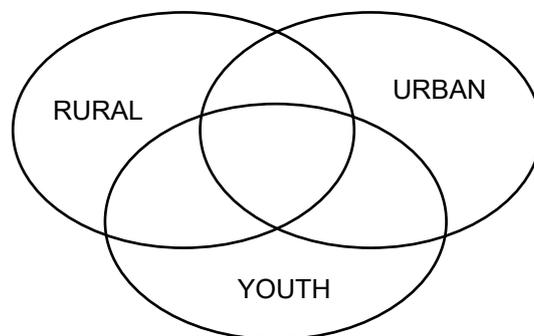




Urban or else?

A combined method analysis of the discourse of the Swedish state during the years 2018-2020 on the choice situation of rural youths to move or remain



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Bachelor thesis: SOCK07, 15 hp
Spring semester 2021
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Abstract

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The rural-urban divide is a long-established construct in sociology. More recently, the choice of rural youths to remain or move to an urban setting has attracted substantial research interest. One factor surrounding the choice situation of the youths consists of officially sanctioned norms in the form of the discourse of the state, in particular on the three key terms *rural*, *urban* and *youth*.

The objective of this thesis is to analyze the present discourse of the Swedish state, as expressed in Swedish Government Official Reports published during the years 2018-2020 and containing the three key terms. In total, 45 such reports exist, containing more than 24,000 pages and approx. 6.2 million words, all which are part of the data analyzed herein.

The analysis is carried out by a combined method of computer-assisted content analysis and discourse analysis.

The results show a distinct discourse around the respective key term. The choice situation of the rural youths emerges as dominated by the state discourse on the value of taking part in the common social project of agglomeration.

Keywords: agent, Atlas.ti, content analysis, discourse analysis, rural, urban, youth

Table of Contents

| | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1 | Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1 | Research problem and research question..... | 1 |
| 1.2 | Notes on translation and definitions | 2 |
| 2 | Research overview | 4 |
| 3 | Theory | 6 |
| 4 | Method and empirical data..... | 8 |
| 4.1 | Data selection and collection..... | 8 |
| 4.1.1 | Primary keywords | 8 |
| 4.1.2 | Population and sampling | 9 |
| 4.2 | Analysis | 10 |
| 4.2.1 | Content analysis | 11 |
| 4.2.2 | Discourse analysis | 12 |
| 4.3 | Alternative methods and data | 12 |
| 5 | Results..... | 14 |
| 5.1 | Content analysis..... | 14 |
| 5.2 | Discourse analysis | 15 |
| 5.2.1 | Rural legitimacy | 15 |
| 5.2.2 | Urban efficiency | 17 |
| 5.2.3 | Youth activity | 19 |
| 5.2.4 | The choice of the rural youths..... | 22 |
| 6 | Conclusion..... | 25 |
| | References | 28 |
| | Appendix 1: Government report | 32 |
| | Appendix 2: Ungdom* | 33 |
| | Appendix 3: Tätort* | 34 |
| | Appendix 4: Landsbygd* | 35 |
| | Appendix 5: Collocation | 36 |
| | Appendix 6: Example of concordance | 37 |
| | Appendix 7: Code list..... | 38 |
| | Appendix 8: Quotations in Swedish..... | 40 |
| | Appendix 9: Content analysis, stepwise..... | 46 |
| | Appendix 10: Discourse analysis, stepwise | 47 |

1 Introduction

The rural, the urban and the divide between the two have all proven durable constructs - in their simplest form represented as a dichotomy (Jansson, 2013, 88). This relational order is both a reflection of subjective experiences and functions as a lens through which experiences are shaped (Murphy, 2010, 190-192). Its substance, in terms of ideologies and discourses behind the construct, is itself influenced by individuals with varying access to capital of different kinds, such as economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1998, 5). Although the dichotomy is a construct with changing content over time, the divide is nevertheless quantitatively supported by the superlinear growth in cities, i.e. the observation that indicators of economic activity, e.g. total wages, as well as social activity, e.g. residential moves and divorces, increase superproportionally vis-a-vis population increases (Bettencourt et al, 2007, 7301). Keuschnigg et al (2019) focus on explaining the divide by two categories of factors; 1) *social interconnectivity*, whereby superlinear growth is viewed "as an endogenous process and thus as an emergent property of city life" (ibid, 1) and 2) *sociodemographic composition*, meaning that population characteristics, "[f]ueled by selective migration from smaller to larger cities" (ibid, 1), differ systematically between agglomerations of different population size. In reference to the latter of the two, "selective" is related to the choice of rural youths to move to an urban area or to remain in a rural setting.

The objective of this thesis is to analyze the present discourse of the Swedish state, as expressed in recent reports produced on behalf of the government, in relation to three specific terms - *rural*, *urban* and *youth* - to identify elements and structures of the discourse around these terms and whether it points to any hegemonic ideology (Fairclough, 2003, 218).

The analysis is carried out by a pragmatically guided combined method of content analysis and discourse analysis in order to ground the results in the manifest text of the reports.

1.1 Research problem and research question

The purpose of analyzing the abovementioned discourse is to detail a specific part of the context surrounding the rural youths in their choice situation; to stay in a rural setting or move

to an urban area. Such details may be relevant to the choice of the youths. Specifically, three closely related research questions are posed; 1) what are the elements of the discourse on each of the terms *rural*, *urban* and *youth*, 2) how are the elements interrelated, i.e. what is the outline of the discourse surrounding the respective term and 3) are the separate discourses on the terms interrelated in a way meaningful to further the understanding of the choice situation of the youths?

1.2 Notes on translation and definitions

All the official reports that form the empirical data of this study are published in Swedish. Wherever such texts are quoted, but translated into English by me as part of this thesis, they are shown as if they were direct quotations, not as paraphrases. While this may constitute a departure from for instance common APA practice, it is deemed to be the most effective way of making the translated quotations appear clearly in the text. For each such translated quotation, a citation for the report in Swedish is provided as well as a reference to the actual direct quotation in Swedish, included in appendix 8.

The terms rural, urban and youth, herein referred to as the three primary keywords, are defined differently between the reports, if at all. With a general understanding of the terms, one can arguably grasp the meaning in the respective context, but a few comments may be in order (see also section 4.1.1 for further details):

Urban, as a translation of Swedish “tätort”, is in Sweden commonly defined as any congregation of buildings no further than 200 meters apart and of a total population of more than 200 individuals. As used herein, the term is considered to include metropolitan areas (*Sve storstadsområde*). The OECD and the European Commission have jointly made an attempt at facilitating cross-country comparisons by defining *functional urban areas* (FUAs), but this is not reflected in the reports used for this study.

Rural, used in reference to Swedish ”landsbygd”, is usually not defined, but typically taken to be the opposite of urban. Leeuwen (2010, 16) highlights three elements in distinguishing the urban from the rural; 1) the ecological, including population and density, 2) the economic, e.g. the volume and diversity of economic activities and 3) the social, values and behavior. The portion of the population in Sweden claimed to live in rural areas differs depending on the definition and, even when only ‘the ecological’ element is considered, figures in the span 15-34% can be found (Boström & Dahlin, 2018, 45-46; SOU 2019:68).

Youth (*Swe ungdom*) is rarely defined, but used in reference to individuals in varying age brackets within the overall span of approx. 12-25 years of age. Occasionally, the term refers to individuals up to 30 years of age, but then typically in reference to those who have not established themselves on the employment market nor have a household of their own.

Lastly, the term *agglomeration* is used repeatedly herein. In everyday use, it typically refers to a process of accumulation or a large, densely populated area. Here, it also has this meaning, but extended with the understanding that it may be correlated with various forms of capital and habitus as well as being nested, i.e. different agglomerations within a greater agglomerative whole, in effect making up a hierarchy of clusters.

2 Research overview

The following overview is based on searches, using Scopus and Web of Science, for research articles containing the three primary keywords as well as some geographic term, such as Sweden, Nordic, Scandinavia etc., as a proxy to limit the searches to articles dealing with a somewhat similar context in a socioeconomic or cultural sense.

The importance of dominant discourses, especially those of urbanism and mobility, in relation to rural youths is frequently pointed out in research. In Rönnlund's (2020) analysis, drawing on data from interviews with 52 Swedish students between 14 and 16 years old, living in rural areas, the dominant discourse is indeed one of moving from the rural to the urban, yet a staying narrative is also identified (ibid, 132). Carson et al (2016), in comparing two case study regions of northern Sweden and inland South Australia respectively, also state that "the discourse of [rural] decline has dominated academic, political and public thinking since the middle of last century" (ibid, 381), but suggest that developing a more complex framework of analysis in relation to rurality, in particular that of youth, may affect the understanding of where problems exist (ibid, 400).

I suggest that the bulk of the research articles dealing with the decision of rural youths to move or to stay, can be conveniently structured around two interrelated issues, one *material*, consisting of identifying and constructing opportunities to *personal futures*, for which capital, in different forms, is highly significant, the other *non-material* and being one of constructing a *self-identity*, itself dependent on place-identities.

The first, material issue is exemplified by Rosvall et al (2018) pointing out, in a study of rural youths in Sweden using different ethnographic approaches, the importance of various forms of resources, economic, cultural, and social, as affecting rural youths and in particular "the opportunities that are both available, and can be taken in practice" (ibid, 50). Interestingly, in relation to the results herein, Rosvall et al (ibid, 50) also identify urban opportunities as connected with risks due to the resulting loss of cultural and social capital caused by moving, not dissimilar to the risk associated with low initial capital endowment mentioned in the official discourse herein (section 5.2.3). Rye & Blekesaune (2007), in a cohort study of the migration pattern of all Norwegians born 1965, segregate cultural and economic capital to conclude that increasing social capital enhances the probability of rural youths to move, "the parents transfer an urban *habitus* to their children" (ibid, 185), whereas the importance of economic capital, in terms of father's income, is possibly non-existent and

could even be negative (ibid, 183), especially if distinguishing between income (capital flow) and wealth (capital stock). The importance of the parents' habitus just mentioned can be related to the official discourse as analyzed herein, namely where it singles out the importance of whether a parent has been sentenced for a crime as a more important factor than educational background and income (section 5.2.3).

