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**Multilingualism and Mobility:**

**A Linguistic Landscape Analysis of Three Neighbourhoods in**

**Malmö, Sweden**

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## ABSTRACT

This master's thesis, through the use of linguistic landscape analysis, examines three neighbourhoods in the city of Malmö, Sweden (Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård), in order to investigate how multilingualism, specifically as a consequence of globalization, is negotiated within public space. Physical text in public space works both to reflect and reinforce wider social processes and provides insight into the way that a particular space is structured socially. Through the examination of storefronts in each of these neighbourhoods, paying close attention to each space's historical background, this thesis aims to establish how the mobility of language afforded by globalization manifests in the linguistic landscape and how, in turn, language works as a tool for individuals in these spaces to assert themselves (actively or passively) in response to the forces of globalization. Results of this analysis show that multilingualism holds a high value within the linguistic landscape of Malmö, Sweden. Furthermore, that multilingualism is used in order to provide each neighbourhood with a unique sense of place.

*Keywords:* linguistic landscape analysis, language & public space, globalization, sociolinguistics, Malmö, Sweden.

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## **1. Introduction**

The linguistic landscape, an arena in which visual language indexes “social realities” (Hult, 2014, p. 3), plays a key role in the social construction of public space. In multilingual environments, particularly within the context of globalization, the linguistic landscape provides insight into how both individuals and communities contest and negotiate, appropriate and resist multilingualism (Moriarty, 2014, p. 457). While Sweden, in an official capacity, recognizes five national minority languages (SFS 2009: 600), it has also been described as being “largely ethnically and culturally homogeneous... in the view of the collective imaginary” (Bolton & Meierkord, 2013, p. 110). The city of Malmö, as of 2014, is home to a population of which 31% come from a foreign background (City of Malmö, 2014a). As such, it is neither ethnically nor culturally homogenous. As the makeup of a population begins to change through processes such as globalization and migration, so too, does the organisation of visual language in urban space. Thus, with its fairly high percentage of foreign-background residents, Malmö provides a productive setting in which to investigate how the linguistic landscape is used to contribute to the social construction of a city in multilingual Sweden. As such, this thesis, through the use of linguistic landscape analysis, looks at three neighbourhoods in Malmö, Sweden (Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård), each with varying degrees of inhabitants with a foreign background, in order to investigate how multilingualism, specifically as a consequence of globalization, is negotiated across space.

### **1.1 Linguistic landscape analysis: A brief overview**

Linguistic landscape analysis provides a method through which to investigate visual language use in public space. The multiplex nature of public spaces means that they are neither constructed nor experienced passively. Instead, there are historical, social, and political forces which work to shape them (Blommaert, 2013, p. 40). Visual language, in turn, can be seen to manifest in response to these forces - it can both reinforce and contest them

(Blommaert, 2013, p. 39). By foregrounding the relationship between visual language and the social processes which circulate a public space, linguistic landscape analysis allows for productive research into several sociolinguistic concerns. Through doing this, researchers are able to make inferences into, among other things, “ethnolinguistic vitality, indigenous languages, the symbolic representation of languages and power structures, the discourse of globalization, international tourism and trade, as well as sociolinguistic aspects related to language shift and change” (Muth, 2014, p. 70).

It is crucial to understand that visual language does not simply materialize out of nowhere. The nature of public space means that it can be engaged and interacted with by anyone who chooses to do so. While language can manifest more conventionally, for example, in the form of governmental signs, road signs or branding, it can also occur in the form of graffiti and posters. Each individual or collective that uses visual language in a space does so actively and thus imbues it with a set of values based on their own specific goals or attitudes. According to Tann (2010), “textual resources do not exist independently from ideational and interpersonal ones: ideational resources construe identities as though they are natural realities, interpersonal resources enact those identities as social realities, and textual resources organize them as semiotic realities” (p. 171). If textual resources assert semiotic realities then it is also necessary to note that public space can be *experienced*. Visual language use in a public space can be internalized by an individual or group to the extent that what is represented in a linguistic landscape is given legitimacy. For example, a language which occurs frequently and fulfils a range of functions can be seen to have a higher value as a linguistic resource than a language which occurs less frequently or only for specific functions (Rodriguez, 2009). Languages do not necessarily hold the same power or work in the same ways and this is something that can be internalized by members of the public.

The linguistic landscape has been characterized in literature as “ideologically loaded” (Rowland, 2012, p, 503) and “symbolically constructed” (Hult, 2014, p. 510). It functions in such a way that visual language itself points towards issues which are relevant to a specific area. Moreover, a linguistic landscape is a social space which directly reflects *locally* situated sociocultural processes. Blommaert (2013) suggests that signs in the context of social spaces “tell us a lot about the users of the space, how users interact with signs, how users influence and are influenced by them; they start telling stories about the cultural, historical, political and social backgrounds of a certain space” (p. 41) As such, linguistic landscape analysis provides an appropriate means of enquiry into the way that phenomena such as globalisation are experienced and negotiated in unique social environments.

## **1.2 Globalization and multilingualism**

This study aims to explore how, through the use of visual language, the diversity brought about by globalization is regulated. In particular, it looks at how language functions symbolically, its role when directed towards specific linguistic communities and also at the various linguistic competencies depicted in a landscape (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2006, p. 8). Globalization, when facilitated by the affordances of modern technology, means that both time and space can be crossed in ways that have not previously been possible (Koehn, 2002, p. 106). Access to mass media and the spread of capitalism means that large parts of the world consume many of the same products and information. From this perspective, globalization can be said to lead to “cultural homogenization” (Kubota, 2002, p. 13). There is no obligation on an individual basis, of course, to actively engage with these globalizing forces or technologies. However, in more practical day-to-day terms, there are subsequent changes at a local level that alter the composition of the material world and its inhabitants. Gumperz (1974), as early as 1974, notes that “the traditional image of human society as divisible into discrete, internally homogeneous groups or cultures is becoming

increasingly less useful” (p. 785). So, while there is an element of choice in how much an individual engages, through technology or patterns of consumption, with globalization; there is an increase in “the visibility of differences” which is unavoidable and necessitates mediation (Blommaert, 2010, p. 133).

In response to both an increase in local diversity and perceived cultural homogeneity (on a world-wide scale), Kubota (2002) posits that there is sometimes a tendency towards an increased focus on nationalism (p.13). This is done in order to help protect or maintain local or national cultures. Transplants to a new society, however, are also able to maintain their own cultural identities. From within the context of a society new to them, technology provides continued access to input from home countries. Immigration is one such aspect of globalization that is experienced not only by those who have physically moved. It is accompanied by a degree of incoherence that needs to be actively mastered. Consequently, “transnational actors must be flexible and skilled at managing multiple counterpart identities” (Vertovec, 2009, p. 77). Blommaert (2010) with reference to globalization claims that “the world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways” (p.1). As an arena for these processes, the linguistic landscape is characterized by the tension among these different identities. It is a space in which, actively or not, “everyone quite unavoidably struggles against everyone else” (Ben-Rafael, 2009, 45).

Language can be a powerful tool within the context of these highly diverse and complex environments. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that language is a resource. Primarily, it enables people to communicate with one another. It also serves a symbolic function in that it can be used to express social meaning. As noted above, transnational actors need to be able to negotiate their surroundings. The value of being able to skillfully use and appropriately respond to language in a multilingual environment is high. This is largely

because language practice is evaluated socially – it denotes prestige (or marks its absence) and characterizes identity. A multilingual language-user possesses a repertoire which consists of not only languages but also varieties and forms of these languages. These repertoires serve as both linguistic and cultural capital and can be used, for different purposes, within a variety of contexts (Stratilaki, 2002, p. 190). Equipping oneself with more linguistic resources, then, increases the skill-set with which one can respond to the challenges presented by globalization.

The perspective taken here so far has focused mainly on micro-level concerns related to the linguistic capacity of individuals or groups and how they can be used to navigate the discord that accompanies globalization. There are, of course, macro-level concerns which look to the value of language from a more authoritative perspective. For example, the official status of languages and the value placed upon them or policies which privilege a certain standard of a specific language. These are important as they are perpetuated both on a national level and by language-users themselves. However, according to Blommaert (2010), in order to understand a place, “we need to inquire into the way in which that place is imagined, represented and enacted by its inhabitants” (p. 63). The focus in this statement is on those who make use of a particular space. As such, this thesis focuses largely on how instances of visual language are installed on a local level (as well as the accompanying historical, political and social motivation).

In spaces with high levels of multilingualism, particularly those in which multilingualism is a result of globalization processes, linguistic landscape studies allow researchers to scrutinize how language both contributes to “the organization and regulation of that space” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 40). The languages present (and their respective frequencies), the functions for which they are used, how they interact with one another and

the forms they are found in create a picture of what is valued (both ideologically and practically) and what is *done* with language in a particular space.

### **1.3 Thesis outline**

The literature review that follows in Chapter 2 provides an in-depth discussion of linguistic landscape analysis as a method for productive sociolinguistic research. Here, relevant definitions and concepts that are used throughout this thesis will be provided. In order to further help characterize the tools provided by linguistic landscape analysis, previous studies and their goals are discussed. The literature review also touches upon the concepts of globalization and how these can be applied to studies into the linguistic landscape.

Chapter 3, which focuses on the methodological considerations behind this research, is divided into five sub-sections. After outlining the research questions, a discussion of the linguistic landscape in a Swedish context is offered. What follows is the motivation behind the choice of each of the three neighbourhoods (Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård). Following this is a discussion of how the data for this study were collected. Finally, in terms of data analysis, specific aspects of linguistic landscape analysis (both quantitative and qualitative) are given alongside a discussion of inductive analysis which was used to further develop the qualitative results.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the present study. Each neighbourhood is discussed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative aspect of this study focuses on the demographics of each neighbourhood as well as the number of languages represented within the linguistic landscape. The qualitative results use photographs from each neighbourhood as a springboard for an analysis of how multilingualism and globalization manifests and is negotiated in each space.

The final chapter, chapter 5, ties together the relationship between globalization and the linguistic landscape. Summarizing the data presented in chapter 4, a discussion of how each area both manifests and responds to globalization is offered. Finally, suggestions for further developments of this research are provided.

## **2. Linguistic Landscape Analysis and Globalization**

Linguistic landscape studies, through the close examination of language use in public spaces, lend themselves to an expansive field of enquiry. Since its inception, research relating to the linguistic landscape has not only diversified its investigative trajectory but both its theoretical consideration and methodologies (Kasanga, 2010, p. 183). The way in which public language use may be dissected yields information which can be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. As the field, one still relatively new within linguistics, continues to become refined, multidisciplinary approaches are becoming more and more prevalent.

This chapter draws attention to several aspects of linguistic landscape studies in order to provide as comprehensive as possible a background for the research undertaken. Firstly, inroads are made into identifying and classifying the objects which make up a linguistic landscape. Here, various definitions are considered and compared. In order to illustrate how these objects cooperate with each other, the objectives of existing linguistic landscape studies and some of the different approaches with which they were combined in order to achieve these goals are presented. Finally, a more general consideration of factors such as multilingualism, globalization and the currency that language holds in relation to the two are provided. These are factors which manifest within the linguistic landscape and, therefore, their influence needs to be reflected upon.

### **2.1 Defining the Linguistic Landscape**

While the term ‘linguistic landscape’ was first used in literature by Landry and Bourhis (1997), Spolsky (2009) notes that “the study of public signage has a longer history” (p. 26), ranging back to the 1970s. As such, linguistic landscape studies have since come a long way to exist at present as a stand-alone means of inquiry.

As defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997), “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” (p. 25). They go on to ascribe the linguistic landscape with two main functions – an informational function and a symbolic function (p. 25). The informational function outlined here serves the purpose of demarcating geographical territory – it points towards which linguistic communities one could expect to find in a space. Furthermore, the linguistic landscape can be used as a means to pinpoint the language(s) which have the highest status within a space. In a multilingual environment, the language(s) which appear most frequently (relative to the other languages in a space) are seen as having a higher value (p. 26). The symbolic function of the linguistic landscape, then, according to Landry and Bourhis (1997), relates to how groups or individuals within a space may feel “as a member of a language group within a bilingual or multilingual setting” (p. 27). If a language, for example, is used sparsely then it signals to its speakers that they, perhaps, are not as valued within society.

Landry and Bourhis’s (1997) initial definition of the linguistic landscape has been expanded upon in ways which incorporate other features of public space. Rowland (2012), for example, defines the linguistic landscape as “an ideologically loaded space shaped by both local and global forces and displaying a full range of communicative modalities. It exists in an authentic, dynamic and public mega-text. It serves real-world purposes; it is constantly changing; and it is accessible to all” (p. 503). While Landry and Bourhis (1997) characterized the linguistic landscape as delimiting a specific community this definition acknowledges that space can technically be traversed and interacted with by anybody. This definition takes into account the nature of contemporary society and the tendency for day-to-day life to take place across physical spatial boundaries.

Pietikäinen, Lane, Salo & Lahialal-Kankainen's (2011) describe the linguistic landscape as “a discursively constructed public space, which results from human action and is thus subject to various kinds of political and ideological logics and innovations” (p. 279). This definition adds a fairly significant element to the characterization of the linguistic landscape. Here, the linguistic landscape is framed in a way that expresses the influence that humans have in terms of its creation. It is a malleable space that is not only experienced and internalized but also shaped and used in order to perpetuate individual agendas. The way in which this may be done will be discussed below in greater detail.

There are many ways through which items in the linguistic landscape have been characterized within literature – both in order to make collecting and analysing data more systematic and to contribute to an understanding of the motivations (linguistic and non-linguistic) behind them. Dissecting these terms, before considering the benefits of making such distinctions is helpful in terms of understanding the aims of linguistic landscape studies while at the same time trying to bring some order to the texts found in the linguistic landscape.

One of the foremost things to be considered in a multilingual space, for the purpose of this type of research, is quite simply the visible text within an area. It is, thus, important to consider what it is that actually comprises text. Rodriguez (2009) defines a linguistic landscape text as “any piece(s) of writing composed by the same actor with a focal content related to that actor and displayed on a circumscribed support in the public space’ (p. 5). While a fairly broad definition, the description of a text as “any piece(s) of writing”, illustrates the free rein given to an actor to contribute something of significance to his/her environment.

What constitutes a sign is also a very important consideration in the study of a linguistic landscape. Koll-Stobbe (2015) provides two definitions from literature to account

for a sign. The first, a more descriptive suggestion, is of a sign as an “inscribed surface displayed in public space in order to convey a message of wider concern to a non-specified group of readers” (Backhaus, 2007, p. 5). The second definition, from Hoey (2011) defines a sign as:

... the visible evidence of a... purposeful interaction between one or more writers and one or more readers, in which the writer(s) control the interaction and produce characteristically most of the language. The interaction between the writer and reader can be called a discourse (p. 11)

Both of these definitions of the sign acknowledge a physical entity, the text on which being directed towards a reader. However, Hoey (2011) highlights that a sign facilitates an interaction between the writer and the reader – its message does not simply flow outwards. Spolsky’s (2009) definition of the sign highlights the participants that both construct and interpret a sign wherein a sign should be seen as “the result of a process with several participants... the initiator or owner of the sign, the sign-maker and the reader”, as well as “a language management authority, whether a national or local government or perhaps religious or ethnic authority, which sets a specific policy on language choice” (p. 31). When looking at a sign in public space, then, these factors should be taken into account. In order to do this, literature has provided some further suggestions for identifying the various aspects of a sign.

