Foundational stigma: place-based stigma in the age before advanced marginality.

BUTLER-WARKE, A.

2020

1. Introduction

In their 2014 paper, Loïc Wacquant, Tom Slater and Virgílio Pereira contend that territorial stigma is a new phenomenon. They place its emergence solidly in the era of advanced marginality, explaining that 'spatial taint is a novel and distinctive phenomenon that crystallized at century's end along with the dissolution of the neighborhoods of relegation emblematic of the Fordist–Keynesian phase of industrial capitalism' (2014: 1270). This assertion was challenged in 2018 by Imogen Tyler and Tom Slater (2018: 728), who argue that stigma has a much longer history than previously acknowledged.

It is my contention that place-based stigmatization is not a novel process; it is not unique to the era of advanced marginality. It *is* a feature of advanced marginality, but the era of advanced marginality is not its genesis. Not only can its traces can be seen before 'century's end', but it is imperative that we see these traces as the foundational elements of place-based stigma in order to understand the persistent attack on the spaces of the marginalised and oppressed.

The term 'territorial stigma' has been adopted by academics to refer to stigma attached to certain locations but, in this paper, rather than use 'territorial stigma', I use the term 'place-based stigma' as a hypernym to refer to the overarching and enduring concept of stigmatizing particular geographies. I use 'territorial stigma' to refer to place-based stigma in the era of advanced marginality (i.e. attached temporally to the neoliberal practice of stigmatizing places for particular economic and political ends, often as part of an attack on the welfare state and welfare recipients). I use the term 'foundational stigma' to refer to the place-based stigma that occurred *prior* to the era of advanced marginality and which, I argue, was in part a feature of the industrializing city. In this way, 'place-based stigma' is both atemporal and superordinate to both the temporal foundational and territorial stigmas. I argue in this paper that foundational stigma was a necessary precursor the existence of which allowed later territorial stigma to adhere, and to be easily politically and economically activated. This paper explores the idea of foundational stigma and, relatedly, suggests that these terminological differentiations could be useful to highlight the temporal variances in place-based stigma.

This paper first situates the study by providing a brief account of the case study location of Toxteth in the 20th century, before offering a review of the thinking regarding the historical antecedents of territorial stigma, then discussing the methods used in this paper. Next, I give my argumentation for a notion of foundational stigma and discuss how this can help us to understand better the story

of place-based stigma, before turning to the case of Toxteth to demonstrate how foundational stigma was operationalised by the press in relation to the area through a focus on inter-community strife, crime, and housing safety. Finally, I conclude with reflections on how this understanding of place-based stigma as a temporal concept can help to better engage with and understand the long and complex story of stigma.

2. Toxteth

Toxteth is an area of the city of Liverpool in the north west of England (Fig. 1). Once distinct from the city, it was incorporated into Liverpool in 1895 (Belchem 2006: 515). Toxteth has always had a diverse population and is home to much of Liverpool's black population, many of whose ancestors arrived either as foreign sailors or through the slave trade (Hunt 2014: 391). By 1919, the area was referred to as the 'New Harlem of Liverpool', comparing it to the African American area of Harlem in New York City (Belchem 2007: 20). It was referred to in the *Times* in 1967 as a 'twilight area' (MacArthur 1967: 3), reflecting its national status as a deprived area with an uncertain future, showing how it had already gained national infamy by the mid-20th century.
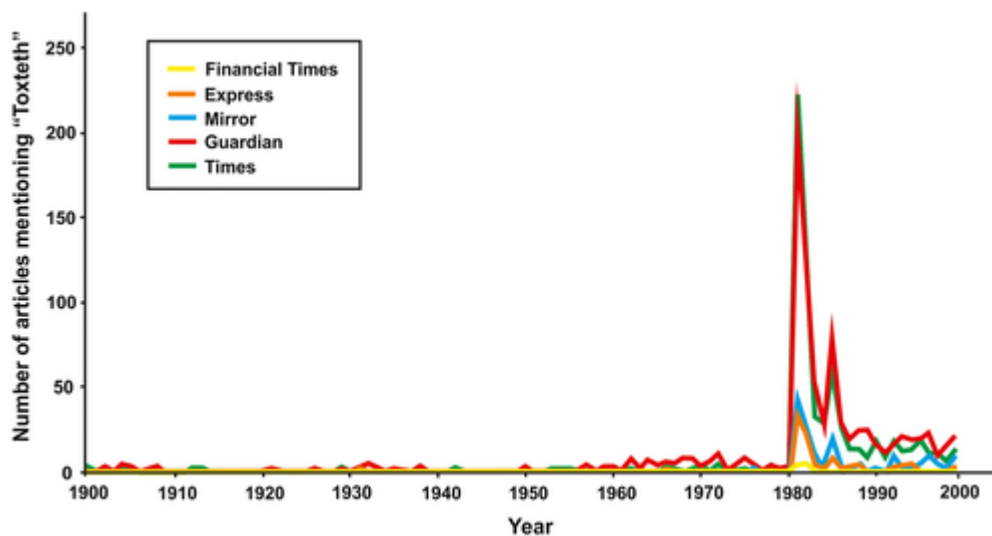

Figure 1
Coverage of Toxteth in the British media over the 20th century

By the mid-20th century, Toxteth was a place of 'unemployment, thuggish policing and what a later inquiry would call a culture of "institutional racism" in the police towards Britain's black and minority ethnic urban population' (Hunt 2014: 383). By 1981, the racial discrimination, racial enclosure, and socioeconomic deprivation had become too much to bear and the area erupted in four nights of revolt on the streets (Frost and Phillips 2011, p. 1). The result of these four nights

of violence and the 'subsequent six weeks of aftershocks' (Frost and Phillips 2011, p. 1) was an intense stigmatization of the area in the national press and a government focus on Toxteth as the poster child of British inner city problems (Butler 2019).