The second, non-material issue, where the rural youths' decision to stay or to move is seen as part of the construction of self-identity, builds on the identity of different places, in particular their classification as rural or urban. Pedersen & Gram (2018), analyzing 23 in-depth interviews with 49 rural youths in Denmark, find that youths base their choice on contradicting and ambivalent discourses on the rural, but nevertheless subject to a dominant negative discourse, taking into consideration "the potential associated rub-off on their identity" (ibid, 630). Hendry et al (2002), examining leisure focal theory using mixed methods, also stress the importance of perception of places as being instrumental to self-identity. In this respect, Rönnlund's (2020, 125) study mentioned above refers to *processing* identity as consisting of both reflexive and unreflective processes as being part of identification. According to Svensson (2016, 447), both alternatives, to stay or to move, are equally deliberate and reflexive. Either way, Pedersen (2018, 698), drawing on semi-structured interviews with 14 young Danes who have migrated from a rural setting to a large city, note the decision as significant to the self-development of an identity.

The importance of the two issues, material and non-material, relative each other, differ not only over time for a specific individual, but also between individuals, where for instance Kloep et al (2003), based on a questionnaire survey to 4100 adolescents between 11 and 16 years of age in Scotland, Norway and Sweden, show that rural youths intending to stay, have the lowest mean depression scores, suggesting that "they are happy in the security of their local community" (ibid, 106). Thus, although "[c]ompared to those left behind, the educated and the smart are more likely to leave smaller places for larger labor markets" (Keuschnigg, 2019, 1), the choice for some may rather be one where the good life is defined in social or intrinsic rather than economic or instrumental terms (Eimermann, 2015).

3 Theory

Theories relating to social agent behavior, i.e. rural youths in this thesis, as well as the urban and rural are abundant. The following is a presentation of some of the more discussed theories, which are relevant to the three terms.

The behavior exhibited by the youths, in terms of moving or staying, can be considered a social action where, to paraphrase Weber (2019, 79), the subjectively intended meaning, aspiring to a condition of being self-evidently true in a historically given instance, is oriented and related to the behavior of others. Not likely, in this context, as a function of any singular determining desire such as group conformism (e.g. Durkheim & In Bellah, 1973, 100), a wish to escape “the idiocy of rural life” (Marx & Engels, 1955, 14) or to disidentify with “pathologized signs” (Skeggs, 1997, 87), since the rural, although contrasting with the urban norm, hardly can be said to represent a deviation in a socioeconomic or class sense. Rather, to use the terminology of Bourdieu (1998, 25, 32), the behavior is part of the formation of an individual habitus in reply to the existing social fields, including representations of the rural and the urban, surrounding the agent. The discourse under study can be seen as the state sanctioned ordering of these fields - “a space which one has not produced and in which one is born” (Bourdieu, 1998, 86).

The urban is, in the theories of Durkheim, Marx and Weber, associated with opportunities to creativity, progress, efficiency and productivity, but also risks of anomie, indifference and the 'iron cage' (Barker, 2004, 204). This dynamic tension within the urban, notably a significantly greater internal divide in socioeconomic terms compared to the external divide relative the rural (SOU 2019:65, 227-228), serves as the factual base from which the counter-factual rural is most commonly viewed - a key point, since the perception of the divide is determined by which side of the divide it is perceived from (Binelli & Loveless, 2016, 215). Specifically, “when young people are studied, the focus is outside the rural perspective” (Boström & Dahlin, 2018, 46), reiterating the status of the urban as the norm and the decision to move there as being an active future-oriented choice, thereby further stigmatizing young rural remainers as passive and left behind, affecting their self-esteem and self-understanding (Svensson, 2006, 25, 33-34).

The rural may be described, stylistically simplified, as either a) a *part* of a national whole, providing certain products or services based on its comparative advantages, or b) a self-determined *alternative* in terms of, using Weber's (2019, 101) typology, the relative

importance given to values, sentiments, and traditions, especially in contrast with urban-associated instrumentality. As a part, the rural can be viewed as providing an instrumental, in the sense of purposive, value similar to those of ecosystem services. The significance of such services is for instance expressed by Hoggart (2005, 2) as “the imagery that rural areas offer 'a good life', with supportive community cohesion, a lack of social conflict and (relatively) crime-free conditions, means that country areas and rural landscapes have become central to city-region futures”. As an alternative, the rural refuses the primacy of the order underlying agglomeration, i.e. purposive rationality, and instead extols intrinsic values, associated with something felt rather than thought, though not necessarily nostalgic and backward looking but quite possibly as a post-urban response of authenticity in reply to endless urban capital accumulation (Edwards, 2018, 48, 73, 95-97) and “the spirit of calculation” (Bourdieu, 1998, 87). Notably, not authenticity as part of individual self-discovery, which rather is a concept associated with urbanity and being “a support of the system's legitimacy” (Honneth, 2004, 466-467), therefore paradoxically adding to the feeling of non-authenticity, but rather an authenticity external to the self, something absolute in reality, or at least a truth in the Durkheimian sense; stable and impersonal by being collectively formed from common experience (Durkheim & In Bellah, 1973, 211-213). If taken to be an alternative, perhaps even describing it as counter-hegemonic (Bartlett, 2018, 139), the rural constitutes an existential claim against the domination of the urban; “In the context of urban normativity, a hegemonic cultural ideology in the United States and many other urbanized societies, rural people are often put in the position of having external symbols imposed upon them.” (Fulkerson & Thomas, 2014, 39). However, if being a part of, even if perceived to constitute an indispensable and unique part, the rural can only negotiate in the currencies accepted by the urban, i.e. its symbolic order (Bourdieu, 1998, 55).

This idea of the rural-urban dichotomy consisting of contrasting emotion, grounded in the subjective experience of the 'trivialities of the present', with rationality, by necessity consequentialist and future-oriented and therefore including a component of objective abstract calculation, also bears strong resemblance to the view of Simmel in his essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (Simmel & Wolff, 1950, 409-424) in the sense that it is a dichotomy between the private project of the autonomous and finite individual versus the common and seemingly endless project of society.

4 Method and empirical data

The object of study is recent Swedish Government Official Reports (“reports”)¹. The aim is both a) descriptive - to describe the textual context of the three primary keywords, *rural*, *urban* and *youth*, in the reports, as well as b) exploratory - to identify relationships between the three primary keywords as well as with other elements of the textual context, referred to as secondary keywords.

4.1 Data selection and collection

The data consists of a number of reports and each selected individual report is considered a *unit of data collection*. The *units of analysis* are text segments identified in the reports, i.e. the textual context of each occurrence of one of the primary keywords, but also the resulting secondary keywords (Titscher & Jenner, 2000, 58; Paulus & Lester, 2015, 6). The theoretical sampling of reports, i.e. the selection of a subset of all existing reports, is detailed in section 4.1.2 below.

4.1.1 Primary keywords

The three primary Swedish keywords, *landsbygd* (*Eng rural*), *tätort* (*Eng urban*) and *ungdom* (*Eng youth*), were decided upon as they, and variations thereof, hereinafter denoted by the addition of “*” to the respective keyword, as further described under section 4.2 and listed in appendix 2-4, were believed to, jointly and individually, constitute reasonable terms 1) to identify units of data collection, and 2) as initial units of analysis in view of the research questions.

The alternative Swedish keyword *glesbygd*, meaning a sparsely populated area, was also considered, but excluded primarily for reasons of frequency in the sample; *landsbygd** appears more than twice as often as *glesbygd** (1268 and 594 instances respectively). Interestingly though, the stem *gles* (*Eng sparse, thin, rare*) came to reappear later in the

¹The reports are presented by committees appointed by and working according to instructions of the Swedish government. The name in Swedish of such reports, “Statens Offentliga Utredningar”, abbreviated SOU, translates literally into English as “The State’s Public Inquiries”.

analysis as being collocated, in position L2, with *landsbygdsregioner* (*Eng* rural regions), as shown in appendix 5.

The words *urban* and *rural*, in Swedish, were also excluded, as *rural* is rarely used in Swedish (*rural** having a frequency of 44) and *urban* primarily occurs as the stem in the term referring to the process of urbanization, not in reference to a place (*urban** having a frequency count of 413).

Of the three primary keywords, only *tätort* (*Eng* urban) is given an explicit definition in two of the 45 reports of the sample, whereas the other two keywords are rarely defined in any report of the sample. This almost total lack of definition stands out even more as one of the reports specifically recommends the principal to "define terms which are required to carry out assessments and describe measures" (SOU 2018:35, 163; Q6:6) and goes on to state that "it is necessary to establish a language use for the public Sweden that will plan, execute and follow up measures" (SOU 2018:35, 164; Q6:7). The delimitation of the term *ungdom* (*Eng* youth) is somewhat fluid and is used in reference to persons in varying age brackets within the span of 12-25 years of age. In one of the reports appears what seems to be the underlying meaning of youth; the transition period from childhood to establishing oneself with an occupation and a household of one's own (SOU 2020:52, 119).

4.1.2 Population and sampling

The search for reports was made through the Open Access publisher *LiU Electronic Press* of Linköping University², as advised by the Swedish National Library. At the time of data collection, January 2021, the LiU database consisted of 8,738 reports spanning the years 1922-2020 and may be considered the most comprehensive archive of Swedish Government Official Reports. However, from the perspective of this thesis, the entire set of reports is not considered the population; instead, as the interest herein lies on a *current* discourse, the population was arbitrarily defined as the reports finalized and published during the years 2018-2020, both inclusive, which resulted in a population size of 250 reports (N=250). In other words, the perspective is cross-sectional rather than longitudinal. The limited time period, three years, also has the likely benefit of minimizing the variation between texts in terms of both frequency of different words and their meaning due to changes in language use (Bergström & Boréus, 2012, 84). From this population, a theoretical purposive sampling was made of reports containing each of the three primary keywords *ungdom**, *landsbygd** and

² Swedish Government Official Reports, Linköping University Electronic Press, <https://doi.org/10.3384/db.sou>

Second, a discourse analysis is carried out on the textual contexts of the primary keywords but also by coding such contexts with the use of the coding scheme previously developed. Through iterative reading and interpretation, the codes of the coding scheme are developed into conceptual networks consistent with semantic relations, e.g. chains of equivalence or oppositional rewording, in the texts (Fairclough, 2003, 100; Baker & Ellece, 2011, 121). By using the computer software *Atlas.ti*, the substantial number of quotations, all containing at least one of the primary keywords, are transparently linked to the discourse analysis (Paulus & Lester, 2015).