Backhaus (2006) differentiates between the idea of official and non-official signs (p. 52). Official signs are those set up by institutions such as the government and its respective ministries, local municipalities or property owners etc. These signs are prescriptive in nature and are installed with the aim of regulating behaviour in an area or issuing some sort of imperative. This is done through the use of languages which are recognised or approved from above. Official signs can range anywhere from street names to traffic signs and regulations. In a similar vein, Calvet (1993) uses the term *in-vitro* to classify texts in which the flow of

information travels from official bodies to the general public (p. 112). Another term used to refer to this type of text is *top-down* (Ben-Rafael, 2006) where, again, text is dispersed from an official source. For each of these terms there is a contrasting expression. While the texts referred to here “are expected to reflect a general commitment to the dominant culture”, their counterparts “are designed much more freely according to individual strategies” (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2010, p. 10).

Non-official signs, according to Landry and Bourhis (1997), generally exhibit a greater language diversity than official signs (p. 27) and are installed by members of the public. These take the form of a multitude of things – names of privately-owned shops, graffiti, and advertisements for upcoming events in the area or services offered. Backhaus (2006), suggests that the greater linguistic diversity found on non-official signs is due to many of the languages within a linguistic landscape not being recognized in an official capacity (p. 54). As such, non-official signs, generally, have a wider variety of resources to draw upon and are not obliged to conform to regulations set from above. These kinds of signs, where text is generated by members of the general public can further be classified as *in vivo* (Calvet, 1993). Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), too, use a similar distinction to identify these signs – “bottom up” (p. 10), again, the term refers to the direction from which information flows. Making these distinctions is indeed helpful in understanding flows of information and plays a crucial role when it comes to linguistic analysis. However, making such simplifications and dividing signs into these binary relationships (i.e. official vs. non-official, in-vitro vs. in-vivo or top down vs. bottom up) has been criticized within literature for masking “the complexity of many sociolinguistic situations” in favour of providing convenience when it comes to making evaluations (Blackwood, 2014, p. 64 )

Rodriguez (2009) notes that a linguistic landscape can be broken into three main components – the actor, the support and the content. Firstly, the *actor*. The actor is “the entity

(business, institution or individual) or joined entities that compose a text” (p. 2). The actor makes a conscious choice into what they display and, according to Rodriguez, a researcher needs to be able to distinguish between a variety of actors in order to gain an optimal interpretation of linguistic traits. Ben-Rafael (2006) also defines an actor in the linguistic landscape. This definition highlights that there is an agenda when it comes to composing a sign. Actors “concretely participate in the shaping of LL by ordering from others or building themselves LL elements according to preferential tendencies, deliberate choices or policies” (p. 27). Identifying these actors, while perhaps a complicated undertaking, allows researchers to better discern the external motivations behind the both the presence of the sign and entities found within the sign. For the purpose of this thesis, actors will be characterized based on texts found in the linguistic landscape. Private texts are those composed by individuals and local businesses; public texts by governmental authorities, public and private institutions and corporate texts by corporations and franchises “beyond the local level” (Rodriguez, 2009, p. 3)

Secondly, one finds the *support*. The support is the physical place “on or in which the text is displayed” (Rodriguez, 2009, p.2). Of course, it is important to note that the support, as defined by Rodriguez, also functions to help identify the actor(s) behind the construction of a sign. In locales where one can expect to find signs, especially those placed by members of a community, one would perhaps be foolish to presuppose any degree of systematicity or “neatness” to their organization. Public and corporate texts are more likely, by virtue of their official nature, to have a longer ‘life-span’ than those that are not. A sign forbidding smoking in an area, for example, is not likely to change until a law does. However, other supports, such as noticeboards or public or personal property such as benches and walls, are at the mercy of a range of factors. Graffiti may be painted over, posters may be torn down to make space for new ones and, as such, one may find a greater degree of flux. Signs compete for space and the

actors behind them are obligated to negotiate this. Alternatively, linguistic signs may interact with each other upon the same support. Posters placed by political parties leading up to an election, for example, may be vandalised with messages or graphics by those who do not hold the same views. It is not uncommon, either, to find a support in which some sort of dialogue is opened up between more than one actor. Public restrooms, for one, are replete with examples of this. It is not uncommon that something written on a bathroom stall will be followed by a comment or thought by another occupant (Stocker, Dutcher, Hargrove & Cook, 1972). No matter how inconsequential such an example may seem, it contributes towards an understanding that, to a certain degree, public spaces are utilised by those who move through them in order to achieve certain goals.

Blommaert (2013) also notes that the *shape* of a sign (i.e. *support*) provides information about the organization of the language or language community within a linguistic landscape. If a sign, for example, is “amateurish” (p. 62) (hand-written, computer-printed, cello-taped to a shop window etc.), it may be indicative of “an emergent, inchoate form of organization” (p. 62). Being able to use the majority language in a certain space comes with benefits both social and economic and in order to gain upward social mobility it is almost a necessity for an individual/community to be able to have a decent level control over the majority language (Koehn & Rosenau, 2002). The sense of the word *organization* here is used to refer to the social and cultural status of a particular language in space. As such, those whose language limits their access to resources may not be able to produce the more professional supports afforded to other members of a community. This assertion is by no means definitive of every amateur sign. Rather, this is a suggestion of something to keep in mind when considering a sign’s physical manifestation.

The third and final aspect considered by Rodriguez to compose a linguistic landscape - the *content* or message transmitted. While it may be difficult to ascertain the full intention of

the actor, through taking the variables discussed above into account, there are certain conclusions that can be drawn about the content of a linguistic sign – conclusions based on language used, the relationship between languages on a multilingual sign, register used or even just linguistic structure.

## 2.2. Space in Linguistic Landscape Analysis

While it is certainly important to spend time typifying the notions of texts and signs, without an understanding of the areas in which they function, a great part of the picture is lost. As such, it is necessary to look at some of the ways the idea of space in the linguistic landscape has been theorized. There are many definitions of ‘space’, some overlapping and some not. One common thread, however, is that the linguistic landscape is constructed and re-constructed constantly. For the purpose of this thesis it seems it would be most fruitful to spend some time looking at these ideas in order to provide some insight into just how the idea of space can be approached. It is important to keep in mind that at the most basic level, a linguistic landscape is the combination of physical space, the texts found within it and the interaction between the two.

Blommaert (2013) notes that the landscapes under consideration in the present day are found “usually in the late-modern, globalized city” (p. 1). Key to a linguistic landscape analysis perspective, according to Blommaert (2013) is the characterization of physical space as something that is inherently social – something that:

offers, enables, triggers, invites, prescribes, proscribes, polices or enforces certain patterns of social behaviour; a space that is never no-man’s-land, but always *somebody’s* space; a *historical* space, therefore, full of codes, expectations norms and traditions; and a space of *power* controlled by, as well as controlling, people (p. 3)

Here, it becomes clear that space is complex. Not only does it dictate but it also responds to social forces. It needs to be cooperated with as well as contested. When looking at a linguistic landscape, then, it is necessary to acknowledge the influence that space has on those who traverse it and vice versa. A further element to Blommaert's (2013) characterization of space is the importance of historical processes. It is suggested that space should be seen "as a historically configured phenomenon and as an actor, as something that operates as a material force on human behaviour performed in space" (p. 23). Studies into the linguistic landscape, then, despite only being able to look at "momentarily, uniquely situated cases" (p. 119), are still able to use historical concerns as a way to underscore the interplay of "power, ownership, legitimacy of usage and identity" (p. 108) and how these factors are internalized and reproduced within space

Drawing on these same urban environments, Shohamy and Waksman (2009) assert that a linguistic landscape is an ecological arena, which is multilingual and multimodal, open to re-interpretation and contestation, which also provides a space for activism and creative expression (p. 313). Implicit here is the idea that the linguistic landscape provides crucial resources to those who are willing to use them. One does not necessarily simply or passively inhabit or pass through a space. Instead, participants are invited to both negotiate and assert themselves where they see fit. This, too, highlights the importance of linguistic landscape studies. There is a great significance in the use of language as a tool in achieving these goals. Modan and Leeman (2009) make reference to the notion of space as discussed by Lefebvre (1991). Here, it is argued that "social space is produced through a triad consisting of *spatial practices* (the everyday practices that people carry out in a specific area), *representations of space* (dominant institutions' conceptions and evaluations of space), and *spaces of representation* (conceptions of space based on how it is live by an individual 'on the ground')" (336). This is helpful in understanding that the interpretation of meaning in the

linguistic landscape extends farther than simply the presence or absence of specific language. Hence, a space does not simply exist and stand independent of those in and around it. Instead, it is something created through a multiplicity of factors.

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) use the term *metrolingualism* to account for “the dynamic interrelationship between language practices and urban space” (p. 19). Here, they differentiate between the terms *space* and *place*. Place, they posit, needs to be understood socially “where local practices constitute and are constituted by the social and spatial” (p. 85). Space, on the other hand, is the “articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings’ that are constructed ‘out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus” (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 85). What is important here is the interaction of various social practices within a designated space (i.e. on a strictly local level). It is also important, as noted by Pennycook and Otsuji, that it is not simply one specific instance in time that provides space with its characteristics. Instead, there are layers upon layers of history that are materially observable and should also be acknowledged (p.144).

One final discussion on the issue of space relates to physical space providing a ‘sense of place’ to individuals and groups. Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) posit that idea of ‘home’ to people and cultures in space “is inevitably bound up with specific geographical locations which we come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discoursal construal” (p. 7). So, again, what is represented through the use of signs in a linguistic landscape contributes directly to how space is experienced – to be able to locate oneself in space or assert some sort of ownership (or alternatively be excluded from a space), therefore, facilitates the expression of identity (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010, p. 7). This can be found in the linguistic landscape in the form of concrete and observable discourses about languages and their speakers (Hult, 2014, p. 511).

Though it may seem arduous to consider several definitions of the area in which a linguistic landscape is constructed, it is very important that with each repetition of an idea we can begin to understand, again, the power that language holds in urban settings.

### **2.3 Research Objectives in Linguistic Landscape Analysis**

To gain a better understanding of how a linguistic landscape analysis can be used to tease out the relationship between language and physical space, it may be useful to consider the goals of some existing studies.

Landry and Bourhis's (1997) study, in which the term 'linguistic landscape' was first used, was carried out with the aim of investigating the ethnolinguistic vitality of French-Canadian minorities in Canada. Here, they looked at the linguistic capital afforded to minority languages through the various ways they were used in space. The capacity in which a specific language is used (e.g. official vs. non-official), Landry and Bourhis suggest, influences the way that minority groups perceive the status of their language. Groups who cannot identify themselves with text in public space may lead to a decline in the general use of the language due to it perceived as being inadequate. One conclusion from this study is that an increase in the presence of minority languages in the linguistic landscape may help to facilitate the maintenance of minority languages. Lado (2011) also drew on linguistic landscape analysis as a means for reflection upon the status of Valencian in Spain – here, "the presence or absence of certain languages in the public arena sends a message that reveals the centrality versus the marginality of these languages in society" (p. 135). A similar goal has also been achieved in studies which look at how one or more languages compete within a single sign and how this, too, can be indicative of the status or prestige held by a language (du Plessis, 2011).

The interpretation of what a linguistic landscape can signify to individuals outside of a community itself has also been a motivation for research into the linguistic landscape. Wang (2013), for example, used linguistic landscape analysis as a means to gain insight into the use

of multilingual signs in Beijing. Multilingual signs in these commercial areas drew on the use of western languages in order to present an “international image” or to “strengthen international communication” (p. 41). Related to this is a study undertaken with the goal of determining how accessible to tourists the linguistic landscape of the Hungarian city of Hódmezővásárhely could be considered (Galgoczi-Deutsch, M. 2012). Through looking at how places, specifically, are named, researchers can also garner information on how landscapes come to be identified by those visiting them (Nash, J. 2013).

From a pedagogical perspective, Rowland (2012) and Chern & Dooley (2014) were able to highlight the ways that direct interaction with a linguistic landscape can offer pedagogical benefits to both teachers and those in the process of acquiring a second or foreign language. In Rowland’s (2012) study, second-language English students in Japan were given their own linguistic landscape analysis task. Here, they were able to engage with authentic, multilingual (English-Japanese) texts and dissect the various “semantic, syntactical, pragmatic and symbolic features of the English language as it is used by Japanese people in Japanese society” (p. 503).

Historical processes are also possible to investigate in the linguistic landscape. In countries with a history of colonisation, for example, such studies can be used in order to track the progress of native languages that were previously in competition with or oppressed by those languages which hold power (Rassool, 2013); Similarly, too, there is much to be found in places where threatened languages, such as Breton or Corsican are undergoing revitalization (Vigers, 2013; Blackwood, 2014).

Several scholars (Spolsky and Cooper 1991; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009; Leeman and Modan 2009) acknowledge the power that the linguistic landscape gives to identity. Leeman and Modan (2009), for example, claim that “instances of written language in the landscape are not only artefacts of negotiations over space, but they are also productive signs:

they have important economic and social consequences, and can affect those who would visit, work, or live in a given neighbourhood” (p. 332). Official signs may function as a mirror of an ideal, and while non-official signs, of course, may do the same, they may also exist to refute the dominant ideology or favour the use of covert prestige in order to show alignment to a specific group. Graffiti, for example, was noted by Pennycook (2010) to be a tool for asserting group membership and authority over space by refuting the bourgeois ideal that graffiti is unsightly and instead using it expressively and creatively. That individuals can actively create a sense of place for themselves through the use of different languages (or forms of languages) is a valuable consequence of the linguistic landscape.

Now, having established some of the more general motivations and benefits behind linguistic landscape studies, it may be useful to move onto notions relating globalization and how it impacts the linguistic landscape. Consideration, too, will be given to the role that globalization plays in identity mediation.

#### **2.4. Identity, multilingualism and globalization**

Defining globalization is not a straightforward task. Firstly, it should be acknowledged that the term is used to account for a wide range of phenomena and therefore runs the risk of becoming “vague and elusive” (Garrett, 2010, p. 447). In order to keep this discussion as focused and productive as possible, then, three specific features of globalization processes are provided. After a brief consideration of what globalization can be described to *do* I look at how this affects the linguistic landscape, how this affects the value of certain languages (or forms of languages) in the process and the linguistic repertoires which emerge as a way to negotiate this.

**2.4.1. A general consideration of globalization.** Leung & Hendley (2009), while acknowledging that it is difficult to account for globalization in its entirety, offer four general

observations that can be made regarding globalization (p. 3). Two of these observations are discussed, while drawing on further literature, in order to provide an overview of what it is that globalization *does*.

