Perceptions of the justice system
in socially disadvantaged areas

brå

Perceptions of the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) – centre for knowledge about crime and crime prevention measures

The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) works to reduce crime and improve levels of safety in society. We do this by providing factual information and disseminating knowledge on crime, law enforcement, and crime prevention work, first and foremost to the Government and law enforcement agencies.

When tables, figures, or diagrams are used, Brå must be stated as the source. Permission of the copyright holder is necessary for reproduction of images, photographs, and illustrations.

Foreword

In recent years, the media, public agencies, and politicians have placed considerable focus on the problems in certain residential areas, often suburbs or urban neighbourhoods in large cities. These areas are designated *socially disadvantaged areas* and are usually associated with problems such as ethnic and economic segregation, high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, a sense of unsafety, and high levels of poor health. Agency reports show higher levels of both exposure to crime and a sense of unsafety among residents of socially disadvantaged areas as compared with residents of other urban areas.

The media writes about subjects such as gang warfare, cars being set on fire, and men taking over public spaces. Police reports regarding socially disadvantaged areas include terms such as *parallel societal structures, social unrest*, and *disinclination to participate in the judicial process.*

The police, as well as other public authorities, municipalities, and civil society, implement efforts to improve the situation in socially disadvantaged areas.

Implementing effective and appropriately focused efforts in socially disadvantaged areas requires sound knowledge about the underlying situation, not in the least based on the residents' own experiences. Accordingly, the Government has requested that Brå investigate the relationship to the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas.

The report was written by Deputy Head of Division Johanna Skinnari (project manager), Senior Advisor Fredrik Marklund, Researcher Erik Nilsson, Researcher Christian Stjärnqvist, and Head of Division Daniel Vesterhav. In addition, assistant Adina Iatan has provided assistance with a number of tasks, such as analysis, transcription of interviews, and data collection during the door-to-door survey. The door-to-door survey was also conducted by assistants Donarta Gashi, Ellinor Holm, Iryna Holovko, Mona Kaakati, Sadia Shahid Khan, Johanna Otterhäll, and Tova Thorén. Interviews were transcribed by assistants Albin Stenström, Joanna Carlestål, and Anna Rudberg.

Content

Summary

Brå has been instructed by the government to study confidence in the justice system, and the sense of safety among residents in areas which the police identify as socially disadvantaged. Socially disadvantaged areas are characterized by, among other things, a large percentage of residents with low socioeconomic status, and criminal elements that have significant impact on the local community. According to the police, particularly socially disadvantaged areas are characterised by criminal presence, which has led to a widespread reluctance to participate in the criminal justice process, resulting in difficulties for the police to perform their duty. The study is partially based on processed NTU[1] data for the police's 61 socially disadvantaged areas. It is also based on a door-to-door survey[2] with residents, association representatives, municipal employees, and police in a number of socially disadvantaged areas.

The study illuminates problems in the investigated areas that must be seen as exceptional in relation to most other residential areas. There are open sales of narcotics, vandalism, littering, and traffic offences affecting the residential environment. Some of the areas are periodically subject to very serious violent criminality. Crime and public disorder have a negative impact on the residents' sense of safety and image of the police. There are also signs of structures, mainly criminal, that run parallel with, for example, the justice system. At the same time, when considering crime rates and confidence in the justice system, the results of the NTU processing do not indicate any general deterioration in the 61 areas over time. However, many residents – including those who feel relatively safe – talk about the impact on their everyday life in the interviews. Many also communicate a general feeling

---

[1]   NTU, the Swedish Crime Survey, is an annual survey conducted with a representative selection of persons 16–79 years of age. Approximately 12,000 persons respond to the survey each year.

[2]   The door-to-door survey is a survey, in interview form, which is conducted with residents in two particularly socially disadvantaged areas.

that their area is forgotten or treated differently than other areas, or society as a whole.

Residents feel unsafe as a consequence of crime and public disorder

Residents of socially disadvantaged areas report to a significantly higher extent than residents of other urban areas that they feel unsafe. The reasons largely appear to lie in extensive crime and public disorder, the visibility of which affects residents even if they are not victims themselves. Just over one-fifth of the residents answering the door-to-door survey state that they do not feel safe in their own residential area, and approximately 36 percent state that they feel unsafe when being outdoors late in the evening.

The majority of women who live in socially disadvantaged areas state that they feel unsafe. This is almost twice as many as in other urban areas. One aspect that characterises the studied areas is the absence of women in the public space. There is much to indicate that men's dominance of the public space can have a negative impact on women's sense of safety.

The residents were asked how they experience various crime and public disorder in their area; the results show that the gravity, extensiveness, and concentration of problems all have a negative impact on the sense of safety among residents. The more problems the individual experiences, the greater the likelihood that the resident will report that they feel unsafe. The response options "gangs who fight and disrupt", "joyriding", and "open narcotics sales" had the greatest individual impact on the sense of safety. Interviews and open-ended question responses show how serious incidents, such as a shooting, can have a great impact on many residents' sense of safety. However, the problems that most residents report are littering, joyriding, cars being set on fire, and vandalism. Even this type of public disorder, which can appear less serious, has proven to have a significant impact on residents' sense of safety. In general, problems in the area are often experienced as clustered around certain times, individuals, or situations.

Many of the problems that the residents experience are associated with criminal gangs or groups of teenage boys and men – the line between them is often unclear for other residents – who loiter outdoors in the areas at night. They sometimes drive vehicles, such as mopeds, jeopardising the lives and health of residents, preventing people from passing, and sometimes behaving in a threateningly manor. It appears as though the residents who

know the boys and men loitering outdoors at night feel safer than others, because they know how to act among them, and know which situations should be avoided.

In relation to the higher rate of residents that feel unsafe, they also are more inclined to take precautionary measures or change their everyday behaviour. Just under half of these residents perceive that, for example, people in the area are influenced by criminal groups, or groups based on ethnicity or religion in such a way that they do not move about freely, or keep silent if someone is vandalizing property. Even residents who state that they feel relatively safe mention how they change their day-to-day activities; many emphasising the importance of not "getting involved".

Effectiveness has the biggest effect on confidence in the police

The percentage who state that they have confidence in the police and the courts is somewhat lower in the socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas – approximately 55 percent. However, confidence in the police and the courts appears to have increased more than in other urban areas between the periods 2006–2011 and 2012–2017. The door-to-door survey gives us the opportunity to look more closely at different factors that affect confidence in the police and the justice system. Two results stand out as particularly interesting. Firstly, the study shows that the single most important factor for confidence is police effectiveness, followed by police fairness. Approximately one-fourth experience the police as being effective when they arrest burglars, intervene in joyriding, and intervene in narcotics sales. In interviews and open-ended question responses, many residents expresses frustration over the fact that crime and public disorder are not rectified, and some state that the police or the Swedish justice system in general is too lax. Many view the problems as a sign that society and the justice system has abandoned the area.

A second important result is that younger people report lower levels of confidence in the police than older people, which stands in clear contrast to society as a whole. Young men, in particular, report lower levels of confidence. There are also more people in this demographic who believe that the police do not make fair decisions or treat them with respect, and that it is their obligation to do what the police tell them to do even if they don't understand, agree with, or like how the police treat them. In interviews, younger residents in particular feel discriminated against by the police, and this probably contributes to the lower levels of confidence amongst them.

To summarize, the results show how difficult it can be for the police to establish confidence amongst the residents in these areas. Some residents view insufficient effectiveness as an expression of a lax attitude, and would like tougher measures against criminals. On the other hand, repressive efforts may impact law-abiding citizens, particularly young men, if the police increase controls in the area. As a result, the police have a difficult task in terms of being effective, without damaging confidence in the police amongst residents who, for example, might experience that they are being searched or frisked by the police on erroneous grounds. Moreover, there is an apparent risk that residents will interpret both ineffectiveness and other problems as proof that their areas are forgotten or shunted aside by the police.

The will exists, but fear prevents cooperation

The results of the study indicate that most residents actually are motivated to cooperate with the police, but are prevented by fear of criminals in the area. According to the results of the door-to-door survey, most residents think that they would call the police if they witnessed a mugging or were personally the victim of assault. A significantly smaller percentage state that they think that they would testify if they had not personally been involved. More women state that they would call the police in these hypothetical situations, while more men state that they would testify. Having confidence in the police and courts generally increases the likelihood that residents would consider testifying.

It is clear from interviews and survey responses that residents' fear of reprisal is the primary reason they are reluctant to cooperate with the justice system. According to residents, they would be most unwilling to cooperate if they witnessed a crime they suspected to be connected to the criminal groups in the area. Those who perceive shootings to be a problem in the residential area appear to be less inclined to testify. Many expressed fear that relatives will be victimised. There is a widespread perception that the justice system cannot protect witnesses, and many wish that they could testify anonymously. Moreover, particularly among younger people, there appear to be unwritten rules about not cooperating with the justice system.

Criminals are the clearest example of parallel societal structures

Parallel societal structures are, by definition, difficult to illuminate. The police use the term to identify and describe a diverse set of problems. In the report, we attempt to shed further light on

and point out the subtleties of these problems. Common to many of the phenomena that relates to the term parallel societal structures is that they are somehow linked to groups that are based on a collective logic, whereby the best interests of the group, as they are interpreted by influential individuals, carry greater weight than the rights of the individual. In addition, there are groups of residents who can be perceived as living parallel to society by virtue of the fact that they do not fall within the scope of many of the societal functions, and seldom interact with people outside of their own group or area. They are outsiders in the sense that they sublet or sleep on mattresses, have not qualified for the social insurance system, are not on the regular job market, or are not deemed creditworthy. The fact that many people do not come within the scope of important societal functions and that some use alternative systems hampers the justice system's work in a more diffuse or indirect manner.

A large number of the problems that are discussed in terms of parallel structures are, in fact, linked to criminal groups. In the door-to-door survey, almost 70 percent of the residents state that there are criminal individuals or groups that have an impact on the area in some respect. Most state that they pressure individuals not to participate as witnesses. Criminal groups spread fear among residents through their reputation. These groups can be seen as parallel structures in that they are, to a significant extent, outside of society and resolve conflicts without involving the justice system. Retaliation can sometimes be used as a way to resolve or settle conflicts between criminals in socially disadvantaged areas. Significantly fewer residents, 12 percent, state that groups that are based on family ties, shared ethnicity, or shared religion, influence residents. Interviews describe a number of examples of how these groups use alternative systems other than those institutionalised in the society at large. This includes alternative ways of resolving disputes, housing, or insurance. It is important to underscore that much of this activity is not criminal and, in many respects, can even work as an important function for those involved. They may provide credit or savings systems, or routines for solving disputes of various types. Alternative systems may work more quickly and be more easily accessible than the regular systems.

However, the collected data reveals that one risk with these types of alternative systems is that the weak party – often a woman or a child – can have their human rights disregarded and that they have no ability to appeal. For example, this might involve a woman obtaining a legal divorce but nevertheless being forced to remain married according to the group's rules. Although these alternative systems can cause suffering for individuals or smaller

groups, they do not appear to pose the greatest challenge to the justice system. It appears to be uncommon that alternative systems handle serious offences. However, over time, these alternative structures may impede contact with surrounding communities and other parts of Swedish society. In general, the severest impacts on the justice system's work appear to primarily involve criminal structures and the more general effects of social exclusion and socio-economic disadvantage.

Brå's assessment

Brå concludes that both the law enforcement and crime prevention work need to be more effective. Residents in the socially disadvantaged areas have the same rights as residents in other areas to a calm and safe residential environment. To a significant degree, higher rates of distrust of the justice system and residents feeling unsafe can be seen as a reflection of the concentration of crime and public disorder in the studied areas. Brå concludes that the justice system and other parties need to develop new strategic methods and become better at identifying the hidden parallel societal structures. It should be possible to use our results as a basis for the task of making improvements.

For decades, socially disadvantaged areas have been the subject of a variety of efforts, with the aim of counteracting social exclusion. Nevertheless, the problems remain. Overall, Brå makes the assessment that future work in socially disadvantaged areas must, to a very high degree, be characterised by strategic development work, coordination, and a long-term perspective. In this context, we identify a need for the police to take a holistic view in regard of the task in the 61 socially disadvantaged areas. It is important to invest in and encourage development of new strategic methods, where experiences gained from working with specific problems of criminality can be preserved and transferred between different areas. This applies particularly to studies regarding the most serious violence, and measures against other crime and public disorder with high visibility and impact on the residents in the area.

Problems with littering, joyriding, and cars being set on fire affect many residents, but are at risk of falling between the cracks. Such problems are often regarded as insufficiently serious for investment of police resources but, at the same time, they are too extensive to be dealt with by parties such as housing corporations and municipalities. Brå believes that taking the residents' concerns seriously provides the police with an opportunity to improve confidence. The central element is not necessarily conviction, but rather having the issues stop as a result of preventive

measures. Motivating police to work with issues related to public disorder, when they have difficulty solving serious crimes, is a significant challenge.

In this connection, we can also observe that there is much to indicate that the police assume more than their share of responsibility for problems that are also dependent on other parties, e.g. municipalities, schools, and property owners. Brå considers it important that the police and other parties must make strategic and joint decisions regarding the allocation of responsibility in the shared crime prevention work. This work often involves civil society. The report illustrates that municipalities and agencies sometimes risk indirectly supporting parallel societal structures. In order to avoid this, they need genuine insight into local civil society and its participants. This report offers a first explorative overview; nonetheless, additional knowledge is necessary.

Introduction

In its appropriation instructions for 2016, Brå was requested to study the sense of safety, confidence in the justice system, and relationships to the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas. Specifically, the request stated:

> *There is much to indicate that people in socially disadvantaged areas generally have less confidence in the justice system and other public authorities than the population in general. Public authorities and other parties have also highlighted the fact that individuals in these areas are less likely to turn to, and cooperate with, various community stakeholders. Tendencies towards parallel societal structures were also pointed out in this context. With this in mind, Brå shall shed light on women's and men's sense of safety and confidence in, and relationship to, the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas. Brå shall also shed light on whether parallel societal structures occur in such areas. If such structures exist, the request includes showing how these structures manifest themselves and function, as well as how they affect they justice system's possibilities for taking steps against and preventing crime.*

This report is the response to the request.

Socially disadvantaged areas

Designations such as *socially disadvantaged areas* and *particularly disadvantaged areas* have become common in public debate during recent years. The exact import of the terms varies, depending on the context in which they are used. These terms are frequently used without any clear definition, but they often refer to areas which are characterised by extensive problems with ethnic and economic segregation, high levels of unemployment, low levels of education, a sense of unsafety, criminal networks, and high levels of poor health.

The police have identified 61 socially disadvantaged areas, of which 23 are deemed to be *particularly disadvantaged areas* (NOA 2017). The police describe a vulnerable area as:

> *a geographically defined area characterised by low socioeconomic status, where criminals have an effect on the local community* (NOA 2017, p.10).

Particularly *disadvantaged areas* are further characterised by:

> *social problems and a criminal presence which has led to a widespread disinclination to participate in the judicial process and difficulties for the police in fulfilling their mandate* (NOA 2017, p. 10*)*.

We have interpreted the request from the government as a request for in-depth information regarding the situation in the specific areas where the police experience particular problems associated with a sense of unsafety, low confidence, and parallel societal structures. Accordingly, the report is based on the police's breakdown of areas, and not on a definition of social disadvantage.[3]

We have produced an overall body of material for all 61 areas, as well as a more in-depth body of material for some of the particularly disadvantaged areas. This is described in more detail in *Method and material*.

The aim of our investigation is to provide in-depth knowledge about socially disadvantaged areas and not to identify specific areas. As a result, the investigated areas are not identified by name in the report.

Questions presented

The project seeks to answer the following questions regarding socially disadvantaged areas:

1. What do women's and men's sense of safety, confidence in the justice system, and relationship to the justice system look like?
2. Which factors affect a sense of safety and confidence?
3. Which markers of parallel societal structures can be identified?

---

[3] It is important to note that Brå has previously identified socially disadvantaged areas differently. Because the request expressly included analysing a sense of unsafety and crime levels, it was inappropriate to use a definition of socially disadvantaged areas which looks at high levels of these criteria (Brå 2017:7). In order to address the definitional problem, three area-based indicators were used to identify socially disadvantaged areas. These were income level, use of social welfare benefits, and age structure.

4. How is the justice system's ability to fulfil its mandate affected by the levels of a sense of safety and confidence, as well as the existence of parallel societal structures?

Structure

The initial chapter is followed by two background chapters. The methods and materials on which the report's result is based are described first. This is followed by a summary of data regarding socially disadvantaged areas, which is important as background for reading the rest of the report. The results of the study are then presented. The results section first provides a general picture of confidence in the justice system, exposure to crime, and sense of safety and unsafety in socially disadvantaged areas. We then go in depth into four central themes: confidence in the justice system; inclination to cooperate with the justice system; the sense of safety and unsafety; and, finally, parallel societal structures. The results of the thematic chapters are then compiled and discussed in the report's conclusions.

Method and material

There are significant methodological difficulties associated with the request. Non-response problems make it difficult to provide a representative picture of residents' sense of safety and confidence. The response frequency to questionnaire surveys is often particularly low in socially disadvantaged areas, and one can assume that those who have less confidence in public authorities are also less likely to respond to questions from an authority. At the same time, due to the nature of the request, letting go of the idea of representational results and relying entirely on interviews is unsatisfactory. Moreover, there are a host of terminology difficulties. Feeling safe and confidence are subjective conditions and thus difficult to quantify. There is also no generally accepted definition of, for example, "parallel societal structures".

We have attempted to address these difficulties by generating a number of different types of data and relating them to each other: processing of NTU[4] data, a door-to-door survey, and interviews with residents and key individuals. The collection of the various bodies of material is described in more detail below.

Areas and types of material

For practical reasons, it has not been possible to collect these various types of materials in a single set of areas. The idea instead has been to obtain geographical diversity, bring in a number of different areas and, at the same time, attain depth in the material. Model 1 summarises which material reflects which groups of areas. The NTU data has been processed for the police's 61 *disadvantaged areas*. The door-to-door survey and interviews were conducted in two and six, respectively, of the police's 23 *particularly disadvantaged areas*. The reason why we go deeper in *particularly disadvantaged areas* is because it is specifically in

---

[4] NTU, the Swedish Crime Survey, is an annual survey conducted with a representative selection of persons 16–79 years of age. Approximately 12,000 persons respond to the survey each year.

these areas that the police describe the growth of parallel societal structures.

Model 1. Diagram of which socially disadvantaged areas different material covers. Particularly disadvantaged areas are marked in grey.

Processed NTU-data	Interviews	Door-to-door survey
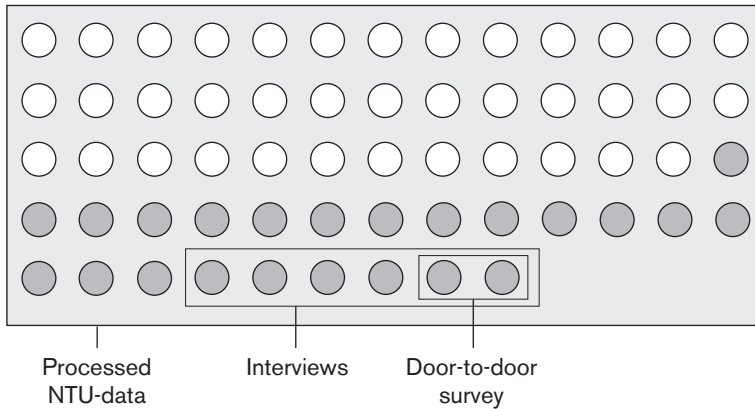
Quantitative material

Two of the bodies of material are quantitative in nature – the results of the door-to-door survey and the specially processed data from the NTU's for the years 2006-2017. The data sources are presented below.

Previous studies contained indications of differences between residents in socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas in respect of a sense of safety, exposure to crime, and confidence in the justice system. The request includes elucidating the reasons for these differences. This requires relevant data regarding a local population large enough to be broken down on the basis of, for example, gender and age. NTU data, which is generated for the purpose of following national and regional trends, is insufficient for this purpose.

The door-to-door survey

It is against this background that we chose to construct a separate questionnaire survey. This door-to-door survey contains certain questions from the NTU, which enables us to relate the results to results from the processing of NTU data (see the section entitled *Relationship between the various types of material*). It also contains additional questions regarding, primarily, confidence, as well as questions regarding problems in the area. In other words, the goal was to generate a body of material which is sufficiently large to enable it to be broken down on the basis of gender, age, and other variables. Accordingly, we have chosen not

to carry out controlled sampling (which also would have been difficult given the residential situation in the areas), to keep the survey as brief and simple as we could and, to the greatest extent possible, to conduct it in an interview format.

The door-to-door survey was very time-consuming and thus it was only possible for it to be carried out in two *particularly disadvantaged areas*. Although it is reasonable to assume that much of what was learned also applies to other socially disadvantaged areas, one must exercise caution in drawing such conclusions.

During the spring and summer of 2017, we conducted door-to-door surveys in two particularly disadvantaged areas. Four interviewers per area visited a selection of apartments and conducted a structured questionnaire interview with those residents who were willing to participate. The interviewers were specifically recruited for the request to Brå. Recruitment was made primarily from among university students and it was important to recruit interviewers who had skills in languages in addition to Swedish. The interviewers included people who could communicate in English, Arabic, Albanian, Spanish, Romanian, Russian, and Urdu.

The questions in the questionnaire primarily related to well-being, a sense of safety, confidence in the justice system and relationship to the justice system. The questionnaire was drawn up in six different languages: Swedish, English, Arabic, Turkish, Somali, and Sorani. There were two different alternatives of the questionnaire, one which was used when the interviewers asked questions directly to the residents (interview questionnaire) and one where the residents filled out the questionnaire themselves (postal questionnaire). The latter contain fewer questions and was simplified in certain respects, and the various language versions were based on this alternative.

The study was undertaken for 8 weeks and the interviewers knocked on 2,713 apartment doors. The visits were made both during the day and at night, on all days of the week. If contact could not be established after at least three attempts, a postal questionnaire was left in the apartment mailbox.

The interviewers kept visit protocols in which they stated, among other things, whether the respondent was over or under 30 years of age and whether they were a man or a woman. They had been instructed to attempt to have as even a breakdown of respondents as possible based on these parameters.

A total of 1,176 people responded to the questionnaire, meaning that questionnaire responses were received from 43 per cent of the apartments which were visited. Two-thirds of the question-

naires were interview questionnaires and the remainder were postal questionnaires, which were retrieved by the interviewers or sent to Brå by the person who completed the questionnaire. The tables below report the number of respondents (*n*). When *n* is less than 800 for women and men combined, this indicates that the question was only included in the interview questionnaire.

Processing of NTU data

Data from the NTU has been processed for the years 2006-2017, primarily to describe, on an overall level, the view of exposure to crime, a sense of unsafety, and confidence in the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas as compared with other urban areas.

An urban area is an area within a municipality which contains at least one densely populated area with more than 10,000 inhabitants and with a higher percentage of inhabitants living in the densely populated area than that which applies to the country as a whole.

Responses from residents in socially disadvantaged areas have been sorted out based on the SAMS areas.[5] Using the police's data regarding the 61 areas which they believe are vulnerable, corresponding SAMS have been identified using Statistics Sweden's SAMS atlas.

The 61 socially disadvantaged areas have been deemed to comprise 162 SAMS. On average, approximately 420 people per year from these areas responded to the questions in the NTU. Since the number of respondents per year is low, particularly in light of the fact that we wish to be able to shed light on the situation broken down into women and men, responses from several years have been combined. In the report, the years 2006–2011 and the years 2012–2017 have been combined. The latter period is used to elucidate levels and, in combination with the earlier period, to show trends.

Non-response

There is a non-response problem inherent in questionnaires of the type we used in our study. The most marginalised groups in the population, such as individuals without a fixed residence, those who are deeply involved in crime, or substance abusers, are underrepresented. The non-response problem creates a risk of

---

[5]   SAMS stands for Small Areas for Market Statistics, and is a division based on the subdivision of municipalities in the larger municipalities and on election districts in the smaller municipalities. There are approximately 9,200 SAMS areas in Sweden. See Statistics Sweden's SAMS Atlas: https://www.scb.se/sv_/Vara-tjanster/Regionala-statistikprodukter/Marknadsprofiler/Postnummer-och-SAMS-atlasen/.

overestimating confidence in the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas. In the same way, there is a risk that exposure to crime is underestimated, since it is difficult to reach groups which are particularly disadvantaged to crime with a survey questionnaire.

In order to enable the results nevertheless to be as representative as possible for the population aged 16–79, a weighting process is used in the analyses of material from the NTU, which takes into consideration that certain groups are overrepresented or underrepresented in the selection (see Brå 2017:3, p. 17–18). There has been no weighting of the material in the analyses of the door-to-door surveys. The primary reason is that we attempted to fill quotas of respondents based on age and gender, and thus did not endeavour to attain representative material.

Statistical analyses

There are primarily two types of statistical analyses made in the report. The first is comparisons between proportions of different groups or at different points in time, for example how great a percentage of women and of men, respectively, feel unsafe. No regular significance assessment has been conducted in the comparisons; instead, we attempt to discuss whether the differences are large or small. The reason for this is that, due to the existing non-response problem, we wish to deemphasise claims that our data material is representative of the total population.

The second is a multivariate analysis which is called logistic regression analysis. The main purpose of this analysis is to weight the impact of independent variables on an outcome in relation to each other. This may involve, for example, the extent to which a sense of unsafety is affected by gender and confidence in the police in relation to each other. In other words, the regression analysis is used to identify variables which have a significant impact on a specific outcome, as well as to assess their significance in relation to each other. The tables which are based on regression analyses report relative risks which can be interpreted as probabilities. For example, if the impact of the variable gender on a sense of unsafety is expressed as 0.73, this means that men feel 0.73 times as unsafe as women (men feel less unsafe than women). In the example, women are the reference category. The tables show the categories with the reference category to left, for example (woman/man).

Interviews

In order to gain a deeper view of the areas and how different problems affect the residents' sense of safety and confidence in

the justice system, we have conducted a total of 116 interviews. With a few exceptions, the interview subjects fall into one or several of the following categories. All categories are represented in each and every one of the six areas:

• Residents

• Police officers

• Municipalities as, for example, social services or safety coordinators

• The Swedish Tax Agency

• Housing companies

• Citizens' advice bureaux

• Schools

• Crime victim support services

• Non-profit associations

• Local small business owners

In addition, there were a smaller number of interviews with opinion makers, journalists, and researchers. In total, we interviewed, among others, 43 residents, 29 representatives of civil society, 17 police officers, 36 municipality representatives, and 9 representatives of other public authorities. Note that the same person may fall under several categories. More informal conversations with business owners and residents, to which reference is also made in the report, are not included in these figures. Most of the interviews were conducted on-site in the six areas.

The recruitment of interview subjects ran along several parallel tracks. Firstly, the interviewers who conducted the door-to-door surveys were also instructed to recruit residents who were willing to talk more. Seven interview subjects were included in this way. We have also contacted potential interview subjects based on a conscious attempt to include important perspectives and functions. The above categories have guided us in our work. In many cases, the interview subjects have, in turn, facilitated contact with additional interview subjects – known as a snowball sampling. Some additional interviews were conducted more spontaneously, in connection with our presence in the areas.

The interviews have been semi-structured and usually lasted between 45 and 90 minutes. The majority of them were conducted privately and face-to-face, and the remainder (approximately 20) were conducted by telephone. Some interviews were conducted in smaller groups. They have (with a small number of exceptions) been recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were then coded in such a way that extracts could be obtained on the basis of themes or categories of interview subject. The

extracts from the recounted interviews in the report have been anonymised and edited into a readable format.

Since our quantitative material contains standardised questions, the emphasis in the interviews has been placed on open ended questions and follow-up questions which enable narrative. The interviews have been based on a set of themes. A series of questions could look something like this – "Do you feel safe in your area? Why? How do you perceive that others feel?" – and so on. Given that the themes of the study – safety, confidence, parallel structures, and gender differences – overlap to a very high degree, this was deemed to be the most promising approach.

A particular challenge in the interviews has been to operationalise the term "parallel societal structures". Since the term lacks a clear definition and also cannot be said to be part of the day-to-day vernacular, it is difficult to pose questions based on it. This may have manifested itself in various ways. Some interview subjects have more or less spontaneously discussed matters which, at least could be intended by "parallel societal structures". This has occurred, among other ways, in connection with discussing closely associated or related themes such as segregation, multiculturalism, culture clashes, national identity, or local patriotism. When this was not the case, we typically introduced the term relatively impartially in order to see what thoughts or associations it prompted in the interview subject. In many cases, the individual responded by either producing examples of, or objecting to, the terminology – irrespective of which, this was valuable data. In other cases, we have instead needed to go into detail and then enquired about recognition or associations (see further the chapter entitled *Parallel societal structures*, in the section regarding the model). This is perhaps not ideal, but the difficulty is inherent in the request.

Observations in the areas

In conjunction with the reproduction of interview responses, at several points in the report we also refer to observations made in the areas. This refers to things which we noted in connection with interview trips or survey collection. In addition, we accompanied the police in two of the areas. However, the observations were not made on any systematic basis, and are used solely as additional support for that which came to light through the survey or interviews.

Relationship between the various types of material

In broad terms, we view the relationship between the processing of NTU data, the door-to-door survey, and the interviews as follows. Processed NTU data makes it possible for us to obtain a general view of confidence and a sense of safety in *socially disadvantaged areas*, to compare with other urban areas, and to say something regarding trends over time. The door-to-door survey gives us deeper insight into two *particularly disadvantaged areas*. Certain questions in the door-to-door survey are tangential to NTU questions, and others are intended to provide deeper insight into various aspects of safety and confidence. The compilation of the questions in the questionnaire survey, together with the size of the local population, makes it possible to investigate factors which affect the sense of safety and confidence in a way which is not possible with NTU data. Among other things, the interviews provide support for interpretation of the quantitative material.

In this way, we attempt to allow the various bodies of material to inform each other. However, it is important to remember that the three bodies of material have been obtained in different ways and are encumbered with different methodological problems. The result through comparisons between them must be interpreted with caution. There are, among other things, significant methodological differences between the NTU and the door-to-door survey in respect of populations, question design, and weighting processes. Accordingly, the bodies of material are not comparable with each other in any strict sense. Nevertheless, we believe that it is valuable to set them in relation to each other. Assume, for example, that: (1) processed NTU data shows higher levels of a sense of unsafety in *socially disadvantaged areas*; (2) the door-to-door survey shows an even higher level of a sense of unsafety in our two *particularly disadvantaged areas* as well as a correlation between how some problems are experienced in the area; and (3) a number of interview subjects recount in greater detail regarding their experienced senses of unsafety associated specifically with these problems. In such case, it would probably be reasonable to conclude that the identified problems are a relevant factor to explain a higher sense of unsafety in socially disadvantaged areas – despite the fact that no body of material, *taken on its own*, can be said to have shown this. One should not, however, draw the conclusion that the percentage of people with a sense of unsafety in the door-to-door surveys is directly comparable with percentages in the processed NTU data. In those places in the report where we nevertheless make similar comparisons, we are, instead, attempting to give the reader an imperfect point of reference.

Limitations in the material

The various methodological problems described above delimit the support for our discussions. The problem of non-response entails that the quantitative material primarily enables rough comparisons with other urban areas or over time. We can, on a sound basis, determine whether our areas deviate from other urban areas; quantifying the magnitude of the differences is significantly more difficult. Non-response also means that we have considerably better support for identification than for preclusion of factors with significance for a sense of safety and confidence. The interview material is solid but nevertheless reflects the perspective of a number of individuals. One should therefore exercise caution when generalising on the basis of it, particularly when there are no quantitative results pointing in the same direction. We attempt to address this difficulty by being clear regarding which type of interview person said what, relating statements to questionnaire survey results to the greatest extent possible, and continually discussing representativeness and related issues.