4.2.1 Content analysis

The term *content analysis* was chosen to describe the procedure followed during the first part of the combined method, although the analysis does not employ a pre-defined coding scheme, with the exception of the three primary keywords, by which each unit of analysis is classified, as is customary in "classical, quantitative content analysis" (Titscher & Jenner, 2000, 55). Rather, the aim of the analysis has been precisely to develop such a coding scheme based on the manifest content of the text, i.e. the text itself and not an interpretation thereof, immediately surrounding the primary keywords (Bergström & Boréus, 2012, 51; Dawson, 2002, 118). The difference can also be described as one between deductive content analysis, requiring "a theoretical structure from which a researcher can build an analysis matrix" (Kyngäs et al, 2020, 23), and inductive content analysis, where "the collected data will guide how the analysis progresses" (ibid, 23). As carried out in this study, the codes, with the exception of the three primary keywords, are not, as Neuendorf et al (2017, 31) state, "imposed upon the text from outside (e.g., via a theoretically informed coding mechanism or past studies) or a priori, but they emerge as the researcher undertakes a close reading of a text".

The purpose of completing a separate content analysis, prior to proceeding with the discourse analysis, is to 1) identify text segments which both contain at least one of the primary keywords and provide a meaningful expansion thereof, 2) identify additional words, *secondary keywords*, occurring in such text segments and reflecting said expansion of the primary keywords, i.e. in-vivo codes (Saldana, 2016, 97), and 3) construct an initial coding scheme by accumulating a list of the primary and secondary keywords along with researcher-generated comments on the understanding of the keywords in their respective context.

The key advantages of the content analysis, using the reports in electronic format and using computer aid, viz. 1) replicable and verifiable, 2) objective, 3) accurate, consistent, and

time-efficient, are captured mainly by studying concordance of keywords, also referred to as KWIC - "key word in context" (Adolphs, 2006, 7-8, 51-58).

The detailed steps of the analysis are set out in appendix 9, but can in summary be described as identifying variations of the three primary keywords and forming collocation and concordance of these, resulting in a list of secondary keywords describing the context of the respective occurrence of a primary keyword. The coding scheme thus developed, consisting of both primary and secondary keywords, constitutes the starting point for the subsequent discourse analysis, thereby establishing an empirically grounded collection of variables making up the discourse surrounding the primary keywords (Neuendorf et al, 2017, 140-142).

4.2.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis emanates from the idea that a language is needed for the thoughts and actions which form the social reality, which in turn affects the language itself in a never-ending exchange and in a continuously changing context (Bergström & Boréus, 2012, 354-355, 378-381; Winther Jörgensen & Phillips, 2000, 25). Burr (1995, 113) states that discourse analysis is an "umbrella which covers a wide variety of actual research practice with quite different aims and theoretical backgrounds", while Baker & Ellece (2011, 32) point out that "traditionally, it has involved a 'close reading' of a small amount of text, such as a detailed transcription of a conversation or a magazine article, although in more recent years, discourse analysts have begun to use quantitative or corpus-assisted methods on much larger sets of data". The way used herein departs from the traditional, not only by using a large set of data, but also by making reflexivity less central to the method, wherefore the method may also be referred to as *computer-assisted discourse study* (Baker & Ellece, 2011, 24-25).

A stepwise description of the procedure followed is provided in appendix 10. In brief, it consists of iterative coding of the concordance, commencing from the coding scheme developed as a result of the preceding content analysis, especially with a view to develop semantic relations between codes and concepts.

4.3 Alternative methods and data

An alternative to the content analysis and discourse analysis employed may have been thematic analysis or grounded theory (Dawson, 2002, 115). The overlap between these two is

substantial, which is also the case in relation to content and discourse analysis, but the selected methods were deemed to have relative advantages as described above, although at some expense of openness achieved with grounded theory.

Other modes of collecting data, for instance conducting interviews with representative of the state were rejected under present circumstances, viz the corona virus pandemic, but also for reasons of efficiency and information density.

As for the coding scheme developed and especially the subsequent interrelation of codes, a more defined list of universal semantic relationships could have been used, as proposed by Spradley's 'developmental research sequence method' (Backues, 2019, 46). This was not done as the binary 'equals-contradicts' used was deemed sufficient.

Finally, other textual data reflecting the perspective of the state, e.g. different forms of 'legal information' other than the SOU series³, resulting from the legislative process, such as the Swedish Code of Statutes (*Swe Svensk författningssamling*), were excluded, again for reasons of efficiency and information density.

³<https://www.government.se/legal-documents/>

5 Results

Although the output of the content analysis is only an intermediate result, it is included herein for the sake of transparency. What may be considered the end-result of the study is found under section 5.2.

5.1 Content analysis

Executing the detailed steps of the content analysis, set out in appendix 9, resulted in:

1. The variations of the three primary keywords listed in appendix 2-4.
2. The collocation pattern of the respective primary keywords, based on the entire corpus and with a range of +/- 5 words shown in appendix 5.
3. A concordance of the primary keywords, with a context of approx. +/- 10 words as well as approx. +/- 50 words. Appendix 6 shows an extract exemplifying the two types of concordance.
4. The coding scheme, after elimination of duplications and compression by merging of synonyms, listed in appendix 7.

The three primary keywords occurred a total of 3,111 times in the 45 reports, as shown in the table below:

Table 1
Number of quotations and secondary keywords

| Primary keyword | Number of quotations | Number of secondary keywords |
|-----------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| rural* | 1,260 | 85 |
| urban* | 502 | 96 |
| youth* | 1,349 | 119 |
| sum | 3,111 | - |

Source: Own data.

In the table, a secondary keyword may occur in relation to more than one primary keyword, hence it is not meaningful to sum these. The coding scheme produced, consisting of 142 codes, excluding variations of the primary keywords, provided the input for the subsequent discourse analysis.

5.2 Discourse analysis

With the use of the coding scheme from the content analysis, a total of 369 quotations from 44 reports were coded (one report was excluded as there was a problem in importing the pdf-file into the software - a program bug that has since been rectified). The discourses which emerged from the detailed procedure described in appendix 10 and in reply to the two first research questions are described in the following, where the discourse related to each of the three primary keywords is presented in a separate section. The headline of each section, i.e. *Rural legitimacy*, *Urban efficiency* and *Youth activity* respectively, attempt to capture the essence of the respective discourse. Thereafter, the results in relation to the third research question are presented in a fourth section, headlined *The choice of the rural youths*.

In quotations below, words which are considered elements in the discourse are emphasized using **boldface**. When such elements are used in the analysis to, for instance, show chains of equivalence, they have been *italicized*.

5.2.1 Rural legitimacy

Even though the discourse on rural includes an admittance of a problem of representing structure consistently, as in "no unified and commonly used definition of what sparsely populated and **rural** areas refer to exist" (SOU 2019:36, 194; Q21:3), the general relationship is quite clear; "[f]rom a perspective of municipal finances it is normally cost **efficient** if a large **share** of the population live within a larger **urban** center. It facilitates for the municipality to find economies of scale in its operations" (SOU 2020:8, 166; Q29:49). This relationship between structure and, ultimately, the possibilities to be self-sustaining is perhaps a rather trivial finding, but nevertheless a topic which many of the quotations relating to *rural** link to under such terms as *efficiency*, *taxation*, *subsidies*, and *capacity*, to name a few. The aspect of sustainability, in the form of the element *vitality*, appears in the following quotation, which also introduces *culture* as a significant element;

“The overall goal for a development in a 30-year perspective is a viable countryside with equal opportunities for entrepreneurship, work, housing, and welfare. The Committee emphasizes that the **culture** plays an important role in creating **attractive** living environments and that it can contribute to the **vitality** and the **development** of **rural** areas.” (SOU 2018:23, 105; Q4:1)

In another report (SOU 2019:36, 61), the following year, the overall goal is repeated verbatim, along with three further sub-goals, but without the mention of culture. Yet, even though “[i]t seems as if particularly remote and very remote **rural** municipalities have an exposed **economic** situation with a substantial **dependence** on income from the equalization system [a system for regional redistribution of tax revenue by the state] and general state **subsidies**” (SOU 2020:8, 208; Q29:15), the discourse is not simply one of economics. Nor is it one solely of capacity deficit, although “[t]he challenges for the **small** and shrinking municipalities can be tied to lacking operational and development **capacity** and weak **economic** conditions” (SOU 2020:8, 364; Q29:25). Instead, the ultimate concern of the state is the consequence of a rural-urban *political* divide;

“The demographic development has resulted in that the **capacity** of primarily remote **rural** municipalities has gotten ever weaker. Even if the input side, i.e. the possibility of influence and to demand responsibility in the local democracy, can be maintained, the output side, i.e. the delivery of welfare **services**, risk being weakened further in municipalities with a decreasing population. A local democracy which does not have sufficient **capacity** to carry out its duties will thereby be less valuable to the citizens. Such a situation risks decreasing the **legitimacy** for democracy in the municipality.” (SOU 2020:8, 429; Q29:29)

The chain of equivalence above of *rural - inefficient - incapable - insufficient - dependent - illegitimate*, and the undeniable interest of the central state to maintain control over what it regards as its territory, is further supported by the following quotation;

“During the period 2008 to 2014, state operations were closed down in urban centers of all sizes, but in absolute numbers, government places of work decreased the most in the very smallest of centers. This is a potential problem; government **presence** represented by **authorities** such as the Social Insurance Agency, Public Employment Service and the Police has an importance for the **legitimacy** of **central** government.” (SOU 2020:46, 50; Q36:6)

The risk of decreasing legitimacy is however, not only a “potential problem”, as stated in Q36:6 above. It is reflected as a real problem in the form of higher *criticism* directed at government decisions in rural areas;

“**Rural** municipalities have the highest proportion of decisions with **criticism** [municipal decisions where the parliamentary ombudsman has directed criticism against the municipality] whereas dense municipalities have the lowest proportion. [...] The increase [from 2010-2013 to 2014-2017] is particularly marked for rural municipalities.” (SOU 2020:8, 345; Q29:41)

The state's attempt to counter the above destabilizing chain and instead, despite rural inefficiencies, establish something along the lines of *attractive - vital - growing - capable - legitimate* is where the element of *culture* is given its instrumental role; “the **culture** plays an important role in creating **attractive** habitats which contribute to the **viability** and development and [the committee] proposes that the state should take greater responsibility for the **cultural offerings** in rural areas” (SOU 2018:23, 417; Q4:2). Even with a charitable reading and disregarding the fact that culture is often stated in the singular definite form, i.e. “the culture”, it is difficult not to form the impression of culture as something which is provided by a central state to the inhabitants of rural regions; “**Access** to different kinds of **culture** is also an important part of the supply of **services** which also contributes to the local **attractivity**” (SOU 2020:8, 313; Q29:22). This instrumental use of culture, and the view of culture as something which can be supplied, takes on almost comic proportions when “The Artists' Committee emphasizes [...] that 70% of artists live in the three urban centers [where 50% of the population live] and that the trend is of increasing concentration to large cities.” (SOU 2018:23, 106; Q4:3). The transfer of cultural capital, like that of economic subsidies, from urban to rural for the purpose of securing political legitimacy may of course function to fix the rural as not only economically but also culturally incapable. However, this assumes that the elements, specifically rural and culture, are used with the meaning implied by the official discourse. Whether these meanings are largely shared by rural inhabitants is an open question.

