is obvious. The focus on immediate concerns in relation to begging, such as public order, security, and aesthetics, overlooks the historical and global context of marginalization and poverty experienced by Romani communities. The debate surrounding the proposed ban tends to reinforce existing social divisions and stereotypes, as the focus on begging as a problem to be solved diverts attention from the experiences and rationales of those who resort to begging because of a lack of viable alternatives for survival. Additionally, visual representations associated with news reports on begging contribute to the negative perceptions of Romani migrants, further exacerbating social division and marginalization. By neglecting the broader socio-economic factors and historical marginalization that have shaped the experiences of Roma migrants in Sweden, the discourse surrounding the proposed ban conceals the responsibility of both the countries of origin, and the host nations to address the underlying issues that contribute to poverty and social exclusion.

Such a manner of representation creates a self-perpetuating cycle that obstructs meaningful dialogue and prevents the implementation of more compassionate policy solutions. In light of these findings, this research calls for more contextualized reporting on the Romani issue and urges stakeholders to engage in constructive debates that address the root causes of begging in Sweden.

References

Antoine, Katja. 2022. "The Swedish Disconnect." *Journal of Critical Mixed-Race Studies* 1 (2): 92–104. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48680640.

Arasu, Rangaswami. 2022. "A Qualitative Content Analysis of How Vulnerable Eu-Citizens Are Portrayed in Swedish Media." *Journal of Media, Culture and Communication* 2 (02): 21–24. https://doi.org/10.55529/jmcc22.21.24.

Atak, Kivanç. 2022. "Racist Victimization, Legal Estrangement and Resentful Reliance on the Police in Sweden." *Social & Legal Studies* 31 (2): 238–260. https://doi.org/10.1177/09646639211023974.

Åberg, Karin, Frederick Batzler, and Maria Persdotter. 2023. "How Urban Law Deflects Rights Claims: A Case Study of the Eviction of a Roma Squatter Settlement in Malmö, Sweden." In *Urban Politics of Human Rights,* edited by Janne Nijman, Barbara Oomen, Elif Durmuş, Sara Miellet, Lisa Roodenburg, 141–162). London: Routledge.

Barker, Vanessa. 2017. "Nordic Vagabonds: The Roma and the Logic of Benevolent Violence in the Swedish Welfare State." *European Journal of Criminology* 14 (1): 120–139.

Bolton, Doug. 2015. "Racist Advert for Far-right Sweden Democrats on Stockholm Metro Prompts Huge Protest." *Independent* (London). http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/racist-advert-for-far-right-sweden-democrats-on-stockholm-metro-prompts-huge-protest-10438016.html.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2013. "'New Racism,' Color-blind Racism, and the Future of Whiteness in America." In *White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism*, edited by Ashley W. Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, 268–281. London: Routledge.

Breazu, Petre. 2020. *Representing the Roma in Romanian media: A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis*. Doctoral dissertation. Örebro University, Sweden.

Breazu, Petre, and Aidan McGarry. 2023. "Romaphobia in the UK Right-Wing Press: Racist and Populist Discourse during the Brexit Referendum." *Social Semiotics* 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2023.2165907.

Breazu, Petre, and David Machin. 2018. "A Critical Multimodal Analysis of the Romanian Press Coverage of Camp Evictions and Deportations of the Roma Migrants from France." *Discourse & Communication* 12 (4): 339–356. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481318757774.

———. 2022. "'It's Still Them': Concealed Racism against Roma in Romanian Television News. *Social Identities* 28 (1): 90–107.

———. 2024. "Humanitarian Discourse as Racism Disclaimer: The Representation of Roma in Swedish Press. *Journal of Language and Politics*. https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.23044.bre.

Brljavac, Bedrudin. 2017. "Refugee Crisis in Europe: The Case Studies of Sweden and Slovakia." *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs* 3 (Suppl.): 91–107.

Broberg, Gunnar, and Mattias Tydén. 1991. *Oönskade i folkhemmet. Rashygien och sterilisering i Sverige*. Stockholm: Gidlunds.

Carlsson, Magnus. 2010. "Experimental Evidence of Discrimination in the Hiring of First-and Second-generation Immigrants." *Labour* 24 (3): 263–278.

Carrera, Sergio. 2013. "Shifting Responsibilities for EU Roma Citizens: The 2010 French Affair on Roma Evictions and Expulsions Continued." *CEPS Papers in Liberty and Security in Europe Paper* 55.