The first observation put forward is that technological change is the “driving force of globalization” (p. 3). Technology, (e.g. cellular phones, television, the internet, online banking and e-commerce) allows for both space and time to be crossed in ways that have not previously been possible. These technologies, according to Pennycook (2011), enable “immense and complex flows of people, signs, sounds, images across multiple borders in multiple directions” (p. 514). With a large portion of the world’s population having access to such technology, it is then to be expected that, for many, day-to-day life takes place outside of the boundaries of physically-bounded space and time.

Leung & Hendley’s (2009) second observation is that the nation-state has become destabilized and delegitimized through globalization. While this should not necessarily be taken as a hard *fact*, there are some suggestions that can be made based on this observation. Pennycook (2011), quoted in the above paragraph refers to ‘immense’ and ‘complex’ flows of people across ‘multiple’ borders. Patterns of human migration, through globalization, are complex. Physical migration, however, no longer demands a complete disconnect from one’s home country. It is possible, through the use of technology, for example, that transnationalism has become more commonplace. Within the physically constrained context of a nation-state it becomes difficult to ascribe certain, defining features to a population. However, Smith (2005) warns that it is historically inaccurate to view transnationalism as a direct consequence of present-day globalization instead of a “constant feature of modern life” (p. 238).

**2.4.2. Globalization and language in the linguistic landscape.** It has now been established that globalization presents a way of living that does not have to be confined to one’s immediate, physical environment. How, then, does this manifest within a linguistic

landscape and what consequences does it have on a social level? Coupland (2010), asserts that particularly within the context of globalization, mobility should be seen as a defining feature of the socio-cultural arrangement of a space (p. 5). Mobility, of both language and people, can be defined as “a trajectory through different stratified, controlled and monitored spaces in which language ‘gives you away’” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6). What is implied here, with the idea of a space being both stratified, controlled and monitored, is that certain languages (or forms of a language) are not attributed with the same value within the linguistic landscape. This process of value attribution is done on both a micro and macro level by various actors in space and is facilitated through language use. Value attribution on a macro level is based on more black and white ideological and institutional perspective. Here, certain languages gain status through their associations with pre-established, officially-recognized norms. On a micro level, however, language(s) (or forms of language(s)) which can *do* the most within a specific community or area gain status. As social demographics are altered through migration we begin to find within space “patterns of prestige attribution and evaluation, which together form the kinds of local knowledges that allow people to construct and recognize the various membership categories and relations that organize the neighbourhood” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 230).

The term super-diversity is used by Blommaert (2013) in order to describe how contemporary, urban settings are structured. As is perhaps implicit in the term itself, super-diversity refers to:

“dynamic and non-equilibrium systems in which a variety of forces interact and very different modes of development and change can be observed... what we see in the neighbourhood is how different forms of infrastructure emerge, develop and are consolidated” (p. 108)

Classifying a space in such a way addresses issues such as mobility and the cooperation/competition between language, values and culture. There are two further points in this description that are used in order to continue this discussion the globalization and the linguistic landscape. Firstly, with regards to the interaction of forces, I look at the concept of linguistic and spatial repertoires in order to account for how individuals and communities respond to diversity. Secondly, in the statement above, Blommaert refers to the consolidation of infrastructure. These infrastructures, he goes on to state, “are tailored towards the needs of the different groups with their different needs and trajectories of residence and use” (p. 108). As such, I also look at how the linguistic landscape is used in order to create a sense of belonging.

**2.4.3. Individual and Spatial Repertoires.** Mobility, again, is a key factor in defining what it is that constitutes a linguistic repertoire. According to Blommaert (2013), “sociolinguistic life is organized as such: as *mobile speech*, not as static languages, and lives can consequently be better investigated on the basis of repertoires set against a real historical and spatial background” (p. 174). Here, it is necessary to understand that throughout the period of a lifetime, an individual will learn or be exposed to various languages or forms of languages. Attached to these languages (or resources when considered in the context of a linguistic repertoire) is knowledge about which settings or scenarios are best served by the use of certain resources. In terms of written instances of language in the linguistic landscape it is possible to identify repertoires and how they are used.

The concept of an individual repertoire was discussed in the paragraph above. However, Pennycook and Otsuji (2014), as a departure from this, offer the term ‘spatial repertoire’ to account for the way in which mobile linguistic resources may be used within a specific space. A spatial repertoire encompasses “the repertoires formed through individual life trajectories” and “the particular places in which these linguistic resources are deployed”

(p. 83). So, an individual is able to make use of their own repertoire and the resources available within a space (e.g. symbolic and material artefacts) in order to negotiate social situations. Because of the sedimented history in any given space, a spatial repertoire is also sensitive to the factors that lead to a space being organized in the way it is. Individual repertoires are mobile and the resources drawn upon through their use are ‘fixed’ to the extent that they come from a single pool (i.e. all that has been learned throughout an individual’s life). Spatial repertoires, however, differ in that the resources found in a particular location add another layer of knowledge through which one can express themselves. Through drawing on these factors, and in turn observing how people use language in the context of space, the idea of a spatial repertoire is a useful term with which to carry out investigations into language use.

**2.4.4. The Linguistic Landscape and a Sense of Place.** According to Hult (2014), “visual language use in public settings is a central mechanism through which spaces are shaped into places, as semiotic resources are deployed iteratively in a visible manner that contributes to constructing particular social realities” (p. 509). This relates back to the idea that the linguistic landscape is malleable and can be used in order to achieve certain goals. Another aspect that can be tied into physical space being given a sense of place is the idea of localization or re-embedding. Actors within the linguistic landscape are able to assert their own individual identities (or community identities) through the employment of signs in the linguistic landscape which index a sense of belonging or authority.

### 3. Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

Chapter 2 provided a discussion of key issues relating to Linguistic Landscape studies and the ways in which identity, multilingualism and globalization have been approached within literature. One take away from this discussion is that there is no fixed approach, theoretically or methodologically, through which to carry out a linguistic landscape analysis. As such, the following chapter focuses on the specific theoretical and methodological perspectives that have been used to inform this study.

There are two guiding research questions for this study. Firstly, how does the mobility of language afforded by globalization manifest in the linguistic landscapes of three Malmö neighbourhoods – Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård? The second question, then, is how does language work as a tool for individuals in these spaces to assert themselves (actively or passively) in response to the forces of globalization?

#### 3.1 Theoretical Considerations

Linguistic Landscape studies, as established previously, are not fixed in terms of what they seek to investigate or how they approach elements found within a space. Here, I present a discussion of the theoretical considerations which will, from this point onwards, inform this research. These considerations cover globalization and multilingualism from a sociolinguistic perspective and how these issues may best be served both empirically and analytically.

**3.1.1. The sociolinguistics of globalisation.** Blommaert (2010), notes that in the context of a globalized world classical sociolinguistic distinctions, those which tie language to “a community, a time, and a place” (p. 181), need to make way for a sociolinguistics which privileges “mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements” (p.1). It is no longer productive to equate migration and its resulting spatial disconnect from a home-country to a complete disconnect from the affordances (both

linguistic and cultural) of that home-country. Instead, he suggests, that a sociolinguistic framework for a phenomenon such as globalization needs to be able to account for the “local as well as translocal, real as well as virtual” (p. 8) as all of these realms contribute to how language is used. As such, he proposes a combination of three terms – scales, orders of indexicality and polycentricity – as appropriate concepts with which to frame a sociolinguistic analysis. It should be noted, however, that these terms were not established by Blommaert (2010) but rather used together to comprise a tool-set appropriate for tackling globalisation.

The term scales is used to help characterize the movement of language. Patterns of language use, as a result of globalisation processes, should be seen as being “organized on different, layered (i.e. vertical rather than horizontal) scale-levels” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 3). Scales have spatiotemporal properties. The use of a specific language or dialect of a language, for example, is neither dictated by nor bound to physical location. In terms of temporality, language-use is also not bound to a specific point in time. Furthermore, scales are stratified based “patterns of social, cultural and political value-attribution” (p.5). Because a higher value is placed on certain merits (e.g. the idea that there is a good and a bad form of written Swedish) ‘movement’ across these scales is not possible for those who do not have the resources to tap into a certain scale. Addressing the notion of scales, ultimately, is to acknowledge that there are issues of normativity which affect the way that forces of globalization may relate to one another and be able to delve into how sociolinguistic values are internalized (Blommaert, 2010, p. 37).

The second term put forth by Blommaert (2010) is *orders of indexicality*. Orders of indexicality relates to the idea that the organisation of a semiotic form reinforces, or at least points towards, what it is that is valued both culturally and socially in a space (p. 39). To put it fairly crudely, then, it is possible to ‘read’ what is normative through the examination of semiotic objects. Here, it is important to note that history is tied closely to orders of

indexicality. Blommaert asserts that “the concept necessarily refers to historical patterns and processes, in which language-ideological perceptions of (desired) stability and predictability of language forms emerged” (p. 139). Thus, it is crucial for a researcher to understand the history specific to what is being researched in order to best be able to identify what it is that is valued.

The final term, *polycentricity*, much like orders of indexicality, is used in order to look at what it is that language points towards. Instead of values or norms, however, polycentricity refers to more physical entities. If language is imagined as being polycentric, then, its use is orientated towards units of power or authority (government agencies, social movements etc.). This does not necessitate conformity. It is also possible that language could be orientated towards an entity but in a way that challenges it. Implicit in the term, is the idea that there are multiple centres to which language can be orientated – and these centres, again, are stratified in terms of their power.

By noting that there is a systematicity with which language responds to normative forces or ideologies (whether it be to contest or reinforce them), Blommaert contends that “every act of language is an act that is grounded in historical connections between current statements and prior ones – connections that are related to the social order and are thus not random but ordered” (p. 138). Such an assertion suggests that it is possible to carry out sociolinguistic inquiry in such complex situations as long as the entities encompassed by these terms are brought to the fore. As such, this framework helps to frame language use in such a way that is “oriented towards multiple but stratified centres that construct and offer opportunities to reproduce indexicalities. Such indexicalities determine the ‘social’ in language use, and they are the basis of interpretive work” (p. 195)

**3.1.2 The neighbourhood as a sociolinguistic system.** The physical area in which a linguistic landscape analysis takes place makes up a large part of this study. This relates to the

discussion of the sociolinguistics of globalization in that it privileges a perspective that foregrounds the historical factors which contribute to linguistic normativity and ideology and in return have an impact on language use.

Pennycook and Otsuji (2014) assert that manifestations of globalization should be examined in terms of how they appear at a local level. This is particularly useful for this study as “it is these local manifestations of the global, the ways global cities are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms” (p. 144) This idea of being able to recognize globalization at a local scale is also addressed by Blommaert (2010). He warns against the interpretation of globalization as being homogenizing. There is a danger in interpreting these effects as occurring uniformly worldwide. If it is to be assumed, for example, that English has spread and is used throughout the world in the same way (p. 139) then sociolinguistic investigation is rendered meaningless. Local issues and local behaviours need to be acknowledged as different and examined in local contexts.

Above, it was mentioned that much of the work in a linguistic landscape study takes place before language is even addressed. What has been offered here is a discussion of the depth and relevance that history provides to a study. By taking into account not only individual experiences (i.e. individual/spatial repertoires) but also historical factors of a certain place it is possible to localize sociolinguistic phenomena in such a way that speaks specifically to greater social issues. Provided below, then, is an overview of the context for the present study and the methodology through which it was carried out.

### **3.2 Methodological Considerations**

This section outlines the more practical aspects of this study. An overview of each neighbourhood is provided as well as a discussion of *why* these neighbourhoods were chosen. Following this is a discussion of both the process of data collection and data analysis.

**3.2.1 Linguistic Landscapes in a Swedish Context.** As this paper takes the Swedish context as its focal point, it may be useful to briefly consider the discourses relating to language and multilingualism which contribute to how a linguistic landscape may be constructed in present-day Sweden. Historically, Sweden has been predominantly monolingual with the Swedish language being spoken by the majority of the countries' inhabitants.

Demographically, it is also important to note the effect that Sweden becoming a member of the European Union in 2004 has on the situation in Sweden today. This, much like the post- Second World War migrants, has contributed to another influx of labour immigration. Today, one can find roughly 150-200 minority languages spoken in Sweden (Sundberg, 2013, p. 212). Furthermore, Sweden recognizes five indigenous languages through the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML): Finnish, Meänkieli, Romany Chib, Sámi and Yiddish (Sundberg, 2013, p. 212). It has been shown that the situation in Sweden leans towards language shift, whereby speakers of these minority languages will assimilate to Swedish culture to the extent that "their children in turn are more likely to be monolingual Swedes" (Paulston, 1982 p. 37). Being able to use the majority language of a country comes with benefits both social and economic and in order to gain upwards social mobility, it is almost a necessity for an individual to be able to have a certain control over the majority language in environments such as the workplace in order to leave oneself open to further gain.

In terms of new immigrants to Sweden, Hult (2004) puts forward that suggestion that new immigrants to Sweden with no knowledge of either English or Swedish, privilege Swedish as the language to be first learnt as the benefits of knowing the national language far outweigh the benefits of a language which functions as a lingua franca. The situation, too, is different between immigrant adults and immigrant children. Bolton & Meierkord (2013), in

an article on English practice in Sweden, put forward that “without support for their original languages, their children’s ability to use and understand this language is frequently reduced, resulting in language attrition at the level of the individual” (p. 113) and that instead one will find a shift towards the majority language used within the new country. However, it should be noted, that in 1977/1978, a Home Language Reform was administered in order to implement mother tongue learning within schools (Hult, 2004, p. 185)

In 2009, a new act was decreed with the aim to protect the use of the Swedish language in all areas of society and to promote linguistic diversity and each person’s right to language(s) (SFS 2009: 600). Through this law, school children are entitled to receive tuition in their mother tongue. Furthermore, all immigrants to Sweden, no matter what age, have the right to access Swedish-language education. This is made possible through the Swedish Institute. The Swedish language act, too, ultimately controls all signage installed by public authorities. All bodies which perform tasks in the public sector are to do so primarily in Swedish with the use of national minority languages and other Nordic languages also given provision (SFS 2009: 600). Signs installed in public by those outside of the public sector are free to exercise their right, as per the Swedish language act, to develop and use their mother tongue (whatever it may be).

What can be concluded here is that while the majority language in Sweden is Swedish, there are systems in place which work to protect both national minority languages and the languages of all migrants to the country.

### **3.2.2 Malmö**

The city of Malmö, located in Sweden’s southernmost province, Skåne, is the country’s third largest city. It is particularly productive city in which to carry out a linguistic landscape analysis, particularly in relation to globalization. There are two main reasons for

this. Firstly, it is home to a large percentage (31%) of inhabitants from a foreign background<sup>1</sup>. Malmö, especially, has a history of being one of Sweden's largest industrial hubs with half of the city's professionals (both native Swedes and labour migrants) during the 1950s being employed, to some capacity, within the industry sector. However, due to an oil crisis, a large majority of these workers left the city during the 70s and 80s (City of Malmö). From the 1970s onwards, another wave of migration, wherein Sweden began to accept refugees, began. Groups of migrants came from Iran after the 1979 revolution, Poland during the 70s and 80s, Yugoslavia between 1991-2001, Somalia and Afghanistan from the 1990s onwards and Iraq after its invasion in 2003 (Hallin, Jashari, Listerborn & Popoola, 2010, p. 13). At the time of writing this thesis, the largest groups of foreign-background individuals in Malmö come from Iraq, the former Yugoslavia and Denmark, respectively (City of Malmö, 2014b, p. 2).