Socially disadvantaged areas in figures

This chapter describes certain information which is important to bear in mind when reading the rest of the report. The description is based on information which is available regarding the areas which the police designate as socially disadvantaged.

Socially disadvantaged areas as defined by the police

The police have described the problems, from a policing perspective, in socially disadvantaged areas in three reports (NOA 2014, NOA 2015, NOA 2017). The first report describes 55 geographic areas. The second report describes 53 areas, of which 15 are stated to be particularly disadvantaged. The third report describes 61 areas, of which 16 are deemed to be particularly disadvantaged and 6 are deemed to be at risk of becoming particularly disadvantaged. The assessments of the areas have been based primarily on written intelligence material, which entails that it is hardly possible to draw any conclusions regarding whether there is any increase or decrease in the number of socially disadvantaged areas. It is also not possible to review or evaluate the criteria and grounds on which the categorisations are based. According to the Swedish Police (NOA 2017), an area is disadvantaged if it is:

> characterised by a low socioeconomic status where criminals have an impact on the local community. The impact is more tied to the social context in the area than to the criminals' studied desire to take power and control the local community. The situation is deemed serious.

Identified examples of the influence of criminals include public acts of violence which risk injuring third parties, the open sale of narcotics, and an acting out of disaffection with society. The Swedish Police describe a particularly disadvantaged area as one which is:

characterised by a general disinclination to participate in the criminal justice process. In the area, systematic threats and violence against witnesses, injured parties, and persons who report crimes to the police may also occur. The situation in the area entails that it is difficult or almost impossible for the police to perform their job, which requires regular adaptation of working methods or equipment. Many times normalisation has occurred, which has led to a situation where neither the police nor the residents reflect on the divergent situation in the area.

In addition, it is stressed that a particularly disadvantaged area also includes, to a certain extent, parallel societal structures, extremism which limits individuals' freedoms and rights, persons who travel abroad to participate in fighting in conflict zones, and a high concentration of criminals.

Approximately 5–6 per cent of the country's population lives in socially disadvantaged areas

Brå has reviewed certain statistical information compiled by the Swedish Police regarding the areas identified as socially disadvantaged. Since the areas are not clearly delimited, the number of areas has varied over the years, and the information is based on different years, the following description should be regarded as a very rough outline. However, we have determined that an account of some main features of the areas which have been identified as socially disadvantaged is relevant.

The population of the 61 disadvantaged areas identified by the police in 2017 is approximately 500,000–600,000 individuals, which corresponds to 5–6 per cent of the population of Sweden. The different areas vary widely in terms of population. There are approximately 1,000 individuals living in the smallest area and more than 20,000 in the largest. The typical area has between 5,000 and 10,000 residents. Areas which are designated as particularly disadvantaged generally have a larger population than those which are designated as disadvantaged or as at-risk. Approximately 40 per cent of the individuals who live in socially disadvantaged areas live in particularly disadvantaged areas.

The population in the six areas where we have conducted interviews is slightly less than 120,000 individuals. This figure represents 60 per cent of the individuals registered as living in the particularly disadvantaged areas. In the two areas where the door-to-door survey was conducted, the population is between 10,000 and 20,000 individuals per area.

At this juncture, it should be noted, however, that there is much to indicate that population statistics for at least some of these areas are uncertain. There are, among other things, indications of errors in the population register. For example, in the particularly disadvantaged areas, up to 3 per cent of the apartments have between 10 and 30 registered residents (Swedish Police 2017). The same report also reports indications of errors in the population register.

Additional population data

Many socially disadvantaged areas differ significantly from the rest of the country in respect of, among other things, age break-down, percentage of immigrants,[6] employment level, income from employment, educational level, and school performance. There are no compiled statistics available for socially disad-vantaged areas, but the multiagency situational report 2018-19 *(Myndighetsgemensamma lägesbilden 2018–2019)* contains certain data for the particularly disadvantaged areas which may be worth highlighting (Swedish Police 2017).

A distinguishing characteristic for the particularly disadvan-taged areas is that the age breakdown differs from that of the country as a whole. The percentage of persons 18–65 years of age is, indeed, approximately the same – approximately 60 per cent – but the percentage of people younger than that range is greater and the percentage of people older than that range is less. The percentage of immigrants is also tangibly different then the national figures. Approximately 17 per cent of Sweden's popu-lation is comprised of immigrants, as compared with approxi-mately 50–60 per cent in the disadvantaged areas. As a result of this, the percentage of individuals born in Sweden with one or two immigrant parents is greater than in the country as a whole (Swedish Police 2017).

The employment level in the particularly disadvantaged areas in February 2017 was 47 per cent, compared with the national average of 67 per cent. There are also significant differences in respect of income from employment. The percentage of indi-viduals between 18 and 65 years of age with a taxable income which is less than SEK 100,000 is between 40 and 67 per cent in particularly vulnerable areas. Moreover, the percentage of people paying zero tax is high. School performance is also significantly weaker in these areas. Approximately 40 per cent of the youth in particularly vulnerable areas leave secondary school without

---

[6]   By "immigrants", the Swedish Police mean all individuals who have come to, and been entered into, the population register in Sweden. The data also comprises a smaller percentage of Swedish citizens who have re-immigrated.

a certificate. For the country as a whole, this figure is 13 per cent (Swedish Police 2017).

Data regarding deadly violence

For some time, it has been noted that deadly firearm violence which is linked to criminal conflicts has increased in scope, and that this can, to a high degree, be related to socially disadvantaged areas (Brå 2015:24). A summary of shootings in 2017, as compiled by the police, shows that there were 306 shootings during the year. In connection with these shootings, 41 individuals died and 135 were injured throughout Sweden. According to the police, the majority of the shootings take place outdoors in public places in densely populated areas. Other common scenarios are shootings at moving vehicles or homes and buildings. The police assess that a significant percentage of the shootings in 2017 were linked to conflicts between criminals and that both victims and perpetrators are, most often, young men. Many of the conflicts are assessed to spring from narcotics deals, rivalry, and acts of revenge.[7]

---

[7] https://polisen.se/Aktuellt/Nyheter/Gemensam-2017/December1/Skjutningarna-fortsatt-manga/

Results

The results section begins with general results, and then goes deeper into various themes. At the outset, our description is based on processed NTU data regarding the sense of safety, exposure to crime, and confidence in the justice system in the police's 61 socially disadvantaged areas. The results are compared with other urban areas and over time. We then provide an overall view of two particularly disadvantaged areas, based on the results of the door-to-door survey which we conducted. Particular attention is paid to differences between men and women in terms of a sense of unsafety and confidence in the justice system. Subsequent chapters go into depth, in due course, on the four themes which are central to the request: confidence in the justice system; inclination to cooperate with the justice system; sense of safety and sense of unsafety; and, finally, parallel societal structures. By illuminating these themes based on both questionnaire survey results and interviews, we attempt to provide a more in-depth picture and discern which factors can explain the general results.

All tables illustrating results from the door-to-door survey which refer to age, are broken down into younger and older age groups. The younger age group comprises individuals born 1987–1999. The older age group comprises individuals born in 1986 and earlier.

Trends in exposure, a sense of unsafety, and confidence

This section reports results from a processing of NTU data. Broadly speaking, this involves how exposure to crime, a sense of unsafety, and confidence in the justice system have developed for the residents in socially disadvantaged areas compared with other urban areas (see Method and material). The starting point is to compare the situation in 2012–2017 with that in 2006–2011. The group designated below as residents of socially disadvantaged areas comprises individuals who, during the stated years, responded to the NTU and who live in the 61 socially disadvantaged areas as defined by the police.

Exposure to crime

The processing of the NTU data shows that exposure to crime is somewhat higher among residents in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas for the years 2012–2017. In respect of a violent offences, which comprise assault, threats, and mugging, just over 8 per cent of the residents in socially disadvantaged areas say that they were victims during the last year. This is 1.1 percentage points more than in other urban areas. When one compares the years 2012–2017 with the years 2006–2011, there appears to have been a reduction in respect of reported exposure to violent offences in socially disadvantaged areas. In other urban areas, corresponding figures are unchanged.

During the years 2012–2017, an average of 3 per cent of the residents in socially disadvantaged areas stated that they were victims of assault and slightly more than 5 per cent were victims of threats. The percentage who were victims of mugging was lower, on average 1.5 per cent of the residents of socially disadvantaged areas stated that they were victims of mugging per year.

Exposure to assault and mugging is stated as higher by men than women. In respect of exposure to threats, the percentage of victims appears to be more equally allocated between

the genders. Overall, one can observe that the differences and similarities which exist between the genders for various types of violent offences are relatively similar when one compares socially disadvantaged areas with other urban areas.

In respect of property offences, which are represented in the NTU by burglary, car theft, theft of or from a vehicle, and bicycle theft, the reported exposure was also somewhat higher in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas for the years 2012–2017. Overall, it appears that exposure to property crimes has declined in both socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas. In respect of property offences it appears, however, that the reduction in reported exposure is somewhat less in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas.

Table 1. Exposure to violent offences and property offences in socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas, 2006–2011 and 2012–2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Violent offences				
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	8.6	7.8	-0.8
	Men	10.6	8.8	-1.8
	Total	**9.6**	**8.3**	**-1.3**
Other urban areas	Women	6.6	6.7	0.1
	Men	8.1	7.7	-0.4
	Total	**7.4**	**7.2**	**-0.2**
Property offences				
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	13	14.1	1.1
	Men	16.6	14.4	-2.2
	Total	**14.8**	**14.3**	**-0.5**
Other urban areas	Women	13.6	11.9	-1.7
	Men	14.7	12.9	-1.8
	Total	**14.1**	**12.4**	**-1.7**

A sense of unsafety and concern

A significantly greater percentage of residents in socially disadvantaged areas experience a sense of unsafety when outdoors late at night in their own residential area than do residents in other urban areas. In both types of areas, significantly more women than men state that they feel unsafe. For the years 2012–2017, almost 31 percentage points more women than men in socially disadvantaged areas stated that they had a sense of unsafety. In other urban areas, 20 percentage points more women than men had a sense of unsafety. When one compares the years 2012–2017 with the years 2006–2011, the perceived sense of

unsafety is largely unchanged in socially disadvantaged areas. In other urban areas, the percentage who state that they feel unsafe has diminished somewhat. Among men in socially disadvantaged areas, the percentage of men with a sense of unsafety increased by 1.3 percentage points. One also finds the greatest differences between the areas among men. During the years 2012–2017, the percentage of men with a sense of unsafety in socially disadvantaged areas was 3.2 times greater than men in other urban areas. During the same period, twice as many women in socially disadvantaged areas had a sense of unsafety as compared with women in other urban areas. The greatest reduction in a sense of unsafety between the two time periods is among women in other urban areas.

Table 2. Percentage of persons with a sense of unsafety in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas, 2006–2011, and 2012–2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

Percentage with a sense of unsafety		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	55.5	55.3	-0.2
	Men	23.1	24.4	+1.3
	Total	**38.5**	**38.7**	**+0.2**
Other urban areas	Women	29.3	27.2	-2.1
	Men	7.6	7.7	+0.1
	Total	**18.3**	**17.2**	**-1.1**

Despite that the percentage of persons with a sense of unsafety appears to be unchanged among the respondents in socially disadvantaged areas, the percentage who expressed concern about personally being the victim of violent offences has declined. The reductions are somewhat greater in socially disadvantaged areas but in both cases the reduction is primarily among women. Concern about being the victim of violent offences appears, however, to be greater in socially disadvantaged areas and women express concern to a greater extent than men. The percentage difference between socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas as regards persons who express concern is, however, greater among men than women (1.8 times greater among men and 1.3 times greater among women).

Table 3. Percentage of persons who are rather often or very often concerned about being the victim of a violent offence among residents in socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas, 2006-2011 and 2012-2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

Concern about violent offences		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	28.3	25.3	-3.0
	Men	14.6	13.3	-1.3
	Total	**21.3**	**18.9**	**-2.4**
Other urban areas	Women	22.0	20.1	-1.9
	Men	7.7	7.2	-0.5
	Total	**14.9**	**13.6**	**-1.3**

Concern about criminality as a whole in society is also greater among respondents in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas. However, the percentage of people who state that they are concerned decreased significantly between 2006–2011 and 2012–2017, both in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas. The declines appear to have been greater among women than among men.

Table 4. Percentage of persons who are, to a great extent, concerned about criminality in society in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas, 2006-2011 and 2012-2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

Concern about criminality		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	37.4	33.5	-3.9
	Men	27.6	25.0	-2.6
	Total	**32.4**	**29.0**	**-3.4**
Other urban areas	Women	28.7	23.7	-5.0
	Men	19.4	18.9	-0.5
	Total	**24.1**	**21.3**	**-2.8**

Confidence in the police

The differences between socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas in respect of confidence in the police's working methods is not at all as striking as the differences in respect of a sense of unsafety. The confidence in the police is approximately 6 percentage points lower in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas during the years 2012–2017. The difference in confidence in the police between socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas was somewhat greater during the years 2006–2011. This change is the result of a slight increase in confidence in the police in socially disadvantaged areas, while remaining

Table 5. Percentage of persons with confidence in the police's working methods among residents in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas, 2006-2011 and 2012-2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

Percentage with confidence in the police		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	53.1	55.9	+2.8
	Men	52.8	54.1	+1.3
	Total	**52.9**	**54.9**	**+2.0**
Other urban areas	Women	64.2	64.4	+0.2
	Men	57.1	57.0	-0.1
	Total	**60.6**	**60.7**	**+0.1**

unchanged in other urban areas. Overall, there is a somewhat greater percentage of women who state that they have confidence in the police's working methods. The differences between women and men are not, however, equally great as in respect of a sense of unsafety. In the socially disadvantaged areas, there are essentially equal percentages of women and men who state that they have confidence in the police.

Confidence in courts

In both socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas, the percentage of persons who have confidence in courts is lower than the percentage of persons with confidence in the police's working methods.[8] The percentage who state that they have confidence in the courts is also somewhat lower in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas, approximately 5–8 percentage points lower. In socially disadvantaged areas, it appears that a somewhat greater percentage of the men than women responded that they have confidence in the courts. In other urban areas, no such difference appears. In both socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas, the percentage of person stating that they have confidence was greater during 2012–2017 than during 2006–2011. The greatest increase of confidence in the courts is represented by men in socially disadvantaged areas, where there was slightly more than a 5 percentage point increase in persons stating that they have confidence in the courts in 2012–2017 than in 2006–2011.

---

[8]   More people answer the question regarding confidence in the police than answer the question regarding confidence in the courts; in other words the non-response rate is greater in respect of the question regarding the courts.

Table 6. Percentage of persons with confidence in the courts' working methods in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas, 2006–2011 and 2012–2017, broken down into women and men, as well as change between the two time periods. Expressed as percentages and the change expressed as percentage points.

Percentage with confidence in courts		2006–2011	2012–2017	Change
Socially disadvantaged areas	Women	37.7	40.5	+2.8
	Men	42.0	47.1	+5.1
	Total	**39.9**	**44.0**	**+4.1**
Other urban areas	Women	50.7	51.9	+1.2
	Men	50.4	51.9	+1.5
	Total	**50.5**	**51.9**	**+1.4**

Summary

Exposure to crime, as measured by the NTU, is somewhat greater in the areas identified by the police as socially disadvantaged than in other urban areas. However, the differences are not particularly great. In total, it appears that exposure to both violent offences and property offences decreased in socially disadvantaged areas between the time periods 2006–2011 and 2012–2017. One type of offence which has not been addressed by the questions in the NTU is shootings. Data reported by the police shows that this type of incident has increased significantly in scope and that such incidents are, to a high degree, associated with socially disadvantaged areas (see the chapter entitled Socially disadvantaged areas in figures].

The differences in respect of a sense of unsafety are tangibly greater than differences in exposure to crime. The majority of women in socially disadvantaged areas state that they have a sense of unsafety, which is almost twice as many women as in other urban areas. Between the years 2006–2011 and the years 2012–2017, it appears that the sense of unsafety increased most among men in socially disadvantaged areas. It is also among men that the greatest differences between socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas exist.

Confidence in the working methods of the police and the courts is stated to be somewhat lower in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas. Confidence in the police, however, increased somewhat among respondents in socially disadvantaged areas between 2006–2011 and 2012–2017. Confidence remains at the same level in other urban areas, which means that the difference between respondents in socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas has declined. Confidence in the courts' working methods increased in both socially disadvantaged areas

and other urban areas. The increase is somewhat greater in the socially disadvantaged areas. Approximately the same percentages of women and men in socially disadvantaged areas state that they have confidence in the police, however a greater percentage of men have confidence in the courts.

At this juncture, however, we would like to reiterate that there is a high non-response rate to the NTU in the socially disadvantaged areas studied above. As previously mentioned, this non-response rate is not random and, in practice, entails that the group of individuals that responds to the NTU have more well-ordered circumstances than the group that does not respond. As a result, it is likely that in the above review involving a sense of unsafety, exposure to crime, and confidence, we have underestimated the levels in socially disadvantaged areas. This probably also applies to the comparisons between socially disadvantaged areas and other urban areas, where the differences are consequently underestimated.

Overall results from the door-to-door survey

In this chapter, we report the most central results from the door-to-door survey. This primarily involves:

- happiness, feeling safe, a concern about crime;
- crime and public disorder;
- confidence in the justice system;
- view of the police's work.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a quick overview and to report similarities and differences between women and men. The results are thus reported as both totals and divided on the basis of gender. The questionnaire survey results are further analysed in subsequent chapters.

In some respects, there are nationally representative or other relevant figures for comparison with the results. This is particularly the case in respect of data from the processing of NTU data which was previously reported or the NTU-Local survey with a particular focus on local police areas which was reported in 2017.[9]

A total of 1,176 persons responded to our questionnaire.[10] The percentage of women who responded to the questionnaire is somewhat greater than the percentage of men, 54 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively. The median age of respondents was approximately 40 years of age, and almost 30 per cent of the respondents were born in 1987 or later.[11] The percentage of

---

[9] There are important methodological differences between the surveys, for example in respect of populations, question design, and weighting. Accordingly, the results based on comparisons should be interpreted with caution.

[10] For more information regarding who responded to the questionnaire, see appendix 1.

[11] This is consistent with the age breakdown in the two areas (Swedish Police 2017).

younger persons who responded to the questionnaire is greater among women than among men.

Almost a quarter of respondents are unhappy in their own residential area

The survey contains several questions addressing how the respondents perceive their residential area. The questions relate to happiness, feeling safe, and public disorder. A total of 57 per cent of the respondents stated that they are happy in their residential area and 22 per cent stated that they are unhappy. There are no differences between men and women in this respect. According to a previous survey conducted by Statistics Sweden (SCB 2009), approximately 3 per cent of the population of Sweden is unhappy in their residential area. Even with certain caveats regarding the comparability of the statistics, it is a very significant difference which indicates that the percentage of individuals who are not happy in their residential area is greater among the respondents to the door-to-door survey.

Approximately 36 per cent of the respondents stated that they have a sense of unsafety when outdoors in their own residential area late at night. There is a large difference between women and men in this respect. Of the women who responded to the ques-

Table 7. Percentage of the respondents to the door-to-door survey who experience different levels of happiness and sense of safety, as well as percentage who experience concern in other respects, divided on the basis of gender. Amounts expressed as percentages.

		Women (n=629)	Men (n=528)	Total (n=1157)
Happiness	Happy	57	56	57
	Neither happy nor unhappy	21	22	21
	Unhappy	22	23	22
Sense of safety	Safe	34	48	41
	Neither safe nor unsafe	15	17	16
	Unsafe	42	29	36
	Never goes out	9	6	7
		Women (n=429)	**Men** (n=343)	**Total** (n=772)
Concern	Concern during the last year about burglary	53	41	48
	Concern during the last year about assault	33	25	30
	Concern during the last year about mugging	46	27	38
	Concern during the last year that a relative will be a victim of crime	58	47	53

tionnaire, 42 per cent stated that they have a sense of unsafety, as did 29 per cent of the men.

Overall, the results of the door-to-door survey are in parity with the previously reported information from the processing of the NTU data, where approximately 37-39 per cent of the residents in socially disadvantaged areas stated that they feel unsafe when outdoors at night in their own residential area (see table 7). However, one difference appears to be that in the door-to-door survey, the percentage of women with a sense of unsafety is less, and the percentage of men is greater, than in the processing of the NTU data.

Concern about relatives' exposure is the most common

The respondents were asked to take a position on whether, during the last year, they had felt concern about being the victim of burglary, assault, or mugging in their own residential area. In addition, a more general question was also posed regarding whether the respondent felt concern that any relative would be the victim of crime. Of these alternatives, the greatest percentage expressed concern that a relative would be the victim of crime. In total, 53 per cent of persons stated that they had felt concern during the last year. The next highest percentage expressed concern about burglary (48 per cent), followed by mugging (38 per cent), and assault (30 per cent). Throughout, a greater percentage of women than men expressed concern. The greatest difference between women and men is in respect of concern about mugging.

Most experience joyriding, littering, and cars being set on fire as problems

The respondents were also asked to the extent to which they experience crime and public disorder in their own residential area. Most experience that joyriding, littering, and cars being set on fire are a problem. In respect of these three phenomena, the majority of the respondents state that the problems are significant. Generally, a greater percentage of women feel that various types of problems are significant. The differences are, however, essentially non-existent in respect of gangs/individuals who fight and disrupt, open drug sales, stone-throwing, and sexual harassment. The greatest difference between men and women is in respect of gunfire/shootings, where the number of women who state that it is a significant problem is 10 percentage points higher than men.

In this respect, there is information regarding how littering, joyriding, vandalism, gangs or individuals who fight and disrupt, as well as open drug sales, are perceived by the community in general.[12] Although a number of reservations must be made in respect of the comparability of the data, they indicate that the percentage of individuals who perceive problems of the type in question is very high in the door-to-door survey. In respect of the problems about which there is information in the door-to-door survey, between 4 and 8 times more people experience problems than in surveys concerning the population in general. The greatest difference is in respect of open drug sales.

Table 8. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who perceive that the stated phenomenon is a problem in their own residential area to a significant extent, divided on the basis of gender.

		Women (n=598–624)	Men (n=492–524)	Total (n=1090–1146)
Problem	Littering	58	52	55
	Joyriding	59	51	55
	Vandalism	41	35	38
	Gangs or individuals who fight or disrupt	28	26	27
	Open drug sales	38	37	38
	Stones thrown at police/fire department/ambulance	16	13	14
	Gunshots/shooting	36	26	32
	Cars being set on fire	55	48	52
	Sexual harassment	6	4	5

In addition to specific crime and public disorder, questions were also posed regarding whether the person believes that there are criminal groups or individuals with particular impact on how people behave in the area. The questions regarded whether criminals in general influence people not to report offences to the police, give evidence, move freely in the area, or protest when someone is, for example, vandalising property. It is worth underscoring in this context that the questions aimed at how the respondents generally perceive the situation in the area, not only the extent to which they personally feel influenced. Judging from the answers, there is strong impact from criminal individuals or groups. The aspect which appears to be the strongest is that the respondents perceive that criminals influence individuals in the

---

12 Data from the NTU-Local 2017 regarding the percentage of the population who reports that in their residential area, there are significant problems with littering (10 per cent), vandalism (8 per cent), joyriding (13 per cent), individuals or gangs which fight and disrupt (7 per cent), and drug sales (5 per cent). (https://polisen.se/Aktuellt/Rapporter-och-publikationer/Ovriga-rapporter/Publicerat-ovriga-rapporter/Medborgarundersokning---NTU-Lokal-2017/).

areas not to give evidence in court. A total of 53 per cent of the respondents experience that as being the case. This is followed by 45 per cent of respondents who state that criminals influence people so that they do not report offences, 41 per cent who state that people do not protest against someone committing vandalism, and 31 per cent who state that one cannot move freely in the areas. In total, 68 per cent of the respondents stated that criminals have an impact in any of the named aspects.

Throughout, a greater percentage of women than men state that criminals have influence on various aspects. The greatest difference is in respect of not giving evidence, where the percentage of women who respond that criminals have influence is 11 percentage points higher.

Table 9. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who perceive that criminal individuals or groups generally influence residents in the area not to do various things to a rather great extent or very great extent, divided on the basis of gender. Amounts expressed as percentages.

		Women (n=600–604)	Men (n=504–511)	Total (n=1104–1115)
Influence of criminals	Not report offences	48	42	45
	Not give evidence	59	48	54
	Not move freely in the area	33	27	30
	Not protest when someone is, for example, vandalising property	45	36	41
	Criminal impact in any of the above respects	**74**	**61**	**68**

Confidence in the police is greater than confidence in the courts

Overall, the respondents have greater confidence in the police than in the courts. This is a picture which is consistent with the previously reported information from the processing of NTU data. In comparison with that data, however, the percentage who state that they have confidence is somewhat lower in the door-to-door survey and the percentage that lacks confidence is greater. A scant majority of the respondents state, however, that they have confidence in the police, and almost 40 per cent that they have confidence in the courts.

A greater percentage of women than men state that they have confidence in the police and a lower percentage lacks confidence. In respect of confidence in the courts, the differences between women and men are smaller.

Table 10. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who, to varying degrees, have confidence in the police and the courts, divided on the basis of gender. Amounts expressed as percentages.

		Women (n=617–620)	Men (n=502–516)	Total (n=1119–1136)
Police	Have confidence	55	48	52
	Neither have nor lack confidence	21	21	21
	Lack confidence	21	29	24
	Don't know	4	3	3
Courts	Have confidence	37	40	38
	Neither have nor lack confidence	19	16	18
	Lack confidence	26	29	27
	Don't know	19	16	17

The experience of most people is that the police treat individuals with respect

The questionnaire also contains more concrete questions regarding the police and the police's work. The questions involved whether the individual believes that the police can handle various criminal problems and whether the individual believes that the police behave correctly. A clear majority of the respondents believe that the police treat individuals with respect, specifically, more than 70 per cent. The percentage who perceive that the police do a good job in respect of catching burglars or intervening in cases of joyriding and drug sales is significantly lower, approximately 25 per cent. The percentage who believe the police respond promptly to a violent offence is higher – slightly more than 40 per cent believe that the police have a swift response time. The differences between how women and men have responded is generally rather small.

Table 11. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who state that the police work well with various tasks, arrive on the scene promptly when a violent offence occurs, and behave well and take fair decisions, divided on the basis of gender. Amounts expressed as percentages.

	Women (n=617–631)	Men (n=516–528)	Total (n=1134–1159)
Arrest burglars	28	25	27
Intervene in cases of joyriding	26	24	25
Intervene against drug sales	22	20	21
Arrive promptly at the scene of violent offences	45	40	43
	Women (n=430–432)	**Men** (n=343)	**Total** (n=773–775)
Treat individuals with respect	76	70	73
Take fair decisions	44	48	46
Have the same sense of right and wrong as I do	48	51	49

Summary

The results of the survey show serious problems in the two studied areas. Many of the respondents state that they are unhappy in their own residential area and that they feel unsafe. To a great extent, they experience that there are criminal individuals who have an adverse influence on their area and the residents. The residents report significant crime and public disorder, and confidence in both the police and courts is relatively low.

The report of results shows that there are both differences and similarities between how women and men have responded to the questions. The response patterns are generally similar and the differences between women and men are more questions of degree. Generally, it appears that most of the responding women perceive public disorder, are concerned about crime, and have a sense of unsafety. A greater percentage of women than men also perceive that criminal individuals or groups have an impact, in various ways, on people in their own residential area.

The majority of the respondents state that they have confidence in the police. A greater percentage of women than men have confidence in this respect. However, it appears that in total, there are no major differences between women and men in respect of the extent to which one believes the police are effective. Most people state that the police behave respectfully, while a smaller percentage of the respondents state that the police are effective in various respects.

Confidence in the justice system

In this chapter, we go in depth into men's and women's confidence in the justice system and investigate the factors which have an impact on confidence. The underlying assumption is that confidence is important for a well-functioning justice system and that confidence is crucial for sustainable and effective law enforcement strategies (Hough and Sato 2011). Citizen confidence in the justice system requires that certain needs be satisfied. This may involve citizens being protected against criminality or the justice system treating all citizens fairly and equally. Therefore, we look more closely at whether residents perceive the justice system as efficient, fair, and operating in their interests.

Experiences with the justice system influence confidence

Confidence cannot be presumed to be a fixed point of departure – it requires some form of knowledge, experience, or intuitive understanding which provides a reason to believe that an actor can be trusted. Previous research highlights, among other things, that experience from meetings with representatives of the state and justice system are essential to determine an individual's level of confidence. (Jackson et.al. 2011, Bradford and Jackson 2017). To a great extent, the professional group within the justice system with whom citizens come in contact is the police. In this chapter, we often thus begin with the police when we investigate residents' confidence in the justice system. At the same time, there is an interplay between the citizens' perception of public authorities and other public institutions, and the perception of the justice system. Therefore, we also address certain narratives regarding other actors.

When continuing to read the report, one may wish to bear in mind that the studied areas contain a concentration of residents who immigrated to Sweden. This means that there is a relatively

large group of individuals who are new in a country whose residents, seen in an international perspective, have remarkably high confidence in public institutions (Swedish Agency for Public Management 2017). This should be seen as a background factor when we discuss confidence in the justice system and other public authorities. A social worker reports:

> It's not just that you come from a country where you didn't have confidence in public authorities. It also has to do with being limited when you come to a new country, it takes time to learn the language and understand the structure of Swedish society. As someone who comes from the outside, I can say this. It's still difficult for me after 20 years. So it's not easy for someone who is limited due to language and in terms of knowledge. You know everyone has these issues, it takes time. And we're not good at helping, at making it easier for these people. They're expected to be literate. We send letters in Swedish to new immigrants. So people stay in their bubbles.

As the quoted material describes, it appears that general knowledge regarding societal systems and institutions affect citizens' confidence in public institutions. This is also confirmed by other interviews, primarily with social services and other municipal functions. If one doesn't know how the systems work, it is difficult to have confidence in them

Rumours and prejudice can damage confidence

Public authority officials report that they often encounter resistance from residents due to what they perceive as prejudice and rumours regarding what, for example, the police and social services do. This often involves rumours about their mandate or anecdotes regarding specific events. A recurring theme in the material involves social services negating parents' custody of their children without legal support. A social services employee recounts:

> There are tons of rumours floating around and they come from someone, who heard it from someone, who heard from someone. I think it may be that they've had contact with social services, but when the story gets told over and over again, it becomes something else entirely in the end. Then it's also the case that we do in fact go in and remove children from their families sometimes, but as citizens I think people sometimes don't understand why an agency decides what you can and can't do with your children.

A resident tells a similar story:

> *Like the first thing I was told about social services, is that they take children from their parents. That's like what everyone thinks, if you don't watch what you say or what you do you'll end up in the custody of others and you won't be allowed to stay with your parents anymore.*

Stories and rumours of public authorities discriminating or acting wrongfully towards residents are often referred to in our interviews as reasons why people lack confidence in public institutions. It also appears that negative experience and rumours have a greater impact than positive ones, and this has also been noted in previous research (Bradford and Jackson 2017).

Although negative experiences and rumours appear to have greater impact positive ones, we have a number of stories from public officials which show how people changed their opinion when they came in contact with, or received information about, public authorities. There are also examples of this in previous research (Marttila 2017). It thus appears that the negative impact of rumours and prejudices on confidence could be mitigated through spreading knowledge and creating relationships with residents.

Young men state that they have particularly low confidence in the police

As previously reported, the percentage of persons who state that they have confidence in police and courts is approximately 5-8 percent lower in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas (see the chapter entitled Trends in exposure, a sense of unsafety, and confidence).

Table 12 shows the results from the door-to-door survey regarding confidence in the police and courts, based on age and gender. A higher percentage of women than men state that they have confidence in the police. Moreover a higher percentage of older people than younger people state that have confidence in the police. This appears to apply to both women and men. Young men as a group, particularly stand out, as a low percentage state that they have confidence in the police and a high percentage state that they lack confidence. The difference in confidence between younger men and older women is tangible. It is worth noting in this context that the connection is the inverse of that of the population as a whole, where younger people state they have confidence in the police to a greater extent than old people (Brå 2018:1). Women, however, report higher levels of confidence in the police than men in both of our two areas included in the

study, and in the population as a whole. Regarding confidence in the courts, the differences are much smaller between the groups based on age and gender.