Ciulinaru, Dragos. 2017. "The Justification of Harsh Treatment of Homeless Romanian Migrants in Sweden." *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 7 (4): 243–250. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/48711401.

Clark, Colin. 2004. "'Severity Has Often Enraged but Never Subdued a Gypsy': The History and Making of European Romani Stereotypes. In *The Role of the Romanies: Images and Counter-Images of "Gypsies"/Romanies in European Cultures,* edited by Nicholas Saul and Susan Tebbutt, 226–246). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Djuve, Anne Britt., Jon Horgen Friberg, Guri Tyldum, and Huafeng Zhang. 2015. *When Poverty Meets Affluence. Migrants from Romania on the Streets of the Scandinavian Capitals.* Oslo: The Rockwool Foundation.

Ekman, Mattias. 2019. "Anti-immigration and Racist Discourse in Social Media." *European Journal of Communication* 34 (6): 606–618. https://doi.org/10.1177/026732311988615.

Enarsson, Therese, and Simon Lindgren. 2019. "Free Speech or Hate Speech?: A Legal Analysis of the Discourse about Roma on Twitter." *Information & Communications Technology Law* 28 (1):1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/13600834.2018.1494415.

End, Markus. 2017. "Subtle Images of Antigypsyism: An Analysis of the Visual Perception of 'Roma.'" *Identities* 24 (6): 668–683. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2017.1380265.

Enroth, Nicklas. 2022. "EU Citizens and Undocumented Migrants in the News: Quantitative Patterns of Representation in Swedish News Media 2006–2016." *Nordic Social Work Research* 12 (5): 749–762. https://doi.org/10.1080/2156857X.2021.1875259.

Fairclough, Norman. 2013. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* London: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel. 2013. *Archaeology of Knowledge.* Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. London: Routledge..

FRA. 2020. "Persistent Roma Inequality Increases COVID-19 Risk, Human Rights Heads Say." Vienna: Fundamental Rights Agency. https://fra.europa.eu/en/news/2020/persistent-roma-inequality-increases-covid-19-risk-human-rights-heads-say.

Friberg, Jon Horgen. 2020. "Poverty, Networks, Resistance: The Economic Sociology of Roma Migration for Begging. *Migration Studies* 8 (2): 228–249. https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mny038.

Hagelund, Anniken. 2020. "After the Refugee Crisis: Public Discourse and Policy Change in Denmark, Norway and Sweden." *Comparative Migration Studies* 8 (1): 1–17.

Hancock, Ian F. 2002. *We Are the Romani People* (Vol. 28). Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Hansson, Erik. 2023. *The Begging Question: Sweden's Social Responses to the Roma Destitute.* Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Hansson, Erik, and Don Mitchell. 2018. "The Exceptional State of 'Roma beggars' in Sweden." *European Journal of Homelessness* 12 (2): 15–40.

Hällgren, Camilla. 2005. "'Working Harder to Be the Same': Everyday Racism among Young Men and Women in Sweden." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 8 (3): 319–342.https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320500174499.

Hellström, Anders. 2021. *How Anti-immigration Views Were Articulated in Sweden during and after 2015.* University of Malmö.

Hübinette, Tobias. 2013. "Swedish Antiracism and White Melancholia: Racial Words in a Post-racial Society. *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World* 4 (1): 24–33. https://doi.org/10.7227/ERCW.4.1.2.

Hübinette, Tobias, and Catrin Lundström. 2014. "Swedish Whiteness and White Melancholia: A Diagnosis of a White Nation in Crisis." In *Unveiling Whiteness in the Twenty-first Century: Global Manifestations,*

Transdisciplinary Interventions, edited by Veronica Watson, Deirdre Howard-Wagner, and Lisa B. Spanierman, 49–74. Lanham MD: Lexington Books.

Hübinette, Tobias, Helena Hörnfeldt, Fataneh Farahani, and R. León Rosales. 2012. *Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige.* Tumba: Mångkulturellt Centrum.

Jylhä, Kirsti M., Jens Rydgren, and Pontus Strimling. 2019. "Radical Right-wing Voters from Right and Left: Comparing Sweden Democrat Voters Who Previously Voted for the Conservative Party or the Social Democratic Party." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 42 (3–4): 220–244. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9477.12147.