5.2.2 Urban efficiency

The state's discourse on urban can be understood from the status given in the discourse to the agglomeration effect as a *natural* phenomenon;

“There is [...] in every society based on a **market** economy, a **natural** tendency for **concentration** of different forms of capital. It is visible geographically [...] It is also visible in the competition between companies [...] Such differences also exist between households, where the resource-strong with higher **education** and higher **income** more easily can exploit **opportunities** and overcome disturbances to their maintenance than resource-weak households.” (SOU 2020:46, ;Q36:1a)

I will not address *how* this “natural tendency” relates to inequalities through various factors such as production factors, innovation, market power, political decisions etc., but simply note that, as per the discourse, the agglomeration *is* positively correlated with such terms as economies of scale, efficiency, specialization, formalization, and standardization. This can be found sprinkled throughout the reports, e.g. in reference to 1) economic efficiency, “The **economies of scale** which a larger municipality can achieve are simply not possible for a smaller municipality” (SOU 2020:33, 608; Q34:1), 2) specialization, “a condition to carrying out the curriculum in the everyday work was teams with **different teacher competencies**” (SOU 2020:34, 203; Q35:4) and 3) formalization, “[h]ighest portion of **certified** teachers is found in metropolitan municipalities and dense municipalities close to a larger city” (SOU 2020:8, 341; Q29:40). Standardization also belongs to this cluster of inter-related and agglomeration-related terms, but seemingly also with a negative value of a non-economic kind; “When it comes to multifamily buildings with a **standardized** design, it is mainly **outside** urban areas and central locations that conditions exist to build such buildings. In that way, land in peripheral locations is attractive for building standardized housing” (SOU 2020:75, 206; Q44:4), where it should be noted that the cause of viability is standardization, as separate from economies of scale. What the “conditions” are which make it possible to construct standardized housing units on the periphery but not in the center, is not stated. Following the idea of natural agglomeration of capital, one would expect to see an ordering of cultural and aesthetic values consistent with pushing less valued expressions to the periphery, away from the center, meaning that standardization is instrumentally useful but intrinsically abhorred.

Agglomeration is, as stated in Q36:1a above, correlated with the ability to capitalize on opportunities and overcome difficulties. However, the discourse does not define agglomeration as simply a matter of volume but also of density, both being positively related to growth and having a diffuse effect outside the area where they are present;

“Economies of scale, increasing specialization and knowledge exchange happen not only within the urban regions of large cities. The **vicinity to dense**

environments within all types of regions is central to the regional **growth.**” (SOU 2019:65, 209; Q24:10).

While the state views agglomeration and the resulting inequalities and segregating effect as natural, it also expresses a possibility to proactively control and reactively compensate for such inequalities;

“That which may **balance** the above-described tendencies to **concentration**, power **imbalances** and **inequality** is public **intervention** of different kinds. Geographic concentration can be countered by infrastructure investment, expanded higher education and other types of **regional politics**. Power imbalances between companies can be countered by anti-competitive **regulations** and innovation **support** to SMEs. The situation for resource-weak individuals and households can be strengthened in the short term with **transfers** and in the long term with **education.**” (SOU 2020:46, 36; Q36:1b)

To summarize the above, the state discourse on the urban can be described by the chain *agglomeration - mass - specialization - standardization - formalization - efficiency - imbalance - inequality - redistribution*. Within this chain, all elements, with the exception of the last, are seen as natural and the inequalities and hierarchies emerge as a spontaneous order, i.e. from decentralized decisions by social agents. The redistribution takes place both as transfers to compensate for inequalities and by modifying structures, such as institutions, to increase the choices faced by the agents and the capacity of agents to handle such choices themselves, notably at individual, household, organizational and regional levels. No motives for such redistributive efforts were identified in the discourse, but they may of course make sense purely from a perspective of system integrity. Without some redistribution, a loss of legitimacy and ultimately a threat of system collapse may result, linked with a possibly even greater redistribution but more importantly, a loss of some, if not all, agglomerative structures, as in Year Zero⁴.

5.2.3 Youth activity

In the discourse relating to youth in general, the starting point of the life-trajectory of the individual can be understood as a set of entirely arbitrary, but decisive, initial conditions. Such conditions, a combination of situational placement and capital endowment, constitute factors which are evident in the household and may have consequences for the individual. In the

⁴ The term Year Zero is here used in the sense of a social ‘reset’, e.g. as willfully attempted by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in 1975.

following quotation, the situational placement is evidently not only in reference to the individual relative the household, but also that of the household to its surroundings;

“There is no information concerning the number of children living in over-indebted families, and studies showing the effects of **over-indebtedness** on children and **youths** are missing. However, international studies of how children are affected by **isolation** and **poverty** are relatively consistent in showing that it may have consequences in the adult life, such as poorer **health**, lower **educational** achievement, larger exposure to violence and poorer connection with the **employment market**.” (SOU 2020:46, 785; Q37:8)

Apart from the *economic* capital of the household, the *educational* capital of the parents is a factor not only correlated with the educational *choice* of the youth, but with the *capacity* to handle the complexity of the choice process itself;

“The inclination of pupils to choose [...] has, according to many studies, a clear connection with the level of **education** of their **parents**. [...] **youths** who choose vocational [high school] programs tend to have parents with shorter formal education compared to youths who choose college preparatory programs. It is also emphasized that pupils with parents without higher education, risk being disadvantaged in the choice process, as they do not have the same **resources** to handle the complexity of freedom of **choice**.” (SOU 2020:33, 119; Q34:12)

In other words, the access to alternatives and the capacity to identify and capitalize on the opportunities which such alternatives represent, are identified as two separate issues. Both are however positively correlated with the natural tendency to agglomeration, as per Q36:1a (section 5.2.2).

In the discourse, the natural self-reinforcing positive spiral of agglomeration is contrasted with a number of risk factors, all relating to *crime*. One of the most prominent of such factors is an almost unavoidable aspect of the home; ”The role model provided by fathers is of great importance; whether the **parent** has been sentenced for a **crime** or not is, along with the family structure, more important than educational background and income.” (SOU 2020:46, 345; Q36:22). Outside the home, the very vicinity to crime is again, as in the home, identified as a risk factor;

“In **areas** with socioeconomic challenges there are several synergistic factors which each may lead to increasing criminality in the area. It concerns, among others, **unemployment**, **ill-health**, and **unfinished schooling**. The factors contribute to youths in these areas having a higher risk of becoming involved in **crime**.” (SOU 2020:45, 1142; Q37:13)

To minimize the risk of a youth becoming involved in criminality, which in a social setting can be seen as preventing the youth from becoming an opportunity for more opportunistic others to exploit, the discourse focuses on three key points;

“Based on research concerning the causes of the criminality of youths, the crime preventive work should have three focal points; to influence or change the **individual**, to change the **environment** and to lessen the **exposure** to crime generating environments.” (SOU 2020:47, 444; Q38:5)

Intimately associated with the element of crime is the element of *addiction*, primarily of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs, both as an environmental aspect as well as individual behavior. In this context, the element of *isolation* seen in Q37:8 above reappears, but now as *exclusion*;

“[T]he most effective measures are **preventive**. A large portion of the **criminal** careers can be explained by failures in **school**, which in turn often are connected to neuropsychiatric **diagnoses**, **addiction** in the **family** and similar problems. If one, **early on**, is successful in identifying children and youths in the risk zone and in setting up support measures, one can avoid much higher personal and socioeconomic costs further on in life. **Exclusion** early on in life increases the risk of **dysfunctional** behavioral patterns.” (SOU 2020:46, 59; Q36:8)

The two elements of *crime* and *addiction* are related to two of the key points mentioned in Q38:5, viz ‘change the individual’ and ‘lessen the exposure’, as well as the element of *exclusion* mentioned in Q36:8 above, through a pivotal strategy of *activation*. In practice, this strategy is substantially implemented by state subsidies to sports and music with the aim of reducing the risk factors while encouraging participation in a capacity-building activity, as shown in the following two quotations.

“Behaviors are many times shaped at an early age, which is why it is important that efforts to **stimulate** healthy life choices primarily are targeted at the younger. A healthy lifestyle during the child and **youth** years promotes **health** in adulthood and by extension **income** and economic **security**.” (SOU 2020:46, 809; Q 37:10)

“The state support to organizations amounted to SEK 54 billion in 2014. There are different motives for such support. One argument is that **activities** in clubs increase both **youths'** and adults' ability to cooperate in groups and respect collective decision-making and thereby add to the **democratic** infrastructure in the country.” (SOU 2020:46, 422; Q36:29)

However, the discourse also expresses a shortcoming of the strategy, namely the fact that activation itself is positively correlated with the natural concentration of capital and opportunities; “A favorable socioeconomic background increases the probability of active participation in different forms of sport.” (SOU 2020:46, 422; Q36:30).