Another reason why Malmö, as a Swedish city, provides a fertile ground for research into the linguistic landscape is the notion that Sweden has, for a large part of its history, been considered linguistically and culturally homogeneous (Hult, 2004, p. 181). As mentioned, there are five national minority languages officially recognized by the state. It is difficult to make claims on what grounds Sweden can currently be considered homogeneous (either linguistically or culturally). However, it is perhaps relevant to consider Anderson's (1983) proposal of nations being imagined due to the fact that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 164). Statistics published by Statistics Sweden (2010) note that there is a municipal difference in the distribution of individuals with a foreign backgrounds. The highest percentages of this foreign-background individuals are found in major cities and suburbs of major cities while the lowest percentages

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this study the definition of the term foreign background is informed by the Swedish Census Bureau and is used to refer to individuals who are 1) born outside of Sweden or 2) born in Sweden to parents who were both born outside of Sweden.

are found in sparsely populated municipalities and municipalities which can be considered ‘tourism and hospitality’ municipalities (p.8). Certain parts of the country, then, may experience or imagine Sweden to be monolingual and monocultural. Furthermore, even within larger cities, it may be possible that day-to-day life is carried out in a way that privileges this imagined homogeneity.

With these considerations in mind, the suburbs chosen for this thesis (Västra Hamnen, Möllevångstorget and Rosengård), were informed by population statistics in order to account both for different migratory circumstances (i.e. forced/selective migration) and also for distribution of individuals with foreign-born backgrounds.

**3.2.3. Neighbourhoods under consideration.** Three neighbourhoods were chosen for this study – Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård. The choice of neighbourhoods, in an attempt to ensure the data collected would be as productive as possible, was made inductively with information taken from the most recent statistics regarding foreign background published by Malmö city’s Department of Strategic Development (2008). There were two main motivations for this approach.

Firstly, Malmö is a large city divided into ten districts which encompass several different neighbourhoods. For a study of this size it would be impossible to hope to account for the entire city. As such, considering that linguistic and cultural diversity is a focus here, the neighbourhood with the lowest percentage of inhabitants from a foreign background (Västra Hamnen – 23%) and the neighbourhood with the highest percentage of inhabitants from a foreign background (Rosengård – 86%) were chosen. The choice to carry out data collection in Möllevången (with 43% of its inhabitants being of a foreign background) was based on the fact that it is an area in which has previously been the subject of a linguistic landscape study. Here, Hult (2009) noted that Möllevången has a particularly high level of diversity in terms of national origin (p. 95). So, while Rosengård, for example, has the highest

percentage of foreign-born individuals, Möllevången has a high rate of diversity with regards to national origin.

The second motivation for using inductive reasoning in order to select these neighbourhoods is that I, as a non-Swede, do not have an extensive amount of personal insight into how the city of Malmö is structured. It seemed prudent, then, to make a selection based on statistical data rather than to randomly select three neighbourhoods and hope that the data would be productive to a discussion of globalization. While the statistics used are the most recently available, it should be noted that in the period between now and their collection, there are sure to have been slight changes in distribution and results most detailed and recently available.

*3.2.3.1. Västra Hamnen.* Västra Hamnen, a neighbourhood which lies in the Centrum district of Malmö, is a relatively new addition to the city's landscape. The land itself was purchased by the city of Malmö in 1997 and development began in 2000. The area, as it stands today, was conceived with several goals in mind. Firstly, to stand as a symbol for the "new Malmö", effectively a city transformed from an industrial city into a city of the future (Green, 2006, p. 15). This theme of departing from industry is recurrent, in one way or another, throughout each of the neighbourhoods under consideration. The second, and possibly more palpable goal for the area, was to establish a suburb that could stand internationally as a leading example of an environmentally sustainable urban area. Västra Hamnen, then, has been given the responsibility of taking on the role as the motor in Malmö's conversion towards ecological sustainability (Larsson, Elmroth & Sandstedt, 2003, p. 15).

*3.2.3.2 Möllevången.* Möllevången, located in the southern part of the inner-city is the most well-established neighbourhood, in terms of longevity, to be considered within this study. While Västra Hamnen is lauded as a suburb leading Malmö's transition from industrial city to a city of the future, it was Möllevången that was both frequented by and established for

Malmö's working class. According to Nyzel (2005), urbanisation related to industry resulted in the population of Malmö rising from 19 000 people to 113 500 people within the space of sixty years between 1860 and 1920 (p. 9). As a result, there was an increased need for housing. The construction of Möllevången began in 1904 and was completed in 1910. At this time, it consisted of homes for workers and a large number of factories (Nyzel, 2005, p. 14). During the industrial revolution, it was here that it was possible to discern the emergence and formation of organized trade unions and a political socialist labour movement in the industrial city of Malmö (p. 16). While this particular study focuses on Möllevången in the present, in a very abstract way the sentiment within the area is being perpetuated even today. According to Nyzel, Möllevången, as it stands today, is still an area for the vulnerable. Instead being a part of the city for vulnerable groups of workers, it has the same function for a vulnerable group of immigrants (p. 67). A further reason that it is a pertinent area to consider, is that it is an area which typifies the various waves of immigration discussed above that brought labourers from both within Sweden and from various European countries to Sweden

*3.2.3.3. Rosengård.* Rosengård is the final area under consideration for this study.

Data collection was carried out in two separate areas – Örtagårdstorget and Rosengård Centrum. Both are significant to Rosengård for different reasons. Construction of Rosengård began in 1967 in response to the overwhelming housing shortage within Malmö. Much like Möllevången, the area was created to provide accommodation for the workforce. Within its relatively short history the area's population, in terms of demographics, has been almost constantly in flux. Initially, it was inhabited by Swedish workers moving to Malmö from more rural parts of the country. However, onwards from 1970 Rosengård has received groups of immigrants from outside of the country. According to Hallin, Jashari, Listerborn and Popoola (2010) there have also been waves of immigrants from Latin America, Iran after the 1979 revolution, Poland during the 70s and 80s, Yugoslavia between 1991-2001, those from

Somalia and Afghanistan since the 1990s and Iraq after the invasion in 2003 (p. 13). Also during the 1970s, Malmö, like many other industrial cities, suffered from what Hallin et al. refer to as global industrial restructuring. As a result of this, many people left Malmö for other cities where work was more freely available. Over a period of fifteen years the population of Malmö decreased by 35 000 people (p. 12). This left a surplus of empty apartments in the city, particularly in areas which lay closer to the city's outskirts. Later, between 1992 and 2007, Malmö took in roughly 33 500 refugees and immigrants (Hallin et al., 2010, p. 13). Because large parts of Rosengård stood empty, many new arrivals to Sweden were placed in housing here. This, in part, contributes to Rosengård having such a high rate of inhabitants with a foreign background.

Rosengård, according to Carlbom (2003), is “one of the most famous urban suburbs in Sweden”, a suburb which “has become a symbol for the negative side of modernity” (p. 29). He goes on to note that “the neighbourhood is generally an island of cultural difference in a sea of Swedish homogeneity” and that through looking at the neighbourhood from the inside “it becomes clear that the place is also internally divided among various groups” (p. 31). While there is significance in the fact that Sweden is perpetuated within literature in such a way, it should be noted that Hult (2004) asserts that Sweden “has a long history of both linguistic and cultural diversity dating back to antiquity” (p. 181). Rosengård has also been described as a dangerous, growing ghetto (Hallin et al., 2010, p. 13). It may seem incautious to focus on assertions that address the more negative aspects of the area. However, they are particularly pertinent when discussing an area such as Örtagårdstorget. This is not because Örtagårdstorget is a prime example of the more negative aspects of Rosengård. Instead, it is an area currently being developed through a project titled Culture Casbah. This project was initiated as a competition, inviting architectural companies to propose a way to further the development of the area. Held by Malmö Kommunala Bostadsföretag (Malmö Municipal

Housing Company), and won by a company called Lundgaard och Tranberg, this is a long-term project with an estimated completion date of 2021. There are several aspects to this project, not all of them taking place in Örtagården. However, this is a project which aims to use the physical environment as catalyst for social change. In a consultation published by the city of Malmö, it is stated that despite the fact that Rosengård is a centrally located part of Malmö, there are physical structures, socioeconomic and health factors as well as mental patterns that prevent the area from being experienced in such a way (City of Malmö, 2015, p. 10). Through adding space for both commercial and residential properties, developing infrastructure related to traffic and creating space for people to congregate in their leisure hours it is hoped that quality of life for residents will be greatly improved.

Rosengård Centrum (also referred to as Rocent) is a shopping center which serves the greater Rosengård community. It was more difficult to access statistical data about the population within the area as, according to the City of Malmö website, it stands alone as a commercial area accessible for all who live in the area. However, the fact that it serves the greater community, 86% of which have foreign backgrounds (City of Malmö, 2008c), implies we can expect high levels of a somewhat similar group of consumers. In terms of its structure, Carlbom (2003) notes that it “once housed mostly Swedish-owned businesses, while today most of the stores are owned and operated by immigrants” (p. 40).

#### **3.2.4. Data Collection**

The process of collecting data for this study was informed by previous methods used in linguistics landscape studies (e.g. Hult, 2009; Backhaus, 2006; Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009). Because these neighbourhoods are fairly large in size, it was decided, keeping in line with previous linguistic landscape studies (e.g. Hult, 2009; Leeman & Modan, 2009, Stroud & Mpendukana, 2009), that data collection would be confined to commercial areas. Using the camera on my cellphone, every instance of visual language in these commercial zones was

photographed. As discussed below, the unit of analysis for this study is the storefront. However, in order to be thorough, subversive signs (i.e. stickers, posters and graffiti which did not occur specifically on a storefront) were also collected. Data collection within each respective area was conducted on the same day. This was done, despite the unlikeliness of drastic changes to the landscape taking place within the space of a day or two, to try and keep the data as close to ‘momentary’ as possible. While the process of collecting data is in itself fairly straightforward, it should be noted that there was one instance in Möllevången where I was asked, by the owner of a store, to refrain from taking any photographs of his storefront. Accordingly, out of respect for his wishes, I obliged.

Apart from photographing signs, data collection also took place in the form of collecting statistical information provided by the City of Malmö. Data relating to population demographics (the number of foreign-background individuals by neighbourhood) was collected in order to help further contextualize each neighbourhood<sup>2</sup>.

### **3.2.5 Data Analysis**

While the benefit of quantitative analysis in Linguistic Landscape studies has been contested (e.g. Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014; Blommaert, 2013), it may still be a useful way through which to add depth to qualitative data. Firstly, it affords an overview of the population demographics. This is important in that it helps to further add context to what languages may be found in a space. Secondly, it may be useful in providing a point of reference for future LL studies, such as Hult’s (2009) linguistic landscape analysis of Möllevången informs parts of this study. Quantitative data were collected primarily in order to bolster a qualitative discussion of the data. As such, the majority of quantitative analysis

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<sup>2</sup> The most detailed and recent data regarding foreign background by neighbourhood comes from 2008 and therefore is not included in this thesis to stand as a true reflection of the population in each area. Rather, it is included to provide some insight into some of the groups that may be expected to be found and to provide a guideline to the historical background of each neighbourhood.

was done by simply tabulating statistics gathered from official websites and languages present in each neighbourhood.

A quantitative analysis was carried out on two sets of data. The first set of data was statistics offered by the City of Malmö detailing both the percentage and origins of foreign-background individuals by neighbourhood. The final set of data for quantitative analysis were based on findings from each space. I followed Cenoz and Gorter (2006) and Hult (2009) in using the storefront as the unit of analysis whereby the storefront itself stands as “one single sign” (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006, p. 71) made up of several texts. Here, I counted the languages present on each sign (i.e. storefront) and tabulated the findings. In order to juxtapose the presence of different languages in each neighbourhood, I placed data into a simple bar graph. Again, following Hult (2009), I chose to divide the data into three categories – Swedish-only signs, Swedish and a minority<sup>3</sup> language, and minority-language-only.

In total, 120 storefronts were photographed. As the scope of this thesis could not address each storefront individually I drew on the hypothesis coding approach outlined by Saldaña (2009) in order to select appropriate storefronts for discussion. Hypothesis coding is a way to approach qualitative data when there is “some idea of what will be present and what will most likely be happening” (p. 124). While it has been highlighted that globalization processes manifest in unique ways at a local level, there are greater theoretical issues and themes related to globalization (that have been outlined above in chapter 2), that one could expect to see evidence of. Looking at qualitative data this way “is a strategic choice for an efficient study that acknowledges its focused or sometimes narrowly defined parameters of investigation” (p. 124). Keeping in mind these globalization-related processes, I briefly looked at each storefront and noted which, if any, were present. Signs with themes which

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<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this thesis, the term ‘minority language’ is used to describe any language that is not Swedish or any of the five national minority languages recognized in the Swedish language act (SFS 2009: 600).

came up frequently in each neighbourhood were set aside and looked at in greater detail in order to develop a discussion.

#### 4. Multilingualism and the Linguistic Landscape

The results presented in this chapter present a snapshot of a contemporary, multilingual Malmö. While globalization processes manifest differently and serve distinct purposes in each neighbourhood, they contribute to imbuing each area with a distinct sense of place. Here, we see neighbourhoods orientating themselves towards distinct centres. What should become clear through this analysis is that multilingualism, in different forms, is a valuable resource within these neighbourhoods.

##### 4.1 Quantitative Analysis

This section offers a quantitative discussion of the data found in Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård. Included here is a summary of the population with regards to individuals with a foreign background and the distribution of different languages within the linguistic landscape.

**4.1.1. Västra Hamnen.** Through statistics published on the City of Malmö's website (City of Malmö, 2008a) we are able to get a more concrete idea of the population that makes up Västra Hamnen. While Sweden does not collect explicit data on ethnicity or language(s) spoken there are statistics available which detail the background of inhabitants according to the area in which they live. The most recent data available comes from 2008 and offers information on a range of factors. For the purpose of this study, information based on categories such as age, level of education, employment status etc. has been discounted. Rather, the focus will be based on foreign background.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Born Overseas</u>	<u>Born in Sweden*</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>
Denmark	198	16	34
Poland	32	13	7
The Former Yugoslavia	20	0	3
Germany	19	0	3
Finland	18	0	3
Total (N=624)	534	90	
Percentage of population	20%	3%	

\*To parents that were both born outside of Sweden

(City of Malmö, 2008a)

As we see here, the total percentage of inhabitants with a foreign background is 23%. This is quite a distinct difference from Möllevången (43%) and Rosengård (86%). In Västra Hamnen, individuals with a Danish background make up the majority of foreign-background inhabitants (34% of the total foreign-background population). This has been discussed in a case study on Swedish city planning (Green, 2006). The motivation among Danes interviewed on their reasoning for living in Västra Hamnen was generally finance-related. Property in Sweden, according to interviewees, is cheaper and better value for money compared to what one would pay living in a city such as Copenhagen (p. 222). One interviewee noted that their interest in Västra Hamnen was piqued through a Danish-language advertisement placed in a Danish newspaper by Skanska, a large Swedish construction company responsible for several of the newly built properties. The marketing strategy here was paraphrased by the interviewee as being along the lines of ‘if you want to realize your dreams of a car, boat and a new property it’s only 45 minutes from central Copenhagen’ (p. 224). Torkington (2014) uses the term “lifestyle migrants” to refer to a collective social group that is positioned in many destinations as being desirable, particularly within the context of real estate advertising practices (p. 77). I propose several reasons for this advertisement being significant in relation to Västra Hamnen.