Kotljarchuk, Andrej. 2020. "State, Experts, and Roma: Historian Allan Etzler and Pseudo-scientific Racism in Sweden." *Scandinavian Journal of History* 45 (5): 615–639. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468755.2019.1668476.

Kócze, Angela, and Marton Rövid. 2017. "Roma and the Politics of Double Discourse in Contemporary Europe. *Identities* 24 (6): 684–700. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2017.1380338.

Kress, Gunther, and Theo Van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and the Media of Contemporary Communication.* London: Arnold.

———. 2020. *Reading Images.* London: Routledge.

Krifors, Karin. 2022. "Rural Multiculturalism? Migrants, Antiracism, and Convivial Cultures in Provincial Sweden." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45 (16): 72–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1998567.

Kroon, Anne C., Alena Kluknavska, Rens Vliegenthart, and Hajo G Boomgaarden. 2016. "Victims or Perpetrators? Explaining Media Framing of Roma across Europe." *European Journal of Communication* 31 (4): 375–392. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323116647235.

Liégeois, Jean-Pierre. 2007. *Roma in Europe.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Matache, Margareta. 2017. "Biased Elites, Unfit Policies: Reflections on the Lacunae of Roma Integration Strategies." *European Review* 25 (4): 588–607. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1062798717000254.

McGarry, Aidan. 2017. *Romaphobia: The Last Acceptable Form of Racism.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Mostowska, Magdalena. 2021. "Failing to Perform Citizenship: Daily Narratives about Stockholm's 'Vulnerable EU Citizens.'" *Sociological Research Online* 26 (4): 926–941.

Mulinari, Diana, and Anders Neergaard. 2017. "Theorising Racism: Exploring the Swedish Racial Regime." *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 7 (2): 88–96. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0016.

Osanami Törngren, Sayaka. 2022. "Understanding Race in Sweden: The Racialisation and Deracialisation of Multiethnic and Multiracial Swedes." *Nordic Journal of Social Research* 13(1): 51–66. https://doi.org/10.18261/njsr.13.1.5

Persdotter, Maria. 2019. *Free to Move Along: On the Urbanisation of Cross-border Mobility Controls – A Case of Roma 'EU Migrants' in Malmö, Sweden* (Doctoral Dissertation, Malmö University).

Rydgren, Jens, and Sara Van der Meiden. 2019. "The Radical Right and the End of Swedish Exceptionalism. *European Political Science* 18 (3): 439–455.

Selling, Jan. 2019. "A Short Momentum for Roma Rights: How Promising Is the Swedish Example?" *Dimensions of Antigypsyism in Europe*, 353. ENAR.

Svan, Mattias. 2019. "To Construct a Stranger. A Qualitative Content Analysis of How Vulnerable EU-Citizens are Portrayed in Swedish Media." *Provocatio. Journal of Human Rights* 4: 147–160.

Teodorescu, Dominic, and Irene Molina. 2021. "Roma Street-workers in Uppsala: Racialised Poverty and Super Precarious Housing Conditions in Romania and Sweden." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 21 (3): 401–422. https://doi.org/10.1080/19491247.2020.1854950.

The Irish Times. 2015. "Sweden's Tolerant Image Compromised by Attacks on Roma. *The Irish Times* (Dublin), 9 August 2015. https://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/sweden-s-tolerant-image-compromised-by-attacks-on-roma-1.2311689.

Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2008. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vesterberg, Viktor. 2016. "Exploring Misery Discourses: Problematized Roma in Labour Market Projects." *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* 7 (1): 25–40. https://doi.org/10.3384/rela.2000-7426.rela9071.

Wigerfelt, Berit, and Anders S. Wigerfelt. 2015. "Anti-gypsyism in Sweden: Roma´s and Travellers´ Experiences of Bias-motivated Crime." *Internet Journal of Criminology*, (6743): 1–28.

Wigerfelt, Berit, Anders S. Wigerfelt, and Jenny Kiiskinen. 2014. "When Colour Matters. Policing and Hate Crime." *Social Inclusion* 2 (12): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v2i1.31.

Zelano, Karin. 2019. "Vulnerability and Deviance: Individual Reasoning about the Proposal to Ban Begging in Sweden." *Urban Research & Practice* 12 (4): 372–391. https://doi.org/10.1080/17535069.2018.1458144.