To sum up, the youth discourse can be described as a progression of natural fit, being a process of identifying and acting on opportunities appropriate to the changeable capability of the individual, commencing from a situation of initial conditions, both as personal physical capital and household capital of different forms; *initial conditions - health - right education - right employment*. Even under relatively limited initial conditions, a natural fit can develop since the ability to make the 'right' choice is defined as the ability, early on, to act in one's own long-term interest;

“The authors' conclusion that measures to get children and youths to **choose** the 'right' educational path, i.e. a path which given their **preconditions**, has a high probability of being perceived, in retrospect, as successful, must be made early in life.” (SOU 2020:46, 337; Q36:18)

The threat to the development of such a natural fit, conducive to both individual and social agglomeration, comes from addiction and crime, which the state tries to counter by activating the youth in social participation. In other words, unless the individual opportunistic agglomeration finds a fit by being activated into a wider social agglomerative context, the individual risks being identified as an opportunity preyed upon by alternative groups.

5.2.4 The choice of the rural youths

Each of the three discourses above concerns one of the three primary keywords and thus are relevant to the first two of the research questions. To tackle the third research question requires an identification of an overlap or interrelation of the separate discourses, in effect putting the rural youths in relation to both rural and urban. As the explicit discourse overlap, i.e. parts of the text which concern all three primary keywords, consists of only a handful of disparate quotations, the analysis has to rely on interrelation. This is achieved by relating the separate discourse on each primary keyword to each other via the secondary keywords and the semantic relationships between these (Baker & Ellece, 2011, 62, 64). Such interrelation should arguably proceed from the natural agglomeration effect, e.g. as mentioned in Q36:1a above, given its central status permeating the discourse on the urban at all levels, from the individuals to society as a whole, but also the discourse on both rural and youth. In the

discourse on the rural, the focus is on finding a directing principle, possibly being the element of culture, which is consistent with agglomeration, thereby facilitating self-sufficiency and capability and avoiding a problem of legitimacy. The mechanism for how this happens is a rather mute part of the rural discourse, apart from that it has to happen and possibly could happen by the use of culture. In contrast, in the discourse on youth, *how* individual agglomeration can be stimulated, given an arbitrary initial endowment, and the related topic of managing the risks threatening such agglomeration, makes up the lion's share of the discourse and is very specific, namely a strategy of activation in sports and music.

As agglomeration of different forms of capital is presented as a natural fit, it is taken to be in the self-interest of the individual, including that of rural youths, and is largely evident on a market of abilities. The opposite, a mismatch, is in no one's interest;

“The **mismatch** between the **needs** on the employment **market**, **supply** and pupils' **choices** of education affect the supply of **competence** and youths' possibility of a smooth transition from school to working life. The mismatch results in **costs** to **employers**, to **society** and, not least, to the **individuals** whose path to the employment **market** becomes unnecessarily crooked.” (SOU 2020:33, 20; Q34:3)

Not only is the focus on *initiating* or *sustaining* a process of agglomeration, as in the case of the rural, but even making it happen more *quickly* is identified as a benefit to both individuals and society;

“An additional socioeconomic effect of **speeding** up the entry of the young on the employment **market** is a decrease of mental ill-health among youths and young adults, which is a burden to both the **individual** directly as well as to **public** finances.” (SOU 2020:33, 765; Q34:39)

Apart from the interrelation via the element of agglomeration, the discourses on rural and youth are also related via the elements of activation and culture. The state articulates an ambition to promote both the rural as well as the youths to become part of the agglomerative process via the element of culture; relative rural in the general term of 'the culture' and relative the youths in the specific terms of sports and music. Culture thus takes on a role of a nodal point in the various discourses while becoming a floating signifier between the discourses (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000, 33, 35). Seen from the perspective of the state, culture in the youth discourse, being an instrument of risk management, has reached stability in what it contains, namely sports and music, whereas it is relatively empty in the state's discourse on rural; it is only articulated where it is produced (in the city) and what it is used for (to attract).

As such, it is perhaps not so much of a discursive struggle, but more a matter of discursive bewilderment.

In contrast, culture is largely absent from the urban discourse; it only appears once in relation to facilitating for socioeconomically disadvantaged urban youths to make their voices heard (SOU 2018:23, 24). I argue that this absence, a discursive void, is explained by culture not having an instrumental value, a function, in the urban, but being a consequence and an expression of agglomeration itself and its supporting structure. In other words, agglomeration and all that goes with it *is* the culture.

Given this configuration, what may be called a *myth of natural order* seems to emerge, where order consists of to what degree the fit of the individual to the social structure contributes to agglomeration. In other words, a perfect fit, total order, happens when each individual behaves in a way where its behavior maximally contributes to the social agglomeration and perceives that it has done so. This implies that the choice situation of the rural youths may be understood as one of either a) moving to the urban as consistent with and giving priority to agglomeration, in other words by maximizing the content of and speed one brings abilities to the market or b) remaining in the rural, thereby possibly expressing a significantly different preference for something, or even perceiving it outside the rationality of the market by being either priceless or worthless. However, the discourse does not express what such alternative values or preferences to the urban-connoted order of agglomeration, instrumental and future-oriented, may be.

6 Conclusion

The focus of this thesis is on describing and exploring the discourse of the Swedish state in relation to the three terms rural, urban and youth, as well as to the choice situation of rural youths, whether to stay or move to an urban area.

A combined method of content analysis and discourse analysis is used to ground the results in the text of more than 24,000 pages of Swedish Government Official Reports, published during the years 2018-2020. Based on 3,111 occurrences of the three terms, a coding scheme of approx. 140 codes is developed and used to code and interrelate a total of 369 quotations, both for the purpose of detailing the separate discourse on each of the three terms, but also to intertextually relate them.

The results of the combined method show that the discourse of the state articulates;

- The difficulties of rural areas to maintain efficiency and capacity, causing the state to transfer both economic and cultural capital from the urban to the rural areas for the purpose of maintaining legitimacy.
- The natural tendency of agglomeration, making urban areas of high mass efficient, but also unavoidably creating socioeconomic inequalities within these. The state identifies the possibility of compensating for inequalities reactively by transfers, but also proactively through structural changes, e.g. to institutions. No reason for such measures against inequality is found.
- The natural progress of fit by individual youths to their environment, originating from a position of initial conditions. A process of individual agglomeration, predominantly founded on education, serves the purpose of social agglomeration, effectuated through the mechanism of a market of abilities. The state encourages youths to become involved in the common social project and manages the risk of crime and addiction through a strategy of activation, largely consisting of participation in sports and music.
- The choice of rural youths to remain or move to an urban setting as dependent on the relative valuation of two mutually exclusive alternatives, one based on agglomerative primacy, where a move to the urban is consistent with maximizing the exchange value of one's abilities, the other undefined in the discourse.

In relation to the various theories presented in the theory section, the results warrant a few remarks:

The rural element in the discourse does not bear much resemblance to the theories; it is not presented as a deviation, nor is it appearing as stigmatized or pathologized, as mentioned by for instance Svensson (2006), but simply as lacking capacity to be self-sustaining due to its lower density. The urban element, on the other hand, comes across in the discourse as strongly related to the efficiency which figures prominently in especially the theories of Weber (2019). However, the various risks he, Durkheim as well as Marx (Barker, 2004, 204) associate with the urban do not appear. Instead, it is the resulting inequalities which give cause for action. Finally, in reference to youth and the choice situation, the discourse depicts these as consistent with Weber's *Zweckrationalität*, i.e. purposive rationality (Weber, 2019, 107-109, 115, 487), and also with Bourdieu's (1998) concept of habitus.

Existing research, as presented in the research overview, can be related to particularly two of the findings herein: 1) Rosvall et al (2018, 50) identify urban opportunities as connected with risks due to the resulting loss of cultural and social capital caused by moving. I argue that the discourse's expression of risks associated with underprivileged initial conditions, as detailed in section 5.2.3, is essentially the same structure. 2) Rye & Blekesaune (2007) conclude that increasing cultural capital, in absolute terms, enhances the probability of youths to move. Even though their definition of the youths' cultural capital is limited to "their fathers' education level measured in total years" (ibid, 177), they find it credible that the habitus is essential to the decision (ibid, 185). I argue that the discourse's identification of the importance of whether a parent has been sentenced for a crime as a more important factor than educational background and income, see section 5.2.3, is a similar configuration of habitus.

Several of the articles included in the research overview not only touch on the need to develop a more complex understanding of rurality and how rural youths relate to both urban and rural, but also contribute to such a development. Against this backdrop, I find the 'deafening silence' of the state's discourse in respect of any competing order of non-agglomeration, i.e. where the individual is not primarily seeking to fit in, curious. While the exclusion of such alternatives from the discourse can be seen as symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1998, 33, 143), I hold it more likely that it is the problem of operationalizing concepts which prevents alternative values or perspectives to enter into the discourse. Until the concepts have made such an entrance, rural youths not accepting the agglomerative primacy will be limited to living these alternative values or preferential orderings, but will be denied representation in the official discourse. Such exclusion is likely detrimental to the legitimacy of the discourse

of the state. However, an alternative explanation is that freedom of non-participation is indeed excluded on purpose, as ‘unthinkable’, in which case it could be described as symbolic exclusion.

Consistent with the above, the discourse shows a mechanistic, enabling role of the state; it seems to have a purely executive ambition, not a developing one. In other words, the state relies on the individual to define the meaning of its actions, and limits its role to create an enabling structure for the individual to realize and express such meanings. However, when the overall agglomerative goal of making everybody fit into a social whole comes into conflict with the project of the individual, it becomes difficult for the individual to, paraphrasing Simmel (Simmel & Wolff, 1950, 421), simply identify, see, or hear its inner voice and make use of its freedom to develop and follow its inner nature without inhibition – the subjective spirit is simply drowning in the clamor from the objective spirit. The intrinsic individual is levelled by the instrumental social project.

In view of the monolithic state discourse of rationality, I surmise that such intrinsic and present-oriented factors, or even the weighing of the present versus the future, could be what explain the decision of some rural youths to remain, better than factors showing up in databases readily available and suitable for statistical analysis. Therefore, assembling a more grounded list of possibly relevant factors, pointing to purposes competing with agglomeration or ‘fitting-in’, for instance through ethnographic studies involving rural youths, seems like the natural complement to the results of this study, both for epistemic and emancipatory reasons, as pointed out by Schäfer (2007, 125);

“In order to challenge the perception of East German youths as either deviants or victims, more attention needs to be paid to discourses by rather than about them. In particular, it is important to understand the lifestyle strategies adopted by young people in response to challenges or changes that they view as affecting their lives.”