Firstly, Västra Hamnen is advertised by drawing upon discourses of aspirations and desire (Stroud & Mpendukama, 2009, p. 366). According to Stroud & Mpendukama (2009), advertising in the linguistic landscape contributes significantly to the mediation of a sense of place. The advertisement referred to here was not found within the linguistic landscape. However, it could be argued, that this marketing strategy invites potential inhabitants to imagine Västra Hamnen as a place in which they could act out these aspirations or desires.

Secondly, with reference to the notion of the value placed on a specific language or linguistic community, the fact that a Swedish company make use of the Danish language in order to address Danish consumers in a Danish publication could potentially signal that they are a community who would be valued within that space. According to Torkington (2014), positioning certain groups in public spaces:

“feeds into the socio-cognitive representations which underlie collective identities and thus makes subject positions available for individual lifestyle migrants to take up if they so wish, for example to help reinforce individual modes of elective belonging in the destination place” (p. 80)

Thus, it could be argued that what such an advertisement provides the opportunity for Danish individuals to move quite comfortably into a pre-determined sense of place.

The data regarding language use in public spaces, namely that found on storefronts, can be seen in the table below.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Storefronts</u>	<u>%</u>
English	3	13
Swedish and English	6	25
Swedish and French	1	4
Swedish	12	50
Swedish and Italian	1	4
Danish	1	4
Total ( $N = 24$ )		

(City of Malmö, 2008a)

Across all of the storefronts counted there are solely European languages present. Half of the storefronts analysed were entirely Swedish while the majority of languages found were coupled with Swedish. The range of languages represented within the area is not particularly extensive, with only five different languages present on storefronts. Unfortunately, there were not enough stickers, posters or extra signage in the area to warrant a separate analysis. However, again, amongst those that were found, there was, again, no evidence of non-European languages. Many of the storefronts examined were situated along the waterfront where passers-by can walk, stop to relax or swim. In this area there were several signs with safety warnings and information about the quality of the sea for those wishing to swim. Information on these signs were presented in Swedish, English and German. Västra Hamnen was chosen for the purpose of this study because of the low percentage of inhabitants with foreign backgrounds. This is not to say that it was expected that multilingualism would be completely absent or that the area would not be frequented by those from different linguistic backgrounds. Rather, and possibly relating to the goals laid out for the area, Västra Hamnen is orientated towards giving a slightly more cosmopolitan impression. The consistent presence

of European languages in Västra Hamnen, specifically in a commercial context, indicates a linguistic landscape which is centred towards a distinctly European market.

**4.1.2 Möllevången.** In Table 4.3 below we find statistics which detail the population statistics of individuals with a foreign background in Möllevången.

Table 4.3			
<i>Population of Möllevången by foreign background (five largest groups)</i>			
<u>Country</u>	<u>Born Overseas</u>	<u>Born in Sweden*</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>
Iraq	343	96	10
The Former Yugoslavia	273	121	9
Bosnia-Herzegovina	307	53	8
Poland	201	83	7
Lebanon	151	144	7
Total (N=4275)	3170	1105	
Percentage of population	32%	11%	

\*To parents that were both born outside of Sweden

(City of Malmö, 2008b)

As we can see from statistics available from the City of Malmö website, 43% of the area's inhabitants have a foreign background. While collectively the majority of these are from within Europe, the largest individual population comes from Iraq.

This diversity is evident, too, through the brief consideration of the stickers, graffiti and posters which were collected as data. It seems, at least more than the other areas under consideration, that Möllevången is a space with which the public actively engages. This is done, to a large degree, by means of private texts such as graffiti, stickers and posters. While storefronts constitute the main unit of analysis here, it is also fruitful to take into account linguistic texts which are installed by individuals in order to gain insight into how visual language is used to contribute to the creation of a sense of place. In terms of these subversive texts, particularly when considering that it is somewhat common to print duplicates of stickers or posters and distribute them in close proximity, multiple instances of the same text were only counted once.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Number of Signs</u>	<u>%</u>
Spanish	1	2
Swedish	29	47
English	22	36
English and Swedish	5	8
English and Danish	1	2
Polish	2	3
English and Arabic	1	2
Total (N=61)		

The majority of the languages found on stickers and posters here are Swedish or English. There is perhaps not as wide a range of languages represented. Out of a total of 61 subversive texts, 25 presented an explicitly political message. The two largest themes across these texts were anti-fascism (24%) and pro-socialism (24%). These kinds of texts work to frame Möllevången as a space of contestation. Frykman (2016), in a discussion of cosmopolitanism in Möllevången, notes that the neighbourhood has a local history of activism and is circulated by locally anchored aspirations for equality and justice (p. 47). As discussed in chapter 3, Möllevången has a history of being the home of the working class or more fragile members of the city's population. However, from the politically-loaded messages found in the form of transgressive signs in the linguistic landscape it is also possible to see that Möllevången is used as a space of empowerment. Actors here use the space in order to solicit change through the installation of subversive texts. Again, it is important to keep the linguistic landscape anchored historically. While the focus of this study is on storefronts, this consideration of subversive texts in Möllevången aims to provide some insight into the different ways that the space is used and how this, in turn, could potentially impact the languages practices found here.

<u>Language(s)</u>	<u>Storefronts</u>	<u>%</u>
Swedish and English	13	24
Swedish	12	22
Swedish and Arabic	16	29
Swedish, English and Arabic	3	5
Swedish, Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai	2	4
Italian	1	2
Swedish and French	1	2
Swedish, English and Chinese	1	2
Swedish, English and Italian	1	2
Swedish, English and Persian	1	2
Swedish and Thai	1	2
Swedish, Italian, English, German, Spanish	1	2
Swedish and Persian	2	4
Total (N=55)		

The storefronts analysed in Möllevången show the greatest range of languages of all areas under consideration. We also see that there is a higher rate of languages occurring alongside one another (in comparison with Västra Hamnen and Rosengård). Hult (2009), in a linguistic landscape analysis of Möllevången, noted that “the strong situational use of minority languages in Möllevången, together with the situational use of Swedish, seems to be an indication that Swedish-minority language bilingualism is quite valued in this community” (p. 100). Every sign counted in this investigation, bar one, featured Swedish in addition to one (or more) minority languages. Therefore, it is still possible to assert that Swedish-minority bilingualism is well-established here. Table 4.6 below provides the distribution of languages on signs in Möllevången that were collected by Hult (2009).

<u>Language</u>	<u>Storefront</u>	<u>%</u>
Chinese and English	1	2
English only	7	11
Swedish only	28	43
Swedish and Arabic	9	14
Swedish and Chinese	2	3
Swedish and English	4	6
Swedish and French	1	2
Swedish and Thai	2	3
Swedish and Vietnamese	1	2
Swedish, Arabic and English	3	5
Swedish, Arabic and Persian	3	5
Swedish, Chinese and English	1	2
Swedish, Chinese and Vietnamese	1	2
Swedish, English and Persian	1	2
Swedish, English, German and Italian	1	2
Total (N=65)		

There is a slight shift in language distribution between each of these linguistic landscape analyses. From the data collected here, the three largest combinations of languages were Swedish-Arabic (29%) – Swedish-English (24%) – Swedish (22%). The data in table 4.6, however, show Swedish (43%) – Swedish-Arabic (14%) – English (11%) as the three largest groups. Swedish, when standing alone, is no longer the more ‘dominant’ language found on signs in the linguistic landscape of Möllevången. Instead, we now see Swedish-Arabic as the most commonly occurring combination of languages. What can, perhaps, be suggested based on these observations is that minority groups within Möllevången are becoming part of the scenery to a greater degree than they have previously been.

**4.1.3 Rosengård.** Rosengård Centrum (also referred to as Rocent) is a shopping centre which serves the greater Rosengård community. It was more difficult to collect statistical data about the population within the area as, according to the City of Malmö website, the centrum stands alone as a commercial area accessible for all who live in the area. As such, the data

below should be interpreted as a rough reflection of those who may potentially make use of amenities available here.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Born Overseas</u>	<u>Born in Sweden*</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>
Iraq	2775	902	19
The Former Yugoslavia	2409	1082	18
Lebanon	1324	1534	15
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1331	290	9
Poland	20	120	1
Total (N=18864)	13106	5740	
Percentage of population	60%	26%	

\*To parents that were both born outside of Sweden

(City of Malmö, 2008c)

Here we see evidence of many of the different backgrounds mentioned by Hallin et al. (2010) (Poland, the former Yugoslavia, and Iraq). According to this 2008 data, 86% of Rosengård's inhabitants come from a foreign background. The largest group, making up 19% of this population, comes from Iraq. While those from Iraq make up the largest group, it may not necessarily be considered dominant in terms of number in relation to the other foreign backgrounds represented. Instead, it seems, there are several fairly large groups that co-exist within this space. There are also groups, such as those from Iraq and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there is a fairly larger amount of individuals born outside of Sweden than there are born in Sweden to foreign-born parents. This could be reflective of the period in time that these groups began to move in significant numbers to Sweden. It may be that certain groups are more 'well-established' within Sweden and are at the stage where they are now having their own children within the country. This could be one possible explanation for the prevalence of certain migrant languages over others.

<u>Language</u>	<u>Storefronts</u>	<u>%</u>
Swedish, Arabic, Somali	1	2
Swedish and Arabic	10	24
English and Arabic	2	5
English, Swedish, Arabic	1	2
Swedish	14	34
Swedish and English	8	20
Swedish, Arabic, Bosnian	1	2
English	1	2
Italian, Swedish and Arabic	1	2
Swedish, Spanish and French	1	2
Swedish, English, German, French, Polish	1	2
Total (N=41)		

In table 4.8 we see the distribution of languages found on storefronts in Rosengård Centrum. In total, there are ten different languages found in various combinations. Swedish, again, is found on the majority of the signs. After this, Arabic is the second most common language found and occurs on 37% of storefronts. Regarding Rosengård Centrum specifically, Carlbom (2003) has noted that it “once housed mostly Swedish-owned businesses, while today most of the stores are owned and operated by immigrants” (p. 40). There is perhaps, not as great a diversity of languages found here as somewhere like Möllevången. However, as a centre which serves a community where a large majority of inhabitants are not mother-tongue Swedish speakers, the languages that are present are fairly reflective of this.

*4.1.4 Örtagården.* Unfortunately, there were only a handful of storefronts to be analysed in Örtagårdstorget as it is still a relatively new locale. These are arguably minimal quantitative results with only twelve stores to include as data. However, this data may be a useful record of the linguistic landscape of Örtagårdstorget in the nascent stages of its development.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Born Overseas</u>	<u>Born in Sweden*</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>
Lebanon	468	641	26
The Former Yugoslavia	626	301	21
Iraq	430	107	12
Bosnia-Herzegovina	293	67	8
Somalia	127	51	4
Total (N=4312)	2732	1580	
Percentage of population	58%	34%	

\*To parents that were both born outside of Sweden

City of Malmö (2008d)

92% of the population in Örtagården comes from a foreign background. This is the highest rate across all of the areas under discussion. The largest groups come from Lebanon and the former Yugoslavia.

It is possible to identify two key structural features within Örtagårdstorget. Firstly, Bennets Bazaar. This is a small stretch of shops offering a variety of products and services. In 2009, Bennets Bazaar won Skåne's architecture prize. These stores are characterized as 'bokaler' – a portmanteau of the Swedish words 'bostad' (housing) and 'lokaler' (premises). Effectively, business premises directly connected to a living space. Through structuring the area as such, small-business owners are granted the opportunity to live within extremely close proximity to their working space. This is, perhaps, particularly appropriate for an area with a higher rate of foreign-born inhabitants. According to Carlbom (2003), the influx of refugees from the eighties onwards was much more dramatic, in terms of number, to those who came in the sixties and seventies as imported labor (p. 40). As such, there is no longer the demand for laborers and immigrants new to Sweden are generally not able to transition directly into the work force. Carlbom (2003) also notes that the "altered economic conditions of the city... are reflected in the growth of small service companies" (p. 40). It is these so-called 'small service companies' that one finds in Bennets Bazaar. The facilitation of such living situations is one initiative being taken to develop the area.

The second landmark is perhaps the most significant in terms of size. In 2018, as part of the Culture Casbah project, construction of a 22-storey tower, modeled on the Turning Torso found in Västra Hamnen, will begin. While construction has not yet begun, there is a large installation in Örtagårdstorget detailing the project's goals, timeline and functions. The tower will include a mixture of residential accommodation, commercial space and cultural attractions.

Table 4.10

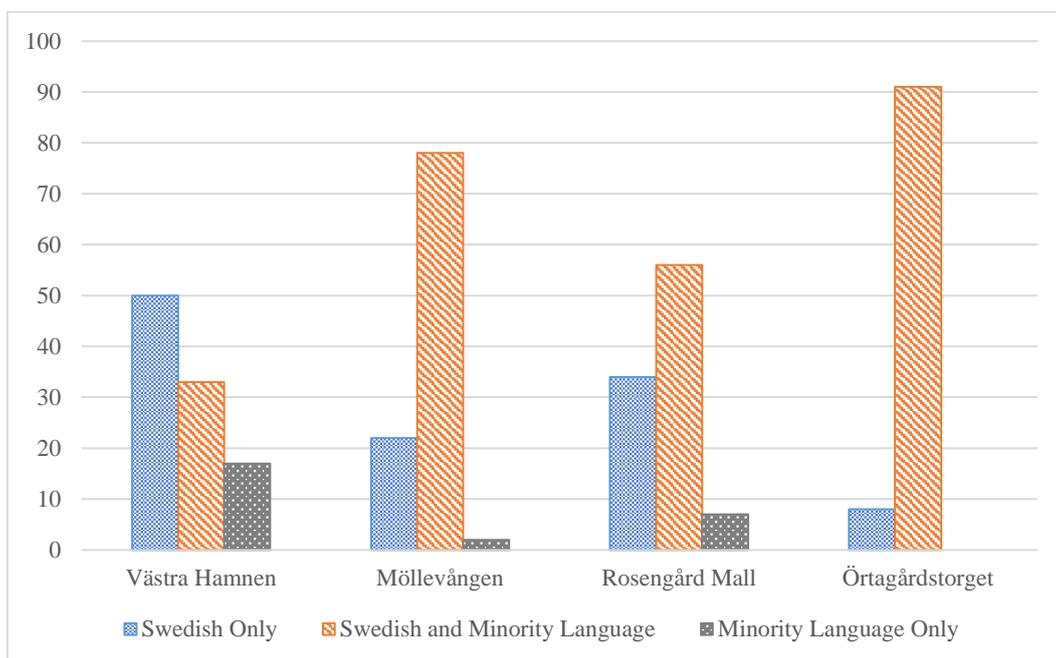
*Languages represented in Örtagårdstorget*

<u>Languages</u>	<u>Storefronts</u>	<u>%</u>
Swedish and Arabic	6	50
Swedish	1	8
Swedish, English and Arabic	1	8
Swedish and English	3	25
Swedish, English and Somali	1	8
Total (N=12)		

Currently, based on the available signs Arabic is the most commonplace language with 58% of signs displaying Arabic in some capacity. Again, this is perhaps not surprising when considering that there may be a large number of Arabic speakers in the area. Statistically, too, English is present on 41% of signs. However, it should be re-emphasized that the overall number of signs found here was quite small.