While the stigma towards Toxteth increased with the events of 1981, there were the roots of a stigmatizing narrative already in effect onto which the later stigma adhered (Butler 2019). In this paper, I focus on earlier constructs of stigma and I develop an argument that builds on calls from recent literature to see stigma as part of a longer and more nuanced process (Tyler and Slater 2018; Loyd and Bonds 2018). Twentieth century British press coverage of Toxteth serves as a paradigmatic case that shows the precedent traces of place-based stigma that were already present by the era of advanced marginality.

3. Debates: Place-based stigma in an historical perspective

Though this study has only referred as far back at the year 1900, it is apparent that place-based stigma was a feature of the 'modern city' on both sides of the Atlantic. Maurice Davie (1932: 100), in his *Problems of city life: a study in urban sociology*, explains that 'a certain social stigma' attached to the discourse of the 'slum' in the early 20th century, which served to give 'some people a chance to feel righteous' thereby creating a social and spatial hierarchy and stratification.

Alan Mayne's (1993) study of newspaper representations of slums in the English-speaking world looks back to between 1870 and 1914 and highlights the ways that urban spaces were framed by dominant voices for particular 'punitive'—to use Wacquant et al.'s term—purposes. Mayne (1993: 10) explains that the discourse of the 'modern city' is imbued with notions of 'capitalist progress'. The related discourse of 'city improvement' casts certain areas as resistant to change. In press coverage of the Birmingham Improvement Scheme (1875-1914) that razed slums from the city, 'working-class tenants were labelled as dirty, immoral, and unresponsive to housing improvements' (Mayne 1993: 59). Slum residents and slums themselves are pitched in the press as the challenge to modernity; they are painted in language of 'social disintegration', to borrow Wacquant et al.'s terminology (2014: 1270). The term 'slum' 'portrayed lower-class life in essentially negative terms — *dis*ease, *dis*tress, *dis*order, *dis*affection — and always from a lofty middle-class point of view' (Mayne 1993: 3), reflecting Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence whereby dominance is imposed on marginalised populations (1994). The universal use of the term 'slum', 'subsumed the innermost working-class districts of every city…into one all embracing concept of an outcast society' (Mayne 1993: 1).

Though Wacquant et al.'s vision of place-based stigma has generally discounted these earlier forms of spatial smear, casting them as distinct from later 'territorial stigma', Wacquant et al. (2014: 1270), even while drawing a demarcation, acknowledge that 'territorial stigmatization is not a static condition'. We need to appreciate the dynamism of place-based stigma and, rather than see a demarcation, see instead a longer story of stigma that has its roots in the capitalist subjugation and disregard for the rights and needs of the urban poor in its quest to make a 'modern city'.

More recent literature, as well as focusing on the reality of life in a stigmatized geography (see Slater and Anderson 2011; Jensen and Chrsitensen 2012; McKenzie 2013), has joined this call to elucidate the longer story of stigma. Tyler and Slater (2018: 728) write that 'stigma is not a self-evident phenomenon but like all concepts has a history'. Relatedly, Jenna Loyd and Anne Bonds (2018: 902), in their work on the US zip code 53206, ask 'is territorial stigmatization distinctive to the contemporary "post-industrial" moment?' Here, I suggest that framing the debate around 'place-based stigma' would be helpful, and Loyd and Bonds' question can be answered by showing that territorial stigma as one subsection of the overall hypernymic 'place-based stigma' is, indeed, a feature of the post-industrial moment. There is, however, another story to be told and that is the longer story of place-based stigma to which Loyd and Bonds allude.

4. Methods

The British press was selected as the medium of analysis for this project in order to capture a dominant elite discourse in society that shapes how people perceive the world around them (Herman and Chomsky 1989; van Dijk 1996; Schemer 2012). Newspapers were selected according to their political leanings and formats to give a full picture of the spectrum of news coverage (Hartmann and Husband 1974: 128) and following an approach and rationale that I detail elsewhere (Butler 2019). The *Times* and the *Guardian* represent traditionally broadsheet papers that have, since the 1980s, transitioned to comprise some elements of the tabloid press. The *Mirror* and the *Express* embraced tabloidization earlier in 1934 and 1977 respectively (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 14-19). While the *Express* and the *Times* represent the political right-of-centre, the *Guardian* and the *Mirror* sit left-of-centre. The *Financial Times* is included following Chomsky's proclamation that it 'tells the truth' (Kennard 2013).

A search was conducted on the respective newspaper archives for all mentions of 'Toxteth' between 1 January 1900 and 1 January 1981 in order to examine the levels of coverage and

stigmatization of Toxteth prior to the sudden peak in coverage in 1981 the coincided with the uprising of that year (see Fig. 2). This yielded a final sample of 261 newspapers (9 from the *Express*, 64 from the *Times*, 22 from the *Mirror*, 166 from the *Guardian*, and 0 from the *Financial Times*). A further two rounds of analysis were conducted following the approach that I have explained elsewhere (Butler 2019). The first was an intra-textual analysis and saw the assignment of codes from an iteratively-developed coding schedule that noted the article's code reference number, title, page number, author name, news type (hard news, entertainment, editorial etc.), code (ie in what discourse Toxteth was entered in the article), sub-code, tag words, descriptors, valence (ie whether Toxteth was mentioned in a positive or a negative way), quote source (ie if the article included a quotation, from whom did it come?), and a summary of the article. The second round of analysis considered the beyond-the-text and connected the intratextual elements to broader discourses. In addition to these 261 newspapers that were thoroughly coded according to a Critical Discourse Analysis tradition, further regional newspapers are drawn on in the analysis for context. The use of a discourse analysis of powerful voices fits with other place-based stigma research, such as that by Gray and Mooney (2011: 8), who consider the discourse surrounding the 'regeneration' of Glasgow East in preparation for the city's 2014 Commonwealth Games. Analysing the techniques used by mainstream media to negatively brand and stigmatize Glasgow East, their analysis underscores the necessity of examining the role of the media in place-based stigma studies.