It would also constitute a crucial step in detailing the decision-making mechanism at a micro level, i.e. from the perspective of the agents themselves, and building realistic agent-based models which can be used to simulate how macro-patterns materialize from micro-behavior with the use of such tools as NetLogo (Bianchi & Squazzoni, 2015, 284, 301). With the use of agent-based models, it may be possible to bridge the gap between ethnographic studies primarily describing phenomena in qualitative terms and statistical analysis requiring concepts operationalized in quantitative data.

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3. SOU 2018:16:d2
4. SOU 2018:23
5. SOU 2018:28
6. SOU 2018:35
7. SOU 2018:43
8. SOU 2018:46:d2
9. SOU 2018:50
10. SOU 2018:55
11. SOU 2018:58
12. SOU 2018:74
13. SOU 2018:84
14. SOU 2018:88
15. SOU 2018:92
16. SOU 2019:8
17. SOU 2019:17
18. SOU 2019:20
19. SOU 2019:22
20. SOU 2019:29
21. SOU 2019:36
22. SOU 2019:42
23. SOU 2019:58
24. SOU 2019:64
25. SOU 2019:65
26. SOU 2019:66
27. SOU 2019:67
28. SOU 2019:68
29. SOU 2020:1
30. SOU 2020:8
31. SOU 2020:14
32. SOU 2020:17
33. SOU 2020:25
34. SOU 2020:28
35. SOU 2020:33
36. SOU 2020:34
37. SOU 2020:46
38. SOU 2020:46:d2
39. SOU 2020:47
40. SOU 2020:48
41. SOU 2020:52
42. SOU 2020:63:d3
43. SOU 2020:66
44. SOU 2020:73
45. SOU 2020:75

Appendix 2: Ungdom*

1. UNGDOM
2. UNGDOMSANSTALT
3. UNGDOMSARBEIDE
4. UNGDOMSARBETSLÖSHET
5. UNGDOMSARBETSMARKNAD
6. UNGDOMSBAROMETERN
7. UNGDOMSBOSTÄDER
8. UNGDOMSBROTTLIGHET
9. UNGDOMSBROTTLINGAR
10. UNGDOMSDOMSTOLAR
11. UNGDOMSENKÄTER
12. UNGDOMSFRÅGOR
13. UNGDOMSFÖRBUND
14. UNGDOMSFÖRFATTAREFÖRENING
15. UNGDOMSFÖRVALTNINGEN
16. UNGDOMSGARANTIER
17. UNGDOMSHABILITERINGEN
18. UNGDOMSHEM
19. UNGDOMSHÄKTE
20. UNGDOMSJOB BEN
21. UNGDOMSKONTORET
22. UNGDOMSKONTRAKT
23. UNGDOMSKRIMINALITET
24. UNGDOMSKULLAR
25. UNGDOMSKULTUREN
26. UNGDOMSMOTTAGNING
27. UNGDOMSMÅL
28. UNGDOMSNEUROLOGI
29. UNGDOMSNÄMNDEN
30. UNGDOMSOPERAN
31. UNGDOMSORGANISATIONER
32. UNGDOMSPEDAGOGISK
33. UNGDOMSPERSPEKTIV
34. UNGDOMSPLATTFORMEN
35. UNGDOMSPOLITIK
36. UNGDOMSPSYKIATRI
37. UNGDOMSPSYKOLOGI
38. UNGDOMSPÅFÖLJDER
39. UNGDOMSREDUKTION
40. UNGDOMSREPRESENTATION
41. UNGDOMSRÅD
42. UNGDOMSRÖRELSE
43. UNGDOMSSKOLAN
44. UNGDOMSSTATISTIKEN
45. UNGDOMSSTYRELSEN
46. UNGDOMSTIDEN
47. UNGDOMSTJÄNST
48. UNGDOMSUDDANNELSER
49. UNGDOMSUPPDRAG
50. UNGDOMSUTBILDNING
51. UNGDOMSVERK
52. UNGDOMSVERKSAMHET
53. UNGDOMSVETENSKAP
54. UNGDOMSVÅRD
55. UNGDOMSVÅRDSKOMMITTÉN
56. UNGDOMSVÄRDAR
57. UNGDOMSYRKEN
58. UNGDOMSÅREN
59. UNGDOMSÄRENDEN
60. UNGDOMSÖVERVAKNING

Appendix 3: Tätort*

1. TÄTORT
2. TÄTORTSAREAL
3. TÄTORTSAVGRÄNSNINGEN
4. TÄTORTSBEFOLKNING
5. TÄTORTSBEGREPPET
6. TÄTORTSBILDNING
7. TÄTORTSDELEN
8. TÄTORTSGENOMFARTER
9. TÄTORTSGRAD
10. TÄTORTSKOMMUNER
11. TÄTORTSLUFT
12. TÄTORTSMILJÖ
13. TÄTORTSMÄTNINGAR
14. TÄTORTSNAMN
15. TÄTORTSNIVÅ
16. TÄTORTSNÄRA
17. TÄTORTSOMRÅDEN
18. TÄTORTSRANDEN
19. TÄTORTSSTORLEKAR
20. TÄTORTSSTRUKTUR
21. TÄTORTSTRAFIK

Appendix 4: Landsbygd*

1. LANDSBYGD
2. LANDSBYGD FISKE
3. LANDSBYGD SBEFOLKNINGENS
4. LANDSBYGD SBETONADE
5. LANDSBYGD SBOR
6. LANDSBYGD SDEFINITIONER
7. LANDSBYGD SDEPARTEMENTET
8. LANDSBYGD SEFFEKTERNA
9. LANDSBYGD SFRÅGA
10. LANDSBYGD SFÖRETAGANDE
11. LANDSBYGD SFÖRORDNING
12. LANDSBYGD SKOMMITTÉN
13. LANDSBYGD SKOMMUN
14. LANDSBYGD SKOMPEN
15. LANDSBYGD SLINJER
16. LANDSBYGD SLÅN
17. LANDSBYGD SMILJÖER
18. LANDSBYGD SNÄRINGAR
19. LANDSBYGD SOMRÅDEN
20. LANDSBYGD SORT
21. LANDSBYGD SPERSPEKTIV
22. LANDSBYGD SPOLITIK
23. LANDSBYGD SPOLITISKA
24. LANDSBYGD SPROGRAM
25. LANDSBYGD SREGION
26. LANDSBYGD SSAMHÄLLET
27. LANDSBYGD SSKOLOR
28. LANDSBYGD SSTIPENDIER
29. LANDSBYGD STRAFIK
30. LANDSBYGD SUTREDNINGEN
31. LANDSBYGD SUTVECKLARE
32. LANDSBYGD SUTVECKLING
33. LANDSBYGD SUTVECKLINGS-
FÖRORDNING
34. LANDSBYGD SUTVECKLINGS-
PROGRAMMET
35. LANDSBYGD SUTVECKLINGS-
ÅTGÄRDER
36. LANDSBYGD SVERKET
37. LANDSBYGD SKOMMUN

Appendix 5: Collocation

| L5 | L4 | L3 | L2 | L1 | Centre | R1 | R2 | R3 | R4 | R5 |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| STÖRRE | STAD | MYCKET | AVLÄGSET | AVLÄGSNA | LANDSBYGDSKOMMUNENÄRA | AVLÄGSET | BELÄGNA | STÖRRE | STAD | AVLÄGSET |
| STAD | BELÄGNA | STÄDER | MYCKET | BELÄGEN | LANDSBYGDEN | AVLÄGSET | AVLÄGSET | STAD | MYCKET | ARBETE |
| AVLÄGSET | MINDRE | NÄRA | STÖRRE | BELÄGNA | LANDSBYGD | MYCKET | BESÖKSVÅRING | BELÄGNA | LANDSBYGDSREGION | STÖRRE |
| BELÄGEN | LANDSBYGDSREGION | REGION | STAD | STAD | LANDSBYGDSREGION | KOMMUNER | STÖRRE | BELÄGEN | TILL | TILL |
| TILL | AVLÄGSNA | LANDSBYGDSREGION | TÄTORTER | SVERIGES | LANDSBYGDSKOMMUN TILL | KOMMUNER | BELÄGEN | LANDSBYGDSREGION | KOMMUNER | KOMMUNER |
| BELÄGNA | TILL | MELLAN | GLÉS | PARLAMENTARISKA | LANDSBYGDSREGIONER SAMT | SAMMANHÅLLEN | SAMMANHÅLLEN | POLITIK | NÄRA | GÖTEBORG |
| PROCENT | TÄTA | MINDRE | AREELLA | TILL | LANDSBYGDSPROGRAMMUNER | LIVSMEDEL | LIVSMEDEL | MINDRE | LANDSBYGDSREGIONER | STOCKHOLM |
| INOM | UTGIFTSOMRÅDE | TILL | SÄRSKILT | FRÅN | LANDSBYGDSKOMMUNEELLER | TILL | TILL | STOR | UTMANINGAR | TÄTA |
| MINDRE | NÄRA | GÖTEBORG | LÄGST | MINDRE | LANDSBYGDER | HADE | STRANDVÅRA | TILL | TÄTORT | ÖREBRO |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | L4 | L3 | L2 | L1 | Centre | R1 | R2 | R3 | R4 | R5 |
| TILL | PENDLINGSKOMMUN | NÄRA | MINDRE | STAD | TÄTORT | ELLER | LANDSBYGDSKOMMUNENÄRA | MINDRE | STAD | STAD |
| RESVÄG | INVÄNARE | FRÅN | STÄDER | STÖRRE | TÄTORTER | STORLEK | MINST | PROCENT | STÖRRE | INVÄNARE |
| MYCKET | PENDLINGSKOMMUNER | MINDRE | TILL | STÄDER | TÄTORTSGRAD | KOMMUNER | PENDLINGSKOMMUN | TILL | | PROCENT |
| UTFRÅN | LÅNGT | TILL | ROTEN | MINDRE | TÄTORTEN | NATUR | KOMMUNEN | MINST | | |
| STÖRRE | KOMMUNER | SAMT | ARBETSPENDLING | STÖRSTA | TÄTORTERNA | ANNAN | ANNAN | MINDRE | | |
| | VARIABLERNA | ELLER | | TILL | TÄTORTSBEFOLKNINGEN | GLESBYGD | | | | |
| | STÖRRE | KOMMUNER | | ELLER | TÄTORTSNÄRA | | | | | |
| | BEFOLKNINGEN | MELLAN | | UTANFÖR | TÄTORTERNAS | | | | | |
| | | | | OLIKA | TÄTORTSBEFOLKNINGENS | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| L5 | L4 | L3 | L2 | L1 | Centre | R1 | R2 | R3 | R4 | R5 |
| SÄRSKILD | SERVICE | SOCIALA | BARN | TILL | UNGDOMAR | EFTERFRÅGAN | KOMMUNEN | TILL | TILL | TILL |
| INOM | TILL | TILL | TILL | ELLER | UNGDOMARS | ELLER | CIVILSAMHÄLLESFRÅGO BEHOV | INTE | INTE | FÖRÄLDRAHEMMET |
| TILL | INOM | VERKSTÄLLIGHET | MYNDIGHETEN | SLUTEN | UNGDOMSVÅRD | ÖNSKEMÅL | VUXNA | ERBUJDS | UTANFÖR | UTBILDNING |
| ELLER | ANPASSAS | KONSTVÄRLIGA | BARN | SÄRSKILDA | UNGDOM | ENLIGT | TILL | INTE | GIMNASIEUTBILDNING | UNGA |
| ANSVARAR | INTE | INOM | ELLER | ALLA | UNGDOMSVÅRDEN | MELLAN | ÅLDERN | ELLER | SÄRSKILDA | UNGDOMSHEM |
| UTBILDNING | OLIKA | ANDEL | ALLA | BARN | UNGDOMSVÅRDEN | TILL | BEHÖVER | ELLER | UTBILDNING | ARBETSMARKNADENS |
| STATSBIDRAG | UNGA | SOCIALTJÄNSTENS | HÄNSYN | SÄRSKILT | UNGDOMARNAS | 2016 | INTE | BAKGRUND | INOM | BARN |
| MÖJLIGT | FRÅN | BARN | PRODUKTIONSHUS | BEHÖRIGA | UNGDOMS | BEHOV | TILLGÅNG | UTBILDNING | ELLER | ELLER |
| VARA | SÄRSKILDA | ERBUIDA | BOSTÄDER | MÅNGA | UNGDOMARNAS | LIKA | UTLÄNSK | OMRÅDEN | VARA | RAPPORT |