Table 12. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who state that they have, and lack, respectively, confidence in the working methods of the police and the courts working manner, divided on the basis of gender. Amounts expressed as percentages.

	Women			Men		
	Younger (n=196 −197)	Older (n=407 −410)	Total (n=603 −607)	Younger (n=128 −129)	Older (n=357 −368)	Total (n=485 −497)
Police						
Have confidence	49	57	55	43	51	48
Lack confidence	22	20	21	33	26	29
No opinion	29	23	24	24	23	23
Courts						
Have confidence	38	37	37	37	40	40
Lack confidence	28	25	26	31	28	29
No opinion	34	38	37	32	32	31

The police's effectiveness is the most important factor for confidence

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to state how they perceive the police in respect of five different aspects: effectiveness, fairness, speed, shared norms,[13] and respect. Table 13 details the result from a logistic regression analysis with the above-named five aspects as independent variables and confidence in the police as the dependent variable. Age and gender have also been entered as independent variables. The purpose is to weigh these factors against each other and shed light on those which have the greatest impact on confidence in the police. The results show that the five aspects have greater significance than gender and age when explaining confidence in the police.

The variable regarding effectiveness has the greatest impact. Almost 40 per cent of the respondents stated that they perceived the police as effective to some extent. Controlled for other factors, it is approximately 1.8 times more common that those who perceive the police as efficient also feel confidence in the police. The aspect with the next strongest impact is the police being perceived as fair, followed by the police being perceived as prompt and the existence of shared norms. Of the five enumerated aspects, that with the least impact is the police being

---

[13] Shared norms are measured in our questionnaire through a question where residents rank the extent to which the police share their perception of right and wrong.

perceived as respectful. This might be explained by the fact that almost 75 per cent of the respondents stated that they perceive the police as behaving respectfully. This means that many of who lack confidence in the police nevertheless state that the police behave respectfully.

Table 13. Impact of different variables on confidence in the police. Impact expressed as relative risk. (n=733).

Variables	Relative risk	Significance
Gender (woman/man)	0.93	
Age (young/old)	1.16	
Effective police (no/yes)	1.81	***
Fair police (no/yes)	1.63	***
Quick response time (no/yes)	1.36	***
Shared norms (no/yes)	1.35	**
Police are respectful (no/yes)	1.33	*

Significance (sig.): ***=p<0.001; **=p<0.01; *=p<0.05

Do residents perceive the justice system as effective?

Interviews and questionnaire responses show that many people do not perceive the justice system as effective. In this section, we describe the most common perceptions of the justice system's ability to prevent and investigate crime. The interviews show several difficulties which arise when the police are to work to create relationships and get closer to the residents without simultaneously losing authority.

Dissatisfaction with the police's ability to prevent crime

One aspect which affects confidence is the residents' perception of the justice system's ability to protect people who report crimes or give evidence. In the long run, this affects the justice system's ability to obtain tips from the general public, to receive reports of crime, and to convict criminals. We will discuss this further in the next chapter, *Inclination to report and give evidence*.

Confidence is also affected by the police's ability to prevent crime. The experience of many residents and business owners is that public authorities have withdrawn and criminals have taken control over their local community. Public authority officials also address this. A Tax Agency official recounts:

> *I would argue that the criminality finds its way into the area because criminals know that no checks are conducted here, there's no presence of public authorities. The only ones up*

on the barricades these days are maybe social workers, police officers and other people, such as field assistants. And the criminals can handle them when they need to. But the rest of the public authorities, they keep away.

Previous research has also noted that there is a widespread feeling in socially disadvantaged areas that public institutions withdraw (Sarnecki 2016). Several public officials state that they get signals that certain types of offences or fraud are occurring in the areas, but that these are not always checked. The material also indicates that the feeling that public authorities are absent is reinforced when the residents experience that certain types of offences take place openly. The visible criminality can be perceived as the justice system having lost control. If people perceive that the police do not have the prerequisites to prevent crime, it may even seem rational to cooperate with the scofflaws instead (Sarnecki 2016). A resident discussed what happens when the police cannot handle shootings:

It [signals] to the criminals that, 'You don't need to be worried, you'll be okay', and it signals to you and me, 'Be careful, the police aren't able to guarantee my security and safety'. And it's dangerous, dangerous in every way. Dangerous for me because I don't feel safe, dangerous because I don't trust the police anymore, and dangerous because it indirectly encourages the criminals to continue.

The image of the police as lax

Certain residents and business owners perceive that the punishment is not sufficiently stringent to discourage criminals from committing offences and that when the police arrest someone, they get out far too quickly. This affects confidence in the justice system. A business owner recounts:

I came to Sweden in [year], and my family followed in [year]. Sweden has taken care of us, did everything for us, and we have to give back. The people who still live in our home country, none of them have the life that we have here. It's regrettable that some people ruin it, even for us. Those of us who've lived here a long time suffer. Sometimes I feel like I want to throw in the towel and leave, we can't cope anymore. The public authorities have to review the laws, it's not the 1950s anymore. The police and public authority officials – the legislature has to give them all the tools they need. It's important that I, as a citizen, have respect for the police, the fire department, the healthcare system, ambulances. Unfortunately, the respect is lost as they can't do anything, they're powerless. We have one of the world's best police forces, I

have respect for them. But they can't form relationships with criminals, they need to show that a police officer is a police officer. They have to have clear limits, this leads to respect. It can't be like now, that stones are thrown at them. Even the courts say that the police have themselves to blame when they work in an area like this. It's the entirely wrong signal to give to today's young people. It's 14-year-olds, 12-year-olds, and even 9-year-olds throwing stones and being confrontational. They're getting younger and younger.

A related theme is residents experiencing that the police are too submissive, and some people are provoked when the police interact with known criminals in the area. As one resident puts it: "They chat with the criminals, sit down and drink coffee with them". There may be many reasons why police interact with known criminals. At the same time, it can increase the feeling that the police are not doing enough to prevent criminals from committing crimes.

The importance of a police presence

A number of residents and public officials experience that police presence has diminished during recent years. The police emphasise the importance of being present in the area and building up day-to-day contact. A previous report highlights dialogue between the police and residents, and the police building trust-generating relationships, as central factors in creating confidence in the police (Politiet 2016). A police officer describes how the police presence in the area affects their ability to do their work:

I think that we also have to think about how we work, how we treat people, how we talk to people, how we build their confidence in us. It depends, of course, on who you ask, which police officer you ask, and I think of course that if we're to overcome these problems with people not wanting to file police reports or give evidence, we need to be a little softer towards those people. I'm not talking about towards criminals, but about those who live here, we have to build up a relationship, a contact, a trust and I'm going to strike a blow for my group, local police, who have worked here for about a year. During the short time we've been working , we've focused on talking with business owners and others. In a very short time, we've generated some intelligence, some police reports in respect of extortion, and so on. We would never have gotten that information, we would never have gotten those reports, if we hadn't put in the time of showing up regularly, talking, shooting the breeze a little, introducing

ourselves, yeah here I am, we're here to help you. Eventually, you get something back. This takes quite a long time and it requires patience, and the Swedish Police don't have patience, there are so many emergencies and so few of us.

Many residents also request a greater police presence. This may involve, among other things, coming to schools and building relationships with young children and spreading knowledge in the local community about what the police are and what they do. This is requested particularly since many residents in these areas have migrated to Sweden and perhaps have not previously had contact with the police. A person who works with young people reasons in the following way:

I still remember some police who really made an impression. They walked around, and it became better in the area. We miss them. We called several times and invited the police, but they don't have time. Even dedicated individuals like some of us can be affected by this. And parents don't have the energy to do everything, they need police support. We have the toughest kids in the entire city district, maybe that's a reason the police don't come here.

Police with local ties in whom confidence is high

Even if many people perceive that the police are not sufficiently present, it is important to point out that there are also narratives from residents and civil servants who describe that the police is doing a very good job. One police category which is notable among these narratives is local police, i.e. police who work in a specific geographic area. It seems to be the case that local police inspire greater confidence than police who lack local ties. Our interviews also indicate that local police find it easier to work in the area, are better received, and appear to find it easier to get tips from the general public. Previous research also indicates that local knowledge can be crucial to prevent police activities from becoming counterproductive (Sarnecki 2016).

Several police officers and other civil servants describe situations where local police may have worked for several years to build up the residents' confidence in them, which then might be erased as a result of individual interventions by police from the outside. Police without local ties may be treated differently by the residents or be nervous about the task because they don't know how the area works. One interview subject describes such an incident:

There is enormous frustration within the police who have come here [to the area] to make a difference, when their supervisors says, 'No, I have orders that we have to guard a

[state visit] instead'. A situation like that arose when our local police were [on post] and then some other police unit called the response unit were here and buzzing around, they don't know anything. And what happens? They stop a car, they fire their guns in the air, they spray teargas, and it ends up on YouTube.

There are also many who state that it feels better to call a police officer whom they know and trust if they need help or wish to report a crime. A municipal employee believes that this may have particular significance in conjunction with certain offences, such as domestic violence. The person has experienced that abused women first turn to their local police, who then remit them through to social services.

It is interesting in this context that there seems to be a difference between confidence in the police in general, and confidence in the individual police officer. Residents and civil servants report that people in the area may have confidence in an individual police officer but lack general confidence in other police officers, or the police as a public authority. A municipal employee explains:

When [certain residents] are sitting there and are really critical as to how the police are acting, they still say things like, 'Yes but X is decent' and 'Y is good'. They're talking about the local police and they can still name five who they think are good, and that creates relationships.

Different views of police response time

Another aspect of effectiveness is police response time. In the door-to-door survey, the residents were asked whether they believe that the police are on site quickly or slowly when a violent offence is reported, and how long they think it should take. Over 40 per cent state that they believe that the police would be on site quickly, as is set forth in table 14. Both those who believe that the police come quickly and those who believe that the police come neither quickly nor slowly estimate that it takes approximately 10 minutes. The average of the estimated time among those who believe the police are slow is more than twice as long as these groups. In other words, there is a notable difference in estimated time compared with those who believe the police are slow. Some people responded that they believe that the police do not come at all.

Table 14. Percentage of the respondents to the door-to-door survey who perceive that the police come quickly or slowly in the event of violent offences, as well as their estimate in minutes (average) of how long it should take (n=586).

	Percentage	Estimated response time in minutes (average)
Quickly	43	10
Neither quickly nor slowly	22	12
Slowly	26	25
Don't know	9	-

Of course what is quick and what is slow is relative, but the table provides guidance regarding how the residents estimate the police's speed. However, interviews and open ended question responses in the questionnaire revolve around the point that one waits a long time for the police and how this diminishes confidence. Unlike that which is reported in the table, most such examples do not involve a violent offence, but rather other criminality. A resident reported the following in our questionnaire:

> *I've personally seen when they're handling drugs and I've described it to the police. So they say that they'll send a patrol car and I've waited here an hour and no patrol car has come. In this area specifically, I think people have less confidence. You see that things happen, and people call the police and they don't come in time. That's what the problem is I think.*

This has been expressed not only by residents, but also by business owners and others who work in the areas. One municipal employee expresses their frustration over a recurring public disorder problem when he calls the police and says: "Now you have the chance to come here and get them, this is a golden opportunity". However, it takes approximately 30 minutes before the police come. The interview subject continues:

> *It takes too long. People naturally lose… They lose confidence in the police. This time it was me who called, but say that it's a citizen who calls. If he doesn't sete an effect, he won't call again. And then the police say: 'Yes but citizens don't call and they don't say anything'. No, but it's not so bloody strange because they do it once, twice, three times if they're stubborn, and then they don't do it. When they don't see an effect.*

Frustration that investigations take time and are closed

As many residents understand the situation, the justice system does not do enough to investigate offences and it takes too long. The examples from interviews and open ended question responses are often based on the respondents' own experiences of police contacts. A resident who called the police after having seen how a man was assaulted describes how her confidence was damaged after the investigation did not lead anywhere:

> *I battled with my own conscience, shall I stay [at the crime scene]? Shall I say what I saw or just leave? But I stayed and when the police finally came they asked us questions, we were a lot of witnesses, and we knew exactly which guys who did it, we told the police, 'Yes, if you show us, we know who they are'. We had the name of one of them, but nothing happened. I think the case was closed. Even though it was a real assault, I mean he started bleeding, they kicked his head and everything. Since that incident I don't have an enormous amount of confidence in making a police report and seeing that everything gets checked. Because I really thought yes, now something will happen.*

She continues:

> *It's hard on you psychologically, to make a police report and to go down there and tell your story, and when you've really done it, the case gets closed. It takes a toll on you. Then you think, screw it, it doesn't make sense for me to make a police report or go there and put myself through that again.*

Do the residents perceive the justice system as fair?

Interviews and questionnaire responses show that some people perceive the justice system as unfair. In this section, we report on the most common perceptions in respect of the impartiality and due process of the justice system. The underlying assumption is that in order for people to have confidence in the justice system, there must be in place legislation and a system which entails that the individual citizen has protection against arbitrary interventions from society and other individuals. This entails, among other things, that an individual is not charged or found guilty without clear support under the law or sufficient evidence, and that all citizens, irrespective of position in society or origin, are assessed in the same way (Norèn Bretzer 2017).

Are the police perceived as being fair?

The perception of the police as fair has previously been reported as having the second greatest impact (after effectiveness) on confidence of the five aspects we use. In response to the question in our door-to-door survey regarding whether the person "believes/thinks that the police in my area take fair decisions in situations which arise", approximately 45 per cent responded that it is quite correct. A similar question appears in the European Social Survey (ESS) from 2010,[14] which investigates the issue in Sweden as a whole, but there the respondent instead states how often they believe that the police take fair decisions. Approximately 80 per cent responded that they believe that it happens either often or very often. One must exercise caution when comparing these results since, among other things, the form of the question is different, but it nevertheless provides a rough indication that more people in Sweden as a whole believe that the police are fair than do people in our two areas.

Otherwise, the differences in the door-to-door survey were small in respect of gender and age within the category which states that it is quite correct that the police take fair decisions. However, young men stand out in respect of the percentage who responded that it is not correct.

To a significant degree, the residents believe that the police are respectful

In response to the question of whether the person believes/thinks that the police in the area treat people with respect, 78 per cent of women 30 years of age or older, 73 per cent of women under 30 years of age, and 74 per cent of the men 30 years of age or older responded that it was entirely correct. The same figure for men under 30 years of age is 50 per cent, which entails that young men to a significantly lower extent than others report that the police treat them with respect.

Once again, a similar question was posed in the ESS from 2010, but there one was instead asked to state how often one thinks that the police treat people with respect. Approximately 85 per cent of the respondents stated that they believe it occurs either often or very often. Unlike the door-to-door survey, the responses from young men do not deviate to the same extent from those of other groups in the ESS questionnaire. Here as well, one must exercise caution in making comparisons, but the results indicate that young men included in our questionnaire experience, to a

---

[14] The data which is used from the ESS comes from the Swedish results in the survey "ESS Round 5", which is available at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/country.html?c=sweden

higher degree than in the country as a whole, that the police do not treat them with respect.

Narratives about discrimination

As previously reported, young men state that they have particularly low confidence in the police. In the door-to-door survey, young men state, to a greater extent than other groups, that they experience that the police do not take fair decisions in situations which arise. One possible explanation may be that more young men experience that they are discriminated against by the police.

It is primarily residents who state that men, youth, and individuals with a foreign background are discriminated against by the justice system in various ways. Here, the residents respond to the question of why they believe that confidence in the police/justice system is lower in their own area than in the country as a whole.

Guys get treated badly and become suspected, which creates distrust, personally I'm not as exposed.

We're immigrants, they're stricter with us and treat us differently than they treat Swedes.

At the same time, there are residents who reason differently:

People talk, they often say that they're treated poorly by the police. But if you commit an offence, you can't expect to be treated with respect. [There is] a big difference between police in different countries. Police in Sweden are very kind, but people still complain.

Previous research regarding discrimination has accentuated discriminatory practices (Brå 2008:4, Schclarek Mulinari 2017, SOU 2006:30, FRA 2010). The central factors which they highlight are communication problems, dubious credibility assessments, a disrespectful or offensive treatment, and stereotypical assumptions based on ethnic background. Other studies specifically highlight that the police discriminate against youth in the socially disadvantaged areas, not in the least if they belonged to ethnic minorities (Pettersson and Pettersson 2012, de los Reyes et.al. 2014). There is much to indicate that certain experiences which are described in our material can be understood based on the above-mentioned discriminatory practices. It constitutes a complex problem which renders interaction with the justice system qualitatively different for, above all, young men and individuals with foreign backgrounds. A young man talks about his experiences:

The justice system doesn't work for everyone, and so things shouldn't be handled in the same way for everyone. Since

it doesn't work! It discriminates. The justice system doesn't recruit from the area, which means that people who work there don't know the area and how it is there. Myths thrive. The image of a – I don't know what you say in Swedish, but a 'thug' looks a particular way. A police officer who sees me in my hoodie and sweatpants thinks that I look like a 'thug'.

The interview subject feels that the police's lack of knowledge about the area leads to suspicions regarding certain individuals from the area. He says that he has never committed an offence, but he has nevertheless been searched many times by the police without receiving an explanation as to why. Young women can also be searched by the police, but not as often as young men. He also believes that young women receive better treatment from the police. Because he has personally experienced poor treatment from the police, he thinks badly of them.

The situation is complex for the police

In this context, it is important to point out that the situation is complex for the police. Being searched by the police can, in part, be an effect of the police attempting to intervene against public disorder disturbances and offences in the area. If the police see individuals who were previously suspected of offences, the likelihood increases that they will be checked. One consequence may be that people who are with them will also be searched, which was the case for the interview subject just quoted.

As we discussed earlier, there are individuals who perceive that the police are too submissive to criminals and who would like a more repressive justice system. At the same time, particularly within the group young men, there are those who believe that the police discriminate against them and search them for no reason. That which one group can perceive as being intended to disrupt the local gangs and send the message that the police have control over the situation and are prepared to intervene resolutely if an offence is committed can be perceived as provocative or discriminatory by the other group (Sarnecki 2016).

Another aspect of the complex situation for the police is that the police themselves may feel exposed in these areas. It can happen that people gather around the police when they intervene in the area, or they are attacked verbally or physically. Some interview subjects report that criminals deliberately fuel the sense that the police are treating residents unfairly and spread rumours in order to undermine the police and the justice system. A more serious example in the material involves a police officer who reports that she was harassed several times as a consequence of her tasks in the area. This harassment also occurred during her leisure time:

Maybe it's because I'm a Swedish woman and rather petite. But in many people's eyes I was dirty to start with since I was a woman. So I often had to wrestle when intervening just because I touched someone. And if I talk to someone, they always respond to my male colleague. And then there are more threats. They weren't the usual threats made in the heat of the moment, because those you can take anyway, but instead they tell one of my colleagues in another interrogation how they will kill me and things like that. And then maybe it feels a little more unpleasant than when, for example, they scream such things when you arrest them. Then they spat on me several times when I was out walking with my family in the city and at home I ran into some people who I had encountered while on the job who spat at me and my family and yelled, 'Bloody racist and bloody Swede' and things like that. And somewhere there I think I stopped like going out shopping because my heart would pound when I saw people in hoodies.

The quoted material illustrates the psychological and physical reactions which threats can cause in the victim (Larsson and Lindgren 2012). If the victim does not receive help in processing their experiences, the feeling can endure for quite some time and affect their ability to work (Larsson and Lindgren 2012, Brå 2016:13, Brå 2017). Previous research indicates that it is particularly unpleasant and trying to be called a racist, since this challenges one's self image of being an impartial civil servant (see further Brå 2016:13).

The situation sheds light on how the relationship between the police and the general public can be affected by individuals who feel that they are treated poorly by the police responding in kind. Paradoxically, the same group which describes themselves as being harassed by the police may, in part, seek the police out. This can lead to a destructive interaction which can create distrust on the part of both parties and which is buttressed in new encounters. The risk is that in stressful situations, the police can build up stereotypical assumptions which may affect their behaviour (cf. Larsson and Lindgren 2012). In the long run, it may make the police's work more difficult and damage public confidence. The quoted material also illustrates how the police officer in this case, through threatening encounters, came to associate hoodies with threatening criminals.

Some police officers and other civil servants emphasise that inexperienced and young civil servants may find it difficult in the areas. Accordingly, it is important to have work teams with both new and experienced civil servants, preferably with local ties to the area. A similar reasoning appears in earlier studies (Brå 2016:13, Brå 2017).

Do the residents perceive the justice system as working in their interests?

According to previous research, confidence in the justice system is affected by how the citizens perceive society as a whole (SOM report 2008:25). Confidence is affected, for example, by differences in wealth and income among the population or by the perception that societal norms do not include specific groups of individuals. It is also affected by whether citizens feel forgotten or whether they feel that the state is there for them in the same way as for other citizens (Jackson et.al. 2011).

In previous sections, the residents were able to reflect on insufficient effectiveness or unfair treatment. This section presents additional aspects which emerge from our material in connection with these descriptions. They involve how the residents perceive the social context in which they find themselves and, on that basis, how they interpret the justice system. The section highlights how many residents interpret insufficient effectiveness and other problems as a consequence of the general alienation of the area.

Several residents describe experiences of the police and justice system:

> *People have lost confidence in the police since the police don't care. We've been forgotten. We're not a part of [city] or Sweden. It's okay if immigrants kill immigrants. If it happened that some politician's child was shot, they would change the law immediately.*

> *You never see the police, they don't do their job or they take too long and the situations have a chance to calm down. It feels like the police have given up on [area]. There's often a lack of evidence and cases are closed.*

> *Because I see how the police and the justice system neglect my area and other areas. I have previous experience with this because on a number of occasions I talked to the police about several incidents and I haven't seen either the police or the justice system taking any serious measures.*

> *Nothing happens when you call the police. The police treat people here worse than in other places, for example if you drive a nice car you get searched. The police are suspicious and unpleasant.*

Previous research has noted that employees in the justice system are often seen as representatives of mainstream society and dominant social categories and identities which are based on class and ethnicity (Bradford and Jackson 2017). In their interaction with the justice system, citizens create an understanding of whether they are included in the social categories. People tend to be particularly sensitive to police behaviour and react negatively to perceived unfairness, in part because police officers' behaviour is relevant to the creation of their own identities. It can weaken, damage, or deny their understanding of themselves and their understanding of where they fit into society. If society is perceived as segregated and unequal, this may create a feeling that there is a conflict between the values of society and the values of those who perceive themselves as outside of the dominant social categories. Previous research shows that people who have been the victims of crime in socially disadvantaged areas have a particularly strong experience of social exclusion and feeling of being in conflict with mainstream society in numerous ways (Sarnecki 2016). It is interesting in this context that primarily young men in the door-to-door survey state that they do not believe that the police in their area generally have the same perception of right and wrong as they do.

Public services and contacts with public authorities

One aspect which influence citizens' confidence in the police and the justice system is contacts with the public sphere in the form of public authorities and other public services. A resident who is also a representative of civil society discusses the encounter with public authorities:

It's segregation that makes you feel separated from public authorities. When public authorities in the area perform their duties it is seen as an exercise of power, since the rest of Swedish society is absent. Our only interaction with Swedish people from mainstream society is when they are in uniform or when they have a tape recorder with them or will live-broadcast something that's happened. […] That's one side of the interaction. The other interaction we have with public authorities is when we are in need, for example when we are in need of benefits […] So it's always in an unequal relationship.

Contacts with public authorities are unequal by definition, since the individual has less power than the authority. In socially disadvantaged areas, however, segregation appears to render the relationship more problematic. Our data indicates that an individual who does not feel like they are part of society, or who experiences significant problems with segregation, can perceive an unequal meeting of this type as confirmation of their social exclusion.

If the residents perceive access to public services as being limited, their confidence can be affected because they feel like the public authorities are not acting in their interest. A resident who is also involved in the civil society in one of the areas provides his view:

> *Nothing works, I can tell you that. And as long as nothing works … although sometimes I feel like, I pay the same taxes, why shouldn't I get the same service from the public authorities as citizens from other areas. Healthcare isn't that good, the teachers aren't that good, the roads aren't good.*

Many residents and business owners express that the extent to which public authorities are present is used as a measurement of whether or not society cares about the area. When public functions and other types of public service withdraw from an area, it signals that the state and public society are abdicating. This becomes particularly tangible since, according to residents and civil servants, it is not uncommon that residents seldom travel outside of their own residential area. Previous research shows that children and youth, in particular, seldom leave their own residential area (Aretun 2009). If one seldom leaves one's own residential area, one cannot take advantage of the public authorities' services in other locations in the community.

Most residents feel that they are obligated to do what the police say

As shown in table 15, the residents included in the door-to-door survey in general state that they are obligated to do what the police tell them, even in situations where they do not understand why or do not like how the police are treating them. This indicates that the residents have confidence in the police as an institution from a normative perspective. However, a lesser percentage of young men respond "quite correct" than the percentage of older men in respect of both questions. In general, the percentage of older people who respond "quite correct" is greater for both questions. There are no significant differences between men and women within the same age groups.

Brå report 2018:12

A majority state that they are obligated to do what the police tell them, even if they do not understand or agree with the police. Even a majority of the young men – the group which states that they have the lowest confidence in the police – state that it is their obligation to do what the police tell them in these cases. This indicates that citizens generally accept the justice system in principle, even if they do not necessarily have confidence in it.

As the table below shows, fewer people who do not like how the police treat them state that it is their obligation to do what the police say than do people who do not understand or do not agree with the police.

Table 15. Percentage of the respondents to the door-to-door survey who state that it is their obligation to do what the police tell them, even if they do not understand, agree with, or like how the police treat them. Divided on the basis of gender and age. Expressed as percentages.

It is my obligation to do what the police tell me …	Women			Men			Total		
	Younger (n= 129)	Older (n= 197)	Total (n= 326)	Younger (n=84)	Older (n= 171)	Total (n= 255)	Younger (n= 213)	Older (n= 368)	Total (n= 581)
… even if I do not understand or agree.									
Quite correct	76	78	78	68	83	79	73	80	78
Not correct	10	6	8	14	8	10	11	7	9
Neither/don't know	14	16	14	18	9	11	16	13	13
… even if I do not like how the police are treating me									
Quite correct	59	59	59	52	64	61	56	62	60
Not correct	20	17	18	22	16	18	21	16	18
Neither/don't know	21	24	23	26	20	21	23	22	22

This shows that the residents' perception of whether the police treat them well or not is important in terms of their inclination to cooperate. Accordingly, as we previously reported, it is positive that to a high degree, the residents perceive that the police is treating people with respect. Young men state, to a somewhat greater extent, that they are not obligated to do what the police tell them if they perceive that the police are treating them poorly. Young men also state to a lesser extent than others that they are treated with respect by the police, which can be problematic for the justice system..

Closing reflections

According to the door-to-door survey and the interviews, the aspect which has the greatest impact on confidence in the justice system is effectiveness. Analysing how confidence is generated among citizens and its component parts is complex. However,

it seems that generating confidence often involves satisfying certain needs to some extent. This may include, for example, people perceiving that they have protection when they need it or that the justice system treats the citizens equally and fairly. The ability to prevent crime and the ability to protect witnesses are central to residents in this context. These needs are not specific to the studied areas but also apply to society at large. However, in areas characterised by segregation where many people experience social exclusion, our interview and questionnaire responses show that it becomes more tangible when these needs are not sufficiently met. The studied areas contain a geographic concentration of problems which render the justice system's task more difficult. Rectifying segregation and social exclusion are largely beyond the scope of the justice system's mandate. However, at the same time, they appear to be part of the explanation as to why the level of confidence in the justice system is lower in these areas.

In relation to this, many residents state that they believe that society would have done more about the problems in the area had they occurred in what some residents describe as "a Swedish area". The fact that there are many residents from another ethnic or socioeconomic background in these areas than in other urban areas makes the residents interpret these factors as an explanation as to why they do not receive the same protection and service. Many also believe that if the area had been "Swedish", there would not have been as much negative focus on the area. In other words, there is both a perception that the areas are defamed and that not enough is being done to solve the problems.

In the same way, there is both a perception that the police discriminate against certain groups in the area and that police do not intervene sufficiently against criminals. Older people, above all, seek a tougher justice system because they see intervention as a sign of effectiveness. At the same time, extensive intervention can damage confidence among groups who experience that the police often search them on erroneous grounds.

The police are generally perceived as interfacing respectfully but, to some extent, young men constitute an exception to this perception. Young men as a group to the greatest extent lack confidence in the police and experience that the police do not take fair decisions. At the same time, young men are the most criminally active group in society. Young men are also the group where the lowest percentage state that it is their obligation to do what the police tell them even if they do not understand, agree with, or like how the police treat them. This group demonstrates a clear dissatisfaction with the police and they also seem to be searched by the police more often than other groups. Accordingly, the

police tread a fine line between, on the one hand, working to prevent and impede crime and, on the other hand, not searching people on erroneous grounds.

Inclination to report and give evidence

In this chapter, we shed light on the position taken by respondents in the door-to-door survey regarding cooperation with the justice system. This is first done based on how the respondents view contacting the police in the event of an offence, assisting the police in apprehending perpetrators, and giving evidence in court. This is analysed based on aspects such as confidence in the justice system, experiences of the police's effectiveness, and experiences of groups which affect the contact with the justice system. We then provide a description of various themes raised by interview subjects in respect of cooperating with the justice system.

The extent to which individuals choose to contact the police if they become exposed to, or witness, an offence depends on a host of different factors. This is also the case with regards to the extent to which individuals choose to cooperate with the police or give evidence in court. Such important factors to which attention has been paid in previous research include, for example, if a person experiences that they have something to win or lose in the contact with the justice system, how a person regards criminality, how a person – and the people around them – see the justice system, and whether there are alternative ways to address the criminality (Goudriaan 2006). One can roughly divide these factors into two main types. In the first, the emphasis is on the individual level. The attitude assumed by the individual personally takes focus. The second type emphasises social context. The individual's actions are seen here as highly formed by their surroundings, for example the local community's view of the justice system.

Naturally, there is also an interaction between the factors enumerated above, and all of them can be refined through additional categorisations. In addition to factors which relate primarily to the reporting party, factors present at the recipient party can also influence the willingness to report offences. These factors are such things as which types of reporting methods are available

and when they are available, how long the investigation takes, and how the police treat the crime victim (Tolsma et.al 2012).

Cooperation with the justice system – two hypothetical examples

The respondents to the door-to-door survey were asked to take a position regarding how they would act *vis-à-vis* the justice system in two hypothetical examples, one where they witnessed a mugging, and one where they were themselves assaulted. The important difference between these two examples is that in the latter the individual is directly involved and in the former they are only indirectly involved and can avoid becoming drawn in. The respondents were asked to take a position on whether they would call the police, assist the police by pointing out a perpetrator, and give evidence as a witness in court.

Similar questions as those in the example involving mugging were asked in the ESS in 2010. Figure 1 compares the results from the door-to-door survey with results from the Swedish part of the EES study. The first group of bars in the graph represents responses from the door-to-door study in respect of the mugging example, the second group represents the assault example, and the third group represents the responses from the ESS.

Most people state that they would call the police

There are similarities and differences between the breakdown of answers from both studies and for both examples in our study. The primary similarity is that in all three examples, the greatest percentage state that they would call the police, the percentage decreases for the alternative of pointing out the perpetrator, and the percentage declines further for the alternative of giving evidence in court. The greatest differences involve the levels and, in that case, the example of mugging stands out somewhat to a certain extent when the issue is one of calling the police, but particularly in respect of pointing out a perpetrator and giving evidence. Among the respondents in our two areas, a full 24 percentage points less state that they would give evidence in court than respondents to the comparable question in the EES. In our questionnaire, 28 percentage points more would give evidence if they were personally assaulted then in the example where one witnesses a mugging. Note that in the mugging example, 85 per cent of the respondents nevertheless said that they would call the police and 56 per cent would give evidence. Accordingly, a clear majority can imagine working with the justice system.