5. Foundational stigma

This paper develops a thesis that traces of stigma can be found prior to the era of advanced marginality and, using Toxteth as a case study, shows that the area was being stigmatized in the years before the uprisings of 1981 but not to the levels it would experience in the post-Fordist era. A key feature of this early stigma is its obliqueness and subtlety. Where later stigma of the era of advanced marginality is direct and overt with reliance on stigmatizing terminology and with the reader being told directly which negative features to associate with Toxteth (Butler 2019), this earlier stigma is constructed through stigmatizing attributes, indirect and subtle references, and contextual knowledge; I term this early stigma 'foundational stigma'. My argument is not that Wacquant et al. (2014) were incorrect in noting a difference between 'spatial smear of earlier epochs' and later territorial stigma; rather I suggest that creating a division between earlier forms of spatial smear and territorial stigma fails to capture the foundational aspect of this early stigma.

In the same vein, rather than seeing place-based stigma as a unique feature of the age of advanced marginality or of the post-Fordist economy (Wacquant 2008; Wacquant et al. 2014), I hold that

'foundational' stigmatization was the necessary precursor to territorial stigmatization. In order for the stigma of the era of advanced marginality to attain such an adhesive grip, such that 'urban hellholes' gain 'national eponym' status (Wacquant 2008: 238), a form of stigma had to precede and enable it, much as the capitalist system required a formative transition phase.

Returning to Wacquant et al. (2014: 1273), they suppose that 'the confluence of urbanization, industrialization, and upper-class fears as well as fantasies about the "teeming masses" rallying in the city' led to a 'spatial smear of earlier epochs' but they argue that this differs from territorial stigma in five ways. Territorial stigma is, they argue, 'autonomised, nationalised and democratised, equated with social disintegration, racialised through selective accentuation, and it elicits revulsion often leading to punitive corrective measures' (2014: 1270). Here it is beneficial to revisit again the restructuring I suggest that sees 'territorial stigma' become a subsection of the overall hypernym of 'place-based stigma'. This lexical restructuring allows us to avoid creating a stark division between the 'spatial smear of earlier epochs' and later forms of territorial stigma. Rather, we can see earlier 'smear' as foundational for territorial stigma, and we can structure this as a temporal flow instead of a division. This reframing affirms Wacquant et al.'s assertion that there is a difference in character between stigmas of different eras but, rather than discount this earlier stigma, incorporates it into study of place-based stigma in order to understand its full story.

Where foundational stigma can be seen as low-grade, oblique and gradual, territorial stigma associated with the era of advanced marginality is often overtly operationalized, weaponized and activated for political and economic ends. This activation is described in Gray and Mooney's (2011) study of Glasgow East, which shows the way that the media structure Glasgow East as a 'problem place' which is home to 'problem people' who need 'civilising'. Their work highlights how contemporary place-based stigma is often part of a larger debate about places of 'broken society' and 'welfare dependency' that gentrification seeks to erase. While these narratives would come to the fore later in Toxteth (Butler 2019), the foundational stigmatization of Toxteth marks a time where place-based stigma was less overtly operationalized. Separating the later weaponized forms of stigma from the gradual, gnawing stigma of years prior, deprives territorial stigma of its undeniable history. Instead of seeing the advent of territorial stigma as the post-industrialization of society, I suggest that stigma of place can be seen as a feature that began with the industrial 'modern' metropolis, as urban land use economies and patterns changed, and areas of the city came to bear particular purposes and demographic characteristics (Kivell 1993: 4).

The following sections serve as an elaboration on the theoretical underpinnings of foundational stigma and demonstrate how the foundations of territorial stigma can be seen in the British press in the early to mid-20th century, highlighting the obliqueness and necessary contextual knowledge upon which foundational stigma relies. This is in direct contrast to the overt and direct stigma that the media activated in relation to Toxteth in 1981 (Butler 2019).

6. Inter-community strife

One of the ways that the press stigmatized Toxteth in the decades prior to the uprising was through a focus on inter-community strife, in relation to Catholic-Protestant sectarianism. Coverage of sectarian disputes subtly highlights that the area is a place of otherness and difference with a diverse population struggling to get along.

At the dawn of the 20th century, Liverpool was known as a cosmopolitan city (Belchem 2005: 147) with immigrants arriving from all corners of the world; it had a more varied and diverse population than London in the mid-19th century (Lawton and Pooley 1974: 276). The city was unusual among British cities in its 'modern' forms of spatial segregation with different ethnic communities and social classes occupying different areas of the city (Belchem 2005: 151). Though many of the Irish who arrived in Liverpool following the famine of the 1840s settled in the north end of the city in and around Vauxhall, a significant proportion also settled in the south end of the city near Toxteth (Neal 1988: 4). Most of those who arrived on the mainland from Ireland following the famine were Catholic, and the terms 'Irish and Catholic were readily synonymous' (Belchem and MacRaild 2006: 326). Toxteth, at the dawn of the 20th century, was a mixed area of Catholics and Protestants and the *Belfast News-letter*, in addition to stating that Liverpool remained loyal to Ulster (suggesting it remained a Protestant city), referenced a large presence of Orangemen in the area (1912: 7). The Orange Order, a Unionist Protestant fraternity, has long been connected with working class Loyalist culture (Walker 1992) and reference to a high number of Orangemen in Toxteth would not only conjure up images of Protestantism but, more so, of the presence of the working class, thereby stigmatizing Toxteth on class and economic grounds. As later research highlights (see Gray and Mooney 2011), place-based stigma often has a significant class component, smearing the poor and marginal and the places that they live. Liverpool's Protestant presence was further upheld through its Protestant political party—the Protestant Party led by George Wise—and both Wise and members of the party were frequently arrested for obstruction, often in Toxteth (The *Guardian* 1904b: 12). Wise's aims were initially to reduce ritualism in the Protestant liturgical tradition but eventually the aims of the party became directly anti-Catholic (Coslett 2009).