*4.1.5 Overall consideration of the neighbourhoods.* As we can see from these initial quantitative results, we are dealing with three very different areas in terms of demographics. However, the task here is not to compare them to one another but rather to offer a juxtaposition of how linguistic landscapes in a single city may look. It is important to remember that “these different infrastructures are tailored towards the needs of the different groups with their different needs and trajectories of residence and use” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 108). What has emerged so far is that there *are* different social groups residing in each

neighbourhood. The motivation to live in Västra Hamnen, for example, is based largely on the lifestyle it provides – one that privileges leisure and an environmentally-friendly, European milieu. Möllevången and Rosengård, on the other hand, are both neighbourhoods which have historically been home to a range of different migrant communities. The graph below offers a comparison of the languages found in each area. Because the nature of signs found on a storefront and those found in public spaces in the form of graffiti or stickers are different in both intention and form, the data presented in the graph is taken from storefronts only.



*Figure 4.1. Distribution of languages on storefronts (%)*

These results are fairly different across neighbourhoods. Of course, the amount of storefronts within each space was vastly dissimilar. In all areas, excluding Västra Hamnen, the most common storefront used Swedish alongside one or more minority languages. It is problematic to put this down to one single thing. However, Västra Hamnen has a significantly lower percentage of inhabitants with a foreign background and perhaps less need to offer information in a language other than Swedish. It should also be noted, that the majority of storefronts with only a foreign language present were in English (or English coupled with one

more foreign language). The only other foreign languages which stood alone were Italian and Danish (occurring on a total of one sign each). This ties in with the discussion of the prevalence of English through globalisation (Hult, 2004; Cenoz & Gorter, 2009; Bolton, 2012). Even in the areas with a very high percentage of foreign-born inhabitants there were no signs solely in a minority language. As mentioned, the stickers and posters in Möllevångstorget were discounted in this graph due to their nature. It is important, however, to address that 45% of stickers and posters contained one or more foreign language without any Swedish present. This speaks to the nature of a storefront versus that of a text installed ‘randomly’ by a member of the public. The conventions of what is acceptable and what is not for a sticker or poster are much less restrictive and would probably not come with the same consequences (particularly economically) as a storefront.

In all of the linguistic landscapes besides Västra Hamnen, the combination of Swedish with a minority language occurs most commonly on signs. From the data collected, minority languages most frequently function informationally – often as a direct translation of information in Swedish or centred directly towards members of specific linguistic communities. What can possibly be concluded from this is that minority groups make up a significant-enough portion of a population that their presence is directly reflected within the linguistic landscape itself.

Through a quantitative consideration of the linguistic landscape of each of the neighbourhoods it is possible to assert that there are social, economic and political variables which may be likely contribute to the composition of a linguistic landscape. These variables are by no means concrete or replicable when taking into account Blommaert’s (2013) assertion that linguistic landscapes are “dynamic and non-equilibrium systems in which a variety of forces interact and very different modes of development and change can be observed” (p. 14). Language responds to this and the way it is used is constantly changing too.

In the following section, through focusing on specific storefronts found in the linguistic landscape, the notion of how space is reflected and negotiated within each neighbourhood should become clearer.

## **4.2 Qualitative Analysis**

The discussion of qualitative data provided in this section addresses specific examples of storefronts found within the linguistic landscapes of each neighbourhood.

**4.2.1 Västra Hamnen.** Västra Hamnen differs from the other areas under consideration here in that it is an area which, until fairly recently, was not residential in nature. As such, it does not necessarily have a history to reflect. The historical importance of social, cultural and political patterns within a space is emphasized continuously within literature, particularly in order to be able to offer as comprehensive as possible discussion of why things may function as they do. This is not to say that the area is a completely neutral territory. It was not, for example, built hurriedly in response to a housing crisis like certain parts of Möllevången or even Rosengård. Instead, it has been planned out immaculately and until its completion in 2031 there will be constant evaluations and improvements made in order to ensure that it lives up to the goals outlined for the area at its initial conception (City of Malmö, 2015b). While most of these goals relate to practical matters such as social, economic, and ecological sustainability, to create a space with such concrete goals is to imbue it with some sort of character or at least to project some sort of identity upon it. According to Hult (2014), “geographical spaces become places through discursive transformation” (p. 509). To some extent, then, this conscious process of catering to a certain set of requirements may in turn place a higher currency on the use of some languages or registers and consequently contribute towards the sense of place established within the linguistic landscape of the area. These issues are not raised in order to cast a biased impression of the way in which Västra

Hamnen has been conceptualized and built. Rather, it is important to keep these facts in mind in order to best understand how languages may circulate across this space.

In terms of its physical location, Västra Hamnen is fairly isolated. Its position next to the ocean means that it is not accessible from every direction nor is it an area that people may pass through daily while, for example, commuting to and from work. The Turning Torso, however, is visible from many locations and its proximity to the sea and recreational areas may make it attractive to many people. Its distinctive presence throughout the city could arguably be seen as a symbolic reinforcement of Malmö's departure from an industrial city to an international city. As established previously, Västra Hamnen was the only area with no instances of non-European languages. Apart from its many office spaces, there are restaurants and shops to be visited. According to Blommaert (2010: 41), "people do not just move across space... they move across different orders of indexicality". Here, then, there seems to be a high emphasis placed upon multilingualism, in symbolic form at least. This symbolism also bleeds into the architecture in the area. Västra Hamnen contains a 'European Village' where "at least nine European countries demonstrate their traditions, architecture, technology and building materials" (City of Malmö, 2012, p. 17). Significant here is that each of these buildings has been adapted to conform to "the climate and building conditions of Malmö" (p. 17). With regards to Västra Hamnen's environmentally-friendly orientation Green (2006) notes whenever residents turn their gaze towards roofs or façades they see solar panels (p. 232). Again, the transformation of place into space through discursive means can arguably be done physically too in that:

"what happens in space lends a miraculous quality to thought, which becomes incarnate by means of a *design* (in both senses of the word). The design serves as a mediator itself of great fidelity – between mental activity (invention) and social activity (realization)" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 27-28)

Tied into this focus on a more elite multiculturalism is the notion of linguistic fetish whereby “form or symbolic meaning take precedence over content or utility” and “the symbolic or visual value of a language takes precedence over its communitive value” (Kelly-Holmes, 2014, p. 139). Of the twenty four storefronts counted, eleven referred, either in terms of language or wares, to something that could be perceived as exotic.



Figure 4.2: Gateau bakery, Västra Hamnen

In figure 4.2 is the entrance to a bakery called ‘Gateau’. *Gateau* is the French word for *cake*, though, in French, *gateau* would be spelled *gâteau* with a circumflex accent on the *a*. The plural of *gâteau* is *gâteaux* and it is then reasonable to assume that the figure of a baker at the end of the word may resemble an *x*. It is possible to ascribe a symbolic function to the French language here as the majority of information about the store itself is given pictorially through the image of the loaves of bread and the Swedish text ‘*Färskt bröd på Gateau varje*

*dag*' or '*Fresh bread daily at Gateau*' (own translation). There is a certain discord between the name of the store and the Swedish text and accompanying image as this store sells neither cake nor bread exclusively. The way that an individual would interpret this depends entirely on the set of resources (both linguistic and otherwise) they have at their disposal. The meaning of the word *gateau* may be of no importance to certain consumers. The fact that the shop has a French name, however, might. With regards to advertising, the choice to use a 'foreign' language "is driven primarily not by what the word means, but how it looks, and what associations the language may have among target addressees, and how these can be triggered by the appearance of the foreign word" (Kelly-Holmes, 2014, p.140). The ideological associations with French culture are typically "elegance, taste and attractiveness" (Haarmann, 1989. p. 11) and often come with a "higher emotional appeal" (p. 50). France has the reputation of being one of the culinary capitals of the world and if an individual were to be able to identify that the name of the store is written in French then they may be quick to make assumptions about the store based solely upon this. This understanding, too, is linked to Blommaert's (2010) concepts of scale levels, orders of indexicality and polycentrism. The mobility of semiotic resources (here, the symbolic use of French as a language of global capitalism) means that that text moves both physically and symbolically "across social spheres and scales in the world" (p. 46) and thus to fully be able to access the significance of French used here individuals need to understand what is projected indexically by its use (i.e. the ideological associations described above). *Gateau* is not the only storefront found that makes use of a symbolic function of a language - two stores used Italian in their names.

The status of English in amongst these other European languages may have a slightly different standing. According to Kelly-Holmes (2014), English is a language has taken on a somewhat neutral status in areas where levels of multilingualism are high (p. 143). As such, it may not carry the same exoticism with it, particularly in a Swedish context.



Figure 4.3: *Juicenmore & Elas Hair, Västra Hamnen*

In figure 4.3 are two shops, *Juicenmore* and *Elas Hair*. While both are in English (with the exception of the proper noun *Elas*), *Juicenmore* uses an arguably non-standard variety of English and could perhaps be seen as being a little more marked than something like *Juice and More*. Again, at the risk of making value judgements, this seems like a more symbolic use of language. There is something playful about the abbreviation of the word *and*. Those viewing the sign are aided in their interpretation of it through the use of alternating orange and green text. This makes it simpler to distinguish that there are three individual words making up the name instead of just one, particularly for those with a limited proficiency in the language. Wordplay, the use of subversive forms of a linguistic text, often means that “the words involved no longer merely serve the *function* of communication, but also become part of the *object* of communication” (Gottlieb, 1997, p. 209). As such, English seems to take both a neutral position and symbolic function within the linguistic landscape of Västra Hamnen. This sign, for example, draws on the English language in such a way that *does* make it symbolic.

*Elas Hair* is also worth briefly considering in that the choice was made to use the English word for *hair*. This is a minute detail, perhaps one that is inconsequential and unfortunately there is no way to hypothesize the motivation behind this decision. In the bottom right-hand corner of figure 4.3, is a free-standing sign which reads *drop in*, in English. This is phrase that occurs on signs outside several salons in the other areas under consideration and it seems to be conventional within Sweden.

This discussion of Västra Hamnen has so far focused on the symbolic use of languages within the area. This is largely because it is noticeably prevalent. It may be interesting to consider the implications of this. Västra Hamnen itself could be described as symbolic in that it is a locale which was conceived with the intention of providing an example, internationally, of sustainable urban development. The initiatives taking place here make the area interesting for many reasons. For those from outside of Sweden, particularly those working with issues such as sustainability, there is a lot to learn from visiting the area. The Turning Torso is one of Malmö's more prominent landmarks and the commercial spaces and recreational areas can be used by a large number of people with varying backgrounds and needs. According to Stjernholm (2015)

“in order to extract economic profit in a district, the producers of linguistic tokens (i.e. the shopkeepers and owners) need to be aware of the market in which the consumer identifies him-or herself. In order to succeed economically, they must decipher their area's local sociocultural code or, rather, its rules and regulations with the LL acting as the visual interface between themselves and the consumers” (p. 79)

As such, it seems that there is a tendency for the both the physical and linguistic landscape to orientate itself towards a slightly more upper-class.

As yet, there has been little consideration of the inhabitants of Västra Hamnen themselves. Quantitatively, roughly 77% (City of Malmö, 2008a<sup>4</sup>) of the population here are native to Sweden and presumably mother-tongue speakers of Swedish. However, this is a space still in a largely nascent phase. Those who interact with it are free to assert themselves as they please. From the perspective of public and corporate texts, there is a focus on catering to a more upper-class, cosmopolitan audience and this is reflected in that Västra Hamnen, relatively, has the highest percentage of foreign-language only signs despite its high level of native residents. The semiotic resources deployed on storefronts seem to operate in relation to this. Thus, it could be asserted that physical space here does operate “as a material force on human behaviour performed in space” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 23) whereby language use on storefronts in Västra Hamnen seems to centre itself towards an authority which privileges the symbolic value of European linguistic resources. It may be beneficial, once development is complete, to track the progress of the organization of languages and whether or not this more international orientation eventually yields to a more monolingual arrangement.

**4.2.2. Möllevången.** Möllevången had one of the highest rates of signs with Swedish alongside a minority language. As both a commercial and residential area, many of the stores present cater to a more diverse variety of needs. Restaurants offer a wide range of international cuisine and there are many stores which offer more specialized, ethnic merchandise. Carlbom (2003) describes Möllevången as “an extension of the Muslim enclave in Rosengård” due to the proximity between the areas and the “extended market for various ethnic/religious entrepreneurs” (p. 186). This, of course, is just one of the groups represented in the area. This diversity manifests in several different ways across storefronts in Möllevången. It has already been established that Möllevången has been inhabited by a range

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<sup>4</sup> While the most recently available population statistics detailing inhabitants by neighbourhood are from 2008, it should be noted that these statistics will most likely have changed with considerable development that has taken place in Västra Hamnen over the past eight years.

of migrants from different backgrounds under different circumstances. As noted earlier, “super-diversity is characterized by a tremendous increase in the categories of migrants, not only in terms of nationality, ethnicity, language, and religion, but also in terms of motives, patterns and itineraries of migration, processes of insertion into the labour and housing market of the host societies, and so on” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 7). There is, therefore, no longer any unified way to classify communities of migrants (p. 1). Möllevången speaks to present-day Sweden, one which is both linguistically and culturally diverse.

Blommaert’s (2005) discussion of truncated repertoires is a particularly relevant concept within Möllevången. To reiterate, a truncated repertoire is an individual linguistic repertoire and is made up of “highly specific ‘bits’ of language and varieties of literacy combine in a repertoire that reflects the fragmented and highly diverse life trajectories and environments of such people” (p. 370). Looking at figure 4.4, a simple printed paper sign in the window of a beauty salon called *Beauty Nails* there are several pertinent examples of this.