Appendix 6: Example of concordance

15 of the 1,349 occurrences of “ungdom*” (youth) with concordance of approx. +/- 10 words on screen, but truncated here to fit the page:

tnaden för samhället beror bl.a. på hur många **ungdomar** som lämnar grundskolan med låga eller ofullst
kt behovet av att reformera skolan så att ”all **ungdom** som har lust och fallenhet att väl tillgodogör
ka utbildningen också bidra till att 1. möta **ungdomars** efterfrågan och behov, och 2. fylla ett arbe
§ skollagen skyldig att erbjuda alla behöriga **ungdomar** i hemkommunen programinriktat val, yrkesintro
om att det brister i matchningen mellan vissa **ungdomars** utbildningsval och arbetsmarknadens kompeten
icinska diagnoser, missbrukare, ensamkommande **ungdomar**, unga vuxna, studenter, nyanlända och äldre i
pp de insatser som görs för att genomföra **ungdomspolitiken** i stort. MUCF hade 2014-2017 i uppdrag a
-hem). På de särskilda ungdomshemmen tas även **ungdomar** emot för verkställighet av slutna ungdomsvård
tisk uppföljning inom den sociala barn- och **ungdomsvården** fungerar i praktiken. Uppgifterna i Webbko
.....1427 40.2.7 Anstaltsvård och slutna **ungdomsvård**1435 40.2.8 Frihetsberövand
el). FN:s riktlinjer för förhindrande av **ungdomsbrottslighet** (Riyadhriktlinjerna⁶) och FN:s regler o
ljö. 2013. Arbetsmiljöverket, Så får barn och **ungdomar** arbeta. 2015. Barnombudsmannen, Mänskliga rät
av både offentliga och privata verksamheter. **Ungdomar** flyttar ”till stan”, äldre i behov av vård fl
er bostad med särskild service för barn eller **ungdomar** som behöver bo utanför föräldrahemmet är en ä
t sparande bör vara attraktivt även för barn, **ungdomar** och studerade som inte har någon beskattnings

Example of extended concordance of approx. ca +/- 50 words on screen, but abbreviated here, of “ungdom*” (youth):

omgivningen. För att kunna lära måste elever generellt sett känna trygghet, omtanke och tillit. I journalisten och författaren Emma Leijnses bok Godkänt? En reportagebok om den svenska skolan kommenterar Henric Kahlmeter då chef för Barn- och **ungdomskontoret** i Fosie, detta förhållande: ”Vi har barn som vi måste göra undervisningsbara innan vi kan börja undervisa”.⁴⁴ Han beskriver hur barn med många ”krossade vuxenrelationer bakom sig” uppfattar vuxna som ”sådana som försvinner” och därmed saknas

Appendix 7: Code list

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| ability | daily life | impoverishment |
| access | daycare | income |
| active | demand | indebtedness |
| addiction | democracy | individual |
| age | demography | indoor |
| air | density | innovation |
| analyze | development | institutions |
| art | digitization | integrity |
| attractive | direction | investment |
| automation | distance | jobs |
| bike | distribution | legitimacy |
| calculation | earnings | matching |
| capacity | education | meaning |
| car | efficiency | measures |
| certified | elderly | mobility |
| change | electrification | myth |
| choice | environment | nature |
| civil_soc | equality | network |
| clubs | equalization | obligations |
| cognition | exposed | opportunity |
| competence | factual | order |
| competition | feeling | outdoor |
| complexity | focus | outsider |
| consequences | friends | overweight |
| consumption | gamble | parents |
| content | garbage | participation |
| control | grades | performance |
| cooperation | greenery | perspective |
| coordination | health | place |
| crime | home | planning |
| culture | housing | population |

| | | |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| power | rigid | supply |
| presence | robust | support |
| pressure | rules | surveillance |
| priorities | rural | survey |
| probability | school | sustainable |
| producer | secure | symbols |
| property | segregation | target |
| proximity | self reliance | taxes |
| public trspt | service | time |
| pupils | siblings | tradition |
| quantity | socioec | transportation |
| reactive | space | trust |
| recreation | sport | unemployment |
| remote | standard | urban |
| representation | state | urbanization |
| requirements | strategy | values |
| resources | structure | youth |
| responsibility | subsidies | youth care |

Appendix 8: Quotations in Swedish

Q4:1 ; SOU 2018:23, 105

”Det övergripande målet för utvecklingen i ett trettioårsperspektiv är en livskraftig landsbygd med likvärdiga möjligheter till företagande, arbete, boende och välfärd. Kommittén lyfter fram att kulturen spelar en viktig roll i att skapa attraktiva livsmiljöer och att den kan bidra till landsbygdernas livskraft och utveckling.”

Q4:2 ; SOU 2018:23, 417

”kulturen spelar en viktig roll för att skapa attraktiva livsmiljöer som kan bidra till landsbygdernas livskraft och utveckling och föreslår att staten ska ta ett större ansvar för landsbygdernas kulturutbud”

Q4:3 ; SOU 2018:23, 106

”Konstnärsnämnden framhåller i ett spontant svar på remissen av landsbygdsutredningen att konstnärerna till 70 procent bor i de tre storstadsregionerna och att trenden går mot ökad storstadscentrering.”

Q6:6 ; SOU 2018:35, 163

”definiera begrepp som behövs för att genomföra bedömningar och beskriva insatser som följer av den nya lagen.”

Q6:7 ; SOU 2018:35, 164

”Det är nödvändigt att etablera ett språkbruk för det offentliga Sverige som ska planera, utföra och följa upp insatser”

Q14:9 ; SOU 2018:88, 580

”För att öka möjligheterna till delaktighet, självständighet och utveckling för barn och unga med personlig assistans menade Socialstyrelsen att det är angeläget att kommuner i sina bedömningar tar hänsyn till att ungdomar även får andra insatser som kan underlätta en frigörelseprocess”

Q15:1 ; SOU 2018:92, 170

”Staten behöver bedriva en mycket aktiv glesbygds- och utjämningspolitik för att hålla liv i landsbygden.”

Q21:3 ; SOU 2019:36, 194

”det inte finns någon enhetlig och allmänt använd definition för vad som avses med begrepp som glesbygd eller landsbygd.”

Q24:10 ; SOU 2019:65, 209

”Stordriftsfördelar, ökad specialisering och kunskapsutbyte sker inte bara inom storstadsregionerna. Närheten till täta miljöer inom samtliga regiontyper är central för den regionala tillväxten.”

Q29:7 ; SOU 2020:8, 171

”Försörjningskvoten är lägst i storstäderna.”

Q29:15 ; SOU 2020:8, 208

”Det förefaller som om särskilt avlägsna och mycket avlägsna landsbygdskommuner har en utsatt ekonomisk position med ett stort beroende av intäkter från utjämningsystemet och generella statsbidrag.”

Q29:22 ; SOU 2020:8, 313

”Tillgång till olika typer av kultur är också en viktig del av serviceutbudet som även bidrar till den lokala attraktiviteten.”

Q29:25 ; SOU 2020:8, 364

”Utmaningarna för de små och krympande kommunerna kan kopplas till bristande drifts- och utvecklingskapacitet samt svaga ekonomiska förutsättningar.”

Q29:29 ; SOU 2020:8, 429

”Den demografiska utvecklingen har inneburit att främst avlägsna landsbygdskommuner har fått en allt svagare kapacitet. Även om inputsidan, dvs. möjligheten till inflytande och utkrävande av ansvar i den lokala demokratin, kan bibehållas så riskerar outputsidan, dvs. leveransen av välfärdsservice att försvagas för små kommuner med minskande befolkning. En lokaldemokrati som inte har tillräcklig kapacitet att utföra sina uppgifter blir därmed inte så

mycket värd för medborgarna. En sådan situation riskerar att minska legitimiteten för demokratin i kommunen.”