In addition to the Protestant presence, however, an article in the *Nottingham Evening Post* (1904: 3) mentions the existence of the Catholic Democratic League in Toxteth. There is no literature to be found on the Catholic Democratic League in Liverpool, but it appears to be a political movement based on Christian democracy and Catholic social values (O'Malley 1903: 264).

In the press, the Catholic and Protestant populations of Toxteth were not reported to live in harmony, and, in the first decade of the 20th century, inter-community tensions were portrayed as being high. By 1909, Liverpool was referred to as the 'Belfast of England' reflecting the sectarianism in the city (Coslett 2009). Several years prior, the *Times* (1904: 10) reports that:

> A disturbance occurred in Liverpool yesterday morning between members of the George Wise Protestant Crusade and a strong Catholic opposition…When the procession was marching through Toxteth in the direction of St. George's Hall it encountered strong opposition.

A month later, marches and disturbances were continuing and a report in the *Guardian* (1904a: 8), explains that:

> Late on Saturday night a Protestant band was attacked in the Toxteth district, where Orangemen are numerous…Seven arrests were made. Last night a Roman Catholic band paraded the district, and the disturbance was renewed and four more arrests were made.

Although not a key part of this study, a pilot study using regional newspapers revealed that sectarianism in Toxteth was widely discussed in local daily papers with the *Shepton Mallet Journal* (1904: 7) describing the scenes in Toxteth as 'notorious' and the *Daily News* (1904: 9) adding that Toxteth is an area where religious disturbances have become prevalent.

The nature of the sectarian conflict in Liverpool may have been linked to religious discrimination in the search for employment. Frank Neal (1988: 32), an economist and historian whose work has centred on the role of the Irish in Britain, explains that 'in Liverpool the docks and warehouses became the battleground for jobs between Catholic and Orange equivalents of the *Mafiosi*', implying that religious sectarianism spread as far as the realms of employment. With Catholics

and Protestants competing for jobs in a sectarian market, and clashing on the streets, Toxteth was portrayed as an area of inter-community strife.

This national press coverage of sectarian strife in Toxteth in the early years of the 20th century signalled that the area was one of disruption and otherness. Sectarian strife hinted at the presence of the Irish, which cast a deeply stigmatizing pall over Toxteth with the Irish representing a threat of otherness, poverty and society's 'dregs' (Belchem 2005, 2007). The area was constructed as a place of turmoil, strife, and difference that could not be tamed. Stigma was operationalised at a district-level to single out Toxteth as a troubled sub-section of Liverpool, and the focus on inter-community strife contributes to foundational stigmatization by painting Toxteth as bearing the attributes of (Irish) otherness, strife, factionalism, and disorder. This foundational stigma provided the underpinnings for later and more adhesive forms of territorial stigma based on the presence of violent others, such as was operationalized by the press during the uprising of 1981 (Butler 2019).

7. Crime in Toxteth

Like inter-community strife, criminality is built into a background picture of an area creating an inseparable connection between place and deviance, resulting in the emergence of foundational stigma. A focus on criminality or the criminalization of an area is recognised to be a stigmatizing attribute (Hancock 2008). Much of the pre-1981 coverage of Toxteth focuses on diminishing public order and crime-based stories. The argument here is not that stories of these crimes were fabricated by reporters; these crimes likely occurred. Rather, the argument is that a continued focus on crime is deeply stigmatizing (Hancock 2008) and, when combined with other stigmatizing coverage, continued reporting of crimes in Toxteth—at the expense of more balanced stories— serves to smear the area as bearing core attributes of criminality and deviance, thereby creating a form of foundational stigmatization of the area.

The century opened with stories of domestic murder and attacks. At the dawn of the century, the *Express* (1902: 5) reports that a father in 'distressed circumstances' shot his daughter and, two years later, the *Mirror* (1904: 5) reports that 'mutilated and charred beyond hope of identity, the dead body of a newly-born child has been found near Toxteth Park, Liverpool'. A further story tells of a father killing his six-month-old son by beating him with a belt (The *Times* 1938: 16). These tales of infanticide hint at domestic criminality and deviance in the area.

By the 1950s, however, the crime coverage relating to Toxteth had changed and no longer considered domestic crime but, rather, violent or random crime. This reflects a wider story of what was happening in terms of crime in Britain. Social, technological and legal changes affected the reporting of crime:

> An increase in the number of burglaries reported, for example, may partly be due to the relatively recent need to inform the police in order to make an insurance claim, rather than an indication of any real increase in the level of burglary. New inventions, creating new opportunities for misdemeanour, a growth in the value of ordinary people's personal property, and the criminalisation of drug use have had real effects on crime levels during the 20th century (Thompson et al. 2012: 153).

This suggests that the coverage of crime in Toxteth, shifting from fewer domestic crimes to more violent or random crimes, is in line with the changing crime patterns in Britain more generally. That coverage of crimes increased in the press despite the fact that there may not have been a numerical increase in the number of crimes committed, reflects the fact that stories of crime and deviance are newsworthy (Galtung and Ruge 1965: 68).