The fact that the respondents in our study have given similar responses to the question regarding assault as did the respondents

to the EES indicates that it is not the legal process as such which deters residents from cooperating with the justice system. By looking more closely at the responses from the mugging example and the interviews, we will analyse below why certain residents do not want to provide information to the police and give evidence.

Figure 1. Percentage who call the police, are willing to point out a perpetrator to the police, and are willing to give evidence in court of the respondents in the door-to-door survey and the ESS (Sweden section). In the door-to-door survey, the examples were witnessing a mugging and personally being assaulted. For the ESS, the example was only witnessing a mugging. Expressed as percentages.
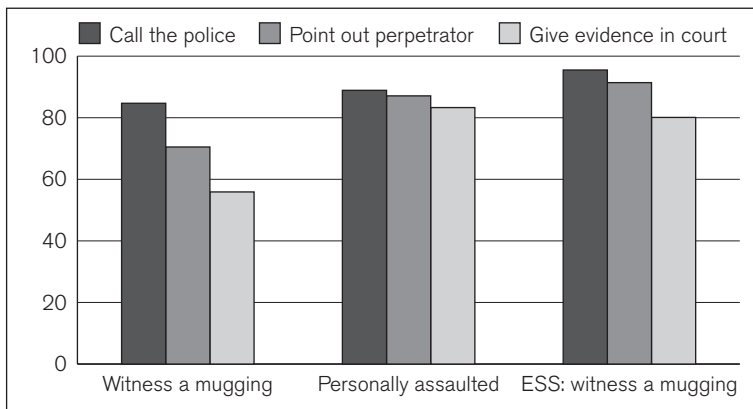
Essentially every person who said that they would not call the police was also unwilling to point out a perpetrator or give evidence as a witness. The opposite is true of those who stated that they would give evidence – they both call the police and are willing to point out a perpetrator. This applies to both the two examples in our survey and to the example in the ESS.

More women can imagine calling the police, but fewer can imagine giving evidence

Since the example involving mugging shows smaller percentages who can imagine cooperating with the justice system, we wish to explore this further, first by taking a closer look at the responses based on age and gender, and then based on additional relevant variables.

An initial observation is that a greater percentage of women than men state that they would call the police, while a greater percentage of men state that they would point out a perpetrator and give evidence. The differences between how younger and older women respond are small for all three questions. In respect

of men's responses, equal percentages of younger men and older men state that they would call the police. On the other hand, the percentage who would point out the perpetrator and give evidence is greater among the older men. Overall, one can say that older men are the group which distinguishes itself by stating that they are willing to cooperate with the justice system to a greater extent than other groups.

Table 16. Percentage of the respondents in the door-to-door survey who, in a hypothetical example where they witnessed a mugging, state that they call the police, are willing to point out a perpetrator to the police, and are willing to give evidence in court, divided on the basis of gender and age. Expressed as percentages.

	Women			Men		
	Younger (n=198)	Older (n=418)	Total (n=616)	Younger (n=130)	Older (n=379)	Total (n=509)
Call the police	90	86	88	82	83	83
Point out perpetrator	67	67	67	66	75	73
Give evidence	51	52	52	51	63	60

Table 17 reports the results of two logistic regression analyses. The first is aimed at investigating the degree to which a set of independent variables affects the likelihood that people will state that they would call the police if they witnessed a mugging in the vicinity, and the second that they would give evidence in the event of a possible trial. The independent variables in both cases are gender, age, confidence in the police and courts respectively, whether they experience that criminal groups influence the contact with the justice system, and whether they experience that shootings are a problem in their own residential area.

In respect of calling the police, the likelihood is significantly affected only by confidence in the police. This impact is, however, rather modest since it is only 1.13 times more likely that persons who have confidence will call the police as compared with those who do not. In other words, a large percentage of those who lack confidence in the police state that they would nevertheless call the police if they witnessed a mugging. In respect of the likelihood of giving evidence, there are more variables that have a significant impact. Here gender has a significant impact insofar as there is a greater likelihood that a man states that he would give evidence. Confidence in the police and, to an even higher degree, the courts, also has an impact. The experience that criminal individuals or groups influence the residential area has a negative impact on residents' willingness to give evidence. It is also less likely that a person will give evidence if they perceive shootings as a problem in their own residential area.

Table 17. Impact of different variables on likelihood of calling the police and giving evidence in court if one sees a mugging affecting someone else. Impact expressed as relative risk.

	Call the police (n=842)		Give evidence (n=842)	
	Relative risk	Sig.	Relative risk	Sig.
Gender (woman/man)	0.96		1.18	*
Age (younger/older)	0.99		1.10	
Sense of unsafety (no/yes)	1.00		0.94	
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	1.13	**	1.24	**
Confidence in the courts (no/yes)	1.07		1.27	**
Criminals influence (no/yes)[15]	1.00		0.87	*
Problem with shootings (no/yes)	1.04		0.83	**

Significance (sig.): ***=p<0.001, **=p<0.01, *=p<0.05

What else affects the choice not to cooperate with the justice system?

Based on the above review, we gain some insight into which factors can affect the willingness to cooperate with the justice system. However, it is worth underscoring that impact from individual factors is relatively modest and thus not sufficient to explain individuals' willingness to cooperate.

In the preceding chapter, we discussed factors which underlie confidence, which was just shown to be of significance in respect of willingness to give evidence. In order to understand the significance of criminal influence on a residential area and the occurrence of shootings, we must initially describe that which is called intimidation capital. In order to further enhance knowledge, we then go through the reasoning given in interviews and questionnaire open ended question responses as to why people do not wish to cooperate with the justice system.

Criminals' intimidation capital

Intimidation capital involves, above all, the perception of a person's capacity for violence (see, e.g., Brå 2016:12, Brå 2012:12, Brå 2008:8, Brå 2009:7). This can be based on myths, previous violent incidents such as shootings, and other offences. The fact that the individuals are sufficient in number to be consistently seen in the area and have the ability to avoid the consequences of their criminality also plays a role. The individual has their own intimidation capital, but by belonging to a group, the individuals together have collective intimidation capital.

---

[15] The variable "criminals influence" includes those who responded yes to any of the questions regarding the impact of criminals (see table 9).

The group may also have intimidation capital which is linked to the group's reputation rather than to the individuals in the group. Criminals can borrow from this intimidation capital to add to their own personal intimidation capital. Even an area can have intimidation capital. Some interview subjects, particularly residents, are irritated when their area is described as more dangerous than it actually is. One can say that the intimidation capital of visible criminality spills out over the area.

The material contains a few examples where individuals exploit family names which are loaded with intimidation capital. They do not even need to threaten, everyone knows who they are. Previous use of violence, drug trafficking, and time in prison of other group members give status and adds to the intimidation capital.

There is a well-established idea that cooperating with the justice system can lead to trouble

I think that a large, an overwhelming, part may be that people are afraid of reprisals from local criminals.

The above quotation is from a police officer discussing why many of the residents in the area do not cooperate with the justice system. Reasoning of this type is the most common among professionals in the area. In the interviews with residents as well, fear of the intimidation capital of local criminal individuals and constellations are central reasons. The idea that giving evidence can lead to trouble is well-established.

Of the respondents to the questionnaire in the mugging example who gave reasons why they do not give evidence, a clear majority state that the reason is fear of persons with intimidation capital. Such reasoning is also presented in the interviews with residents, representatives of public authorities, and other actors from all six areas. The fear expressed by the residents involves partly a concern over personally being exposed to various types of reprisals, and partly concern that relatives, primarily children, will be exposed. A resident states:

No, I can't go and give evidence because, you know, they live here and I see that the police can't protect me ... No but even if I don't [suffer], maybe the children will. So you don't really dare.

People are afraid of being exposed to acts ranging from harassment to very serious violence. When the interview subjects discussed what they are concerned about, they often bring up examples of something which happened in their own area when a person gave evidence or cooperated with the police. These include apartments being shot at, cars being vandalised, aggra-

vated assault, or even deadly violence. It is impossible to form an understanding on the basis of the interviews as to how common these types of incidents are, but it is clear that narratives about them are widely known. One can also observe that the same stories are told by several interview subjects. In such cases, the incidents are very spectacular. Some of these occurred several years ago. In other words, such incidents appear to have a very significant and, over time, enduring influence on the residents' willingness to cooperate with the police and justice system. A resident observes:

> *A lot of people get shot in this area. If you give evidence, you become a target for the criminals. You don't want to injure your own family.*

Another result from the door-to-door survey which indicates that serious violence has had a powerful impact on the willingness to cooperate with the justice system involves the occurrence of shootings. The survey was conducted in two areas, one of which has had a significantly greater number of shootings during the past year, as well as more with a deadly outcome.[16] This difference is clearly illustrated by how great a percentage of the residents stated that they perceive gunfire as a problem. In the area with more shootings, 75 per cent of the residents stated that gunfire is a problem to some or a significant extent. The corresponding figure in the other area is 28 per cent.

There are no differences between the areas in respect of the percentage who would call the police if they witnessed a mugging or were personally the victim of assault. In both areas, 80 per cent of the respondents stated that they would give evidence if they were the victim of assault. On the other hand, only 43 per cent of the residents in the area with more shootings would give evidence if they witnessed a mugging, as compared with 64 per cent in the area with fewer shootings. This indicates that it is not a generally negative perception of the justice system, but rather fear of the threat of violence which entails that people are less inclined to give evidence if they are not already directly involved.

---

[16] The data on shootings comes from police logs of confirmed shootings. The area with more confirmed shootings had approximately four times more shootings than the other area.

The justice system is seen as not being able to protect witnesses

An additional recurring theme (which is also discussed in the chapter on confidence) is that the justice system, in various ways, lacks the ability to take care of and "solve" situations. There are number of variants on the theme. Most of them involve the justice system in general, and the police in particular, lacking the ability to protect witnesses, and that the risk which the individual takes in order to give evidence is thus too great. Many also here express dissatisfaction that criminal sanctions for offences are not sufficiently stringent and that the legal process affords far too much consideration to the defendant, and too little to witnesses and crime victims. A resident expresses it very succinctly in a questionnaire response:

> They don't get punished and I get problems. It's not worth it to give evidence and risk your own safety and that of the people around you.

Another aspect which a number of people perceive as a problem is that the justice system does not use sufficient vigour when intervening against young offenders. This is despite the fact that many of those responsible for visible criminality in the area are minors. The perception is that there are no consequences for young persons who commit offences. A resident reports:

> We wish that the minors who belong to criminal groups or hang out with criminal individuals would be sentenced in the same way as an adult.

The residents' reasoning in this respect involves the lack of consequences leading to young people continuing with their criminality, and that respect for the justice system is depleted. A resident summarises it as follows:

> The courts and the law are very weak. Young people in this area aren't afraid of the police.

Many wish that people could give evidence anonymously

A great number of the residents who we interviewed bring up issues involving transparency in the legal process and, particularly, the requirement that the witness' identity be given at a trial (Code of Judicial Procedure, section 36):

> One thing with the Swedish justice system is quite negative. That is if you give evidence, for example, then it's your name that becomes public in courts and to these guys. What hap-

pens then? They say to you: 'I know where you live'. What happens then? Like what happens then?

Many people emphasise the lack of possibilities for giving evidence anonymously as a reason why people cannot imagine giving evidence. A resident summarises:

Good to give evidence, but dangerous for the person giving evidence. Would [give evidence] if it was anonymous.

It is worth underscoring that those who discuss giving evidence anonymously express a will to cooperate with the justice system.

Other actors can solve problems

Another variant which is related to the justice system's effectiveness is that there may be other alternatives which can handle offences and problems which are intended to be handled by the justice system. The majority of the examples refer to influential individuals who can serve as problem solvers. This may involve individuals who can influence criminal groups or leaders of religious or ethnic associations. One municipal employee who works closely with residents explains:

If you have a business and some idiot comes and wants money from you for no reason whatsoever. They want to extort you. If you know or think you know that going to the police can take a very long time and maybe nothing will even happen. That investment in time and energy – or else you go to this other guy who solves this for you in three minutes with a telephone call? And you know guaranteed that it will work. Or is 99 per cent likely to work. Who do you go to?

Another reason for turning to alternative conflict solvers comes to light in the interviews, namely fear that turning to the justice system may have undesired consequences. One example in the material involves a woman who was hit by her husband and, instead of contacting the police, contacted a leader of an ethnic association to solve the problem and for redress. According to the narrative, the woman did not want to turn to the police for fear that her husband would wind up in prison, which the woman perceived as adverse for the entire family, partly for financial reasons. At the same time, she wanted the man's actions to have consequences, something she felt that the leader of the ethnic association could bring about.

It has previously been noted in the context of domestic violence cases that criminal sanctions can be perceived as less important than the actual stand made against the perpetrator (Brå 2008:25). The percentage of women exposed to domestic vio-

lence who report the domestic violence is very low among the population as a whole (Brå 2014:8). Accordingly, it is uncertain whether actors such as the leader in the above example take over cases which would actually cross the police's desk, or whether these actors reach person who have been the victims of violence who would nevertheless not have reported it to the police. (For additional discussions regarding extra-legal justice, see the chapter entitled Parallel societal structures).

Snitches have no friends

Fear of reprisals, fear of this 'don't snitch culture'. It's sort of like when you grow up, you should hate the police because it's a little cool. It's a little like that as to not snitching, you learn rather early not to talk to the police. Police officer

Another theme which comes to the fore in interviews and questionnaires is that there are social norms that one is not to have contact with the police in general and, in particular, that one is not to provide information to the police regarding individuals or incidents. Those who address these types of unwritten rules are primarily younger persons born in the areas, or at least those with firm ties there. In the questionnaire, only a smaller percentage of the respondents giving reasons why people do not want to give evidence state something which can be designated "the culture of the area". However, since young people are underrepresented in the door-to-door survey, this has probably not been captured particularly well. On the other hand, the theme of the culture of the area arises in many interviews. A young woman explains:

You've of course grown up here and you've been taught out here with your friends that you just don't talk. You don't get involved if you don't have anything to do with it, or you just don't talk to the police, full stop. And that's like I said, it's unwritten laws.

These unwritten laws appear to be particularly important in conjunction with events in which one is not personally involved. The interview subjects often say things like "Everyone knows everyone" and that "Many have grown up here". Giving evidence against individuals from the area is described as a lack of respect, and breaching such rules is perceived as a violation of loyalty and can lead to losing face. It may also lead to being exposed to various types of harassment. A resident reports:

If, for example, I point someone out, I wouldn't feel safe here. Then you get called a snitch and are treated badly.

An earlier study based on interviews with young people indicates circumstances where breaking rules against cooperating with the justice system is deemed acceptable (Whitman and Davis 2007). The first is if it is sufficiently justified in light of the situation, for example if someone's life is in danger. A resident discusses such a situation:

> *If you have to save someone in emergency. Then it's an entirely different thing. But talking if you see something, let's say a shooting or we see an assault … You can call the ambulance if someone is really injured as a result of an assault. But you would never be able to talk to the police about who did it.*

The other circumstance is if the criminality is directed against oneself or one's family. This variant is a conceivable partial explanation to the differences in percentages of individuals who can imagine giving evidence if they witnessed a crime as compared with personal exposure, see figure 1. A business owner reports:

> *If you're the victim yourself, you give evidence. Even your neighbour you want to help, we share the same roof. But otherwise, you don't get involved.*

Assisting with the justice system is too demanding

Another aspect which is raised is that the actual contact with the justice system is so demanding that it can be a deterrent to cooperating. The reasoning involving this theme entails the perception that making oneself available to the justice system during interrogations and a possible trial is a significant sacrifice. A resident summarises it in an open ended question response in the questionnaire:

> *Too lengthy process with interrogations and conversations. Rather earn money for the family instead.*

In some contexts, the demands entailed in assisting the justice system are weighted against thoughts that the justice system will not successfully investigate and prosecute an offence. In such case, cooperating with the justice system is more seen as meaningless, which is described by a municipal employee who encounters young residents:

> *Just this lack of willingness to file a police report, it's very significant. But it's probably not so much about being afraid to file a police report, but more that they don't see any meaning in it. You have to go in and give evidence and do this, that, the other thing, and then it's dropped. It's a little like that, I think.*

Previous negative experiences

A small number of residents have personally reported previous negative experiences when giving evidence. None of these examples, however, involve serious violence, but rather something which is perceived as harassment or subtle threats. This can result in feelings of uneasiness, which influences the position one takes on cooperating with the justice system again. A resident recounts:

> *I've given evidence before. When I went into court, all of the young people and neighbours were there and said, 'Hi, neighbour, are you going to give evidence against us?' It was good that I hadn't seen anything because it was dark and I couldn't see anything specific. But it was really strange to stand there while everyone is watching.*

Other reasons are uncommon

Other types of reasons for not cooperating with the justice system which are raised in other studies are not as prominent in our material (see, for example, Brå 2013:11, Brå 2008:8). Only a small number of individuals bring up, for example, language problems as a reason why they do not want to cooperate with the justice system. Apart from this, virtually no one brings up subjects such as uncertainty regarding the way that the legal process works or being worried about how they will be received. One conceivable reason is that fear of reprisals is so dominant that other possible reasons are overshadowed.

Closing reflections

Taken as a whole, it is very clear that fear of various forms of reprisal is by far the most prominent reason why people do not wish to cooperate with the justice system. Many also state that the justice system cannot protect injured parties and witnesses, but this reason also is rooted in fear of reprisals, since the justice system cannot provide protection from reprisals. In addition to fear, some residents emphasise that there is an area culture among young people which is based on unwritten rules against talking to the police. There are also those who feel concern about pointing out individuals one has grown up with, or who live nearby.

Sense of safety and sense of unsafety

In this chapter, we look more closely at factors which affect a sense of unsafety and concern about crime in the areas. As has already been discussed, our material generally confirms that the residents' sense of safety is lower in socially disadvantaged areas than in other urban areas. The fact that the sense of safety is unevenly allocated over society and that it is typically lower in areas with high unemployment, low average income, and a high percentage of residents with a foreign background is also well established in previous research (Brå 2008:16, Ivert, Levander and Mellgren 2015).

The material presents a multifaceted picture of a sense of safety and sense of unsafety. Relatively many respondents say that they are not happy in their area, that criminality is a problem there, and that there are criminal groups or individuals who influence, among other things, people's use of the justice system and freedom of movement. Interviews and open ended question responses contain examples of problems of feeling unsafe which must be seen as exceptional in relation to society as a whole. This may involve cases such as garages or outdoor passageways being used as shooting ranges, streets which cars cannot use at certain times since they are blocked by drug dealers who act threateningly to passers-by, or rooms in basements and laundry rooms having been more or less taken over by criminal groups. Many interview subjects say that despite everything, they are relatively safe. They state that they are not personally significantly affected by, for example, criminality or disorder in the area.

In the door-to-door survey, questions were posed which particularly relate to a sense of unsafety and concern about exposure to crime. The residents have been given the opportunity to state whether they feel unsafe when outdoors in their own residential area late at night. Approximately 36 per cent in both areas state that they do so. The percentage of respondents who, on the one

hand, state that they feel safe is approximately 40 per cent (see further the chapter entitled *Overall results from the door-to-door survey*). The respondents were also able to take a position on whether, during the last year, they felt concern about being the victim of burglary, assault, or mugging in their own residential area. A total of 53 per cent responded that, during the last year, they felt concern that a person close to them would be the victim of crime, 48 per cent stated that they had concern about being the victim of burglary, 40 per cent were concerned about mugging, and 33 per cent were concerned about assault.

As has already been observed, exposure to crime is also higher – somewhere between 1.2 and 1.5 times higher for the most common types of offences – in socially disadvantaged areas. To a certain extent, this can conceivably explain the higher sense of unsafety. Previous research shows, however, that the general connection between exposure and fear of crime is, at best, weak (Heber 2007, Farrall et.al. 2009).

What factors affect a sense of safety and concern about crime?

By breaking down the question regarding experience of a sense of safety when outdoors at night into gender and age, we obtain a first picture of which groups of residents are more and less safe: women and older people feel significantly more unsafe than men and younger people. The greatest difference is between younger men and older women (see table 18).

Table 18. Percentage of respondents in the door-to-door survey who state various degrees of a sense of safety when outdoors at night, divided on the basis of gender and age.

	Women			Men			Total		
	Younger (n= 198)	Older (n= 417)	Total (n= 615)	Younger (n= 130)	Older (n= 378)	Total (n= 508)	Younger (n= 328)	Older (n= 795)	Total (n= 1123)
Safe	37	33	34	62	44	48	47	38	41
Unsafe	38	44	42	19	33	30	30	39	36
Neither safe nor unsafe	18	13	15	19	16	16	18	15	16
Does not go out, not due to a sense of unsafety	7	10	9	0	7	6	5	8	8

It is worth noting that the differences between men and women are even greater in processed NTU data for the police's 61 socially disadvantaged areas (see the chapter entitled *Trends in exposure, a sense of unsafety, and confidence*).

The fact that gender and age are important factors for a sense of safety and concern is confirmed by the fact that they still have statistical significance, even when we add other variables and relate their impact to each other. Table 18 shows which questions in the questionnaire have a significant impact on the questions of a sense of unsafety and concern about crime directed against oneself and against relatives. Concern about being the victim of mugging and assault have, for the sake of simplicity, been combined as concern for offences against the person.

Table 19. Impact of various factors on a sense of unsafety when outdoors at night, concern about offences against the person (mugging and assault considered together), concern about burglary, and concern that relatives will be the victim of an offence. Impact expressed as relative risk.

	Sense of unsafety (n=1039)	Sig.	Concern – offence against the person (n=719)	Sig.	Concern – burglary (n=720)	Sig.	Concern – relatives (n=720)	Sig.
Variables in the model								
Gender (woman/man)	0.73	***	0.68	***	0.82	*	0.89	
Age (younger/older)	1.37	**	1.12		1.16		0.95	
Number of problems (fewer/more)	1.69	***	1.80	***	1.66	***	1.98	***
Criminals influence (no/yes)	1.65	***	1.63	***	1.21		1.37	**
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	0.91		0.92		0.95		0.93	

Significance (sig.): ***=p<0.001, **=p<0.01, *=p<0.05

Four factors stand out as particularly important for some of the questions regarding a sense of unsafety when outdoors at night: (1) gender; (2) age; (3) how many crime and safety problems one experiences in one's area; and (4) feeling that there are criminal groups or individuals with an influence on the local community. Note that confidence in the police does not have a significant impact on either a sense of safety or concern about exposure to crime.

The pattern is also relatively consistent with the questions regarding concern about crime. There are no additional significant variables, but the significance of age for concern about crime is less. Gender also has less impact on concern for relatives. The feeling that criminals influence the local community has less impact on concern for burglary. One can, however, say that taken as a whole, these four factors appear to be particularly

important for a sense of unsafety and concern about crime in the studied areas. It is also the case that, to a high degree, the same residents who have a sense of unsafety are also concerned about crime directed against property, against the person, and against relatives. Accordingly, the questions appear well able to discern a general sense of unsafety. The following is an in-depth analysis of the four factors.

Gender and age

The fact that women and older people say that they have a sense of unsafety at a higher rate than do men and younger people is not unexpected; this is essentially consistent with previous research, both in Sweden and internationally (see, for example, Brå 2018:1, Heber 2007). The relative breakdown between unsafe men and women, older people and younger people, also reflects patterns which apply to the country as a whole and over time. In other words, this means that none of these variables alone can explain the higher average sense of unsafety in the studied areas.

It also means that it is likely that established explanation models for the higher sense of unsafety of women and older people have bearing on the socially disadvantaged areas as well. Previous research identifies a number of factors which contribute to women's higher sense of unsafety (Heber 2007).[17] One important factor is that women are exposed to, and are concerned about, sexual offence to a much greater extent than men. Since this type of offence causes great suffering, the effect on a general sense of safety is also significant. Other possible explanations for women's higher sense of unsafety which are raised in the literature are that the socialisation of women tends to emphasise caution to a higher degree than the socialisation of men and that femininity is associated with physical vulnerability. The effect of higher age on a sense of safety has partly been explained based on similar reasoning regarding vulnerability. Additional factors may be that higher age entails higher cumulative exposure to crime, and that the social isolation of older people may lead to their picture of various societal problems being formed, to a higher degree, by media reporting.

Women in the public space

Certain aspects of gender and age occur, or take a particularly distinctive form, in our six areas. Something which arises from both observations and interviews with residents and people

---

[17] This paragraph is based on Anita Heber 2007, above all pp 58-92.

working in all of the areas is women's absence from the public space. During certain times of day there are very few girls or women moving about in, for example, central squares and buildings in the centre. A headmaster of the school in one of the areas describes the situation like this:

My experience is that sometime around 7:30 at night, the whole area just dies. You can try it sometime if you're out late. And it's almost always only guys who are out after that time.

A resident of another area reports:

Many are in fact unemployed, we can't get away from that. But what you can also see is the father's reasoning in [the area] is that the guys always manage – which they absolutely do not. Otherwise it wouldn't look like it does. They keep a tight grip on the girls, they can't do anything, it's best if they're indoors. It's good that they're cautious about the girls but they should take as much care of the boys, because it's the boys who go and make trouble out here.

It is difficult to establish what women's relative absence means and how it affects women's sense of unsafety. Two women who live in the area have emphasised that they don't see any problems with the situation as it is. One interview subject explains that she prefers to be home, and another says that there is a cultural aspect to this which outsiders tend to misunderstand. However, if "socialised caution" and relative isolation in the home add to a sense of unsafety, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that men's dominance of the public space can have an adverse impact on women's sense of safety. Some interview subjects also state that there is a link between the male-dominated public space and women's sense of unsafety. A resident stated as follows:

There are women who when they in fact go into the centre see that it's filled with men. All of the seating may even be occupied or there's maybe two seats that aren't occupied. And then of course, that's another sense of unsafety. When women feel like men have taken over the centre.

There are also examples of unwillingness to go out not merely being a result of an absence of other women in the public space but, rather, negative experiences of a public space dominated by men. One person who works at a housing company recounts a situation described for him by a resident:

One example, it was an ordinary weekday when a girl said to her father: 'Dad, can you come with me, I need to go down to Konsum and buy milk?' It was only one in the afternoon, she didn't want to go out because she knew that she was

usually harassed and exposed to humiliating sexist comments from the guys on the street. She only needed to walk down a 200 metre side street to get to Konsum. Women, pensioners above all, they stay indoors consciously. It's been said to me, women, older pensioners who have lived here 40 years have never seen anything like it. An enormous number of things have happened during the last ten years in respect of a sense of unsafety. You don't feel safe in the area, you seldom see the police, I've heard this from older pensioners. Then I've met men who don't notice anything, they think everything is tip-top. I think that it it's women who avoid going out because of those who hang out when it gets dark, it's often men, younger men.

Criminal groups and other problems which are experienced

In addition to gender and age, it is primarily one's experience of various problems in the area which has a significant impact on a sense of unsafety and concern about crime. Those who responded that, in their experience, the presence of criminal individuals or groups in the area has an influence on the local community clearly have a greater sense of unsafety and are concerned about crime against themselves or relatives to a higher degree. Persons who provided multiple response alternatives to the multiple-choice questions in the questionnaire regarding problems also have a greater sense of unsafety – the more problems, the stronger the correlation between both a sense of unsafety and concern about crime.

Table 20. Impact of experiences of various problems on the question of sense of unsafety when outdoors at night. Impact expressed as relative risk. (n=1033)

	Relative risk	Significance
Problem		
Littering (no/yes)	0.97	
Joyriding (no/yes)	1.31	*
Vandalism (no/yes)	1.13	
Gangs which fight and act out (no/yes)	1.52	***
Open sales of narcotics (no/yes)	1.26	*
Stone throwing (no/yes)	1.02	
Shootings (no/yes)	1.14	
Cars being set on fire (no/yes)	1.21	
Sexual harassment (no/yes)	1.01	

Significance (sig.): ***=p<0.001, **=p<0.01, *=p<0.05

The response alternatives "gangs which fight and disrupt", "joy-riding", and "open sales of narcotics" have greatest individual impact on a sense of unsafety, see table 20. The fact that these specific problems stand out probably reflects, in part, the structure of the question regarding a sense of unsafety – if one is out in the area at night, it's likely that these are precisely the problems that one will encounter. At the same time, interviews with residents show that the problems are associated with each other and that they can also affect other types of situations. It is worth pointing out that shootings have a significant impact on a sense of unsafety in the area that has had many shootings, but it does not become significant when the areas are combined.

Gender is also a relevant factor in respect of the experience of problems. Women state that problems exist more often than do men. This applies to all problem areas, with the exception of sales of narcotics, cars being set on fire, and sexual harassment, where women and men show essentially the same levels. Women, to a certain extent, also state that multiple problems exist in combination. On average women identify 5.2 problems and men identify 4.6 problems.

Open sales of drugs

The phenomenon that most of the interview subjects identify in connection with criminal impact on the area is open sales of drugs. Many see it on a day-to-day basis and some recount, among other things, concern about becoming a witness to something one shouldn't see. This occurs in all six studied areas. A police officer summarises the situation in their area:

> *They often stand quite openly in many places here and deal. Often quite a lot of them are aggressive, threatening towards residents. They create a sense of insecurity here. In some areas it's unfortunately not uncommon that people even stand and target shoot, they stand and target shoot in certain garages, certain basements, and suchlike here. There's never anyone who cares about it either. But we often learn about it from the property owners the next day.*

Violence in criminal environments

Interviews and open ended question responses also contain narratives regarding how the violence in the criminal environments affects the local community. It does not take many individual incidents for violence to be a concrete presence for many people. A youth club leader reports:

> *We've had several shootings here, and all of the young people know at least someone who knows someone who's been shot. It's not more remote than that.*

Some interview subjects have personally witnessed murder in the open. An older man recounts, for example, how he witnessed a murder and a serious assault in the area's shopping centre; this gave him a severe shock and recalled traumatic memories from the war in his former homeland. The interviews also contain examples of deadly violence in environments where children are present. A youth leader recounts how he and the children were in the vicinity of a shooting:

> *It was a completely ordinary day. We came down here as usual. Just like today, we had started to collect the material and carried up. As soon as we came up we heard several bangs. At first, we didn't react, we didn't understand what the bangs were. But then we heard screaming. And then we ran down. There were a lot of adults and young people running from the location. We saw a guy lying on the ground. It wasn't until then that we understood what had happened. […] The first reaction was to get the children out of here. There were terrified children still down here. There was a lot of shock, a lot of tears. We brought the children inside and waited for the police. What I don't understand is why? Why choose a place where there are children? I don't understand it. They could've taken care of it a little tidier, it is in fact between them.*

A recurring theme in interviews with both residents and police officers involves lower thresholds for resorting to serious violence in the criminal environments, that more people are arming themselves and wearing bulletproof vests, and that people are being murdered for minor things. Police officers who work in one of the areas which has suffered the most believe that they have seen, for example, that gun violence has become more unpredictable. Ten years ago when someone got shot, it was almost always understandable from a power perspective – the victim had influence or resources that others feared or sought. Today, almost anyone in the criminal environment – or sometimes even someone outside of it – is the victim. A smaller, personal conflict can suffice as motive.

Problems associated with youth gangs

The problems which interview subjects associate with "youth gangs" appear in the interviews as more vague, but significantly more widespread. They drive mopeds in a way which jeopardises the life and health of residents, prevent people from passing,

and sometimes behave threateningly. The interviews show, at the same time, how difficult it can be to distinguish between "criminal groups" and "gangs which fight and disrupt". Residents' descriptions of problems often involve, quite simply, young men who loiter outdoors in the area. It is not always easy to know who is selling narcotics, who can become threatening to passers-by, or who is driving a moped recklessly through the area. Several interview subjects recount how young people who loiter outdoors at night risk being recruited by older criminal individuals, and it is a fact that mopeds are often used by gangs in the areas, among other things in conjunction with shootings. Criminal influence, rowdy gangs, narcotics, and moped driving can thus present themselves as aspects of the same complex of problems – irrespective of how consistent this is with reality.