Naglar:	
Nyttset fransk	400kr
Nyttset naturliga med lack	400kr
Nyttset dekortion eller sten	500kr
Påfyllning fransk	350kr
Påfyllning naturliga	300kr
Påfyllning dekortion eller sten	400kr
Påfyllning på egen nagel (första gång)	300kr
Lagning med påfyllning	20kr(st)
Lagning	50kr(st)
Dekortion eller sten	10kr(st)
Ta bort naglar	150kr
Manikyr	250kr
Pedikyr	350kr
Lackning	50kr
Pedikyr med fransk gele	450kr
Ögonfransförlängning	600kr

Figure 4.4: *Beauty Nails*, Möllevången

Firstly, the support of this sign is a simple ‘home-made’, computer-printed piece of A4 paper. While home-made texts may reflect a lower level of stability or point towards an “emergent, inchoate form of organization” (Blommaert, 2013, p. 62), they are in fact very common to storefronts in Möllevången. In this respect, Figure 4.4 is not exceptional. However, the large majority of private texts found in the data were written in languages directed towards minority groups. That is not to say that ‘non-professional’ signs found in Möllevången were only indexical of minority groups and vice versa. Instead, what could possibly be taken from this is an acknowledgement that there is a process of adjustment that certain minority communities need to go through before becoming established enough within an area to be afforded the opportunity to produce texts with longer life-spans. This is not necessarily related to the legitimacy of a particular language but perhaps rather to the transition that migrant groups go through in order to establish themselves within a host country.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, the idea that a language is “bounded, pure and composed of structured sounds, grammar and vocabulary designed for referring to things” (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 10) has been denaturalised. Instead, particularly within the context of globalization, groups and individuals are working with very complex, often truncated linguistic repertoires. Hult (2004) in a study on linguistic policy in Sweden found that the Swedish general national curriculum for upper secondary education asserts that Swedish is “essential for social integration” (p. 242). The social/economic success of an individual in his/her new home, then, is based in part on having a successful grasp of the majority language. As discussed in chapter 3, scales within the linguistic landscape are the “‘dimensions’ at which particular forms of normativity, patterns of language use and expectation thereof are organized” (Blommaert, 2010, 37). Thus, access to and control over language(s) in space potentially affords social and economic advantage to individuals and

communities. In figure 4.4 there are certain errors which may be considered emblematic of a non-native grasp of Swedish and therefore an incomplete (but not entirely unsuccessful) attempt at ‘social integration’ (and consequently a more limited access to scale-levels within the linguistic landscape).

For example, the Swedish word for ‘decoration’, *dekoration* is used in a non-standard way (*dekortion*). Secondly, instead of standing as two separate words, information detailing the price of a new set of nails (*nytt sett*) has been fused together into one single words *nyttsett*. Finally, there are some arguable peculiarities within the sign that, while understandable, are perhaps formulated in a more non-standard way. One of the treatments on the list, *ta bort naglar*, reads as the equivalent of what ‘nail removal’ might be in English. This is a beauty salon and within this context it is highly reasonable to assume that it is a place where one can remove fake nails or gel nails, for example. However, through querying this with native Swedish speakers it was suggested that *ta bort gelénaglar* (gel nail removal); *ta bort akrylnaglar* (acrylic nail removal) or *ta bort nagellack* (nail polish removal), where the kind of ‘nail’ being removed is highlighted, would be more appropriate alternatives. These errors are by no means grave enough to hinder the understanding of the sign. Before offering a discussion of this, it may be useful to look at Figure 4.5.



Figure 4.5: *Vattenpips Huset, Möllevången*

In figure 4.5 there are traces of something similar. This is a bilingual Swedish-Arabic text outside a shop which sells water pipes (and also offers mobile phone repairs). In terms of its physical characteristics it has a more professional support than that outside the beauty salon. However, there is clearly an area of the text, beneath the 's' in *vattenpips* (water pipes), that has been painted over and filled in again. While it is not possible to see what it was that has been painted over, it is fairly reasonable to assume that it was done in order to correct a spelling error in the original text.

Both figure 4.4 and figure 4.5 are commercial signs with informative functions. They are interesting for the purpose of this study because they help to characterize Möllevångstorget as an area in which various levels of Swedish proficiency can be found. The use of Swedish is clearly valued, possibly more so in a business context as Swedish should

theoretically reach the largest number of potential customers. As well as reaching customers, the use of Swedish may be aspirational in nature as it seems to be so closely tied in with the idea of successfully transitioning into everyday life. However, what is reflected through both the physical properties of these signs and the truncated repertoires found within them is that there is a certain degree of insecurity found in this process.

Common throughout Möllevångstorget were texts advertising services to help migrants remain connected, to some degree, with their home countries. These took the form of adverts for satellite television subscriptions, special rates for overseas phone calls, offers from travel companies arranging all-inclusive trips to and from Mecca and event invitations to ethnically-orientated festivals being held within Malmö (e.g. Thai festivals, Indian celebrations). These texts and services speak to the current nature of migration today. While there are a variety of motivations for immigration, there is no longer such a drastic disconnect from one's home country upon arrival in another. According to Blommaert and Rampton (2011), "dispersed communities now have the potential to retain an active connection by means of an elaborate set of long-distance communication technologies" (p. 9). The affordances of modern technology allow one to choose how connected they would like to remain. They also allow individuals to maintain a transnational identity, if they wish. The idea of identity and ethnicity is closely linked to access to such resources but will be discussed in greater detail in the section below.

Interestingly, there is a contrast to be drawn here between Möllevången and the areas looked at in Rosengård. In Möllevången, these texts offering services directed towards specific migrant groups offered various ways to remain in contact with one's home country. With such a high percentage of immigrants in the areas looked at in Rosengård it is a reasonable assumption that one may expect to find a similar range of services on offer. However, in both Rosengård Centrum and Örtagårdstorget, more of the services directed

towards migrants focused on helping individuals establish networks within Sweden (e.g. information guides for those new in Sweden, invitations to language cafés, workplace skills development courses). The construction of Möllevången started in 1904 (Nyzel, 2005, p. 14) while Rosengård first became established in 1967. One possible justification for the difference in services offered to migrant communities in each space could be that those living in Möllevången have simply been there longer. Perhaps, then, going through the process of adjusting to Sweden is less of a necessity than being able to maintain contact with home networks. For whatever reason this difference may be, both the presence and needs of minority groups are found within these linguistic landscapes. The space is organized in such a way that privileges the needs of minority groups.

Minority languages in Möllevången occur in a variety of contexts and on a variety of supports. Signs containing minority languages are not all ‘unprofessional’ in nature, for example. According to Rodriguez (2009), “the more a minority language is displayed in the informative section, the higher its public utility is” (p. 6). A language with a higher public utility, then, is one which is valued or is gaining/has gained a certain level of legitimacy. Many of the texts found which were directed towards specific minority groups were hand-made or more impermanent in nature and often created by an individual or a smaller

company.



Figure 4.6: Lebara Mobile, Möllevången

Figure 4.6 deviates from this. This image is of the window of a store called Lebara Mobile. Aside from the company name and its slogan, the COMVIQ poster in the right-hand window is written entirely in Arabic. COMVIQ is a large Swedish prepaid phone service provider. The text on the figure itself is an advertisement for cheap international calls – a method through which immigrants may maintain their connection to their home country. However, the focus of the sign is Ramadan, a Muslim religious observance. As well as offering Muslim people a way to connect with friends and family overseas (i.e. through competitive call rates), the company uses this text as an opportunity to pass along their best wishes to those taking part in the month's festivities. For what can be considered a minority group, it is very significant that one of Sweden's largest telecommunications companies both

addresses the group in their own language and acknowledges a religious observance which is not typically celebrated on a national level in Sweden. This is an affirmation of the value of this minority group and the legitimacy of their presence within this space and possibly even within Sweden. Minority languages in public space can be perceived both as “community indexicals” and “languages of transaction within the community” (Hult, 2009, p.100). This particular sign uses Arabic both transactionally and indexically – it is not used simply as a decoration. The entire information section of the text is written in Arabic. Arguably, what is seen here is an illustration of globalization processes. Arabic has been detached from its “traditional locus of origin” and is being used in “very different loci of production and uptake” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 181). The use of Arabic here is polycentric – not only is it oriented from Arabic speakers to Arabic speakers but also from corporate actors to Arabic speakers. The practical, social value of Arabic in the community is indexed within the linguistic landscape of Möllevången. Furthermore, the nature of an advertisement is to attract customers in the most effective way possible. For a large company to actively choose not to use Swedish, or even a lingua franca such as English offers insight to the company’s perception of this minority group. In a reflection upon inequality and globalization, Blommaert (2010) proposes that inequality is just as much a feature of globalization as the opportunities it can provide (p. 179). Certain groups, he claims, hold very vulnerable positions due to the perception that they are not valued in the commercial realm and are not targeted, for example, as a worthwhile target market. The presence of this text, then, frames the Arabic-speaking community as a legitimate target market for large, national companies within Sweden.

Möllevångstorget was the area, quantitatively, with the widest range of languages present. One of the more straightforward reasons for this is the history of the area itself as a hub for migrants. Again, it is important to note that especially within the context of

globalisation, there is no one way to characterize a migrant or migrant community (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011). There is no one group bringing with it a fixed set of experiences, ideologies and expectations. Blommaert (2013) notes that, “semioticized space is not neutral, but replete with codes, norms, criteria for inclusion and exclusion, membership categories and identities” and that in order to use space, one needs to “learn these codes, norms and criteria’ and be able to ‘act habitually in relation to them” (p. 50). As such, nobody is exempt from having to make these negotiations. The signs discussed above offer an illustration of some of these processes. They also offer some insight into the way that globalisation impacts a space. At the risk of stating the obvious, Möllevångstorget is located in Sweden. The Swedish language is obviously a valuable resource as it is useful for everyday communication. Furthermore, the ability to use it successfully denotes a level of success in terms of acculturation. This is not mentioned in order to perpetuate the idea that there is an ideal level of proficiency or that Swedish should look a certain way. Rather, there is a learning process that needs to be gone through in order to access the resources that the Swedish language affords non-native speakers. There are traces of this process in Möllevångstorget as can be seen in the errors found in figure 4.4 and figure 4.5. The multitude of signs that provide opportunities for immigrants to remain connected to their home countries is also significant. One does not have to ascribe to a single identity here – the range of ethnic products being sold in the area and the facilities available testify to this. Finally, it seems like there is a certain level of cooperation between languages. There are many combinations of multilingualism found with many different functions. There are groups large enough to be addressed directly and this does not seem to have any detrimental effect on one’s ability to interact with the space.

**4.2.3. Rosengård.** Rosengård is the final area under consideration for this study. Örtagårdstorget had very few signs where Swedish was not combined with a minority

language. Rosengård Centrum was similar, though there was a much higher percentage of Swedish-only signs. The majority of stores counted were a fairly even combination of branches of larger companies and independently-owned shops.

The population statistics for Rosengård as a whole showed that 70% of its population was born outside of Sweden (as opposed to being Swedish-born or born in Sweden to non-Swedish-born parents) (City of Malmö, 2008c). As such, one could expect to find the linguistic landscape functioning in slightly different ways to Västra Hamnen or Möllevångstorget. In the section above, with regards to Möllevångstorget, Carlbom (2003) used the word ‘enclave’, meaning “local urban social structures which are not integrated into, but are inserted into society” (p. 165) to characterize Rosengård. To a certain extent this is true. With such concentrated numbers of people from the same countries or faiths, it becomes easier to maintain the practices of one’s home country. There is more opportunity, for example, to practice religion or use a home language or maintain an identity. Perhaps, though, it is more prudent to see Rosengård as a hub in which minority groups have greater access to transnational affordances. Rosengård’s history should also be re-emphasized at this point. It was built in response to a housing crisis and was used to home many of the city’s labour migrants. Thus, it is possibly only an ‘enclave’ due to these historical processes. If a community of people with a shared language or religion find themselves in one space it is not likely that they would actively need to seek out alternative neighbourhoods to take part in cultural-specific practices. This does not necessarily mean that they are living isolated from greater society. Within Rosengård, perhaps, the spatial repertoires being used are those which index one particular way of carrying out day-to-day life. However, outside of this space it is impossible to account for how these same repertoires may be employed.

The linguistic landscape in Rosengård Centrum was found, then, to facilitate many culture-specific practices. Much like Möllevången, the products available in the

stores at Rosengård Centrum cater to ethnic products too. Figure 4.7, for example, is a beauty salon called *Salong Rosa Flamingo*.



Figure 4.7: *Salong Rosa Flamingo*, Rosengård Mall

The text in the blue square offers a list (in Swedish) of different treatments offered within the salon. The Arabic text underneath, however, informs readers that there is a private section in the back of the salon for women who wear hijabs or burqas and do not wish to be seen bare-headed. Appadurai (1996), in relation to globalization, addresses the difficulties that come with being a transplant. He notes that “this is a world in which both points of departure and points of arrival are in cultural flux, and thus the search for steady points of reference... can be very difficult” (p. 44). I would like to propose that Rosengård’s linguistic landscape acts, to a certain extent, as an anchor for migrants. If the same information were to be presented solely in Swedish then new migrants, without any knowledge of the language, may

miss this information completely. The second example of a sign facilitating cultural-specific practices is seen below in figure 4.8.



Figure 4.8: Bazaar Kött, Örtagårdstorget

This text was found in the window of a butchery. It is an informative text, written in Arabic, inviting members of the public to a funeral. It offers details of the person who passed away, information about the family and more practical details of the funeral itself. According to Blommaert (2013), “communities who publicly announce cultural events in their languages display some degree of confidence” (p. 66). As a result of this, “they claim a legitimate presence as a community in the neighbourhood – a separate community strong enough to organize itself around individuals, associations and events” (p. 66). The sense of place that is created through these signs is one that is perceptibly orientated towards community values.

What was possibly most interesting about the areas looked at in Rosengård was the perspective from which it was approached by corporate and public actors. There was a significant focus placed on the celebration of the multiculturalism in the area and this was done quite explicitly. The first instance, figure 4.9, was a poster placed at the entrance of Rosengård centrum.



Figure 4.9: Rosengård centrum advertisement

This larger white font on this sign reads: *North African water pipes, Arabic string instruments, Persian rugs, Turkish macaroni and a branch of the city library*. Directly underneath this in smaller script is a sentence which roughly translates to *you don't find this sort of thing in a regular mall*. Finally, at the bottom of the text, is Rosengård centrum's logo and motto: *a different mall*. It is interesting that this is the chosen way to market the shopping mall. Firstly, it is a clear acknowledgement of the diversity found in Rosengård. While there

are other elements in the area (the types of shops, the languages found on storefronts etc.) that point towards a diverse milieu, it is quite significant that this diversity is being used as a unique selling point in a corporate context and not necessarily by those belonging to the cultures mentioned. There are no statistics about who, specifically, makes use of the amenities at Rosengård centrum. Though minority groups and Swedish natives may be expected to interpret this sign in different ways. It has already been established above that diversity can cause tension. It can also, however, be framed in a way that frames it as exciting and exotic. Leeman & Modan (2009), for example, note that urban planners in Washington D.C's Chinatown "have turned to the symbolic economy in their development efforts, aestheticizing and commodifying the urban environment in order to produce distinct urban experiences that attract tourists and residents" (p. 339). Through indexing the positive uniqueness of Rosengård, perhaps, this sort of marketing strategy may work to frame the neighbourhood in a light more positive than it typically receives within the country.