The early 1950s saw attacks on police in Toxteth being reported in the national press. In August 1950, the *Guardian* (1950: 8) reports an attack during which a Toxteth resident hurled 'two half-bricks' at a police constable. The article describes Toxteth in the article as 'on the fringe of the city's "Chinatown"', which immediately connotes notions of difference, foreignness and, crucially, trouble. After a 'yellow peril' in Liverpool at the dawn of the 20th century (Belchem and MacRaild 2006: 370), the city's Chinese population was again viewed with suspicion during and after the Second World War. Chinese sailors had been caught in disputes during the war as the pay offered to Chinese seamen serving in the British forces was significantly less than British seaman were being paid. The Chinese unions fought this point and the Chinese population became noted for being 'troublemakers' (Foley n.d.: 10). An article in the *South China Morning Post* explains that 'at the Public Records Office, in London, there was documentary evidence of a meeting, on October 19, 1945, at the Home Office, at which the government decided to remove the Chinese seamen, referring to them as 'an undesirable element in Liverpool' (Heaver 2017). Thus, the syntactic juxtaposition of Toxteth and 'Chinatown' serves to mark the residents of Toxteth as being in some

way connected to or linked to trouble, foreignness and 'otherness' and further lays the foundations for the enduring and adhesive stigma of the era of advanced marginality.

In November 1953, the *Times* (1953: 3) reports that a Toxteth resident, John Field, aged 23 had attempted to murder a policeman, Thomas Booth. In the details of the trial in February the next year, the paper reports that 'a man alleged to be Field went up to him with a story of men fighting, and stabbed him in the back as he was leaving a deserted chapel yard, after searching it' (The *Times* 1954: 3). Such attacks on the police painted Toxteth residents as being hostile to authority figures and opposed to legality, which further smears the area.

Crime was not directed solely against the police. In 1966, a pedestrian was found dead, stabbed in the heart in Geraint Street, Toxteth (The *Times* 1966: 10). Reports of murders, shootings, stabbings, aggravated robberies, assaults, and kidnappings continued into the 1970s. In an article exhibiting the tabloid concern for gory details, *Mirror* journalist Frank Corless (1970: 28) reports the murder of a 'rich widow'. The article describes how Marjory Ellis, who had rented out rooms in her house on Falkner Street in Toxteth 'was found gagged with a piece of lace curtain and battered about the head in the ransacked bedroom of her home'. As well as providing a detailed description of the crime, this article and the details supplied within, describe Toxteth in a particular stigmatizing light. Readers are informed firstly that this is an area where larger houses are being subdivided and sublet and, with subletting historically being associated with poverty (Burnett 1978: 67), the article subtly informs readers of the socioeconomic status of the area.

While the crimes reported in the first part of the 20th century likely occurred, the coverage of them in such intensity is deeply stigmatizing. Persistent reference to the crimes occurring in Toxteth are problematic in two key ways. Firstly, coverage refers back to the pathological Victorian belief in the 'criminal class' that sees 'concentration and recurrence of crime within groups and across generations' (Hagan and Palloni 1990: 265). Consistent coverage of Toxteth in relation to crime, implies a pathological tendency for Toxteth residents to be engaged in crime and deviance, and paints Toxteth as an area of deviance that threatens national values. It structures Toxteth residents as a subversive deviant class that threatens the fabric of society. Secondly, the focus refers to the media's tendency to 'consistently underplay petty, nonviolent and white-collar offenses while they overplay interpersonal, violent, and sexual crimes' (Barak 1994: 11). This highlights that while the media widely and freely report the crimes of the marginalised, it veers away from reporting the ever-present structural violence that creates poverty and destitution. This intense focus on the

crimes of the marginalised foundationally stigmatizes Toxteth as a marginal, dangerous and deviant section of society.

8. The stigma of substandard housing

While the stigmatization of Toxteth as an area of inter-community strife and criminality was overt and direct, the final way in which the press stigmatized Toxteth in the early and mid-20th century was through indirect and contextual references to the substandard nature of housing. This obliqueness is a defining feature of foundational stigma and it relies on assumed temporally-relevant context. The oblique references, often masked as tragedies, all hint at the substandard housing in Toxteth in the early 20th century. Moreover, the type of language used, and the inclusion of certain details give clues to readers as to the type of area that Toxteth was, thereby indirectly stigmatizing Toxteth with a smear of poverty and deprivation, suggesting that the stigma of welfare and poverty noted by Gray and Mooney (2011) and Hancock and Mooney (2012) is a feature of all place-based stigma regardless of time-period: the poor and marginal, and their homes, are subjected to a critical elite gaze that sees them in need of 'civilising' (Gray and Mooney 2011).

In an article in 1900, the *Guardian* (1900: 3) references houses in 'the crowded districts of Scotland Road and Toxteth, where recently large demolitions of insanitary and decaying property have taken place' thereby displacing the population. Housing was again foregrounded by the *Guardian* (1956: 12) half a century later, when the conditions in Toxteth were singled out among Liverpool housing for being among the worst examples of slum housing in the city. The article tells of Duncan Sandys, Conservative Minister of Housing and Local Government's visit to Liverpool to see 'the worst slums that Liverpool has to offer'. After deeming the 'gloomy tenements round [*sic*] Scotland Road…not bad enough', Sandys was advised to visit 'some slum dwellings in the Toxteth Park area'. The article reports that Sandys 'said that they were even worse than those that he had seen in the morning. In one house of three rooms, the windows of which were stuffed with cardboard, eight people were living'. This coverage in the *Guardian* provides a glimpse into what Toxteth was like in the early part of the 20th century from a housing perspective: it was overcrowded with substandard housing, and deprivation. While possibly factually correct, the singling out of Toxteth for bearing these attributes smears the area.

While these examples from the *Guardian* describe overtly the conditions endured by Toxteth's residents, it was more common for the press to describe the horrific manifestations of the deprivation that were occurring in Toxteth with little consideration of the wider and more pressing

causes. Press coverage of Toxteth focused on the substandard nature of housing through oblique references to explosions and fires. Stigmatization was present through the language used and through the inclusion of certain details, which serve to indirectly smear Toxteth as an area of deprivation and substandard housing stock without giving readers the full picture of the structural causes of the deprivation.