Narratives in the material primarily involve the discomfort involved in passing gangs, particularly at night. A handful of interview subjects report that they have been pushed, prevented from passing, or had taunts shouted at them, but for most it remains a vague sense of discomfort. A resident reports:

> Resident: *For example, one in the morning, at the underground. If there are 20 young people standing there, it's not fun to go in and out of the underground at night when you've been out. As a guy and particularly as a girl. [...] But if you're in these places at night you can see them clearly because there are no other people at that spot. Even if it might just be young people who want to hang out outside of the underground and chat. But they just don't act like ok, now we'll have a conversation and chat, but they just stand there and kick things and smoke in the middle of the underground station. Then it's threatening, absolutely.*

> Interviewer: *Have you had a problem some time or anything?*

> Resident: *No. What you experience is subtle, it's exactly that which is the fear, so to speak, and now that fear is spreading. If those of us who live there feel like that, imagine how people who don't live there would feel.*

One interview subject who is a resident in one of the areas recounts concrete situations of threat and vandalism around side streets where young men gather and prevent automobile traffic from passing:

> *It has a rather big impact. First, I think it's horrible that they act like that. It's very, very disturbing that they act like that here. It's difficult to explain, but they stand there [at a particular side street] with their cars. I wonder where they get money for them. They stand there, so people can't get*

*past with their cars because they don't move. And if there's
someone who confronts them, the whole gang start slapping
on the roof of the car. I've seen this hundreds of times. The
person who comes driving down there is of course terrified.
So a lot of people just don't dare to drive in, when they see
that they're there. They park the cars on the pavement or the
street instead. It's very – there's a disturbance every day. We
had an incident here, it had to be three weeks before he got
shot, there were some young guys who came in cars here. I
don't know what they had done, but they pulled them out of
the car and beat them with a baseball bat, then they sprayed
the whole car with paint. I mean they're horrible, people
don't believe it when you tell them.*

Business owners' exposure

Both criminal groups and youth gangs can also have an influence
on shop owners and other business owners. Business owners
complain, among other things, that rowdy groups outside of their
shops disrupt business, and that young people shoplift and dis-
turb customers in the store. Interview subjects from several areas
identify protection rackets and extortion directed against shops
and restaurants, but few appear to have actual insight into this.
One interview subject recounts how disturbances and thefts can
also create a need for protection. He describes situations where
shops do poorly due to young men who disturb customers, steal,
and fight adjacent to the shop. The police are not able to guaran-
tee the conditions necessary to enable the business to be run, so
relatives who have invested in the business loose their patience
and arrange informal guards. He continues:

*Finally, you just can't cope. In [two other cities] it's gone so
far that you have to pay. If you don't pay, they've gone into
the system. It's a dangerous route. So, if people don't believe
in the system, in trials or the justice system, we have to go
the other way. Then you have this conflict between different
groups. Not just on a gangster level but even ordinary people
say I have to defend myself. I say: 'Okay, what must [you
do]?' I have to have a weapon. And then maybe he buys a
weapon. To defend his… He's not a criminal, he is an ordi-
nary citizen, but he's armed himself.*

Broken windows and crime

There are also reasons to look more closely at response alterna-
tives to the question regarding problems which may, on the one
hand, have less of an impact on the issue of a sense of unsafety
but, on the other hand, are experienced by a greater percentage

of the respondents. The problems identified by most respondents are littering (78 per cent), joyriding (77 per cent), cars being set on fire (77 per cent), and vandalism (59 per cent). Open ended question responses, interviews, and observations give insight into the type of littering and vandalism involved: it includes lifts which are dirty and have been urinated in, graffiti, household trash being dumped in the area, basement areas which are taken over by drug users, smashed cars, and smashed windows in stairwells.

Although these problems do not have any specific impact on a sense of unsafety, they are not insignificant when one controls for other problems. Since the experience of multiple problems is significantly correlated with a sense of unsafety, and since most respondents have experience of littering, joyriding, cars being set on fire, and vandalism, it is reasonable to say that they have, at a minimum, an indirect impact on a sense of unsafety. This is also highly consistent with early research, which is shown that disruptions to public order can have a greater effect on a sense of unsafety and concern then more serious criminality (Hale 1996, Lewis and Maxfield 1984).

Accordingly, there is cause to reflect, more generally, on the relationship of public disorder to problems associated with criminality, confidence, and a sense of safety. There has long been a debate within the fields of criminality and criminal policy regarding the significance of littering, vandalism, and minor public disorder on more serious criminality and a sense of unsafety. The so-called broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling 1982, Kelling and Coles 1996) claims, for example, that disorder in the physical environment – broken windows, littering, petty crimes, and other public disorder – attracts, or even causes, more serious criminality by means of its signal value. Potential perpetrators see broken windows and littering as signs that people do not care about the area and that the risks associated with crime are therefore low.

One of the many critics of the broken windows theory is Robert Sampson (2012). His discussion is particularly interesting in relation to our material, since it insists on the importance of disorder. Sampson also maintains that disorder is an important factor in understanding processes which reproduce problem areas over time. The problem with the broken windows theory is not that it emphasises visual disorder, but rather how it understands the active mechanisms. Sampson's understanding of the significance of disorder differs on at least two important points. Firstly, Sampson stresses that disorder is a collectively formed experience rather than an objective fact. An overflowing trash bin is experienced differently in an area with a good reputation and a worse

reputation. An area's reputation can, in turn, be affected by factors such as class and ethnic composition.

Secondly, Sampson develops a more sophisticated model for the type of causality involved. According to Sampson, the central issue is not that disorder attracts potential criminals, but rather that collectively experienced disorder contributes to concentrating social problems to certain areas. Investors, shop owners, or residents who have the possibility to choose where they will live or work tend to choose areas which are perceived as ordered. The collective ability of disadvantaged areas is thus continually depleted by virtue of both financial and social capital moving out of the area. The idea that disorder breeds criminality is, in fact, a sort of self-fulfilling prophecy – it constitutes an important element in a process where risk factors for criminality are continually re-created.

In other words, the public order and crime problems which many residents report in the questionnaire should not be dismissed as unimportant. Perhaps they do not generate crime and a sense of unsafety in and of themselves, or in a direct manner, but over time they can contribute to social processes which deplete the area and thereby produce both criminality and a sense of unsafety. Ivert, Levander and Mellgren (2015) draws similar conclusions in a study which compares trends in sense of safety in various residential areas in Malmö. Between the years 1998 and 2012, it appeared that the general sense of safety in the city increased while, at the same time, the levels were stable – or even declining – in several of the areas which were perceived as unsafe in 1998. Experienced public disorder in the areas was highlighted as an important underlying cause. The polarisation of the levels of a sense of safety over time indicate, according to the authors, that increased residential segregation has "benefited area processes which have led to an increased sense of safety in certain areas. This has occurred at the expense of other areas, since corresponding processes were not activated in areas with high levels of a sense of unsafety in both 1998 and 2012" (p. 226).

Overcrowded housing and unsafe residential situations

Why do so many young people spend their evenings outdoors? Many interview subjects bring up poor parental responsibility, which will return to later in the report. Another factor which is raised in many interviews is overcrowded housing in the area. The reasons include, among others, the residents' relatively weak financial situations, the nature of the housing stock, and the fact that many make rooms available, for example, to relatives

or countrymen who have nowhere to live. Here we begin to approach forms of a more general sense of unsafety which has less to do with crime or the justice system, but which is nevertheless worth addressing. Many people appear to live under very unstable circumstances. This may involve illegal subletting at usurious prices or staying with distant relatives. There are also cases of organised bedspace rentals in at least some of the studied areas. One building caretaker in one of the areas reasons as follows regarding a dramatic case of overcrowded housing which he encountered:

> *Just when I started here had a family, they had a problem with the apartment and I went there. [The man in the family] was completely broken; they live in a one-room apartment, a one-and-a-half room apartment, I think there were 6 or 7 people there. With new-born babies and everything and he thought it was a poor environment indoors. It is not so strange that it is that, when so many people live in the apartment. You think oh my God, what a horrible life, imagine living in there. It's not so strange that some of these children grow up and are out there on the streets instead. There's no room at home, you can't cope with being at home, and it's better to go out. But it's clear, it's easy for criminal networks to pluck them up. Come with us, you'll get 200 kronor if you stand guard here for a while or do this and that. It's probably pretty easy for these guys to go wrong.*

The uncertain residential situation can also contribute to a general sense of unsafety for residents who are not personally directly affected. A young woman recounts, for example, that names are constantly changing on doors in her stairwell and there are constantly new faces. "I don't even know who my neighbours are," she observes.

A relevant question is the extent to which overcrowded housing contributes to the unequal gender breakdown in the public space, which was discussed previously in the chapter. One hypothesis may be that overcrowded housing intensifies gender roles and increase differences in the socialisation of girls and boys. In rough terms, one can imagine that it is more likely that boys will be the ones to hang around outdoors if overcrowded housing at home creates conflict.

In this context, it is worth noting that previous research has identified a correlation between growing up under overcrowded conditions and subsequent criminality (Farrington and Loeber 1999, Pardini, Waller, and Hawes 2015). A reasonable assumption is that more time spent in outdoor environments can be a partial explanation. This applies, not in the least, to socially

disadvantaged areas, which are often constructed in such a way that the use of outdoor environments by children, young people, and adults is highly segregated (Aretun 2009). Young people who spend a great deal of time outdoors in such areas have particularly good opportunities to avoid social control exercised by adults.

Unsafe places and times

One matter which becomes clear from the quotations above is that the problems which residents experience which are associated with criminal groups or youth gangs which are disruptive are often strongly associated with certain places and times of the day. This is highly consistent with previous research (see, for example, Gerell 2013). This view has also been confirmed by, among other things, the door-to-door survey. Many people who responded to the questionnaire found it difficult to relate the questions regarding a sense of unsafety and problems to "the area" as defined by, for example, the police. They could instead respond that the courtyard where they live is safe, but that another location a stone's throw away is not. Those who feel unsafe often identify the shopping centre, squares in front of underground stations, and other natural gathering places as particularly exposed. In at least one of the areas, interview subjects named a specific side street, where a number of individuals in a family with many criminals live.

Hotspots and moving – an example

The places which are particularly exposed can vary over time. One theme in the interviews involves how problems move through the area in step with the municipality and police taking countermeasures. In one of the areas, a couple of residents, a community development worker, a police officer, and a representative of a non-profit association recount how disturbances around a sports facility moved to other nearby places. Their accounts describe how places attract young people and are affected by them. We will now describe this case in more detail.

One interview subject is of the opinion that the problem partly moved to the sports facility from a previous hotspot which, in turn, formed when benches were built under a roof adjacent to a citizens' service centre. As of the past few years, an open location with benches outside of the area's sports facility has served as a gathering place for youth. Several interview subjects describe disturbances, sales of narcotics, and harassment at the location.

There was a gang outside who sat and conducted themselves and created some form of culture where the community

*wasn't welcome to come closer into [the facility]. Instead,
there were a number of incidents that created, well, violent
riots.*

The municipality and police decided that something must be
done regarding the situation around the sports facility. Cameras
were set up and the environment was modified by, among other
things, removing benches adjacent to the arena. The problem
then moved partly to a shopping centre nearby, with shoplifting
and robbery as a consequence, and after intervention there as
well, to an additional location in the vicinity.

The example largely reflects narratives from other areas, and is
particularly interesting since it also shows the consequences for
the affected locations. According to one interview subject, the
sports facility has gotten a bad reputation due to the problem,
such that certain teams no longer wish to practice there. One
reason is that "Girls, as it says in the newspaper, have to run the
gauntlet when they need to go in and change." One woman lives
in the area talks about the square to which the youth moved after
the sports facility was equipped with cameras and the benches
were removed:

*Yesterday, when I needed to walk past there, it was almost
5:30 in the afternoon and there were a lot of youth standing
and blocking the way. If you need to go from [shop A] to [B],
you're scared for your life. They didn't want to let me pass
and I had two children with me. And the children also feel
[frightened].*

A shop which is adjacent to a location which has become a
new hangout after the problems in the shopping centre were
addressed has also been affected. The following description,
which comes from an interviewed police officer, is worth quot-
ing in its entirety, since it also links to themes addressed in other
parts of the report:

*[The owner] is trying to sell it now. He doesn't want to be
there. It's a big problem when businesses and shops want to
move out of our area. And he's Muslim, he belongs to this
group, he doesn't belong to the group, but to this group of
people though. But they don't respect him at all. I had a
meeting with him a couple weeks ago, because he's relatively
new in the area, and he said, 'When I took over here I was
really excited, and I thought this is going to go great. I don't
need to have surveillance cameras or anything in the area
because I can handle those who come in here.' And then,
after two or three weeks, it was clear that he needed surveil-
lance cameras. The people who hang out outside shoplift,
he doesn't bother to call the police. It's a very bad sign too,*

because he said: 'Nothing will happen'. But he's friendly to the police, he wants help from us. We had a major incident in the area four weeks ago, we were out and talked with him and we said that we would have a police patrol here and he was very happy about that. So he wants help from society, above all the police. He thinks that the police are too soft, as do a lot of people from other countries. He thinks we should be a little tougher towards the youth.

Feeling safe is an unevenly allocated resource

An additional way to shed light on the mechanisms of a sense of unsafety is to look more closely at residents who discuss why they feel safe. If one regards the sense of safety as a type of resource, one can ask what forms the access to it by various individuals or groups. Despite everything, many interviewed residents describe themselves as relatively safe. As has already been set forth, these residents are primarily men and younger persons. Even those who talk about a sense of unsafety tend nuance their account: it is not as bad as the media or society at large claims.

"Everyone knows everyone"

As mentioned in previous chapters, many interview subjects address the sense of community in the area – that one is happy because one "knows everyone". This appears to have significant relevance in respect of feeling safe (cf. Dahlstedt 2017, Egnell and Ivert 2016). Several younger residents, in particular, point to the significance of having grown up together with the young men hanging out in the area late at night:

> *But, first of all, you know almost everyone who lives here, even if it's not at a personal level. But you more or less have an idea who everyone is in the courtyard or in the areas nearby.*

> *The sense of community is, well, much more, it's different than what I've noticed in some places. I mean, most people know each other and so there's less of a risk that you'll have problems. Because you've grown up with many the people here in the area, so I think it's the sense of community that makes you not feel threatened. Yes, it's a different sense of community than what you might see in the city itself. It's a multicultural area, and most people have gone to the same schools, been in the same class, and things like that. So it forms another kind of bond you might say.*

> *I've lived here on and off since I was 3 years old, and now I'm 28. I've never felt insecure, I mean of course things happen a little now and then, but I can imagine that someone from outside might feel less safe. But I who have lived here know the area, no, I feel like the risk is rather small that anything would happen to me.*

Similar descriptions are also provided in interviews with older people who work with young people or who have other concrete connections to them – for example through nationality or a shared language:

> *There is in fact a gang group that's growing and growing in [the area] which sticks to the shopping centre, more or less. They're teenagers in large groups, they're all possible ages. You can experience it as unsafe. But for me, I can just say, hey move, go and stand there so that you not blocking the way. In other words if you maybe know someone in this group. […] Most of them are Somali so maybe that's what makes it easier for me or they speak Arabic. You can talk to them in their language, or you happen to know someone in the large group.*

Certain interview subjects address more concretely how acquaintanceship creates a sense of safety. One aspect may be that one "actually" knows the young men who are hanging out in the area and, as a result, to some extent one understands their motives and limits:

> *Because these guys who we're talking about who are shooting and acting up and committing assaults, they're actually the world's sweetest guys. So pleasant, very kind. If you need help, they'll help you with anything. It's something between them, because you don't go in and just shoot each other like that. It's about everything, it's about business, it's always about someone having done something wrong or tricked someone, that's a bit how it works. It's sort of their courtroom if you could put it like that.*

Strategies for avoiding problems

Acquaintanceship with the area and what happens there can contribute to one knowing how one is to behave in order not to become a victim. Certain interview subjects approach what previous research has described in terms of "avoidance strategies" (Egnell and Ivert 2016) – day-to-day behaviours which people do not necessarily think of in terms of a sense of unsafety or fear. This may involve knowing who to avoid or how to conduct oneself in potentially threatening situations:

*They don't like when you look at them, if you look some-
times it feels like they're just waiting to find a reason to start
a fight. Then it's best to ignore them and just walk past and
not look. That works best.*

A young man, who describes himself as one of those who often
"hangs out" in the shopping centre at night, also links risk man-
agement to more general reflections regarding risk perception and
society's view of the area. He initially recounted that the reason
why he and his friends stay out late is that there are no other
alternatives. The youth recreation centre is closed and spending
time at friends' homes often leads to "culture clashes" with the
parental generation when friends discuss, for example, social
issues and the parents do not agree:

*You recognise people. Their norms, the talk. If someone has
had a fight with someone, maybe they stay away. It's not that
they're impulsive, but everything has a history that's being
followed. You know who to avoid. A lot of people recognise
each other, you say hi. You know who you should stay away
from. There's an expectation from society that there's some-
thing wrong in this area, criminality and things like that, but
it's not true. Or – yes it exists, but it's not as bad as people
think. Everything that people see they interpret as wrong, but
it's not that way.*

Here, one can also bear in mind the above discussion regarding
how outsiders can perceive a gathering of young men with noth-
ing obvious to do as potentially threatening. What these largely
younger interview subjects are expressing is, in fact, the opposite.
There are specific persons and situations in respect of which one
exercises care. There are concrete things that one can do to han-
dle risks. Perhaps this involves, in part, a sense of control – previ-
ous research identifies a perceived loss of control as an important
aspect of a sense of unsafety and fear of crime (Heber 2007,
Jackson 2015). However, the actual risk can, of course, also be
influenced; a person who doesn't know who one should avoid
looking at perhaps runs a higher risk of encountering problems.

When you don't "know everyone"

For purposes of tying the questionnaire results to the discussion
above, it appears reasonable to assume that older persons and
women are more distanced from the young men who are loitering
outdoors, and thus they can be imagined to have worse access to
experiences which generate a sense of safety. An interview with
one woman is particularly interesting in this context. This is
because it describes the transition from growing up and "know-
ing everyone" in the area to becoming an adult and working

in another part of the city, and thereby losing, to some extent, contact with the area's social world:

> *Now I don't feel quite safe actually. In the past, I dared to be out late and now it's not as clear if I can say that. […] I think that when you went to school here […] You were naturally part of things, because people just recognised you. Now it's probably the case that enough time has passed that everyone has moved. Those who are little older have moved for the most part, new people have come from other areas. And then suddenly you notice that you've been called things when you walk past, that there have been catcalls and things like that. That the group comes close and you feel no, those, I don't know who they are. That they hit you, push you when they walked past, so it's not really the same feeling.*

Because the woman's mother also lives in the area, the interview also gives insight into an existence which has even fewer ties to concrete acquaintanceship with the young men hanging out in the courtyard:

> *My mother goes down, she takes the lift down to the garage and then she goes out. Years can pass before she actually sees the courtyard, she only needs to go through the courtyard when the car isn't working. She doesn't know what's going on here. She reads about it in the newspapers.*

It is worth noting that the mother, according to the interview subject, knows what happens in the area primarily through the media, and previous research has identified this factor as something which creates a sense of unsafety (see above).

In summary, one can observe that a significant percentage of the problems with the potential to further a sense of unsafety experienced by the residents appear to be associated with criminal gangs or groups of teenage boys and men – the line between them is often unclear for ordinary residents – who loiter outdoors in the areas at night. The people who are safest appeared generally to be those who, through their social networks, daily routines, or habits, are acquainted with the young men who loiter outdoors at night. They know how to act among them and the situations and persons one should avoid.

Precautionary measures and modified behaviour

The above discussion addresses how individuals who perceive that they are safe described how they navigate in the areas. It is probably more common that unsafe residents take precautionary

measures. It is worth noting that previous research has shown that the relationship between a sense of unsafety and caution is complex. Precautionary measures can, indeed, reduce the risk of crime but, at the same time, risk adding to fear and a sense of unsafety (Egnell and Ivert 2016, Hale 1996).

We have no measurement of the extent to which unsafe residents take precautionary measures or more generally modify their behaviour as a consequence of their sense of unsafety. However, three questions in the questionnaire address the issue indirectly. Those who responded to the question on a sense of unsafety by answering that they do not go out into the area at night could specify whether it was a result of a sense of unsafety. Of the total respondents, 9 per cent state that they do not go out due to a sense of unsafety. We have already become acquainted with examples from the interviews. The questions regarding groups or individuals with an impact on the local community also contain response alternatives which are relevant in this context. The respondents could state that they experience that people in the area are influenced in a way that prevents them from moving freely, or that they are influenced in a way that prevents them from speaking up if, for example, someone is vandalising property. Of those who responded, 47 per cent used one of these alternatives. Women and older persons are, once again, more inclined to identify these things as problems.

Several interview subjects discussed things that they avoid doing or are reluctant to do as a result of a sense of unsafety or concern about crime. One young man recounts that he never uses the main entrance to his apartment building, since drug dealers loiter outside. One respondent to the questionnaire states that "You don't even dare correct a 9-year-old anymore", and that one does not get involved in things if one has children for fear that they will suffer. The fear of speaking up or "getting involved" is brought up in many interviews. A resident who works in home healthcare explains that one must not interact with youth gangs, must mind one's own business and, if something happens, leave it alone. It has happened that the person has come out from a home visit and seen someone walking away with his bicycle. In that situation, according to the interview subject, it's just to let it go – it's not worth starting anything over a bicycle.

A resident who is politically active reasons regarding the fear of speaking up and is of the opinion that he can see a change since he grew up in the area. In his opinion, there was stronger social control then:

If we did anything wrong outside, someone's mother's friend always snitched on us. I remember when I started smoking

cigarettes and I was walking [outside the area] and smoking there instead so that no one from the area would see me. And it was all because the community, parenting, was stronger, the cooperation was stronger. It's not like that today.

The interview subject recounts a discussion he had with an older man regarding the problem of marijuana smoking in public environments:

So I said to him: 'You know what? Why don't you do something about it? You whine about me as [a politically active person] but you leave this cafeteria, you go into the mosque, you walk past them. You see, you know him, him, and him, why don't you go to them?' And then he said to me: 'You know what? I'm afraid for my life. How do I know that he doesn't have a weapon?' But now it's become a normal thing. It doesn't need to be some outside organisation that threatens [in the area], it's just childhood friends who don't get along and use weapons against each other.

It is far more likely that instead of being the victim of violence, a person will suffer in more subtle ways. A handful of interview subjects recount, among other things, that they personally, or people close to them, were the victims of vandalism and subtle threats after having spoken up to someone in the area. A headmaster of a school in one of the areas tells the story of a woman who had problems after she objected to the behaviour of some schoolchildren:

We have a [woman] who lives [in the vicinity] who has been really victimised by a number of pupils, and trapped in the stairwell and spat upon. Everything possible because she reacted to how some of them behaved. And it doesn't need to be particularly serious violence or such. Which means that for the police it may be harassment or something like that. But for the person who is subject to this each and every day, it becomes really difficult. It destroys their entire living situation.

Fleeing the sense of unsafety

Open ended question responses and interviews also contain examples of individuals who, due to the sense of unsafety and concern about crime, consider or actualise major changes to their lives. This may involve moving from the area, the street, or the courtyard, or winding up or selling a business in the area. Examples of the latter have been addressed above. A young man describes his decision to move from his area:

I've lived here five or six years, everything was good, I worked, everything worked like it should, but sometimes some gangsters come from outside the area and there's chaos here. [...] Yes, and there was a murder right in front of my eyes and I thought, imagine the day that my children are out and playing and someone gets shot right in front of [my children]? It's not good for [the children's] sake. So I said to my wife, it's time to buy an apartment now, so we bought an apartment in [another area].

One interview subject from the disturbance response team in one of the areas reports of situations where residents would rather move than report disturbances, since they are afraid of their neighbours:

I also think that people don't complain in some areas, some people you don't complain about. That's my feeling, you don't call and complain about certain families, certain people. People also imagine a lot about their neighbours, right or wrong, but if someone calls and complains they say that you absolutely not allowed to tell, because he's a member of a motorcycle gang, they're scared for their life. A lot has to happen before we even get an anonymous telephone call about it. People choose to move, we hear that sometimes after the fact. It wasn't possible to live there, five neighbours have moved. It's a disaster there and then we haven't heard anything, we have no idea because people solve it themselves and move to another apartment.

It must be underscored that the examples are few and many interview subjects speak warmly of their areas and say that they never want to move away. However, particularly in light of Sampson's (2012) reasoning regarding moving and depletion of the area's collective capacity, there are nevertheless reasons to take these narratives seriously.

Concerns of people who feel safe

The fact that a sense of safety is highly dependent on one's social network, habits, and ability to adapt also underscores the difficulty in measuring it. One can always ask what "a sense of safety" actually means. The questionnaire makes it possible for us to investigate this weakness a little more closely by comparing the question regarding a sense of unsafety with other questions in the questionnaire. The open ended question regarding other concern posed in the questionnaire has shown to be particularly interesting. It states: Is there anything else about which you have been particularly concerned during the past year in your residential area? It must be underscored that the focus of the question

regarding a sense of unsafety is different – it involves the residents' feeling of being unsafe when outdoors at night. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what those who responded that they feel safe have identified as items of concern.

Approximately one-half of the individuals asked the open ended question regarding other items of concern responded.[18] It is hardly surprising that most of the responses came from residents who stated that they either never go out alone at night or that they feel rather unsafe or very unsafe if they do. However, almost one-half of the responses came from residents who say that they feel rather safe, very safe, or neither safe nor unsafe if they go out alone late at night. Feeling rather safe in the situation is, in point of fact, the most common response among those who provided an open ended question response regarding other items of concern.

Residents who state that they are very safe or rather safe when they move about in the area at night have, among other things, responded as follows:

> *Being in the wrong place at the wrong time, in other words ending up in the middle of an internal dispute between criminals.*

> *Shootings, you don't dare send the children outside.*

> *I worry about my children. People drive mopeds fast in the area, it's dangerous for small children.*

> *The apartment was hit by gunfire once. Now I'm always afraid to leave my children in that room at night. But we've never had anything like that again.*

> *I walk around concerned the whole time, things happen a little now and then. The guy who got shot, explosions, and so on. It comes in waves.*

> *Murder and people who died here, then you're concerned.*

> *It's okay for me, because it's the same in my home country.*

> *The criminals have problems with each other. If I get between them, if my daughter does, what would happen then? I bought a new apartment after the most recent shooting and I will move.*

---

[18] The open-ended question regarding other items of concern was included only in the longer interview questionnaire.

The point in comparing the open ended question responses and the sense of safety question in this way is not, of course, to imply that the residents "should" feel more unsafe in the area. It is instead a way to reflect on the fact that people's experience of a sense of unsafety is both subjective and depends on context. People have different expectations depending on previous experience and they get used to things they must live with. The open ended question responses cannot, of course, give a comprehensive picture of how such dynamics affect the sense of safety in socially disadvantaged areas, but they indicate certain themes.

It is clear that many residents state, in the questionnaire, a high sense of safety in a specific situation notwithstanding that they identify serious general problems in their area. One important aspect appears to be that one can experience oneself as relatively safe since serious items of concern, such as disputes between criminals, are not specifically related to oneself. Other responses indicate that one can periodically feel safe since problems "come in waves". This is also generally consistent with the picture of the areas given by, for example, local police.

An additional theme is that one can feel oneself to be relatively safe personally, since there are others to worry about. In the open ended question responses, this is particularly expressed in relation to shootings and the risk of stepping into the middle of a criminal dispute, a pattern which can also be discerned if we look more closely at other questionnaire responses. In one area, where residents described shootings as a problem in the area to a significantly higher degree, concern for relatives is also significantly higher.

Taken as a whole, one can say that the sense of unsafety is not necessarily generalised or cumulative in a predictable way. A sense of unsafety can be strongly focused on certain times, individuals, situations, and so forth, without necessarily spilling over into the feeling one has going out late at night. When we read that many of the respondents to the questionnaire experience themselves as safe if they go out alone late at night, it may consequently be good to bear in mind that, at the same time, some of them may be worried that their children could end up in the middle of a dispute between criminals.

The fact that the experience of a sense of unsafety is so strongly dependent on context and situations naturally makes measurement and comparisons between areas or over time more difficult. This is probably also the case when we compare areas which are designated as socially disadvantaged, but which are nevertheless very different. If, for example, we compare identified problems with the sense of safety experienced in the two areas where we

conducted the door-to-door survey, we can note the following. Problems which can be assumed to generate a sense of unsafety, for example shootings and open sales of narcotics, appeared to occur significantly more often in one of the areas. Nevertheless, the figures regarding a sense of unsafety are, in principle, identical. There are several conceivable explanations for this, but one cannot preclude the possibility that residents have, quite simply, adapted to their reality.

Safe or unsafe? Closing reflections

The divergences in the view of the situation in respect of the sense of safety in the studied areas are striking. Different interview subjects from a single area frequently describe recent significant improvement and significant deterioration. Some have lived in the area for decades, apparently with no problems, while others live with a significant sense of unsafety and concern about concrete and serious problems which they experience in their day-to-day life. Nevertheless, there are many people who put their descriptions into perspective; it is not as bad as one might think if one reads the newspaper.

Many interview subjects reflect on a sense of unsafety as an issue with social or political implications. When they express whether they feel safe or unsafe, they often spontaneously relate it to a larger context. Some of them see the picture of their areas as unsafe and disadvantaged as unfair, and are of the opinion that society at large only wants to see problems in the areas. Some are of the opinion that they are more unsafe when they leave their areas; they feel stared at and sometimes discriminated against. However the fact remains: the percentage of residents who are not happy, who feel unsafe, or who see serious problems in their areas is significantly higher than in society at large.

It is our hope that the results which are presented in this chapter contribute to making this divergent picture somewhat more comprehensible. It reflects, in part, the fact that existence in socially disadvantaged areas appears to be very different for different groups and individuals. The areas are not just different from each other, there are also internal differentiations. For many residents the "area" as it is defined by the police and other public authorities is not the relevant geographic unit. Day-to-day life instead plays itself out in courtyards, on streets, and in squares – some more unsafe than others.

The degree to which these places appear to be unsafe depends, in turn, on one's relationship to the problems of a sense of unsafety, which centre around groups of young men who loiter in the streets in the areas. Gender, and to a somewhat lesser extent age,

appear throughout as central factors both in respect to the experience, and the primary causes, of a sense of unsafety. A striking result is that women are absent from the public space and that certain of them describe how they are exposed to harassment in public environments.

Gender and age are also important factors for understanding what concerns the residents. Young men are associated with the problems to a significantly higher degree. Perhaps few of them are involved in the sale of narcotics, violent criminality, reckless traffic offences, or other disruptions, but this may be difficult for other residents to discern. Accordingly, they may, of course, overestimate the risks; on the other hand, many residents adapt to them. Those who do so see themselves as relatively safe, but at the same time they can describe serious items of concern, of interferences in day-to-day life and the importance of not "getting involved".

Parallel societal structures

The request requires Brå to elucidate whether parallel societal structures exist in socially disadvantaged areas. If this is the case, we have been requested to show what the structures look like and how they function, as wtell as how they affect the justice system's possibilities to take proceed against and prevent crime. This chapter begins with a discussion of the term "parallel societal structures" based on our interviews, survey responses, and examples provided by the police. The examples in the data are then described, sorted on the basis of a model of alternative systems. Finally, the two types of groups which provide alternative systems are described in greater detail.

This chapter is more explorative then the preceding results chapters. Although confidence and a sense of safety are difficult to measure, they are clearer than parallel societal structures. Moreover, by definition, it is difficult to penetrate parallel structures. In this chapter, we systemise what our interview subjects have described as parallel, alternative systems or unique solutions within a group. One major difference when compared with other chapters is that this chapter is largely based on examples from interviews and open ended question responses in the survey.