Q29:40 ; SOU 2020:8, 341

”Högst andel lärare med legitimation har storstadskommuner och täta kommuner nära en större stad.”

Q29:41 ; SOU 2020:8, 345

”Landsbygdskommunerna har störst andel beslut med kritik per invånare medan täta kommuner har minst andel. [...] antalet beslut med kritik per invånare ökade för riket i stort den studerade perioden. Ökningen är särskilt tydlig för landsbygdskommunerna.”

Q29:49 ; SOU 2020:8, 166

”Ur ett kommunalekonomiskt perspektiv är det normalt kostnadseffektivt om en stor andel av befolkningen bor inom en större tätort. Det underlättar möjligheterna för kommunen att hitta ekonomiska skalfördelar i sin verksamhet.”

Q34:1 ; SOU 2020:33, 608

”De volymfördelar som en större kommun kan uppnå är helt enkelt inte möjliga för en mindre kommun.”

Q34:3 ; SOU 2020:33, 20

”Den bristande matchningen mellan behoven på arbetsmarknaden, utbud och elevers val av utbildning påverkar både kompetensförsörjningen och ungdomars möjlighet till en smidig övergång från skola till arbetsliv. Den bristande matchningen medför kostnader för arbetsgivare och för samhället och inte minst för de individer vars väg till arbetsmarknaden blir onödigt krokig.”

Q34:4 ; SOU 2020:33, 21

”Möjligheten till en stabil egen försörjning är grunden för att unga människor ska kunna påbörja ett tryggt och självständigt liv utan ekonomiskt stöd från vårdnadshavare eller samhället.”

Q34:12 ; SOU 2020:33, 119

”Elevers benägenhet att välja yrkesinriktade utbildningar respektive utbildningar som är

högskoleförberedande har enligt många studier en tydlig koppling till deras föräldrars utbildningsnivå. Detta på så vis att ungdomar som väljer yrkesinriktade utbildningar tenderar att ha föräldrar med kortare formell utbildning jämfört med ungdomar som väljer högskoleförberedande studier. Det framhålls också att elever med föräldrar utan högre utbildning riskerar att missgynnas i valprocessen då de inte har samma resurser att hantera valfrihetens komplexitet.”

Q34:39 ; SOU 2020:33, 765

”En ytterligare samhällsekonomisk effekt av att snabba på ungas inträde på arbetsmarknaden är en minskning av den psykiska ohälsan bland ungdomar och unga vuxna som är en belastning för såväl individen direkt som för samhällsekonomin.”

Q35:4 ; SOU 2020:34, 203

”en förutsättning för att genomföra läroplanen i vardagsarbetet var arbetslag med olika lärarkompetenser”

Q36:1a ; SOU 2020:46, 36

”Det finns [...] i varje samhälle baserat på en marknadsekonomi en naturlig tendens till koncentration av olika former av kapital. Den är synlig rent geografiskt [...] Den är också synlig i konkurrensen mellan företag [...] Sådana skillnader finns också mellan hushåll, där de resursstarka med högre utbildning och högre inkomster har lättare att utnyttja möjligheter och att klara störningar i försörjningen än resurssvaga hushåll.”

Q36:1b ; SOU 2020:46, 36

”Det som kan balansera de ovan beskrivna tendenserna till koncentration, maktobalanser och ojämlikhet är offentliga ingripanden av olika slag. Geografisk koncentration kan motverkas med infrastrukturinvesteringar, utbyggd högre utbildning och andra typer av regionalpolitik. Maktobalanser mellan företag kan motverkas med konkurrensvårdande insatser och innovationsstöd till mindre och medelstora företag. Ställningen för resurssvaga individer och hushåll kan stärkas på kort sikt med transfereringar och på längre sikt med utbildning.”

Q36:2 ; SOU 2020:46, 36

”En viktig orsak till den ökande ojämlikheten på alla nivåer är att nationalstaten genom en rad politiska beslut under de senaste tre, fyra decennierna har försvagats. I Sveriges fall har en betydande del av lagstiftningsauktoriteten förskjutits uppåt till EU-nivån. ”

Q36:6 ; SOU 2020:46, 50

”Under perioden 2008 till 2014 lades statlig verksamhet ner i alla tätortsstorlekar, men i absoluta tal minskade de statliga arbetsställena mest i de allra minsta tätorterna. Detta är ett potentiellt problem; statlig närvaro representerad av myndigheter som Försäkringskassan, Arbetsförmedlingen och Polisen har betydelse för statsförvaltningens legitimitet.”

Q36:8 ; SOU 2020:46, 59

”... de effektivaste åtgärderna är förebyggande. En stor del av de kriminella karriärerna kan återföras på skolmisslyckanden, som i sin tur ofta hänger samman med neuropsykiatriska diagnoser, missbruk i familjen och liknande problem. Om man tidigt lyckas identifiera barn och ungdomar i riskzonen och sätter in stödåtgärder, kan man alltså undvika långt högre både personliga och samhällsekonomiska kostnader längre fram i livet. Exkludering tidigt i livet ökar risken för dysfunktionella beteendemönster.”

Q36:18 ; SOU 2020:46, 337

”Författarnas slutsats att insatser för att få barn och ungdomar att välja 'rätt' utbildningsväg, det vill säga en väg som givet deras förutsättningar har hög sannolikhet att i efterhand upplevas som lyckat, måste göras tidigt i livet.”

Q36:22 ; SOU 2020:46, 345

”Fäders förebild spelar stor roll; om föräldern har dömts för brott eller inte är, jämte familjestrukturen, viktigare än utbildningsbakgrund och inkomst.”

Q36:29 ; SOU 2020:46, 422

”Det offentliga stödet till organisationer uppgick 2014 till 54 miljarder kronor. Det finns olika motiv för sådana stöd. Ett argument är att verksamhet i föreningar ökar både ungdomars och vuxnas förmåga att samverka i grupp och respektera kollektiva beslutsformer och därigenom bidrar till den demokratiska infrastrukturen i landet.”

Q36:30 ; SOU 2020:46, 422

En gynnsam socioekonomisk bakgrund ökar sannolikheten för att aktivt delta i olika former av idrott.

Q37:8 ; SOU 2020:46, 785

”Det finns ingen information om hur många barn som lever i överskuldsatta familjer, och det saknas studier som visar vilka effekter överskuldsättning har på barn och ungdomar. Internationella studier av hur barn påverkas av isolering och fattigdom visar dock relativt samstämmigt att det kan få konsekvenser i vuxenlivet som sämre hälsa, lägre utbildningsnivå, större utsatthet för våld och sämre förankring på arbetsmarknaden.”

Q 37:10 ; SOU 2020:46, 809

“Beteenden formas många gånger i unga år, varför det är viktigt att insatser för att stimulera hälsosamma livsval riktas framför allt mot de yngre. En hälsosam livsstil i barn- och ungdomsåren gynnar hälsa i vuxenlivet och i förlängningen inkomster och försörjningstrygghet.”

Q37:13 ; SOU 2020:45, 1142

”I områden med socioekonomiska utmaningar finns flera samverkande faktorer som var och en kan leda till ökad kriminalitet i området. Det handlar bl.a. om arbetslöshet, ohälsa och oavslutad skolgång. Faktorena bidrar till att ungdomar i dessa områden har en högre risk att dras in i kriminalitet.”

Q38:5 ; SOU 2020:47, 444

”Baserat på forskning om orsaker till ungdomars kriminalitet bör det brottförebyggande arbetet ha tre fokus; att påverka eller förändra individen, att förändra miljön och att minska exponeringen för brottsalstrande miljöer.”

Q44:4 ; SOU 2020:75, 206

”När det gäller flerbostadshus med en standardiserad utformning, så är det främst i områden utanför tätorter och centrala lägen som det finns förutsättningar för att uppföra sådana hus. Mark i ytterområden är på så sätt attraktivt för ett standardiserat bostadsbyggande.”

Appendix 9: Content analysis, stepwise

The steps of the content analysis, carried out with the of the software Wordsmith Tools, where the corpus is literally viewed as 'pure' text without the formatting and layout which form part of the actual reports as either physical reports or pdf-files, are;

1. Identify variations of the three primary keywords, since the word formation and convention of written Swedish makes such variations a concordance in miniature, as exemplified by the word *landsbygdsutvecklingsåtgärder* meaning 'measures for developing rural areas' . Select any meaningful stem of any variation, such as *development* and *measures* in the aforementioned example, apart from the primary keyword itself, for inclusion in the coding scheme.
2. Form a collocation pattern of the three primary keywords, based on the entire corpus and with a range of +/- 5 words, and select meaningful collocation words for inclusion in the coding scheme.
3. Produce a concordance, i.e. a list of all occurrences and the respective context, of each of the primary keywords with a context of approx. +/- 10 words from the respective primary keyword and tag each occurrence with any meaningful expansion of the primary keyword in question.
4. Expand all tagged occurrences to a context of approx. +/- 50 words and select any word in the respective context which encapsulates the meaningful expansion of the primary keyword in the particular occurrence for inclusion in the coding scheme, thereby making "a clear connection between each open code and the raw data" (Kyngäs, 2020, 2:18) and limiting the scope for subjective interpretation. Add a comment to any occurrence where the meaningful expansion is not self-evident.
5. Review the coding scheme generated and eliminate duplication and compress the scheme by merging of synonyms where possible.

Appendix 10: Discourse analysis, stepwise

The steps of the discourse analysis, carried out with the use of the software Atlas.ti, where the reports as viewed as published, i.e. pdf-files including formatting and layout, are;

1. Review all the tagged occurrences in the actual documents, i.e. not only as text, but as presented with formatting etc., viz as pdf-files, and delimit a suitable quotation for each occurrence, e.g. a paragraph or a sentence.
2. Code each quotation, using the coding scheme developed as a result of the content analysis.
3. For each quotation, note any immediate reflections on the quotation, and the codes applied to the quotation, in a memo linked to the quotation.
4. Repeat the coding of all quotations, especially with a view to identify chains, or networks, of semantic relationships, such as chains of equivalence.
5. Review the chains and networks of linked codes and identify those which can be considered to belong to a common concept.
6. Identify particularly salient quotations which reflect semantic relationships and concepts.
7. Relate the three discourses to identify codes/components which several discourses compete about (floating signifier) (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000, 35)