In 1962, Toxteth resident Joseph Amao of Verulam Street was killed when an oil stove exploded as the 'heater [was being carried] between the rooms of the house, which was let out into flats' (The *Guardian* 1962: 1). The *Times* (1962: 10) reports that the 'explosion was in a terraced house in one of the most densely populated suburbs in the city', thereby informing readers of the overcrowded nature of the area. That the building is reported to be subdivided reflects the housing poverty in the area (Burnett 1978: 67).

In 1963, another exploding paraffin heater caused a death in Toxteth (The *Guardian* 1963: 22). These articles about exploding paraffin heaters are particularly revealing. Not only do the reports situate Toxteth as a place of danger that can lead to personal tragedy, but they tacitly give a clue to readers regarding the type of housing that residents were enduring. Oil stoves or paraffin or kerosene stoves/heaters were commonly used prior to electrification but their use subsided in the early part of the 20th century as electrification and gas-based heating systems became more prevalent; kerosene heaters are now seen most commonly 'in the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America' (Lam et al. 2017). That the houses in Toxteth were still using paraffin in the 1960s highlights the substandard nature of housing that residents endured where homes were not heated or lit sufficiently, combined with the *Guardian* reference to the house being subdivided into flats serves as an example of the press indirectly referring to the housing shortcomings in Toxteth, and highlights the stigma of slum living. Readers would have been aware that electricity, having been nationalised in the 1940s, was fairly widely available in homes and that those homes without were, likely, considered 'slums'.

In addition to explosions and, continuing with the same theme of urban infrastructural paucity though revisiting the early twentieth century once more, house fires are also reported. Building fires can be seen as a marker of rapidly urbanising, industrialising, crowded cities. In his work on Glasgow as a Victorian 'tinder box city', Shane Ewen explains that commercial and domestic risks were inherent in the industrialising city. Densely packed combustible materials in warehouses and

equally densely inhabited tenement housing were significant fire risks in the industrial city (2006). Reference to fires, then, hints at the densely-packed, industrialising nature of an area.

In 1931, a major house fire claimed the lives of four Toxteth residents. This story was reported in the *Mirror* and the *Guardian*. The *Mirror* report (1931: 2) covers two pages, with the story making a front-page splash before being repeated on page two. The front page features a photograph of the destroyed kitchen along with photographs of some of the victims, reflecting the *Mirror*'s role as 'an illustrated paper' (Bingham and Conboy 2015: 9) developed by Alfred Harmsworth who, by the 1930s owned the *Times*, the *Daily Mail*, and the *Mirror*. The *Mirror* article includes descriptions of the rescue attempts made by neighbours including a man who attempted to shin the drainpipe to reach the bedroom window and another who tried to crawl along a window-ledge to reach the trapped residents. The same story is reported in the *Guardian* (1931: 9) with the additional comment that 'Herman Bootman, a coloured man' also tried to help in the rescue. While the focus of these articles is negative, and they centre on the effects of dangers inherent in living in Toxteth, a level community spirit and camaraderie is evidenced by neighbours risking their lives to attempt the rescue of trapped residents. This coverage raises questions about how foundational stigma was managed by residents. Literature on managing life in a territorially stigmatized location suggests that the stigma may be internalized as a form of devaluing of the self (McKenzie 2013) or subverted into a form of pride (Slater and Anderson 2012; Jensen and Christensen 2012). Quite how residents managed earlier stigma needs to be examined.

While the text of these articles suggests danger associated with life in Toxteth, it is the *Mirror*'s (1931: 2) use of an image of the destroyed kitchen that is ultimately most stigmatizing. It highlights the poor condition of housing and adds an element of visual stigmatization to coverage of Toxteth. The image shows a kitchen that would have been characteristic of compact working-class kitchens of the era with few electrical commodities (Bock: 2012). Readers would have been aware that the kitchen they were viewing was outmoded and, as such, that Toxteth residents were enduring substandard conditions.

Referring back to Ewen's work (2006), Toxteth's plight was not unusual in terms of its conflagration affliction—Glasgow, too, was badly affected—but it also reminds us that the coverage of Toxteth in relation to domestic fires in multi-occupancy residences heated by paraffin, would passively inform readers of the character of the area as a densely populated, poverty-stricken district of an industrial city. This means that while the stories of fires were grounded in reality, the

type of coverage casts a stigmatizing pall over the area, reminding readers of the 'character' of Toxteth and its challenges. Of course, the true story here should be the structural changes that led Toxteth and similar areas to experience such tenacious and damaging blazes. Focus could have been on the lack of structurally sound housing available to the urban poor, on the destitution of residents, on the lack of suitable fireproof building materials used in buildings, on urban crowding, and on the need for government-funded housing for the urban poor. This is an example of the press upholding the status quo rather than challenging and drawing attention to the inequitable structures governing society and points to the media's lack of challenge and refuting of existing power structures.

As with reports of explosions that give clues to readers as to the type of housing stock that comprised Toxteth, some of the reports of fires give away clues as to the type of housing stock available in the area and ultimately serve to mark the area as deprived. An article in the *Guardian* (1965: 18) refers to a fire in Devonshire Road, Toxteth. Six residents were taken to hospital and the article explains that 'altogether 15 people, including six children, living in single-room flats in the five-storey building were able to get to safety'. This implicitly informs the reader that the house is a 'subdivided' multi-occupancy residence (a tenement), split into multiple dwellings to house the urban poor, as was common practice in the 19th and 20th centuries (Burnett 1978: 67).