Most of our interview subjects are not a part of what one can describe, even very broadly, as a parallel societal structure, but we have a group of interview subjects who describe their own experiences with such structures. It is primarily these individuals who are quoted in this chapter. Their narratives are also supported by information from third parties who have encountered examples. We have taken pains not to allow individual interview subjects or narratives from a single area to dominate the presentation. It may be worth underscoring that 28 individuals are quoted and references made to significantly more, representing all six areas.

What is a parallel societal structure?

There is not a great deal of previous research on parallel societal structures. The term comes from the German parallelgesellschaften. It refers to rather deep communities which can exist parallel to the rest of society (Hiscott 2005, Appelgren and Brodin 2013). We have found studies from Europe which have been relevant to Swedish conditions. These focus primarily on extra-legal justice (see Rohe and Jaraba 2015, Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz 2014). There are also descriptions of a combination of serious criminality, own legal systems, a base in a territory such as a residential area, control of commercial life, and segregation (Appelgren and Brodin 2013, Boubekeur et.al. 2006, Hartmann and Lampe 2008, Politiet 2016). Some of the problems can also be analysed in the context of, for example, research on criminal groups and organised crime, which are referred to in connection with the results below. It is important to note that we have procured a significantly more extensive group of incidents, and that our data, to a much greater extent than most of the above-mentioned studies, captures the parallel systems of criminal groups.

Decisions surrounding the term "parallel societal structures"

As has already been stated, it is difficult to operationalise the term "parallel societal structures" since there is no clear and operative definition. The police use the term to circumscribe certain problems which they experience as impeding their work in socially disadvantaged areas. It includes themes and dimensions of widely varying natures and gravity. It is clear that the police's use of the term is not based on a strict definition and has very little to do with the studies identified above.

In this context, we have been faced with the following alternatives: either to attempt to formulate and apply a definition or, to work more pragmatically from how the term has actually come to be used in Sweden. In our opinion, the possibilities of succeeding with the first alternative are small. Defining the term and establishing how it should be used would entail an attempt to determine how great the deviation from an imagined normality must be in order to render it "parallel", and how broad and stable something must be to render it a "societal structure". It is wholly unreasonable to imagine that we could do this within the parameters of the study. It would require extremely extensive comparative material. Moreover, one can ask whether it is even possible to make a strict distinction between normality and parallelism without taking a political stance (cf. Hiscott 2005).

Instead, we have chosen to attempt to develop the description of the phenomena which the police allude to when they discuss parallel societal structures. In order to add further nuance, we also describe and discuss the many problematisations of the term which arose during our interviews (see Method and material for a description of how we handled the term during interviews). In other words, the aim has been to describe various types of situations and phenomena in greater detail and with greater nuance than has previously been the case. The fact that we address examples and phenomena in this chapter does not automatically mean that we see them as unique for the areas which we have investigated, or that "parallel societal structure" is necessarily the best way to understand them. In order to remind the reader of this fact, we intermittently talk instead about "alternative" systems or solutions. We are also unable to express an opinion regarding how common what we have encountered is, other than through what interview subjects say about it. At the end of the chapter, however, we do highlight the aspects which are particularly problematic from the perspective of the justice system and its possibilities to prevent and prosecute crime. We will soon present the types of phenomena which we have encountered, but will first present how interview subjects view the term parallel societal structures.

A vague term which evokes much emotion

Most of the interview subjects link the term parallel societal structures with criminal groups which have their own justice systems. This does not describe any new phenomenon, which is consistent with previous research (see, for example, Brå 2012:12, Hartmann and Lampe 2008, Brå 2008:8, Brå 2016:12). Certain interview subjects, however, use the term in a much broader sense and, for example, refer to youth who roam around late at night without respect for adults or who defend their "territory", other ethnicities, cultures or traditions, residential segregation, and poor integration. The term may also be associated with men who take over the public space.

Residents, representatives of civil society, and civil servants who talk about "something parallel" are of the opinion that it sometimes refers to something that an outside observer perceives as difficult to understand, foreign, or "abnormal". Since the term parallel societal structures has been afforded considerable space in the public debate but has not been defined, it easily becomes an umbrella term for anything and everything which is perceived as abnormal. In other words, it is a political, or perhaps better a normative, term, rather than an empirical and strict description of reality. Certain narratives may be best summarised as depic-

tions of social organisation based on, for example, ethnic or religious affiliation, where the interface with mainstream society is limited.

Some people are troubled by the term, since they maintain that it is unclear, unreasonable, or conceals the actual problems in an area, or that it is tossed around a great deal without being based in fact. Others respond by relativising and commenting (without having any personal experience or examples other than from headlines) that such structures certainly exist in such disparate places as Djursholm, Lidingö, the countryside, or Swedes living in tax havens. The basis of the comparison is the same, that groups can have their own norms which sometimes come into conflict with an ideal model of societal systems. At the same time, these types of examples lack the element of visible criminals with significant intimidation capital, who sometimes use extreme violence. Moreover, a socially disadvantaged area is described as having a significantly greater concentration of numerous different parallel structures in the same geographic location. Despite these two differences, the discussion below will contain many elements which, of course, are also present in other locations. Our model which is presented below is not specifically constructed for socially disadvantaged areas, but can also be tested in entirely different locations.

In addition, parallel societal structures are sometimes described as positive, which public authorities can use for assistance or mobilise to solve problems. A number of people identify examples where individuals with a strong position in organisations as varied as associations and criminal groups have succeeded, where public authorities have failed, in dispersing young people or preventing stones being thrown at public authority personnel. In some cases, there's also a description of an active civil society which has taken over or supplemented part of the welfare state's mandate when we ask for examples of parallel structures (see, e.g., the sections below entitled *Administration of justice and Insurance and social welfare systems*).

Several parallel systems

In the interviews, it is clear that there are several parallel, partially overlapping, systems. An interview subject with a foreign background, who represents civil society, gives his perspective:

> *If you're talking parallel…remember that [the area] has over 50 different nationalities. We have more in common with Swedes than with each other based on culture, language, etc. The only thing that we do together is that we happen to live in the same place, we end up being seen by everyone as*

a homogenous group, immigrants. That we end up feeling that we're not to be seen or heard by the rest of society. I don't know whether this defines us as parallel, but I think that we often have more in common with Swedes than with each other. And you're missing something. If you say parallel based on socioeconomic class… In other words if you don't want to talk about class anymore and instead talk about parallel society… That's another term that's being brought into use, if you want to get away from the classical concept of class. Because I think that that's what people are trying to replace when they say parallel society.

The interview subject here is suggesting that the bottom line for parallelism is that, despite having many similarities with mainstream society, one is not granted admittance. The gap is perceived as being one of socioeconomic differences, notwithstanding a preference to cast it in terms of differences in nationalities, traditions, or culture. According to several interview subjects, at the next level this becomes significant in that a great number of nationalities live in the socially disadvantaged areas. This can mean that current or historical international conflicts between groups can blow up or, in any event, be noticed in the area. Previous studies have observed that the presence of many nationalities can create binding social capital within the group, rather than between groups (Gerell 2013, Emmelin and Eriksson 2012, cf. Breton 1964, cf. Bengtsson and Hertting 2015). Several interview subjects in this study also emphasised that it is difficult to form a local, shared culture. One explanation is the differences between the groups, while another, more common explanation is that the exit rate from the area is high and it is difficult to attain stability over time.

Neither fully parallel nor a societal structure

Much of what the material comprises is a way to act which is perceived as parallel in relation to an ideal picture of how one participates in mainstream society. One observation is that the interview subjects who have at least one foot in a parallel structure are much more multifaceted, while certain outsiders link together multiple different unrelated examples into a larger organisation and structure. In point of fact, the interviews suggest something significantly less processed and more diffuse, which changes and varies between the participants.

In addition, the interview subjects also illustrate how those within a parallel structure use societal systems in different ways. This may involve utilising publicly financed healthcare, taking public transportation, or accepting benefits from a municipality

or public authority. Certain individuals even work in publicly financed jobs, in certain cases building bridges between mainstream society and outsider groups. Moreover, the same individuals use both alternative and regular societal systems, depending on the situation. This has also been observed in a German study (Rohe and Jaraba 2015). A great number of the problems emphasised by civil servants are also not a sign of alternative systems but, instead, a sign that one does not always use societal systems. In other words, our survey and interview responses are dominated not by alternative systems but, instead, by disassociation, problems with entry, or simply a lack of knowledge regarding what mainstream society can offer.

Two types of groups

In the interviews, it is possible to distinguish two archetypical groups who use alternative systems. The most common are criminal groups. The second group is more difficult to uniformly define, but is illustrated by narratives where individuals find themselves between their relatives or clan and the state, between the group and the justice system, or between their tradition in another context and life today. These groups are based on, for example, ethnicity, religion, or family ties. Several interview subjects discussed that the more integrated one is in society, the less one has need of alternative systems. A resident describes this process, where alternative systems have been exemplified with the word "clans":

> *The clan fits into a collectivist society perfectly. But in an individualistic society, I only take care of myself, I don't need any clan. If I get sick, I'm insured, I can get good health care. I'm less dependent on the clan this way. You can see this clearly among our youth, who don't have any idea what clan they belong to when you ask them.*

While the criminal groups are working towards running efficient criminal operations, these other groups are often described as having the same goals as mainstream society. These involve making it easier for members to live a secure life and be able to support themselves. They usually have the same view of stone-throwing and narcotics offences, but the interviews illustrate that there may be differences in respect of, for example, women's rights, sexuality, and child-rearing. One important difference from criminal groups is thus that these systems are not, by definition, a problem for the justice system but they may become so in certain situations, an issue which is discussed below. The fact that these two types of groups use parallel systems is also clear from previous international studies (Rohe and Jaraba 2015, Bundesministe-

rium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz 2014, Boubekeur et.al. 2006, Hiscott 2005, cf. Hartmann and Lampe 2008, cf. Politiet 2016).

Criminals have the greatest impact on residents

Seen in relation to the number of residents, there are relatively few criminals with ties to groups, but they nevertheless seem to have had an impact on many people. The interviews tell the same story as the door-to-door survey: 61 per cent of the men and 74 per cent of the women state that criminal individuals or groups affect how residents behave, partly in relation to the justice system, and partly more generally. The percentage who perceive that there are other groups, e.g. religious or ethnic groups, exercising influence is significantly less (12 per cent), as is set forth in figure 2. The question is designed to include both the residents' own experiences and those which they have perceived in the area. One impression from the collection of data is that the respondents primarily reason based on their own experiences and examples.

Figure 2. Percentage of the respondents to the door-to-door survey who experience that criminal individuals and groups, and other groups, respectively, influence residents in the area to refrain from doing various things to a rather significant extent or to a great extent, divided on the basis of gender.
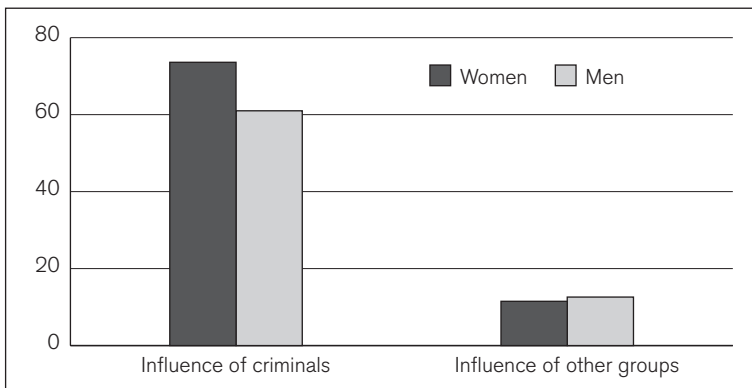
The respondents were offered four alternative responses to how criminals affect residents (see the chapter entitled Overall results from the door-to-door survey). Most of them stated that the primary influence was on inclination to report crimes and testify. To a somewhat lesser extent, there is an impact on the residents' freedom of movement or inclination to speak up, for example when someone is vandalising property. These "influence areas" are ranked equally irrespective of gender, but women consistently grade the problems higher than men. Younger people are somewhat more inclined than those over 30 to be affected in various forms.

Although there are significantly fewer persons who state that groups other than criminals have an influence, the pattern for this is the same. Irrespective of the group exercising influence, the most common form involves giving testimony and, secondarily, reporting offences. There are no differences here between residents in respect of gender or age. This means that the influence which exists affects, primarily, the justice system, by means of the residents being less inclined to report offences and testify (see the chapter entitled *Sense of safety and sense of unsafety* for a more detailed analysis of the responses regarding free movement and speaking up).

A model of societal systems

As stated above, the police have given examples of parallel societal structures (NOA 2015). Since the examples are at various levels and cover various themes, we have analysed them and sorted them into a model. Subsequently, based on previous research, we have categorised the phenomena which appear in the police's report. The model shown here has been further revised based on information from interviews and survey responses. The aim of the model is to enable us to be more precise and systematic when we analyse what we have actually fished up from the sea that the term parallel societal structures has shown itself to be. A number of phenomena are also found which need not be associated with alternative structures but instead, reflect, people not using a societal system.

Our model consists of three columns, where the first illustrates that individuals do not use societal systems, and the second contains examples of alternative systems. There may be a grey zone between these two poles. The third column differs from the first two in that it illustrates situations with opposition towards societal systems. This results in problems which, in more concrete terms, can be an issue for the justice system.

It is important to note that the aspects of the model vary in potency. The claims which society has on the activity are very different in respect of, for example, extra-legal justice and the job market. In the first case, the state has an exclusive right through the justice system, while the second involves a multitude of parties, including public authorities and job market parties. Nevertheless, there is a point in compiling them to create a way to talk about parallel societal structures. The idea is not to equate the various examples or aspects, but rather to create a map where we can discuss the relevance of each aspect to the justice system.

Model 2. A model of societal systems

	Does not use societal system	Signs of alternative systems	Opposition to societal system
Administration of justice – criminal cases	Does not want to report to the police or provide information	Has own legal processes within the group (extra-legal justice)	Threatens crime victims and witnesses
Administration of justice – civil cases	Does not go to the Enforcement Authority or municipality	Shares custody or has own processes within the group	Threatens the opposing party
Banking and payment systems	Has large amount of cash at home	Hawala banks, anonymous payment cards	Money laundering and suspicious transactions
Housing market	Cannot acquire own residence or sublets without permission	Divides up apartments within the group, large-scale subletting	Uses a false identity, registers a false address, hijacks addresses, threatens landlord to avoid eviction
Insurance and social welfare systems	Has not qualified for or applied for benefits, lacks insurance	Pays for protection, has private insurance, collects money in the event of accidents, etc. Shares benefits among the group	Benefit fraud, insurance fraud
Job market	Never entered the ordinary job market	Uses blackmail to get employment, works in the parallel system with jobs e.g. as a collector or "enforcer"	Fraud, e.g. unemployment benefit fraud, employer subsidies fraud
Educational system	Does not use the education system	Self-censorship with teachers, own schools	Threatens teachers and headmasters in order to avoid reporting
Monopoly	Does not use Systembolaget, does not gamble	Sells alcohol, illegal gambling clubs, etc.	Consumes untaxed alcohol, launders money on gaming sites, match fixing

Using alternative systems is, *per se*, a strong indicator of a parallel structure. The parallel structure may also be a cumulative result of groups falling entirely outside of various societal functions (large portions of column 1) without, merely for that reason, being drawn towards any alternative systems.

We cannot quantify how widespread the phenomena reported in the model are. However, one can generally say that the first column contains large segments of the population, while the second column involves significantly fewer. One observation is also that several interview subjects in the same area in some cases use exactly the same examples to describe indicia of alternative systems. This indicates that spectacular cases get a great deal of attention, notwithstanding that they are uncommon. The third column contains much of what our interview subjects, particularly those within the justice system and municipalities, come into contact with. Taken as a whole, this means that there is a risk of a certain type of case, which constitutes concrete criminal offences, becoming overrepresented, while the others are underrepresented.

We will now discuss our material based on the aspects set forth in the model above.

Administration of justice – criminal cases

The justice system has, in principle, an exclusive right to determine guilt and impose penalties. Consequently, each alternative solution in this area poses a problem for the justice system. Moreover, Sweden imposes a general obligation to give evidence. This means that extensive disinclination to participate in the judicial process is, *per se*, a deviation from how the process is intended to function. This is also the aspect which is most clear in the previous research on parallel societal structures, in certain cases together with administration of justice in conjunction with civil cases (see, e.g., Rohe and Jaraba 2015, cf. Hartmann and Lampe 2008).

As set forth in the chapter *Inclination to report and give evidence*, most people – in the hypothetical example – are willing both to call the police and to give evidence. However, there are residents who are afraid to testify, often due to fear of reprisals. We will not repeat their reasoning here, but instead focus on other reasons for silence and the examples of alternative solutions found in the material. One can see it somewhat as a continuum ranging from letting things be to "solving" them by oneself.

There are situations when the ideal model whereby the justice system investigates and convicts perpetrators does not work. In all of the areas we studied, such close cooperation with the police is perceived as a deviation from the norm, since silence has become an established norm among certain groups of residents. This expresses itself by residents emphasising that people here don't talk to the police, or by law-abiding people using the word "snitch" about someone who alerts school authorities or the police. In these examples, it is also clear that the norm that one does not talk to the police affects the justice system's prerequisites to work.

Some of the people who work closely with crime victims and perpetrators also emphasise a component of shame as a reason for silence. Women who are assaulted by their partner can, in addition to fear, loyalty, and financial dependence, also be ashamed of their victimisation. Moreover, divorce may be particularly shameful in certain groups; we will return to this issue in the next section. The presence of criminals within the family can also lead to shame, but may be particularly clear in certain groups in our material. Some interview subjects within the police and social services identified cases where parents deny that children have committed any offence, even if they are shown the incident

on surveillance film. One interview subject relates that parents of children who are in corrective institutions pretend that the children are studying abroad so as not to lose face. Fear of this happening may lead to individuals being more cautious about turning to social services and the police for help. However, there are limits; here the police recount how they received assistance in apprehending suspected individuals within an extended family:

> *I think, in fact we have seen examples where people have actually sacrificed clan members and then there's presumably been a process. It isn't a single incident; this person had been warned before. Most often in that case it's young people, not very young but they've been active since they were kids and are now young adults and are violating the clan's values, both religious and other norms.*

The material contains a group of cases involving offences committed by school pupils. Most cases probably cannot be regarded as extra-legal justice, but rather those where parents do not want their children to have a criminal record. There may be resistance to the school reporting matters to the police, not the least on the part of the perpetrator's parents. Several headmasters describe the importance of being clear and consistent. Some interview subjects describe cases where the parents have wanted to resolve "conflicts" between themselves. They can also identify cases where it went well and the families became closer friends, and that the situation was calm between the young people after this "mediation".

A school employee reports that such norms can also exist among school personnel. The individual knows of examples where employees referred to the fact that they belonged to the same ethnic group as students causing problems and thus offered their services to resolve the situation. The interview subject talks about their reaction:

> *Except that we don't do that here, because assaulting someone is still an offence so we will file a police report. 'No, no, no you don't need to do that because we can ...' It was families who came to persuade me that 'No, but we'll take care of this between the families.'*

Extra-legal justice has its limits

It appears that alternative arrangements take place, above all, in criminal groups. Both residents and civil servants also emphasise that groups which are based on, for example, shared ethnicity or religion may have their own alternative systems in certain situations. Unlike criminal groups which can, in principle, solve all

types of conflicts, the material indicates that there are limits for other alternative systems. Some residents and association representatives assert that a person can choose whether they wish to use customary law, other extra-legal justice, or go to the police. A resident describes how she views this:

> *I tend to say this. The police are my clan now, they're closest, if something happens I call the police instead of calling my clan system [abroad]. No, I call the police, the police are the ones who can help me and fix it, because they have the power to do that and no one else does.*

One complication is that the perpetrator and the victim may disagree as to which system is to be used. This can lead to conflicts or, in the worst case, new criminality. The examples which the interview subjects know about, which involve on the area of criminal law, are rather limited. The most serious offences appear to be primarily a case for the police. Influential actors in most groups we interviewed are clear that there is a limit for extra-legal justice. A representative of a mosque explains it thus:

> *Yes, there is a limit. When it comes to serious crimes, for example, you have a duty to report to the police, you can't shoot someone, for example. When we talk about social problems, people want help voluntarily, divorce, family conflicts, then they get advice. When it comes to serious crimes, it's the police. What should the imam do? The public authorities do their thing, he's not the police, he's not a judge, he can only give advice, for example about small problems. [It's like] for example, when you go to social services, you get advice from social services.*

Notwithstanding this reasoning, there are cases in the interviews where the alternative system handled offences which were violent offences in the form of assault or sexual offences. Although the degree of severity is a factor in deciding where the line is drawn, it does not appear to be the offence per se that determines in which system it is addressed. In the majority of cases, it appears that the alternative systems handle offences which are associated with reputation, honour, and collective responsibility. In these cases, both parties are within the same or closely-related groups. In addition, the material indicates that they are based on a conflict deeper than the offence in question or that the outcome can affect numerous individuals in the group. One such type of offence is domestic violence. There are also examples of other offences against women where male relatives demand revenge. An imam reasons that an alternative system may be flexible, but that it is difficult to guarantee due process:

*Taking the law into your own hands, that's extremely danger-
ous. You can't do that. I mentioned due process. This parallel
society can't guarantee that, in other words who says that the
system will benefit the woman? The weak? The vulnerable?
Who will it benefit? Who says that the values that we have in
society will be taken into consideration? Who can guarantee
that? Just because I'm an immigrant means that I'll be judged
by this parallel society, [which will be] in a different way than
that for my friend, coworker who is Swedish. Absolutely not.
I mean in society we have basic values. They have to apply.
But I'm not opposed to, for example if I fight with you and
we know that there's a wise person who can solve the prob-
lem, without it being at your expense or mine.*

The quotation illustrates the risks of extra-legal justice. The ques-
tion of who these wise people are who can solve minor conflicts,
is a question we return to in the next section regarding civil cases.

When the justice system and alternative system collide

For obvious reasons, criminal groups have no interest in the
police being brought in. The clearest illustration of this comes
from a resident who states that criminals also encourage residents
to contact them to solve certain types of problems, in order to
avoid the police working and becoming more visible in the area.

The most common narrative involves, however, offences which
are committed within the criminal environment. These can lead
to various types of reprisals, with shootings, kidnappings, or
other aggravated violence as the most serious examples in our
material. A police officer reports:

*Certain criminal networks in fact punish their members if
they, for example, lose a shipment of drugs or something like
that. Then they are in fact punished and they can be beaten
or shot. This is how you control your staff, if you call it that,
in those circles. It's because money is, in fact, pretty much
the only important thing for them. And not losing respect in
the eyes of those below them in the hierarchies. Because then
there's a risk that there will be mutiny.*

If the punishments take place in a public place or leads to injuries
which require medical care the police often learn of it, but it is
difficult to investigate further when the victim does not wish
to speak. In one case, a person who was taken to the hospital
with gunshot wounds did not want to cooperate with the police.
After the police left, members from the shooting victim's criminal
group came to the hospital to protect him. Several patients and

healthcare personnel reacted to these apparently armed men in bulletproof vests and called the police to the location.

Some public authority personnel describe, with frustration, that they have had cases where individuals want the assistance of the justice system but then back off or do not provide the entire picture so that certain elements will be settled in the alternative system. Police in numerous areas talk about crime victims who no longer want their help but instead refer to having "solved the problem" or "sorted out that thing". In addition, there are significantly more situations where the police suspect that extra-legal justice lies behind the withdrawal of police reports. This can involve offences as varied as burglary, theft, robbery, or extortion of both individuals and business owners.

Civil servants, representatives of civil society, and residents all talk about individual examples where alternative systems work parallel with justice system processes and mediation arranged by the municipality. These narratives make clear that the outcome in one system affects the handling in the other system. Interview subjects know of a few cases where influential actors in ethnic or religious groups prevented murder or violent offences, or persuaded relatives to accept the district court outcome and brought an end to alternative processes. There also examples of compliance with the consequences for the criminal offence imposed by the district court, but with damages settled in an alternative system. In some cases in the material, the victim was required to relinquish damages which had been awarded or needed to compensate the perpetrator, e.g. because the former used violence whenacting in self-defence at the time of the crime. In other cases, the alternative route was faster than the legal system and when courts reached decisions, the agreed compensation needed to be adjusted. It may also be the case that alternative processes and formal mediation occur simultaneously, as described by a civil servant:

> I also work with mediation [for the municipality] and we've had to stop some mediations because we noticed that there had already been a settlement via the families. Or that financial demands are made on the other family, I come across this. Assault can result in one family demanding that we solve this our way, give us 30,000 kronor.

An eye for an eye, or money for insult?

Our material indicates that extra-legal justice involves restoring the balance in the collective system and restoring the peace and the injured party's reputation. It must be possible for the people involved in the process to continue their lives without needing to

be afraid of each other or new reprisals. The offence and conflicts surrounding it must thus be solved in their entirety. This has also been noted in a German study (Rohe and Jaraba 2015).

The material contains individual narratives regarding agitated individuals who want revenge. In these cases, the offences for which compensation is sought are often very serious. Outside of the criminal groups, it appears that the typical case is that payment and compensation were ordered under the alternative system. The violent extra-legal justice thus appears to be primarily associated with criminal groups.

In some cases, damages have been awarded to the victim but, as was just mentioned, individuals in an alternative system want to share the money. This can be both to the advantage and disadvantage of the victim. Some interview subjects with insight point out that the compensation might be ordered under alternative systems which would never be possible within the justice system, such as pension to the deceased individuals' survivors (which is also noted in historical research regarding similar structures, see Hartmann and Lampe 2008). This shows that it once again involves collective systems. In order to be able to pay certain damages, all or parts of the group must collect money, in which some interview subjects have been involved. In other words, it is not just an individual settlement between the perpetrator and the victim, but rather their collectives which meet. This may involve several hundred thousand kronor in the most serious cases in our material. There are several examples where people mentioned sums in the order of SEK 30,000-50,000. A police officer describes a case where the individuals who sold narcotics in the area made sure that case was solved in an alternative way:

> It is very difficult to confirm parallel societies because no one talks about it. But we have heard from various sources that the man who was stabbed, they were prepared to start some kind of war about this. But he was paid by the person who stabbed him, he got [tens of thousands] of kronor in order to let go of this problem. We don't have this confirmed, we only heard that the people who sell drugs in the area were bothered by the police's hard work in the area. We searched everyone, we turned them inside out, we did a great deal. So they went out to the youth and said: 'No, nothing can happen here, we don't want the police in the area.'

Administration of justice – civil cases

Talking about alternative or parallel ways to resolve civil disputes is, automatically, more equivocal than in respect of criminal cases. One can say that there is an ideal here whereby people

solve their own disputes. People being disinclined to use the public authority's systems is thus not, by definition, a problem. In particularly difficult or complex cases there are, however, courts and other public authorities which can help. One risk of alternative solutions is, however, that they maintain unequal power balances between the parties and that the individuals' rights can be disregarded.

Criminals in disputes

Police in particular, but also other interview subjects, describe the members of the criminal groups as paranoid and confused. In addition, use of narcotics is widespread in the groups. The interview subjects are unanimous that trivial conflicts constantly arise between members or groups and can have very significant consequences. These descriptions are similar to results from previous research (Brå 2007:7, Brå 2016:12).

The conflicts flare up and escalate very quickly. Some individuals who work with youth perceive that the speed has escalated during recent years. In their opinion, a few years ago young men could tease and push each other rather far without anything happening, but now these trivial conflicts have greater consequences. This is described as being even clearer among established criminals, where members want to assert themselves and act before anyone acts against them: "take someone down before they take you down". A number of interview subjects describe examples in terms of "arguing over girls".

These conflicts can entail significant problems for the criminal group, and cases that the police usually learn of are those where people have taken matters into their own hands. This can result in shootings or other forms of serious violence. Previous research also shows that fines are widespread in criminal groups. This takes the form of a price – a fine – that is set for an injustice, and must be paid (see further Brå 2012:12, Brå 2016:12). Since money is often scarce, such debts can also propagate in several directions, whereby an individual who has been fined, in turn, fines others in order to collect money to pay their own fine.

If many people in an extended family have a criminal lifestyle, there is also a risk that family conflicts are resolved with criminal methods. One example in the material is an inheritance dispute which occurred in a hospital corridor when relatives visit a dying person. This results in relatives armed with knives turning up and creating what can be conservatively described as a distressing situation for other patients and healthcare personnel on the ward. In another example, which several interview subjects take up, a criminal conflict is converted into a family conflict between

the mothers of the two persons involved. Here, an alternative system intercedes so that the conflict is not spread further into the involved families.

Youth in conflicts

One relatively common example on the same theme is youth who fight, where they get more and more relatives to defend them, which has been described by a person who works for a housing company:

> *These small conflicts which take place, usually in the court-yard, between children, children who are a little older, 10-14 [years old]. [We at the company] are very quick to talk with the children and parents, before a problem arises. They fight, fetch their older brothers, their older brothers fetch cousins, and suddenly there's a clan conflict. Then we're out early and stop the conflict, we don't let the older brothers get involved, [otherwise] the older brothers fetch their buddies and then there's a riot.*

Enlisting the help of a friend or relative as an alternative solution if there are problems with youth gangs in their courtyard has been noted in a previous study (Gerell 2013). However, this is uncommon in relation to procuring the assistance of the building caretaker or police.

Mediation and family counselling

There are a host of narratives regarding mediation or family counselling which do not involve criminal offences, but rather civil law disputes between spouses or other individuals. Persons in associations or religious congregations emphasise that they perform an important function and take pressure off of the municipality and public authorities when they advise members and help them solve problems themselves. Some public authority personnel point out that it would be good if more people solved things a bit more between themselves instead of contacting the family courts with every difficulty. In some cases, these narratives indicate that an active and involved civil society finds it easier to reach certain citizens. A resident with a position in a mosque elaborates:

> *Many people turn to the mosque before they go to the public authorities, this relieves the municipality of problems. Say a problem arises in a Muslim family, let's say divorce. The first thing you do is turn to the mosque, where you talk to the imam. Then the imam tries to talk with both the woman and the man before they take it one step further to divorce and split the entire family. Maybe they reconsider and go back*

to each other, forgive each other, and see the reasons why they maybe want to divorce. Many times this is successful and saves the family from divorce. It fills a social function. Another example, say there's a problem between two people. Then you also turn to the mosque to make it right, solve the problem, before you take it further, for example to the police and file a report or go to court. This takes pressure off the municipality. The mosque does this and the municipality knows about this too. When it comes to getting married, you go to the mosque. There is a cooperation between the public authorities and the mosque in respect of this function.

The quotation shows how alternative methods can help the individual and take pressure off of the community, but at the same time raises certain questions regarding who benefits and who loses out under the system – we will return to this below.

Ethnic associations can also serve a purpose as mediators in disputes. Previous studies have described that ethnic associations can sometimes contribute with solutions to personal problems and property problems (see Bengtsson and Hertting 2015). One representative of an association reports:

Yeah, it's like this, everyone from this nationality who has a problem goes to the association. He talks it out there. People with family problems, restaurant problems, police problems. In other words, I mean the people, they come here and talk. They say: 'Yes, I've had a fight with my wife, what can we do?' or 'He was thrown out of the house, what can we do?' They come to me, say to me: 'You're the chairman, what can you do, what can we do?' I help them. Lots of times I go to the family, talk to the girl without the guy, I listen and then I try to bring them back together again. I've done this many times. Like a hundred! [...] The imam, the mosque, play a major role when problems occur in family relationships . The imam and I, as the chairman, go and talk to the girl, the girl's parents, the guy, the guy's parents. And we try to help them and try to curtail this and so we support them the whole time. It can also happen that we check in on the guy from time to time to see that he's behaving. And we call him and check how it's going now, is it ok, or have you, you know? We do a lot of this too.