With such large debates over the importance of migrants being provided access to resources which would enable them to integrate successfully into Swedish society, it could, alternatively, be seen as slightly problematic that this marketing strategy makes use of 'othering'. According to Carlbom (2003), again, "multiculturalism also discriminates against the Other by operating with an essentialized and homogeneous definition of culture – an imagined notion of culture" (p. 57). It is difficult to discuss this without making value judgements as there are so many perspectives which need to be taken into consideration. For example, perhaps those belonging to the groups mentioned take pride in being acknowledged. It lends legitimacy to their existence. Alternatively, it could hinder them from being seen as anything other than different and ultimately reinforce their status as a minority. To have the slogan *a different shopping mall* privileges 'different' and runs the risk of focusing too much

on the notion that certain traits of these groups are irreconcilable with values or practices found in ‘Swedish’ society.

This focus on multiculturalism bleeds into Örtagårdstorget too. Bennets Bazaar and the Culture Casbah project are two projects, outlined above in chapter 3, which are long-term development projects aiming to improve the quality of the neighbourhood.



*Figure 4.10: Bennets Bazaar, Örtagårdstorget*

Figure 4.10 shows the centerpiece of Bennets Bazaar. Again, in contrast to signs and texts installed by members of the community, both Bennets Bazaar and project Culture Casbah come from higher levels of organization. The word *bazaar* is of Persian origin and the word *casbah* of Arabic. The Bennets Bazaar sign is visible from all over the square and details of the Culture Casbah project are found in the form of a large installation in the square itself. They have a very strong physical presence. The implication of these initiatives are

twofold. They directly address the ‘problem’ of immigrants not being provided with resources to integrate into Swedish society. Their project outlines focus on improving living conditions and amenities for inhabitants of Rosengård (City of Malmö, 2008e). Bennets Bazaar through *bokaler* which provide business premises as well as housing for entrepreneurs and Culture Casbah to connect Rosengård with the rest of the city while at the same time providing more housing, medical facilities and recreational space for residents to make use of. On the project outline installation for Culture Casbah, residents are invited to take part in a dialogue about their own aspirations for change. Both the words *bazaar* and *casbah* could be interpreted as being marked. There is a focus here on difference and perhaps even exoticism. On one hand it is extremely important that minority communities are validated within space. On the other hand, the way in which they are being validated is through the highlighting of their differences. These perspectives are being addressed here in order to provide as broad as possible a way to look at how a linguistic landscape may be structured and how this structure may in turn impact those who make use of the space.

One interpretation of the linguistic landscape of Rosengård centrum and Örtagården is that the sense of place given to the area differs based on the public, private and corporate texts found. Inhabitants of Örtagården and other areas of Rosengård use these spaces as a resource for the perpetuation of and engagement with their respective cultures. This is seen in the high presence of minority languages. It is also seen to the extent that communities are big enough and stable enough to cater to traditional practices. In a sense, too, the presence of the funeral notice, open to the entire Arabic-speaking community, could point to a somewhat tight sense of fraternity. According to Blommart, Collins and Slebrouck (2005), “the neighbourhood can flag its own existence” (p. 207) by engaging in such communal activities. The same cultures are reflected within the linguistic landscape but in a slightly different way when done so from an official perspective. More public and corporate texts in the space pick up the thread of

multiculturalism and use this as a way to market the area. This could be linked to the concept of orders of indexicality whereby semiotic forms in the linguistic landscape point to “indexical and ascriptive categories (related to identity and role)” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6). On one hand, language use in these neighbourhoods, when installed by community members themselves, is used for local means. From a marketing perspective, however, these communities are indexed as being valued within space in so far as they are distinctly non-local.

#### **4.2.4. The linguistic landscape as a reflection of human activity**

Through a qualitative investigation of the linguistic landscapes of Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård there are certain suggestions that can be made regarding the relationship between globalization processes and the linguistic landscape. Firstly, it may be useful to return to the notion that “space acquires its meaning from various traces of human activity in the material world; embedding language in a public space contributes to the creation of such meaning” (Stjernholm, 2015, p. 77). Globalization, is one of the processes that affects human activity – it creates highly mobile patterns of language-use and translocal or transnational actors which are able to take part in interactions that are neither bound to time nor space.

What emerges through looking at the linguistic landscapes of these three neighbourhoods is that each area gains a distinct sense of place through the use of publically displayed texts. Within both Möllevången and Rosengård, there is evidence of re-embedding, a response to globalization which results in the assertion of localized ideologies, where language is used in order to tailor physical space according to the needs of its particular groups (Eriksen, 2007). These linguistic landscapes point directly to the communities within them and some of the features of their day-to-day practices. Figure 4.7 and figure 4.8, information regarding a private section in the back of a hair salon for women who wear

burqas or hijabs and a public invitation to the funeral of a member of the community, are concrete affirmations of the existence of a community or group of people who may share similar values. In Möllevången, too, we see this in figure 4.6. The presence of an Arabic-language cellular company advertisement wishing its Muslim customers a blessed Ramadan directly indexes a community found within space.

The way in which public and corporate actors create a sense of place through the use of items in a linguistic landscape is observable, too. In Västra Hamnen, the prevalence of European language signs, particularly those which perpetuate aspirations of desire can be seen to serve the values of the community. However, it has been discussed in detail above that a sense of place is used as a marketing strategy within Västra Hamnen through the use of corporate texts. This perspective might not necessarily reflect the values of the community. It could be argued, though, that it projects a sense of place onto the area. This is seen, in a similar way, in Figure 4.9 and figure 4.10, where corporate bodies create a sense of place by drawing on distinctly local characteristics of the neighbourhoods.

## **5. Conclusion**

This study had two main research aims. Firstly, to identify the extent to which globalization-related processes were visible in the linguistic landscape. The second aim, as a follow on, was to examine the ways in which physical manifestations of language are used by actors in space as resources with which to navigate these processes.

If we accept Spolsky's (2009) assertion that "language facts that landmark the public space are to be seen as social facts" (p.40) then what has been observed indicates that multilingualism in public spaces provides not only a challenge but also a resource. The negotiation of both commonalities and difference necessitated by globalization was done in a multitude of ways within each linguistic landscape.

The final section of this thesis provides a summary of how mobile linguistic resources are employed in Malmö's linguistic landscape and, furthermore, how a linguistic landscape can be used as a tool with which to respond to these processes. Finally, suggestions on how such a study can be extended or modified for the purpose of further research are offered.

### **5.1. The manifestation of mobile linguistic resources**

Three neighbourhoods, chosen based on their respective populations of individuals with a foreign background, were looked at for the purpose of this study. As discussed in Chapter 2, defining globalization is not a straightforward task. Additionally, the effects of its processes do not occur uniformly. However, there are general observations that can be made about some of the ways in which mobile linguistic resources may manifest in space. These will be discussed here in relation to the neighbourhoods examined.

Globalization in each space presented itself differently. Crucial to this is the fact that, while part of the same city, each neighbourhood is anchored to a unique history. Looking at the linguistic landscape through a historical lens:

“helps us to see the ways in which cities have become layered palimpsest of different eras of settlement, migration and industry, the ways in which signs and street names, churches and mosques... reveal a sedimented history of movements of people”

(Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, p. 141).

As such, part of the research undertaken for the purpose of this study was to establish the historical background of each of the three neighbourhoods and this will also be discussed where relevant.

*5.1.1 Västra Hamnen.* Västra Hamnen was chosen for the purpose of this study as it was the neighbourhood in Malmö with the lowest population of individuals with a foreign background (23%) (City of Malmö, 2008a). It may be prudent to note here that a lower percentage of foreign background individuals does not presuppose that Västra Hamnen is any less vulnerable to the effects of globalization than areas with higher rates of foreign-background inhabitants. The spatially-bound population is just one variable that affects how mobile linguistic resources may manifest in space. However, the more salient aspects of globalization in the linguistic landscape of Västra Hamnen do seem to differ from the other neighbourhoods under consideration here.

It could be argued that the linguistic landscape presented a somewhat united image of the linguistic resources that are valued and drawn upon Västra Hamnen. Firstly, it was the only neighbourhood in which only European languages were present. Furthermore, the social nature of the space itself is organized around both lifestyle and leisure. That is not to discount the high presence of business premises in the area. Rather, the unit of analysis for the purpose

of this study is the storefront. The majority of the stores found in the linguistic landscape were also orientated towards lifestyle and leisure activities – restaurants, beauty salons and high-end clothing and decor. The symbolic use of language was used, presumably as a marketing strategy, to index aspirations of desire.

It should also be noted that contextualizing Västra Hamnen historically was more difficult in that it is still a relatively new area with its construction having started in 2000. It is perhaps not well-established enough, yet, for there to be localized norms of language use. However, through the consideration of the goals used explicitly outlined for the area, those which aim to set Västra Hamnen up as an authority in Europe for an environmentally-sustainable residential area, it is possible to assert that a sense of what is expected for the area has been projected onto the way in which language is structured. The project itself could be seen as providing a point of reference, or centre, from which the organization of language in the linguistic landscape of Västra Hamnen is organized.

*5.1.2. Möllevången.* Mobility was one of the key distinguishing factors of the linguistic landscape in Möllevången. Swedish was found on 98% of the signs (either alone or accompanied by a minority language). Examples of truncated repertoires found in the linguistic landscape also help to characterize Möllevången as an area in which many linguistic resources are being drawn upon in order to communicate. The presence of transnational actors in space was also illustrated in the numerous services (satellite dishes, advertisements for travel packages to Mecca) offered. Significantly, corporate texts drew upon transnational identities in order to directly address minority language groups and their cultures. Minority languages are used functionally within the linguistic landscape – they provide a productive means of exchange.

*5.1.3. Rosengård.* The linguistic landscape of Rosengård seems to be highly localized from the perspectives of corporate, public and private actors. Inhabitants use minority

languages in the linguistic landscape in order to engage in culture-specific practices with other members of the community. There is also an orientation towards providing new migrants to Sweden with both the information and means to stabilize themselves within the country and the neighbourhood. This is facilitated through the offer of services such as career counselling and translation services. Public and corporate texts are used the linguistic landscape to frame the minority cultures found in Rosengård as exotic and exciting in order to encourage members of the public to make use of the amenities available at Rosengård Centrum. Finally, in section 4.2.3 a discussion of the characterization of Rosengård as an ‘enclave’ was provided. This notion has been picked up, to a certain extent, by the City of Malmö, and is being addressed directly in the linguistic through the development of project Culture Casbah, in order to better integrate various areas of the city.

## **5.2. The linguistic landscape as a tool**

The idea that the linguistic landscape can be used as a tool is due to the fact that it both reflects and regulates the structure of the space in which it is found (Blommaert, 2013, p. 39). It is also man-made and constructed through conscious human action. As such, engagement with the linguistic landscape, through the use of visual language, can be used in order to achieve certain goals. In this section I deal with three different ways that the linguistic landscape was found, through the data gathered, to be used by actors in order to negotiate some of the issues discussed in section 5.1 above.

The creation of a sense of place, though not exclusive to globalization-related processes, is one such way that the linguistic landscape was mediated by actors. According to Pennycook and Otsuji (2014), sense of place needs to be understood socially and refers to groups of social relations which are tied to a particular location (p. 85). A sense of place, then, works to orientate the linguistic landscape towards distinctly local, social arrangements. As a

tool, the linguistic landscape allows actors to anchor themselves, through the use of language, to space.

Jaworski & Thurlow (2010) posit that idea of ‘home’ to people and cultures in space “is inevitably bound up with specific geographical locations which we come to know and experience both sensually and intellectually through semiotic framing and various forms of discursual construal” (p. 7). The effect that visual language has, in terms of being able to legitimize a community and in return impact people’s perceptions of the legitimacy of a community is significant (Daily, Giles & Jansma, 2005, p. 36). Globalization and its resulting mobility mean that sociolinguistic resources in specific environments are arranged on vertical scale-levels (Blommaert, 2010). As such, the value attributed to certain language(s) or forms of language(s) are subject to issues of power and authority. Sociolinguistic groups, then, particularly those whose linguistic resources do not allow them to move across a wide range of scale-levels, may be able to use the linguistic landscape as a means of asserting their presence within space.

A sense of place, however, is not mutually exclusive with a sense of ‘home’. In Västra Hamnen, for example, the sense of place articulated by the linguistic landscape was not necessarily done by the residents of the area themselves but rather the official bodies responsible for the development of the area. As we have seen through the data above, the linguistic landscape of Västra Hamnen is centred towards a certain quality of lifestyle. The sense of place established through a linguistic landscape could also be used commercially in order to attract a particular target market.

The linguistic landscape, as seen from the data collected, provides the opportunity for various actors to engage in productive dialogues within a space. This was seen in Möllevången through the use of subversive texts such as stickers, posters or graffiti in order to project more politically-oriented messages and mobilize others to engage in certain causes.

The linguistic landscape was also used in Rosengård, with reference to project Culture Casbah, as a means for encouraging the community that the project directly affects to contribute their own desires and aspirations for the project.

These are just two brief reflections on how visual language has been used as a tool for achieving certain goals. Considering these, however, contributes to an understanding of the dynamic nature of the linguistic landscape.

### **5.3. Suggestions for further investigation**

Linguistic landscape studies provide a synchronic characterization of a particular space. The nature of public space means that linguistic landscapes are constantly in a state of flux and many linguistic landscape items have a very short lifespan. Thus, they can only be captured at a very specific point in time. This study, through the examination of three neighbourhoods in the city of Malmö, offered a description of globalization-related phenomena at a local level. Blommaert (2013) describes linguistic landscapes as “historical documents, layered-simultaneous outcomes of different histories of people, communities and activities in ever-changing compositions – they become uniquely informative chronicles of complexity” (p. 120). As such, even though the linguistic landscape can only ever be looked at synchronically (p. 139), it may be interesting to systematically carry linguistic landscape studies in the same neighbourhood(s) over a period of time. Instead of drawing direct comparisons between each study, previous research could be used to inform the historical considerations that go into carrying out an analysis. This was partly done here by drawing on Hult’s (2009) own analysis of Möllevången. The areas looked at here could be particularly relevant as neither Västra Hamnen nor Örtagårdstorget, in terms of their physical development, are finished. Furthermore, there is a link between the two neighbourhoods. The construction of a miniature Turning Torso is being constructed in Örtagårdstorget and many

of the changes being made are being done so with the aim of helping to integrate the area with the rest of the city.

A second suggestion for further study into the linguistic landscape of Malmö is related to the current refugee crisis and resulting influx of refugees into Europe. This is an issue which is getting a lot of attention on a national level at the moment. It was estimated that Sweden would take in 190, 000 refugees in 2015. It may be particularly relevant to pay close attention to how (or if) visual language is used by new arrivals to Sweden anchor themselves to a new environment in order to establish a sense of place or home. Furthermore, it may be valuable to look to the linguistic landscape for discourses surrounding these new socio-political circumstances.

This exploration of the linguistic landscapes of Västra Hamnen, Möllevången and Rosengård has shown that the mobility brought about through globalization processes manifests in a variety of forms in order to serve locally-specific needs. The areas considered here speak to a contemporary Malmö that is both linguistically and culturally diverse.

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