The press coverage of fires and explosions in Toxteth does not merely report on various conflagrations and the often-associated loss of life. Rather, it is apparent that through this coverage the press indirectly stigmatizes Toxteth's housing stock and infrastructure. Choice of language and inclusion of certain details serve to smear Toxteth from a housing perspective. The press includes details such as a dwelling being multi-occupancy and being overcrowded, signalling to readers the type of property in question, and, indirectly but subtly, stigmatizing the area as home to slums, welfare recipients, or deprivation. References to oil heaters may seem minor but they provide clues that the property is being marked out for its lack of amenities and lack of modernity.

The continuation of tacit housing stigma—first directed at slum conditions, then at the high rises that replaced slums—serves to show that territorial stigmatization has been in existence since prior to the post-Fordist era, contrary to the assertions of Wacquant et al. (2014). Certainly, they are correct that the stigma attains a new depth and volume at the rise of the post-Fordist era when it becomes territorial stigma in the Wacquantian sense, but the traces of territorial stigma based on

existing forms of stigma such as poverty, race, and class, predate the era of advanced marginality and, as such, tell us that the history of territorial stigma is longer than we have previously thought.

9. Conclusion

Where the main body of literature from Wacquant on territorial stigma suggests that territorial stigma is decidedly different to previous forms of spatial smear (Wacquant et al. 2014), more recent literature suggests that there is a need to remove the temporal restraints from the conceptualization of territorial stigma and to consider its longer history in order to fully understand its structure (Tyler and Slater 2018; Loyd and Bonds 2018): foundational stigma is a way to understand the earlier section of the temporal continuum of place-based stigma

I see foundational stigmatization as the necessary precursor to territorial stigmatization in the era of advanced marginality. It sets the stage for the pernicious, politically- and economically-motivated stigma that emerges in the post-Fordist era. It builds up a background stigma that saw, as this paper shows, the reputation of Toxteth being gradually eroded and smeared so that when a major event occurred such as the uprising of 1981, the essence of Toxteth was already tainted. Foundational stigma explained temporally, can be seen as marking the transition zone between the industrial era and the post-industrial era, implying that the story of place-based stigma can be seen as a consequence of the industrialising and modernising city rather than solely as a feature of the post-industrial society.

I suggest that this theorization of foundational stigma as a precursor to territorial stigma can be useful for understanding the longer history of place-based stigma. This framing sees 'place-based stigma' becoming the superordinate term under which the temporally-bound 'foundational stigma' and 'territorial stigma' sit. This classification affirms Wacquant et al.'s (2014) assertion that there is a difference between earlier and later forms of stigma, but it simultaneously sees that they are related. Rather than separate earlier stigma from the story of contemporary stigma, this framing suggests that place-based stigma can be seen as a story or a continuum that begins in the industrial era and endures—changing in type and intensity—into the post-industrial epoch. Crucially, the conceptualization of foundational stigmatization acknowledges that the territorial stigma of the post-Fordist metropolis cannot simply emerge at the dawn of the post-industrial era. Rather, this prominent and pernicious form of stigma is enabled *because of* its origins as a low-level oblique stigmatizing force. Finally, by acknowledging that stigma exists on a temporal continuum we shall,

in future, not miss the warning signs of rising stigmatization against marginalised communities and, instead, actively work to combat it by challenging dominant voices.

References

Bailey, F. and Millington, R. 1957 *The Story of Liverpool*, Liverpool: The Corporation of the City of Liverpool.

Barak, G. 1994 'Media, society and criminology' in G. Barak (ed.) *Media, Process, and the Social Construction of Crime*, New York: Garland.

Belchem, J. 2005 'Comment: Whiteness and the Liverpool-Irish', *The Journal of British Studies*, 44(1): 146-152.

Belchem, J. 2006 'Introduction: Celebrating Liverpool' in J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, character & history*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Belchem, J. 2007 *Irish, Catholic and Scouse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Belchem, J. and MacRadild, D.M. 2006 'Cosmopolitan Liverpool', in: J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: culture, character and history*, Liverpool: Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Belfast News-letter 1912 'Liverpool's pledge to Ulster', 1 October 1912: 7.

Bingham, A. and Conboy, M. 2015 *Tabloid Britain: the popular press in Britain, 1896 to the Present*, Oxford: Peter Lang.

Bock, G. 2012, August 3 'The History of Old Stoves', *Old House Online*. Retrieved from https://www.oldhouseonline.com/articles/history-of-the-kitchen-stove

Bourdieu, P. 1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Burnett, J. 1978 *A social history of housing 1815-1970*, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Butler, A. 2019 'Toxic Toxteth: Understanding press stigmatization of Toxteth during the 1981 Uprising', *Journalism.*

Corless, F. 1970 'Rich widow found murdered in flat', *Mirror*, 28 March 1970: 28.

Coslett, P. 2009 'The Belfast of England', *BBC*, 18 June 2009, retrieved from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2009/06/18/history_sectarian_1909_feature.shtml

Daily News 1904 'Religious disturbances: a conviction quashed', 22 July 1904: 9.

Davie, M.R. 1932 *Problems of city life: a study in urban sociology*, New York, NY: J. Wiley.

van Dijk, T. 1995 'Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis', *Japanese Discourse* 1(1): 7-28.

van Dijk, T. 1996 'Power and the news media', in D. Paletz (ed.), *Political communication in action*, Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Ewen, S. 2006 'The problem of fire in nineteenth-century British cities: the case of Glasgow', in M. Dunkeld (ed.), *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Construction History*, *vol. I*, retrieved from: www.arct.cam.ac.uk/Downloads/ichs/vol-1–1061–1074-ewen.pdf

Foley, Y. n.d. Liverpool and its Chinese seamen, *Halfandhalf*, retrieved from: http://www.halfandhalf.org.uk/dr.htm

Frost, D. and Phillips, R. 2011 *Liverpool '81*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.