Other examples instead involve respected family members who act. Since an advisor like this often knows the parties, the prerequisites for inspiring confidence are greater than that for strangers working for public authorities. In the quoted examples, one or two advisors met the parties. Some interview subjects describe, however, larger meetings where the parties are accompanied by

extended family and there may be an advisor who takes a position on the information which is provided.

Within an extended family or social circle, people know who they can turn to. A resident recounts, starting in the country she was born in:

> *My grandfather was one such chief and he had some big villages. Back then a lot of men came to my grandfather, and when the women had fights they came to my grandmother. [I saw that] when I was visiting them in the countryside. The women came to the woman and told her about their problems. But if it had been something big, then they said I'll help you, we'll go and report it. But these little things, small quarrels, you'd try to solve yourself. And this culture still exists. For example, in my family if I quarrel with my sister-in-law or a brother, maybe my uncle or my mother would come talk to me.*

Even if family disputes are clearly the most common in the interviews, there are individual examples of other disputes. One such example is when someone has disgraced a central person within their own extended family. Alongside divorce and custody disputes, financial damages may be awarded to compensate for injustices, just as described above regarding criminal cases. Some of the same people probably give advice and take decisions regarding both criminal law and civil cases.

Both parties need to have confidence in the mediator

Interviews and survey responses show that individuals may also have the status necessary to be a mediator by virtue of being successful or holding a good position in mainstream society. When talking about clan leaders, priests, imams, and other mediators with formal positions, it is easy to think that the mediator is also a formal decision maker. However, this is not the picture provided by the interview subjects. To the contrary – those who have personally served as mediators emphasise the need for both parties to agree and be satisfied. In certain cases, the problem can already be resolved between two nuclear families, and does not go as far as to leaders in formal positions. The central issue is that it is a person who is seen as wise and who both parties trust. In the words of one interview subject, this "doesn't have to do with the clan, this doesn't have to do with religion. It's about the actual person" and their wisdom. A chair of an association explains that the trust in the mediator is often based on relationships which extend far beyond the individuals involved:

> *When I tell a young person, when I become angry with a young person, when I feel that they're doing something wrong, then they say 'Okay uncle' and leave. I don't need*

to threaten, I don't need to hit, I don't need to do anything, I can just talk. Because they know 'He knows my brother, he knows my father, he knows my relatives, he's helped my mother, or he's helped my uncle'. So they know there's some connection somewhere.

This confidence means that the person need not even live in the same neighbourhood. There are individual cases in the interviews where people travelled from other parts of the country to mediate or solve problems. The central issue is that it must be a person who is trusted by all parties and who can persuade them to find a solution which everyone will respect. The mediator's role as an informal problem solver, with a clear position in relation to the state, is also described in a German study with groups of interview subjects similar to those in this study (Rohe and Jaraba 2015).

Children and women risk being treated unfairly in an alternative system

The quotations and narratives above have shown the utility of speedy systems in which the parties have confidence, and which works closely with the parties. This also gives rise to certain questions. One clear risk is that certain informal systems maintain unequal balances of power, which risk infringing individuals' rights and preventing them from making use of the assistance that society can offer. These issues are raised, in particular, by social welfare officers, family therapists, and other interview subjects who encounter domestic violence. Some residents also address the following theme.

A social welfare officer describes a woman in one of her cases who said: "Yes, you can talk about human rights, children's rights, women's rights, but that applies to all you other people, it doesn't apply to me". In addition, power relationships within extended families influence the advice and the possible solutions. In some cases, advice from imams and other local leaders have been ignored by one of the parties. The weaker position of women, and the fact that certain families do not even allow a mediator, for example in the case of domestic violence, has also been noted in a similar German study (Rohe and Jaraba 2015).

The material shows that alternative systems are often decidedly patriarchal, which results in certain men being benefited. A few interview subjects who work with domestic violence have numerous examples where women, children, or men without a position of power have been treated unfairly by decisions. One route for the victim to avoid the negative consequences of the decision is to break with the group. The interviews showed that this can have extremely significant consequences on other levels, and we return

to this issue in the closing section of the chapter. The control appears to be primarily exercised by older male relatives, but female relatives can also contribute.

The interviews contain cases where certain extended families negotiate regarding whether the parties will be allowed to divorce and on what terms. Some interview subjects point out that if one party has other conflicts with relatives, this can be weighed in and affect the outcome. In other words, the negotiation or mediation involves more aspects than the relationship of the two parties, not in the least how they otherwise relate to the collective system. Custody issues can also be included in the negotiation. In certain systems, children are, in principle, automatically given to either the mother or the father. This means that the other parent's legal rights are not taken into consideration. One hears, especially, of women who are not allowed to divorce, even in situations where they are abused. In other examples divorce is granted, but only for those who can pay. The figures mentioned vary widely, from several thousand kronor to several hundred thousand kronor. Public authorities and women's shelters can help with divorces in the legal system, but not in the alternative system. A interview subject at a women's shelter reports:

> *What I know is that we had really big problems with divorces for our women. Both Muslim and Christian. It was really, really hard. The problem exists, but now we say it's okay, we'll help you with the Swedish divorce that you have a right to, but you decide yourself about the other one. Do you want to disregard it? You're legally divorced, and that's what counts. There are many who choose that, okay then I'm divorced. But there are also others who can't do that.*

The difficulty in obtaining a divorce in the alternative system becomes a problem, above all for women. Some residents and individuals who work with domestic violence point out that in certain traditions, the man has the right to multiple wives. Since he is divorced in the legal system, there is nothing to stop him from moving on. However, for certain women it is very important to be able to remarry in an alternative system too, which presupposes that they obtain a divorce in that system first.

Children can also be treated unfairly in civil disputes. There are individual cases in the material where children at risk for criminality or other problems are sent to relatives abroad to get away from their peers. Other examples involve children subjected to arranged marriages. One civil servant expresses frustration about a case where they could not countermand the custodians and help a child who contacted them and wanted to come home to Sweden again.

Banking and payment systems

The use of established payment and banking systems is one of the more ambiguous aspects in the model. This includes examples of well-known alternative systems, such as hawala banks. In this area, the justice system instead encounters the consequences of many individuals choosing not to use banks and payment systems. This may involve, for example, informal loans which lead to usury, conflicts, and illegal debt collection practices. In addition, there is widespread cash handling which can facilitate certain types of offences.

Payment services

Payment services are very useful for residents, particularly those who want to send money to places ordinary banks cannot reach. The disadvantage is that it is also used by criminal individuals, and results in difficulties for the justice system to follow the transactions.

Several public authority employees have concluded that there is a great deal of money laundering in the studied areas. Money laundering is needed primarily for proceeds of crime from the sale of narcotics. In addition, there are a number of suspicious transactions which are a step in criminality, such as tax offences, fraud, and welfare fraud. However, some of these transactions are mixed with fully legal transactions, where residents send part of their income to relatives in other countries. Some countries lack a developed bank system, and thus hawala or other payment services are necessary. Hawala banks can commit accounting offences, primarily because they fail to keep their accounts in accordance with regulatory requirements. An interview subject from the Swedish Tax Agency explains how this can happen:

> I think it's like this. Now that I have a little distance from [the cases] I can say that some of them knew they were wrong. It's obvious that they knew. Particularly the younger [hawala bankers]. On the other hand the older bankers just listen to their own, and when they sit and discuss it, they see this as a non-profit activity where you help their poor relatives back home. You send money and the state shouldn't get involved. We take our hard earned cash that we earn by driving unregistered taxis or receive in the form of benefits, it doesn't matter. It's our money we're sending, and we do what we want with it. If you think about it, this isn't a very strange way of looking at it. But the thing is in fact they think it's right. You talk to the person next to you 'Yes it's obvious that's how it is', you get confirmation since no one disagrees. There isn't anyone who stands up and says, 'No guys, wait,

you're doing it wrong, you have to keep the books properly'. There is no one who says that. And if you been doing this for 3-4 years ... If you look at the tax effects as occurred in these cases, there weren't actually so much money that they evaded in tax, but over time it becomes large amounts.

For the justice system, the problem becomes that certain of these transactions can constitute money laundering or, at least, a way to send untaxed money abroad. Civil servants emphasise that it is also difficult to track the transactions when they do not go through accounts or are not registered anywhere. The material contains examples of new payment solutions where residents can send money abroad by means of account transactions. This is in contrast to the cash-based hawala system.

Another potential problem is illuminated in the quote. Some interview subjects believe that many residents have low incomes. Nevertheless, they save money and send it to family members abroad. A couple of civil servants in social services are worried that this frugality can affect the children in the family, who are compelled to live in even more poverty when part of the social welfare benefits is sent abroad. However, some interview subjects, particularly residents, are of the opinion that it is possible to live frugally without it having an adverse impact on one's lifestyle.

Savings associations and informal loans

One way of amassing funds for larger purchases is to save money jointly within a family, an extended family, or a group of friends. Residents in all areas described similar systems, where they regularly place amounts from several hundred kronor to several thousand kronor into a joint pot. Some describe that each month one person receives the entire pot, on a rotating schedule, which means that the recipient receives SEK 10,000-20,000 in one go. In other variations of the system, an individual can borrow from a joint pot, so that it also partially functions as a credit system. Such systems have also been described in international studies (Clough Marinaro 2017). A person active in civil society reports:

OK, I'm going to start a project, I'm going to buy a bakery and I need money. Then I say to my extended family, my tribe, my cousins: 'I need money because I want to start a bakery' and then A says: 'I have 10,000, you can have 10,000'. Then I make a list: 'A – 10,000'. It continues like this, my whole extended family: 5,000, 7,000, 2,000, 10,000. They put in the money and that's the 'cousin economy'. When you gathered as much as you need, you start [the bakery]. And then when it starts to turn a profit, you know that A is in

a worse financial position than B, so A gets money first. The first month maybe you pay A back, maybe B the last month, but you pay off your debt to each and every person.

The system is described as rather uncomplicated. The participants trust each other and make sure that the money is paid as agreed. When the system is based on kinship, loyalty and trust, there are also relatives providing guarantees. One interview subject explains it as follows: "If I take money from you and I don't pay back, you go to my father and say that I've borrowed and not paid. Then my father pays you back." One risk in borrowing from extended family is that they do not conduct the same credit assessment as outsiders would have done, and lend money to a company which does not have the prerequisites to be solvent.

The clearest risk described in the material is, however, fear of robbery, not in the least because this primarily seems to be a cash-based system. Jewellery, gold, and cash are collected before certain events like weddings, which has led to the municipality in an area asking that priests and imams inform their congregants of safe storage methods and risks of robbery. A resident reports:

My mother has told some stories a few times about some family. The son attacked the mother and took all the money or something. And stuff like that ... A few times I've been sent to collect things from the person they've been stored with in order to bring them to our home. Then you're very paranoid, because you're walking around with a great deal of money. I mean all of the valuables we have, we have at home.

There are also digital variants of this in the material, which are most easily described as crowdfunding. For example, when someone needs start-up capital for their company, smaller sums of money can stream in from various relatives abroad.

The reasons given for these alternative borrowing systems are as diverse as low confidence in banks, tradition, disinclination to receive and pay interest and, quite simply, that it is easier to solve this privately than to open accounts and keep track of a bank's business hours. Helping each other finance large occasions like weddings and suchlike is also a natural element of a collectivist environment. A tax crime investigator emphasises that the interest-free loans to businesses can have as many hidden charges as those applied by less reputable credit institutions. In addition, the terms are drafted by the stronger party, which can result in a certain element of arbitrariness. As a result, the loan may become expensive in reality. On the other hand, it is not certain that banks would lend start-up money to companies in these cases (cf. Brå 2012:12, Clough Marinaro 2017).

Some interview subjects, both civil servants and residents, are of the opinion that criminal groups can also have capital which they lend to business owners and residents. The public authorities find it difficult to obtain information about the process, but some investigations are described in the material where they followed the money. In one case, narcotics money went into the construction and real estate industries. A resident recounts that persons with debts can borrow money from a criminal group in the area. A social worker emphasises that these loans are often characterised by usurious interest rates. A police officer adds that borrowers who cannot pay are either compelled to perform services for the group or run a significant risk of being subject to violent collection practices (see also the section regarding protection activities, below). An Italian study points out that local lenders can, in actuality, be fronts for organised crime, so that the actual lender is another, more violence-prone, actor (Clough Marinaro 2017).

Housing market

At first glance, the housing market is far outside of the purview of the justice system's mandate. Housing market parties solve many issues themselves. However, since housing is a basic need, the state has imposed comprehensive market regulation. When alternative solutions are developed, regulatory frameworks and the parties' agreements can be undermined, individuals' statutory rights can be disregarded and, all in all, this results in cases for the justice system.

In all six areas, residents, representatives of landlords, and various civil servants describe a major problem with overcrowded housing and unregistered residents. Some landlords or municipalities have their own estimates of the number of unregistered residents and, according to interview subjects, this involves several thousand individuals in one area. We have already described how this can generate a sense of unsafety (see further the chapter entitled *Sense of safety and sense of unsafety*). There are many narratives regarding the difficulties of breaking into the housing market and its related subletting, which we will describe initially. This is because it creates a market for alternative solutions, such as large-scale bedspace rental. This market includes individuals without residences, who do not have any opportunity to acquire a lease, and who can find it difficult to see any option other than paying usurious rents. Several interview subjects emphasise how exposed one is when one is outside of the ordinary housing market. Groups identified in this context are undocumented individuals, asylum-seekers choosing own accommodation *(EBO)*, individuals who have been granted a Swedish residency permit

but who have no residence, individuals who are in Sweden temporarily for work, and other individuals who are encumbered by debt or are unemployed.

Civil servants, representatives of housing companies, and certain residents emphasise that there are major problems in the areas with people who rent a c/o address from another person, where they can be registered and get mail. One explanation for this is that the person who rents out many bedspaces does not want this to appear in the register, and thus people who live there register themselves elsewhere. Some individuals do not want to be registered where they actually live, since that would lead to their benefits being revoked (see further the section on the insurance and social welfare systems). In addition, some criminals wish to keep a low profile and not live where public authorities believe that they can be found. Building caretakers and public authority personnel who conduct home visits (and searches of homes) have all seen apartments with many beds or with mattresses on the floor. Clues which other residents see are also left in the stairwell in the form of many names taped around the mail slot or many shoes outside of apartment doors.

Both goodwill and source of income

One aspect of overcrowded housing which several interview subjects bring up is that there are residents who feel a responsibility to allow distant relatives to move in, even if there's no room. A family therapist explains:

> *Most often there's just some form of kindness and as family you don't always have the right to say no to taking in relatives. Sometimes we encounter situations where someone has people living with them because they have gotten a signal from another country or an older relative who says: 'Now you take care of this relative too'. And then you do. But yes, in a small number of situations I had the feeling somewhere that it's someone who is actually draining money from the family.*

Being able to help extended family can also be a way to gain status and trust within the group. Thus, as another interview subject emphasises, there may be very rational reasons for helping. Many interview subjects know of narratives regarding how certain actors earn large amounts of money by renting out apartments, rooms, or bedspace in an apartment. In the following quote, a representative of civil society describes one case.

> *There were two people sleeping in the living room, it was a two bedroom apartment that cost SEK 5,000. In the next room there were three people, they slept in a bunk bed and*

paid SEK 2,000 each. That room generated SEK 6,000. It was the same thing in the third room. The man who had the apartment, it wasn't actually his apartment, it was registered to someone else. This apartment also had a storage space, where [yet another person] slept. Outside the apartment, in the storage space! In other words, he earned at least SEK 15,000 in rent every month.

A few public officials know of cases where the same person rented out bedspace at usurious rents and generated tens of thousands of kronor in revenue each month. In some of the examples, this involved individuals who had access to several apartments, where the same arrangement was used. There are also examples where a person who sublets an apartment further sublets parts of the apartment, in order to bring in part of the usurious rent that way. In all cases, the rents are significantly higher than that paid by the official tenant. Some landlords emphasised that they are surprised when they hear about the levels of rent paid; no such rents are permissible in the area.

There are also individual examples of criminals making their way in by threats and taking over tenants' residence, at least to a certain extent. This involves primarily using the space as a warehouse for illegal goods.

Trading in illegally obtained leases uncommon

According to several interview subjects, previously there was organised trading in illegally obtained leases in two of the areas. These examples were very particular and based on the cooperation of employees of the landlord. The problem appears to have stopped after new and, according to interview subjects, more serious property owners arrived in the relevant areas. Some interview subjects find that brokers of illegally obtained leases fill a greater function for individuals who wish to purchase leases in the more attractive parts of the cities. The property owners are in relative agreement that it is difficult to threaten a landlord in order to obtain a lease. For many landlords, this decision is made centrally. On the other hand, there are some examples of threats against those tasked with detecting subletting and terminating these leases. In our studied areas, the trading is described as more small-scale and conducted by individuals rather than any organised trading or people attempting to obtain leases by threat.

Insurance and social welfare systems

The Swedish social welfare system constitutes basic protection for the individual and is also part of the welfare state's attempt

to prevent and solve social problems. Alternative social welfare systems can bring much good but can lead to social pressure on specific individuals. The fact that individuals do not come under the protection of the Swedish social welfare system, and thus lack basic protection, can constitute a risk factor for criminality. This aspect also becomes an issue for the justice system to the extent that individuals commit benefit fraud and welfare fraud.

Some people are outside of the insurance and social welfare systems

As set forth in the chapter *Socially disadvantaged areas in figures*, there is a concentration in the areas of individuals who are unemployed and live on small disbursements from the social welfare system. A person who has no known income cannot qualify for benefits and payments which are based on, or which give significantly higher payments, if one has worked. This includes unemployment benefits, sickness allowance, and parental benefits. Interview subjects also report that certain groups of residents are entirely outside of the social welfare system.

Certain residents also lack private insurance. In several of the areas, however, interview subjects emphasise that significantly more people currently have home insurance than previously, since many landlords require this of tenants. Nevertheless, there are cases where individuals lack insurance, which is discovered when there is a fire. There is a similar scenario in respect of cars being set on fire, where residents suffer a heavy blow since they cannot afford to insure their car. A person from social services explains:

> You have problems with the insurance companies, it's very clear since you don't pay the same insurance premium if you live in [neighbouring area] as you pay if you live here. There's a big risk that [the car] will be smashed up, disappear, or be burned. You can see that people who live on X Street or Y Street have sky-high insurance premiums. And because it's an address that's not safe, not because you own the car. It's because of the address.

Both residents and civil servants state that certain car fires are actually insurance fraud. This means, however, that car owners can suffer greatly when they are parked near the car that the persons committing insurance fraud wish to damage to obtain compensation from the insurance company.

Benefit fraud

Both civil servants and residents report various types of benefit fraud. Some civil servants emphasise that some of the fraud can be the result of misunderstandings about applicable rules.

The single most common example in the material is fake separation of parents, which is based on errors in the population register. Several interview subjects from all six areas, irrespective of whether they are residents, civil servants, or association representatives, call attention to this. The offence is based on two parents separating on paper. Usually the father registers himself at another address but, in reality, he lives with his family. If he has no income and does not pay maintenance, the mother can obtain a housing allowance and a single parent allowance. In some cases, there is false registration on several levels, where fathers remarry, have children, but separate from the new wife as well. An investigator from the Swedish Social Insurance Agency has the impression that some people get advice from friends about how to cheat with these benefits and thus you can see how the scheme spreads within a circle. This has also come to light in a previous study regarding benefit fraud (ISF and Brå 2011:12).

According to some interview subjects, one explanation for part of the problem is weaknesses in controls, that are rooted in insufficient support from systems in respect of subleasing. One question is also whether the disbursing party (in this case the municipality or the Swedish Social Insurance Agency) would be able to check with the landlord whether the subletting is allowed, or to check the official rent for the apartment by reviewing leases. This is to prevent usurious rents from being funded through public funds.

An additional variant in the material is that individuals receive benefits but have left the country. This involves, e.g., detected cases which involve benefits that people are not allowed while being abroad or benefits for nonexistent individuals. One business owner recounts that his experience is that certain residents have benefits from other countries, which they do not disclose to social services, which also pays benefits. They are registered as residents of several different countries, sometimes under different names. Such cases have also been noted in previous studies (Brå 2015:8, Brå 2016:9).

Welfare fraud, often involving companies

The typical benefit frauds in our material revolve around the above-mentioned false familial separations. When compared with a study which analyses a small, but random, selection of benefit fraud throughout the country, our narratives show an absence of a usual type of benefit fraud (Brå 2016:9), namely offences

involving unemployment benefits and a number of Swedish Social Insurance Agency benefits. As mentioned above, many residents in the studied areas are, in practice, outside of these benefits systems.

In our material, as well as in the previous studies, there are a smaller number of narratives regarding more artful welfare fraud. These involve, for example, individuals who combine unreported income with benefits or who, through leaving erroneous information regarding previous income, current rent, or suchlike, receive unduly high benefits. In addition, there are individuals who falsely inform the Swedish Board of Student Finance that they will be studying abroad and therefore receive a large disbursement.

Civil servants also describe arrangements with, for example, false identities which receive benefits and setups involving companies. As described below in the section regarding the labour market, the companies may receive support from the Swedish Public Employment Service. In addition, some cases involve fraud within home care services, in-home nursing care benefits, personal assistants, and various forms of financial support for organisations. A police officer talks about their experience:

> *I have examples where a person starts, yes they are in fact associations, a person starts a company where they get financial support from both the Public Employment Service and from the city district and, quite simply, that's just not okay. They don't do what they are registered to do on paper or they don't have the employees they're supposed to have, or the money doesn't go where it's supposed to. It happens, absolutely.*

There are also some cases in the material which involved fraud or tax offences associated with preschools and residential care homes for children and youth. The latter instances are identified in several of the areas and involve both residences for refugees and rehabilitation centres for substance abusers. One civil servant has investigated several cases involving homes for unaccompanied refugee minors. Several private individuals who ran these homes were themselves recipients of social welfare benefits and, in some cases, their own children had been taken into care by social services for a period of time. The interview subjects question these individual's suitability and also suspect fraud in several cases. A couple of police officers recount, with astonishment, that they have seen several criminals work at residential treatment homes or even running such homes. Although civil servants have identified improprieties and offences in several cases, these most artful cases appear uncommon.

Alternative insurance solutions

Residents and civil servants in several of the studied areas describe how numerous groups, particularly those which are based on, e.g., ethnicity or religion, have their own varieties of social welfare systems. There is a collective responsibility for the survival and welfare of the group's members. A resident who is a member of such a group explains:

> *Clans do in fact have their advantages and disadvantages too. I mean, say that someone would end up in trouble, say that someone needs an emergency operation, or you name it, and needs money really soon, really fast. If you belong to a clan then it's the whole clan's responsibility to see that you get what you need as quickly as possible, everyone pitches in. And they think that it will be like an investment, because next time maybe it's my turn. Then everyone will collect for me. It doesn't need to be some kind of misfortune. It can be a wedding, someone needs to get married, he can't afford it and the clans collect money – like, here you are, and they help. Or it can go back home, there is in fact a lot back home. There's a crisis going on there right now, so then we can collect and send it to our clan. The network isn't just in Sweden, the network extends throughout the whole world. Most people stick by it, not all, but I would think the majority.*

The example in the quoted material is a clan, but there are narratives regarding several similar systems. According to some interview subjects the system can be frustrating, they pay tax in Sweden and contribute to a social welfare system here, and then payment demands come from abroad involving distant relatives. In addition, payment demands can also affect individuals who have limited means.

There are also residents and representatives of civil society who recounted that payment is not really voluntary. To the contrary – social pressure can be strong and there are examples where close relatives abroad face consequences from others within the group because they have not taken their responsibility and paid. According to several interview subjects, the shared responsibility for support can be a contributory cause to certain benefit frauds in Sweden, since such funds are also distributed within the group.

Protection rackets

The interviews and survey responses contain everything from rumours to confirmed cases of extortion and protection rackets. These appear to be directed primarily at local small businesses, which is consistent with previous research (Brå 2012:12, van Leiden et.al. 2014, Hartmann and Lampe 2008). The more

indistinct information usually begins along the lines that it is reasonable to assume that it occurs, given the interest and capacity of the criminal groups. A headmaster emphasises that extortion between youth has also become part of "youth culture", and this has been observed in previous research (Brå 2008:8, Brå 2012:6). One police officer's experience is that protection rackets targeting small businesses are common, but that it is difficult to obtain information from the victims:

> *When we talk with them, when we visit, or we talk about the problem, you understand that they can… In some cases they say: 'Yes, it's happening, but I'm not going to help you'. There are those who are prepared to participate in the investigation, but most people don't want to participate. Instead they, or at least try, they don't pay, but they're scared to death of what is going to happen. I think that many people pay what they are obligated to pay and in certain cases ... I have one example where a business owner had serious problems with his alarm and if something happened that completely vandalised the shop, yes, then he must of course pay for the damage. The insurance company's excess and so forth. So he calculated that he would come out ahead by paying this fee to the protection racket because it is cheaper than paying the excess to the insurance company. And it's even harder to motivate someone to yes, risk your life so maybe we can lock that person up for a few months. So the justice system doesn't always protect the people who need it most.*

In cases with concrete suspicions, interview subjects have noted vandalism against certain companies. It can also be detected as odd transactions on the company's accounts or in the bookkeeping. There are additional examples where business owners "pays for their safety", not with money, but by allowing criminal groups to hide stolen and smuggled goods, narcotics, or weapons on the company's premises. There are also signs that small shops are more or less forced to sell untaxed cigarettes or other goods for criminal groups. This has also been noted in an earlier study (Skinnari and Korsell 2016). In at least one case in this investigation, a business owner was extorted into helping criminals with money laundering. There are also individual cases where criminal groups decide which companies may operate in the area or which range of goods they may carry – all for the purpose of not competing with companies in which the criminal groups have an interest. This is also consistent with a previous study, where perpetrators and victimised business owners give a similar picture (see Brå 2012:12; cf. also Brå 2016:10, Clough Marinaro 2017).

Several interview subjects wonder why certain businesses are victimised and others are not. One hypothesis is that local roots

or status within an influential group with intimidation capital can entail protection. In other words, extortionists seldom attack people in their own circle, people they respect for other reasons or people they are afraid of. This is consistent with previous studies, which are based on preliminary investigations and interviews with victims and perpetrators (Brå 2012:12; cf. van Leiden et.al. 2014).

The collective responsibility for financing and support which exists in certain groups complicates the protection racket situation. It does occur that family members have a responsibility and sometimes even a direct financial interest in helping out. A resident describes situations where relatives have participated and financed startup capital for a shop:

> *If the shop is robbed or extorted, ultimately you just can't do it anymore. You close. But the family gathers and says: What are we going to do? [The shop owner answers:] Your money is here, we've lost. [The family:] What? Because of your bad business? [The shop owner:] No, business is good, but because of guys who are bothering me. [The family:] Okay, we'll find you a guard. If the police can't guarantee [security] there are some guys from the family who run shops or businesses, who guard. We'll stand [there and guard].*

In this example, it is thus the extended family who provides protection in order to keep criminal groups away. Interview subjects warn, however, that weapons or threats from both sides may emerge for the purpose of scaring away possible extortionists. Moreover, the guards may be visible in the public space and scare others.

Labour market

Widespread undeclared work or work within a criminal economy could constitute examples of alternative labour markets. The state's role in this aspect of our model is largely collection of taxes and fees from employers and employees, and protecting employees through employment law and workplace safety legislation. Undeclared work results in the employee losing, for example, access to the Swedishsocial welfare system and unemployment benefits. The fact that people are outside of the labour market can constitute a risk factor for criminality. To the extent employers commit welfare fraud, this aspect also becomes an issue for the justice system.

As set forth in the chapter *Socially disadvantaged areas in figures*, a relatively large number of people in these areas fall outside of the labour market. The interviews revealed that some people feel, for various reasons, that there is no point to register with the

Public Employment Service. These reasons include not knowing the rules, not knowing whether they can receive benefits, or having undeclared or criminal income.

Undeclared work and employer criminality

Irrespective of whether benefit fraud occurs, the undeclared work which is described in the interviews primarily involves unlicensed taxicabs, temporary staffing, telephone sales, garages, warehouse jobs, and construction jobs. Some cases involve very low wages, which must be combined with other revenue so that the employee can make ends meet (cf. Brå 2011:7). A field assistant describes what they hear:

> *Sometimes you hear that they work for ridiculously low amounts. You think that it's not like this in today's Sweden, but I think the lowest that we heard was like 15–20 kronor an hour, it's completely, completely crazy. And then it could be those living in [the socially disadvantaged area] maybe. I know that there's a lot of undeclared work up in an industrial area where there are several grocery stores, car dealerships, and restaurants, and there are in fact more people who can do undeclared work. Those are really the sums were talking about – you work your butt off for maybe 200 kronor a day if you're lucky.*

Employer fraud in respect of employer subsidies from the Public Employment Service also appears in the material. Civil servants, residents, and representatives of civil society tie business owners' overuse and welfare offences to a few greedy individuals who wish to receive a great deal of money from the state, or to business people who find it difficult to run a profitable business. In respect of insufficient profitability, many people point to low prices in the areas, and that this is necessary so that residents with poor finances afford to shop.

In certain cases, this results in the business owner having undeclared income, committing benefit fraud, or having low-quality goods and services. A tax auditor believes that the low prices, in most cases, reflect the inferior quality of goods and services, and they are therefore somewhat correctly priced. Other interview subjects are more inclined to explain the price picture through, for example, fraud committed against the Public Employment Service. This is thought to involve companies receiving support for higher wages than they actually pay to the employees (see also SOU 2017:37, Brå 2015:8, Brå 2011:7).

Several civil servants say that they know too little about this criminality, but they describe odd employment patterns, for example that several criminals are suddenly employed by the same com-

pany. Is this a matter of social empathy or a sign of fraud? There are also criminal groups which have, or have had, companies which receive business support in industries which are at high risk for undeclared work or sectors where fraud with state funds occurs – such as residential care, personal assistance, job coaching, and immigrant resettlement introduction guide *(Sw. etableringslotsar)* (see further SOU 2017:37, Brå 2015:8, cf. SOU 2014:16).

Alternative employment services

As is the tendency in Sweden in general, many people in the studied areas find jobs via family, relatives, or other personal contacts. One difference which several interview subjects emphasise is that there are more people in these areas who have a weak position on the labour market. This means greater risks that people will take the jobs they are offered, even if it is undeclared work or if the employer exploits them as a worker or as a tool in Public Employment Service fraud. Moreover, it may be particularly difficult to complain if one depends on one's employer on a level which is deeper than that of mere employer. The following description from a representative of civil society is worth quoting in its entirety, since it illustrates themes which arose previously:

> *I usually say this, and this is the truth, that most of us don't want to live in a so-called parallel society. You can describe it that way. We want to be part of society, but like I said we're largely shut out from the labour market, we're not interesting enough for employers, we're not interesting enough for trade unions, even if many in these areas are working-class with a foreign background. Not everyone is a white-collar worker or has high paid work. If they do, they move out, those who work who are lucky enough to have a job, work of course with simpler jobs in many ways. And it's tough, because they're often paid by the hour on an as-needed basis, or it's very heavy work as a bus driver, a taxi driver, and the trade union isn't there. Yes, they're not there to say 'Hi, what are your needs?' You have to go into the city to see [them].*

Criminal groups as employers

Another type of example of alternative employment services exists within criminal groups. Police officers and other interview subjects in all six areas agree that the criminal groups are loose networks and not stable organisations. They describe groups with a clear core of several more established criminals. The core has a tail, or several circles of younger individuals who do tasks for them, or others who help with limited tasks. This structure

renders the groups more durable than fixed criminal organisations (cf. Brå 2005:11).