Galtung, J. and Ruge, M.H. 1965 'The Structure of Foreign News: the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers', *Journal of Peace Research* 2(1): 64-91.

Gray, N. and Mooney, G. 2011 'Glasgow's new urban frontier: "Civilising" the population of "Glasgow East"', *City* 15(1): 4-24.

Hagan, J. and Palloni, A. 1990 'The Social Reproduction of a Criminal Class in Working-Class London, Circa 1950-1980', *American Journal of Sociology* 96(2): 265-299.

Hancock, L. 2008 'The criminalisation of places', *Criminal Justice Matters* 74: 22–23.

Hancock, L. and Mooney, G. 2012 '"Welfare ghettos" and the "broken society": territorial stigmatisation in the contemporary UK' *Housing, Theory and Society* 30(1): 46–64.

Hartmann, P. and Husband, C. 1974 *Racism and the mass media*, London: Davis-Poynter.

Heaver, S. 2017, November 4 'Why did 300 Chinese fathers vanish from Liverpool in 1946?' *South China Morning Post*, 4 November 2017, retrieved from: http://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2118142/why-did-300-chinese-fathers-vanish-liverpool-1946

Herman, E.S. and Chomsky, N. 1988 *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, New York: Pantheon Books.

Hunt, T. 2014 *Ten Cities that made an Empire*, London: Penguin Books [first published in 2015].

Jensen, S.Q. and Christensen, A.D. 2012. 'Territorial stigmatization and local belonging: A study of the Danish neighbourhood Aalborg East' *City* 16(1-2): 74-92.

Kennard, M. 2013 'BB interviews…Noam Chomsky', *Ft.com*. 15 February 2015, retrieved from: https://www.ft.com/content/bcdefd38-3beb-3506-b24c-82285ac87f6c

Kivell, P. 1993 *Land and the City: Patterns and Processes of Urban Change,* London: Routledge.

Lam, N.L., Smith, K.R., Gauthier, A., and Bates, M.N. 2012 'Kerosene: a review of household uses and their hazards in low- and middle-income countries', *Journal of Toxicology and Environmental Health, Part B: Critical Reviews* 15(6); 396-432.

Lawton, R. and Pooley, C. 1974 'The Social Geography of Nineteenth-Century Merseyside: A Research Project', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7, 276-284.

Loyd, J. and Bonds, A. 2018 'Where do Black lives matter? Race, stigma, and place in Milwaukee, Wisconsin', *The Sociological Review Monographs* 66(4): 898-918.

MacArthur, B. 1967 'Lady Plowden calls young teachers'. *Times*, 31 May 1967: 3.

Mckenzie, L. 2013 'Fox-trotting the riot: slow rioting in Britain's inner city'. *Sociological Research Online* 18(4): 1-10.

Mayne, A. 1993 *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper representations in the English speaking world, 1870-1914*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Neal, F. 1988 *Sectarian violence*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Nottingham Evening Post 1904 'Liverpool Religious Feud—serious rioting', 23 April 1904: 3.

O'Malley, C.J. 1903 *The Great White Shepherd of Christendom, Pope Leo XIII: his life, poems, encyclicals and public documents*, Chicago: J.S. Hyland & Company.

Schemer, C. 2012 'The Influence of News Media on Stereotypic Attitudes Toward Immigrants in a Political Campaign', *Journal of Communication* 62(5): 739-757.

Shepton Mallet Journal 1904 'Police and street processions', 22 April 1904: 7.

Slater, T. and Anderson, N. 2012 'The reputational ghetto: territorial stigmatisation in St Paul's, Bristol' *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37(4): 530-546.

The *Express* 1902 'Father shoots daughter', 17 February 1902: 5.

The *Guardian* 1900 'The licensing question in Liverpool', 12 September 1900: 3.

The *Guardian* 1904a 'Religious riots in Liverpool', 18 April 1904: 8.

The *Guardian* 1904b 'The Liverpool Crusaders', 13 September 1904: 12.

The *Guardian* 1931 'Four dead in fire', 21 December 1931: 9.

The *Guardian* 1950 'Wounded constable', 19 August 1950: 8.

The *Guardian* 1956 'Slums offered by officials not bad enough', 29 September 1956: 12.

The *Guardian* 1962 'Man killed in house blast', 26 November 1962: 1.

The *Guardian* 1963 'Youth dies in fire', 28 January 1963: 22.

The *Guardian* 1965 '15 escape from burning house', 14 December 1965: 18.

The *Mirror* 1904 'Mysterious crime', 10 September 1904: 5.

The *Mirror* 1931 'Mother, 2 children and friend perish, 21 December 1931: 2.

The *Times* 1904 'Religious disturbance in Liverpool', 28 March 1904: 10.

The *Times* 1938 'Penal servitude for father', 7 April 1904: 16.

The *Times* 1953 'Man accused of attack on constable' 21 November 1953: 3.

The *Times* 1954 'Attempt to murder policeman', 13 February 1954: 3

The *Times* 1966 'Man stabbed dead in street', 13 July: 10.

Thompson, G., Hawkins, O., Dar, A., Taylor, M. 2012 *Olympic Britain: Social and economic change since the 1908 and 1948 London Games*, London: House of Commons Library.

Tyler, I. and Slater, T. 2018 'Rethinking the sociology of stigma' *The Sociological Review Monographs* 66(4): 721-743.

Wacquant, L. 2016 'Revisiting territories of relegation: Class, ethnicity and state in the making of advanced marginality', *Urban Studies* 53(6): 1077-1088.

Wacquant, L. 2008 *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wacquant, L., Slater, T. and Pereira, V.B. 2014 'Territorial stigmatization in action', *Environment and Planning A*, 46(6): 1270–1280.

Walker, G. 1992 'The Orange Order in Scotland between the wars', *International Review of Social History*, 37(2): 177-206.