The majority of the members are men but, according to several interview subjects, women can also play a role in criminal activities, particularly in the tail end or the outer layers. A family therapist reports:

> *[The girls] are used for certain things, they have certain roles. If it's not sexual, it's carrying drugs or having them at home or things like that. Criminal cultures are in fact extremely masculine and it's something I think we should ... In fact, in my experience we need to work more with masculinity norms, generally much more in our preventive work, because that's where the girls end up too. And I think about similarities. I mean there are some girls who have very high status also, but this applies primarily when they're younger, when they start to get older they don't have as much status as a tough girl. Then again, girls are very good at getting themselves out of this. It happens I guess, girls get into a negative culture more quickly where they get really involved during a limited time and then they usually find a way out [of criminality].*

A constant supply of members

Police, residents, and other interview subjects paint a picture of the criminal groups not needing to engage in formal recruitment. This is consistent with an earlier study (Brå 2016:12). Young residents are "drawn in", or seek out the groups, which are very visible in the area. Some speak of certain young people looking up to the criminals, that being a criminal is a way to gain status in the area. There is consensus among interview subjects that an additional important motive for youth is quick cash. The motivation is being able to show off contacts, having brand-name clothing, jewellery, or a nice car. An interview subject explains:

> *Those who belong to the bottom level, who didn't succeed in school, or who have parents who don't work or who receive benefits, who live in overcrowded conditions, it's obvious that they look for alternatives. Most often you take the path of least resistance, instead of looking for a job you look at 'How can I earn money fast?' And then it's easiest to look at what you see and of course that's the people who are out a lot, centrally, in the squares, on the streets, on the roads.*

According to several interview subjects, certain young people can be driven into criminal groups by the feeling that they are going to fail and can never be anything in mainstream society. When

they have entered into criminality, they gain new authority figures in the form of influential individuals in the criminal groups. This means that other authority figures, such as parents, older relatives, teachers, or imams, seem to have difficulty reaching them. A person within civil society who meets many young people emphasises that it is important to offer at-risk individuals positions or tasks that they really do not want to lose, tasks which are perceived as meaningful and confer responsibility. This makes it easier for young people to resist pressure to perform tasks for the criminal groups. A resident reasons along similar lines:

> *[You're exposed], quite simply, to pressure from everyone, this peer pressure. If you have any weakness at all that makes you care what others think, you do it. Since these gangs, if you can call them that, and since the laws are such that young people don't get punished, personally I think that the older ones force the younger ones to prove themselves and do things. They can't be punished anyway.*

There are reports from all six areas about young teenagers who are involved in drug trafficking. A police officer recounts that they can be tricked into starting to sell so that they end up in debt, and, in this way, are forced to continue to sell. Another police officer believes that criminals prefer young people because they are immune from punishment in that they are too young to be convicted and because they place lower demands and accept less pay. Other types of initiation offences which would lead to being assigned more tasks involve stealing a bicycle, moped, or car, or assaulting a particular individual. Several police officers and residents point out that older criminals exploit minors for risky tasks, such as handling weapons or drugs. They can also keep watch for police and be strategically situated in the residential area and send messages if they see a police car on its way into the area. A police officer explains:

> *I've actually heard amounts, but these are just rumours. It usually involves several hundred, up to 500 [kronor] which you can maybe get. I think that it varies enormously. But it's several hundred kronor for sure, then it depends what it is, if you put it that way. You can also see this on mobile phones which have been seized, that when we drive into the area ... Yeah, if you take someone, you can see that he just sent a text message that says 'One police bus, 4 police in the bus, uniformed'. Which he has sent to quite many people in the area, so that they'll know we're on our way in.*

The interviews give the picture of a tough youth environment, where the use of violence begins at an early age. The young people use rough jargon. However, the fact that the youngest of them

wish to assert themselves and build intimidation capital can be a burden for the group. This is illustrated by cases where the group forces young members to confess to the police that they were behind offences involving confrontations with residents which were at such a level that police presence was increased.

There are also individual accounts of criminal groups having opinions regarding who is to work in the area as, for example, building caretakers or construction workers. In one case there were suspicions that individuals had destroyed commercial premises, and a person with insight into the case stated that it involved who could, and could not, work there.

Educational system

The state and municipalities have overall responsibility for the school system and the schooling of each individual. Compulsory school attendance entails that "use of a social system" in this aspect is, in principle, not voluntary. Widespread truancy could therefore be regarded as a deviation from the norm. Although it is difficult to imagine alternative educational systems on any larger scale, one can consider attempts to influence school personnel as a step in that direction.

Statistics in the chapter *Socially disadvantaged areas in figures* show that school performance is relatively poor in socially disadvantaged areas. The interviews illustrate that this is a consequence of problems other than mere academic capacity – for example a headmaster points out that social problems often get more attention than school performance. Some parents and school employees believe that parents with the resources to do so move pupils to other schools and that there is a risk that pupils with poor performance are concentrated in schools in socially disadvantaged areas.

All interview subjects in the schools point out that they have pupils with truancy and late arrival. However, this is not described as an insurmountable or systematic problem but, rather, as pupils with whom they must work more. The examples which come to light often involve boys who are criminally active. Some people also mention that teenage girls can disappear from classes, and there are suspicions that they have been placed into arranged marriages during summer break. Some representatives of civil society also recounted that there may sometimes be discussions where they advise desperate parents against sending children abroad to be raised by relatives in order to get the child away from problematic friends.

Although it appears very uncommon, there are individual cases in the material regarding preschools or independent schools which are started by individuals who are suspected to have committed economic crimes through such operations, or which are run by religious extremists. In other words, the influence on education by having one's own schools is a marginal phenomenon, although it may entail extremely significant consequences for the affected pupils. In a preliminary investigation against a preschool, management extracted large sums of money and sent them abroad, while the children had an extremely barren and not particularly educational environment.

Threats against teachers

Examples of threats against teachers and other school personnel occur in all six areas. However, this is described primarily as a problem which is associated with individual disruptive pupils. The exception is young people who are already deeply involved in criminality and have developed intimidation capital. Such narratives come primarily from one of the areas. A police officer describes how this can have very serious consequences on teachers' work environment:

> Children threaten with their older brothers and with their fathers. 'You know what we can do.' Personally, I have a friend who works in [area] who has been home on sick leave for a long time. And this has a lot to do with her having been threatened by the family. My understanding is that people from the school don't report or talk to us so much anymore. I think that people are actually scared. When we worked there the teachers were actually scolded by the headmaster because they had contacted us.

On the other hand, few interview subjects knew of cases where teachers or headmasters were threatened for the purpose of affecting grades. When there was an attempt to influence individual decisions they often seem to involve students who wanted to avoid truancy reports so that, among other things, they would not lose their study grants from the Swedish Board of Student Finance.

Monopolies

In Sweden, the state has a monopoly on, for example the sale of alcohol and gambling. The societal interest in this is to promote public health through social protection legislation. Accordingly, this aspect of our model is different from other aspects. At the same time, it is clear that a situation where many people turn

to illegal alternatives could be a sign of the growth of parallel structures.

The elements which certain interview subjects discuss regarding this aspect of the model primarily involve underground clubs, gambling clubs, illegal alcohol, and illegal cigarettes. Illegal gambling and cigarettes are by far the most common examples provided by both civil servants and residents. However, it is difficult to determine whether this is because they are most widespread or, quite simply, because they are the most visible and less sensitive to discuss.

There are significantly more narratives regarding underground clubs in one of the areas, but there are signs of such clubs in several areas. In some cases, the underground clubs are not situated in the area but, instead, in the vicinity and are used by residents from both the area and from other parts of the relevant city. Most of the places which are described as underground clubs function as pubs and nightclubs. Inexpensive illegal liquor is often sold as well as, perhaps, narcotics. Several public authority officials state that they suspect criminal networks are behind certain underground clubs and earn money in this way. A police officer reports the following regarding underground clubs:

> *Old industrial premises which have been fixed up or offices have, in essence, been used as underground clubs. They have been closed during the day and then they open at night. These clubs often have a rather mixed clientele. Most often it's people who live in the area or in any event in the vicinity. You can say what you want about that, but for a lot of people this is a social thing. We don't have many pubs and bars in the outlying areas here, so then it instead is about underground clubs.*

Gambling clubs also turned up in a number of narratives, from all of the areas. In some cases, premises which serve as social clubs during the day are turned into gambling clubs at night. Sometimes it can look like an ordinary apartment from the outside, but is a gambling club with tables for card games and gaming machines along the walls. The gamblers are said to want to remain alert, which entails that sales of coffee are probably more common than alcohol or narcotics. Sometimes it is likely that playing cards is a social activity, while in other cases there are clear signs of gambling for money. There can also be widespread gambling among individuals in criminal groups, who go to gambling clubs (Brå 2016:12, Brå 2007:4; see Skinnari and Korsell 2006). Moreover, in some of the areas illegal gambling machines have been encountered in small shops or on other commercial premises.

One risk with illegal gambling and gambling clubs is that gamblers incur gambling debts to criminals. One interview subject from the Swedish Tax Agency describes the consequences this can have:

> When you go to the underground club and sit and gamble for large sums and suddenly owe money to some criminal, then you're stuck. Then you're asked: 'If you want to pay this 50,000 kronor debt, I want you to put your name on this company.' 'OK, I'll do it.' 'And then I want you to go to [currency exchange office] and withdraw a few hundred thousand there, and then we're even.' I've actually heard this many times, above all when we were dealing with the [x] frauds. Just that it began with a debt to the wrong people and then you're stuck. Then you commit offence, after offence, after offence, and you never get free because there's always that last thing you have to do. Just one more little thing. And before you know it, you have a long criminal record yourself.

The sale of untaxed alcohol occurs in all of the areas. However, in some of the areas there is a large group without traditions of consuming large quantities of alcohol, which leads several civil servants to point out that the legal alcohol market is not particularly significant either. They report that the untaxed alcohol comes in from Europe in vans or buses. The interview subjects state that it is sold in parking lots and marketplaces where other stolen goods are also available for sale, as well as under the counter in smaller grocery stores. Previous research has noted these sales methods, as well as sales at local restaurants (Brå 2011:7, Brå 2016:12). A headmaster reports:

> You can definitely buy alcohol illegally down here, you can buy a lot more than illegal alcohol. You can buy ... Come here on a Friday night and if you want something for the party, you can find it here in the car boots.

On the other hand, there is a large market for untaxed cigarettes which are also described in the material as cheap cigarettes, illegal tobacco, or cheap whites. Civil servants link sales primarily to kiosks and smaller grocery stores, where they are available for sale under the counter. They are also sold in private networks. They come in through individuals who smuggle them in ways similar to alcohol, or in major distribution chains via market halls. There are suspicions that certain shop owners are pressured to sell the untaxed tobacco and that criminals come and drop off the cigarettes and retrieve the money. This has also been noted in previous research (Brå 2016:12; Skinnari and Korsell 2016).

Few signs of corruption

In connection with gathering information regarding parallel societal structures, the police have enquired after signs of corruption in respect of state and municipal functions. We have only seen individual incidents in our material and thus have not included it in the model.

However, some civil servants express concern regarding the loyalties of some civil servants with vague links to certain criminal groups and refer to a small number of corruption scandals which received media attention. This is consistent with a previous study of corruption involving insiders at public authorities, where individual examples were found at most public authorities, but the concern appeared far greater than the risk of actual leaks or assisting criminal activity (see further Brå 2014:4).

Some additional results regarding the groups

The interviews and survey responses contain some additional themes which merit discussion but which do not clearly fall within any aspect of the model.

Criminal groups which are based on family ties

In the text, certain results have been linked either to criminal groups or to groups based on, for example, ethnicity or religion. However, one cannot draw a clear line between these two types of groups because there are examples of where they merge.

Some interview subjects, who have good insight into groups based primarily on family ties or ethnicity, warn of situations where criminality is combined with the stronger loyalty which characterises the first type of groups. This may involve, for example, extended families or larger families where many individuals are involved in various forms of serious criminality. Such groups probably find it easier to replace members who are caught by the police, since they can pressure, or appeal to, other relatives to step in. Some interview subjects emphasise, however, that when there are influential criminals in a group based on, for example, ethnicity, these often involve dysfunctional or problematic families. Accordingly, the family had already distinguished itself within the group even before the criminality arose, and it demonstrates risk factors similar to those for criminality in other contexts.

The experience of an interview subject is that the young criminals he sees in socially disadvantaged areas are different from criminals he worked with previously, insofar as they are the first generation of criminals in their families. Other observers

note criminal families which include at least two generations of hardened criminals. This may create expectations on other family members to assist in the criminality. A family therapist explains how criminality can spread:

> It's also important that we include siblings in this work, because if you have a criminal older brother who you love then there's a greater risk because you look up to this person a great deal. Furthermore, you receive a lot of positive rewards when it becomes known in the community that you have a brother who's dangerous, you get a little status for that. Then some people beware of you. So it's helpful that we also include siblings who have been drifting away, that they learn how to be positive role models, so that we don't bring that legacy into the family. And then there are many, both mothers and fathers, who are traumatised, then we have to deal with that.

Conflict-ridden exits

There are examples of close groups or structures where it is undesirable that participants leave, marry outside of the group, or act in a way which is abnormal for this group. Irrespective of whether the group is based on criminality, on ethnicity, or on religion, there are more or less clear boundaries for membership and leaving the structure can be filled with conflict. The individual who leaves often stands alone in these conflict-ridden situations against a collective system.

Several interview subjects describe exits where former participants who chose another lifestyle or who could no longer deal with the requirements imposed by the group were harassed, exposed to threats or, for safety reasons, were forced to break with the entire group. This may be a difficult decision since social unity is strong, particularly in groups based on, for example, shared ethnicity or religion.

The ability to break with a group varies, and here a social welfare officer provides an example of how this can express itself in their cases involving honour-related violence:

> But absolutely, the collective affects the individual. Sometimes what we can offer by way of contribution or as support and help carries little weight against the other, even when it comes to protection and safety, it can carry very little weight. We can place people in protective housing, we can move families. If they belong to a group either where they're well-known or if it's a small group, then they'll be discovered because people recognise them. Many people can describe it as: 'Yes, but we have you know, there are people in my clan who, for exam-

> *ple, work within the justice system, they're watching me'*
> *and then we really don't know whether it's really like that,*
> *or if it's just used as a scare tactic. Because most often when*
> *people are disclosed, it's usually more because they have acted*
> *in a certain way then because someone else has gone into*
> *some computer system and found them. But it's used as a*
> *scare tactic, which makes some people afraid to trust public*
> *authorities.*

Although the quote refers to honour-related violence and leaving a group which is based on ethnicity, similar mechanisms are described in respect of exit from criminal groups.

Some individuals who work to counteract honour-related violence experience that individuals who do not have a particularly strong and visible role in the group can be threatened when they leave, but these individuals are most often left alone when they have in fact taken this step. However, it is not particularly easy for those who work with protective measures to conduct an assessment of the individual's position in the structure. To the contrary, powerful and large groups have a long reach, which means that the person leaving must move far away and the threat does not markedly diminish over time. There are also examples where a victim of crime who wishes to leave a violent partner receives support from their family. In particular, if the family is stronger than the abusing partners' family, they can help the victim to be left alone by their partner.

Indications that women may be treated unfairly

As is set forth, not in the least in the section regarding extra-legal justice, there is a risk that women, above all, will be treated unfairly in alternative systems based on ethnicity or religion. The interviews contain additional descriptions of how this can play out, and they do not quite fall within the dimensions of the model but are at least as important. The examples discussed involve, above all, women's clothing or behaviour. Several interview subjects emphasise that women and men are equal but, at the same time, are proponents of gender separation. Some residents – both women and men – state that women are free to live their lives as they wish. They state that men and women *choose* to operate in different spheres, but that there is no prohibition against stepping outside of those spheres.

As set forth in the chapter *Sense of safety and sense of unsafety,* women are more absent in the public space. Some residents, association representatives, and civil servants have experienced women choosing not to go into cafés where only men are sitting, that women are guided to other seats in a café due to informal

rules regarding gender separation, that they are not permitted to attend football tournaments, or that men comment on their clothing or appearance. The residents who we interviewed state, however, that such commentaries are generally uncommon, and some have never seen or heard about it. Other data also indicates that individuals who do not belong to the groups are often left alone in respect of similar comments and informal rules regarding separation. One father describes how his daughter has, on the other hand, been affected outside of the socially disadvantaged area, where people shouted that she is oppressed because she wears a head scarf.

The fact that certain individuals have a view of equality which differs from that of local public agencies and housing companies can have consequences. An interview subject from a housing company provides one example:

> We also notice when we have community associations doing neighbourhood patrols for us ... We pay associations to be out, primarily during school holidays, to be out and walk around during the evenings and into the night. Then we get reports that there are some men in certain associations who don't really understand their task here. Instead, they see girls who are out at night and, in a negative way, they contact this girl's parents and tell them: 'Do you know your daughter is out?'. I've also heard about pictures being taken of girls without head scarves who were out during the evening and the picture is sent home to the parents, and they tell them that here is your daughter without a head scarf out during the evening.

A woman who responded to the survey has experienced pressure not to wear, for example, a short skirt and states that it is younger people who "spy" on her when she goes out. The only person who we interviewed who has personally experienced this says that on several occasions, people contacted her mother and told her where she had been, how she was dressed, and suchlike. According to the interview subject, her mother did not care about these reports, and instead asked the individuals to mind their own business. One can thus see that resistance to the structures is possible and, in this case, without reprisals.

Additional challenges for some parents

Civil servants, residents, and association representatives describe problems with certain parents not taking care of their children. This becomes particularly problematic when the consequence is that the children are out late alone and come into contact with open narcotics sales or other criminality. The interview subjects

point out various reasons, such as the parents are not involved with, or do not have time for, their children. Additional reasons which are stated are that the parents fled from war zones and are themselves traumatised and can't cope, or that they feel lost in society. At the same time, civil servants state that it may be difficult to reach the parents despite various initiatives in the form of parenting courses and advice, offered by both public agencies and non-profit associations.

Several interview subjects state that there are parents who, quite simply, give up and stop fighting for better housing, higher income, or other things. This may be due to discrimination, insufficient education, language, and so forth. According to several interview subjects, when the children see that their parents have not attained a sound position in society and are also not trying to do so, there is a risk that they lose respect for their parents. This means that the parents' possibilities to control their children is further reduced. Similar difficulties have also been noted in earlier studies (Politiet 2016, Dahlstedt 2017).

An additional dimension is that some children speak significantly better Swedish than their parents. This gives the children the upper hand in terms of information when, for example, they interpret and translate letters from headmasters and teachers. Moreover, the children know more about public authorities and can spread preconceptions regarding, for example, that social services removes children (as described in the chapter on confidence).

Closing reflections

Since this chapter is longer and contains more factors than preceding chapters, the closing reflections will be somewhat more detailed.

Our purpose in addressing the issue of parallel societal structures was neither to confirm them nor to take a position regarding the term as such. The model does, however, illustrate that examples on this theme, from both interview subjects and police reports, cover significantly varying degrees and aspects. As a result, the picture obtained becomes both dense and sprawling. It is important to note that the alternative systems exist on a scale. At one end, there are relatively uncomplicated phenomena which have developed as responses to the need to solve everyday problems. The other end of the scale serves to maintain or facilitate criminal activities. Many of the examples regarding extra-legal justice, both in conjunction with conflicts involving criminality and more private disputes revolve around this end.

However, it is important to note that interview subjects who belong to, or have insight into, groups based on, for example, ethnicity or religion, and who use alternative systems do not in any way describe this as part of their day-to-day activities. They draw examples from one or two aspects but, with the exception of, for example, private savings associations or social welfare systems, other alternative solutions appear to be very uncommon. This result is not surprising, given how uncommon criminal offences or serious disputes in the family are in relation to the need to make ends meet on a day-to-day basis.

There are also groups which do not necessarily use alternative solutions, but which can be perceived as living in a parallel structure because they fall outside of many of the social systems exemplified in the model. Some interview subjects also employed this analysis when they hear the term, when they ask whether this is not more a new term describing class or exclusion rather than a description of a criminal phenomenon.

Patriarchal groups which are based on loyalty

Regardless of the type of group which constitutes an alternative system, they are described as rather patriarchal and based on trust and loyalty. Similar descriptions exist in international studies (Rohe and Jaraba 2015). In some groups, much revolves around building up and defending the standing of the individual and the group. Interview subjects emphasise that in criminal groups, the members must prioritise the criminal activities and know their place in the hierarchy in order to acquire status.

In groups based on, for example, ethnicity or religion, significant credence may also be given to reputation and position but the degree varies widely. When it emerges, it is primarily linked to gender roles and the man's ability to control and support his family. There are, however, exceptions where women are described as influential, not in the least as mediators. Women are hardly visible as participants in criminal groups. If they are mentioned, it is often in the context of helping store illegal goods (primarily narcotics) or money.

The view of the right of the strong in relation to what is best for the collective is different for the two types of groups. The criminal groups often lack a concept of social conscience. Although collective rhetoric is used (for example to build loyalty) there is much to indicate that they are, in fact, highly individualistic environments. The other groups take a significantly greater collectivist view in connection with decisions. The collective spirit brings with it the perception that, in any case, these environments are better than society at taking care of their members. In the crimi-

nal groups, this involves threats from other criminals or investigative authorities. In other types of groups, it is other extended families, criminals, or certain aspects of liberal Sweden which are perceived as a threat.

What characterises criminal groups?

By definition, criminal groups try to live a parallel life but also interface with society in many ways. One clear difference between criminal groups and other types of groups is their view of society and other residents in the area. Business owners and residents can encounter the criminal groups in their role as victims or witnesses, but also as customers. At the same time, contact with outsiders is risky, since they can harm the business by reporting it to the police.

The most visible element in our interviews is obstruction of justice or fear of providing information to the police or giving evidence. When certain criminals claim territory, the intimidation capital hovers over the area at the expense of residents and business owners. There are examples of protection rackets from all six areas. In this respect, there are examples of threats against building caretakers and others who work in territories claimed by criminals. There are stories of criminals hiding objects such as narcotics or weapons in public areas or in neighbours' homes and threatening reprisals if they encounter resistance. Moreover, they challenge the legal system by illegally providing, under their own auspices, regulated goods and services such as alcohol, cigarettes, gambling, and loans. The state does indeed constitute a problem to the extent the police detect and attempt to damage the criminal activity. At the same time certain crimes, not in the least tax offences and benefit frauds, are directed against the public sector, so some contact with the state generates revenues.

What characterises other groups?

It is more difficult to define the second type of group. The narratives there are more fluid and the groups unclear, probably because they do not quite behave as clearly demarcated groups. They are based on, for example, ethnicity, religion, or kinship. Participation is often based on shared origins, language, or religious affiliation, and includes a certain level of tradition. This means that a limited group of people are eligible for membership. In certain cases the participants may use an alternative structure, but otherwise they live fully integrated into mainstream society. As set forth in the chapter, certain alternative systems such as dispute resolution and informal credit systems can serve as a good complement to courts and banks.

Some structures appear to be rather loose and participants can leave or ignore the group if they wish. Other participants are part of enclosed sub-groups, bear more of the stamp of the groups, and have relatively few contacts with the society around them. However, these participants appear primarily in other people's narratives, since reaching them poses a significant methodological challenge. The time required for these methods has not been available in this project with its significantly broader aim. Nevertheless, what we can say about the closed groups is that they are often rather uninterested in people who are not members. This is also illustrated by how few residents state that there are authorities based on ethnicity, religion, or kinship who influence residents in the area. The participants in more closed groups live their lives without having any greater impact on the outside world. They have often been socialised into these groups, sometimes from birth.

Our data indicates that extra-legal justice which occurs in certain groups typically occurs within the group itself. Although the extra-legal justice does not shape anyone's daily life, and sometimes assists in resolving disputes so that the parties can move on with their lives, there is a risk entailed in the fact that it occurs privately. Our data illustrates how women, children, and others who are often weaker parties in these groups are at risk of having their human rights disregarded in conjunction with such mediation. Other examples of alternative applications which can constitute a problem for the justice system or local agencies are, for example, widespread problems with population registration or welfare fraud. Conflicts in alternative systems can also develop into direct offences which may come to the police's attention if the victim seeks assistance.

There is no doubt that newly arrived immigrants have much to gain by contributions made by people within the same extended family, ethnicity, or religion in the form of a social network and assistance in explaining how one navigates through the new country (cf. Bengtsson and Hertting 2015). Residents helping each other is also a boon to society. One risk is, however, that people may be limited to this group and do not acquire functioning interfaces with the society around them. To the extent that the groups are very closed, there is, moreover, a clear risk that participation constitutes an impediment to integration, and that insufficient integration can strengthen alternative systems.[19] It also becomes difficult to create unity in an area where there are

---

[19] An older interview study conducted in Canada found that individuals who immigrated were more likely to have contact with individuals from other ethnic groups if their group lacked formal institutions in the form of churches, social welfare solutions, and their own newspapers (Breton 1964)

social associations which exclude large segments of the population. It is out of concern for this occurrence that one housing company has attempted to solve the problem by renting premises only to associations which welcome everyone, since the areas used are common spaces.

This entails that what is positive for society in the short term may constitute an impediment in the long term. However, the issue of integration is beyond the scope of what this project has been able to inquire. We will return to the question of what constitutes a problem for the justice system in the next chapter, the report's conclusions.

Conclusions and discussion

The background to this study is that the justice system experiences difficulties in carrying out its mandate in socially disadvantaged areas. The result shows that there is a greater sense of unsafety and lower confidence in the justice system in socially disadvantaged areas. Women state that they are more unsafe than men. Men, and particularly young men, report less confidence in the police than women do. A processing of the NTU data indicates, however, a positive trend with regards to certain aspects. Confidence appears to be increasing, and exposure to violent offences and property crimes appears to be decreasing, in both socially disadvantaged areas and in other urban areas when one compares the years 2006–2011 with the years 2012–2017. This is the case despite an increased number of shootings in certain socially disadvantaged areas.

The result shows that the justice system's possibilities to perform its tasks is affected in various ways by the lower confidence and the higher sense of unsafety in socially disadvantaged areas. A concrete expression of this is residents' inclination to cooperate with the justice system. Although many people state that they would call the police and give evidence in hypothetical cases, concern about participating in the legal process is tangible in interviews and questionnaire responses. On the basis of the material, we have identified four different types of explanations as to why an individual does not want to cooperate:

- "It could cause problems for me."
- "It doesn't do any good."
- "I don't trust the police."
- "I have better alternatives."

Based on these four types of explanations, we discuss how the residents sense of safety and confidence interact and affect the justice system.

"It could cause problems for me"

Fear of reprisals appears to be the most common reason not to cooperate with the justice system. Many residents are afraid of individuals who they perceive as criminal with intimidation capital. Residents who discuss the risk of having problems need not have any objections in principle to the police as such. Many of them would call the police in the event of an emergency. Moreover, many of them are of the opinion that they would give evidence if they could do so anonymously. If they are the victim of crime personally and are thus already involved, the willingness to provide information to the police increases.

There is widespread silence after certain offences, which makes it difficult for the police to collect information from witnesses even if numerous individuals witnessed the offence. It appears to be very uncommon for witnesses to be subject to reprisals, but rumours and stories about this are broadcast widely. This entails that it is difficult for a potential witness to make a realistic assessment of the risks. In addition, the concern in respect of one's own safety and that of relatives is very heavy to carry on its own.

There is much to indicate that individuals calculate the benefits of providing information (cleared offences, sanctions for perpetrators, redress, etc.) against the risks it entails in the form of the criminals' capacity for reprisals. Most questionnaire responses indicate that most residents see an obligation in principle to cooperate with the police. For the justice system, this entails that they should be able to tip the balance towards providing information, if they work on increasing the benefits and reducing the risks that come with providing information.

"It doesn't do any good"

Many people express frustration regarding the utility of providing information to the police. Some residents have reported offences to the police or given evidence, but the cases were closed or resulted in minor sanctions for the perpetrators. In addition, there are several accounts regarding calling the police and waiting for quite some time, or the police coming and apparently only talking in a friendly manner with those who were responsible for the public disorder. For their part, police officers describe it as difficult to take measures if they do not receive information from the residents.

There are different reasons as to why one sees no use in contacting the justice system. Firstly, it is difficult for the police to apprehend and prove that the perpetrator committed the offence. Secondly, many people believe that the sanctions do not reflect the gravity of the offence, and that the justice system finds it par-

ticularly difficult to handle juvenile offenders. The perpetrators are perceived as returning to the area quickly and committing new crimes. Although some of them disappear for a while, the criminal groups find it relatively easy to recruit new members and continue their criminality.

Criminality in the area is relatively visible, for example open sales of narcotics, which challenges the authority of the adult residents and the police. The criminals' tangible presence in the areas creates a picture of society having withdrawn. This is more noticeable in some of the areas than others. Some residents draw the conclusion that the police and society as a whole lack the ability to perform their duties, or do not care about their area.

Since most residents do not appear to have any principled objection to the police, they should be able to cause more residents to provide them with information if they increase effectiveness. Such information should, in turn, further improve effectiveness.

"I don't trust the police"

Some people have very strong opinions about the police. Young residents, in particular, express that there are norms concerning not talking to the police – "snitches have no friends". In simplified terms, one can say that there are two significantly different types of reasons not to like the police. The first is that there are groups of primarily young men who feel that the police treat them unfairly. The second is other residents who believe that the police are submissive towards the young men who create problems in the area.

This results in the police treading a fine line: they must be simultaneously perceived as efficient and fair. If the police search individuals or intervene when they are looking for suspects in the area, they risk alienating the individuals who are subject to the checks. The same applies if the police work in a preventive manner and attempt to build relationships with youth at risk for criminality. In order to reduce the risk, the police attempt to build relationships in a pleasant manner and create a connection with the individuals. However, this working method risks alienating residents and business owners who see it and perceive it as the police being buddies with persons suspected of offences – particularly if they do not perceive the police as being effective. It is possible that the police's balancing act would be easier if the residents understood more about how the police reason.

The data also shows how police officers feel that certain residents do not like them and that it affects their work. Some police officers describe situations where they notice contempt or are harassed by residents. This involves being filmed, being called

insulting names, having stones thrown at them, or experiencing that young people suspected of offences are demonstrating their numerical superiority and acting in a threatening manner.

"I have other alternatives"

Many residents state that they would turn to the justice system if they were the victim of an offence. It does not appear particularly common that they refrain because they have other alternatives. At the same time, it is difficult, by definition, to gain insight into such alternatives.

Instead of turning to the police for help, some residents state that they solve the matter personally, for example by defending themselves or by taking revenge. Others find help through some form of extra-legal justice within groups which are based in shared ethnicity, religious identity, or family ties. The alternative solutions can sometimes be used if both parties are members of the same or closely related groups, if it is rooted in a conflict deeper than the offence in question, or if the outcome can affect more individuals in the group. One such type of offence is domestic violence. Problems such as burglary, joyriding, and vandalism are seldom addressed under such systems. This also applies to many more serious offences, which residents and representatives from civil society emphasise are the responsibility of the justice system. It is worth emphasising that individuals who use alternative solutions have not necessarily taken any principled position in their favour. They may also use them because they are dissatisfied with, or lack sufficient knowledge regarding, the justice system.

Criminal groups also use extra-legal justice. Such cases primarily involve members of the groups, although there are isolated stories about criminals who offer their assistance to residents who, for example, have been the victim of crime in order to keep the police out of the area. An additional aspect of this is that residents recount that they are not interested in giving evidence in conjunction with offences which they perceive as internal disputes in the criminal environment.

What is particularly problematic in a socially disadvantaged area?

Concentration of problems

One can problematise terms such as socially disadvantaged areas and criticise the police's breakdown of the areas into groups. Most of what we identified in the study in terms of safety, confidence in the police, willingness to give evidence, and self-organisation into groups based on family ties or ethnicity are not

unique *per se*. At the same time, our study shows that there are some qualitative differences which are relevant for discussion. When visible criminality is more common, the ties to public authorities and societal institutions are weaker, and the day-to-day problems are significant, the step to contact the police becomes greater. In other words, the relationship to the justice system is affected by the concentration and degree of severity of these phenomena.

Firstly, there is a geographic concentration of criminogenic factors such as high unemployment, poor school performance, and a high percentage of young people when compared with the country as a whole (Swedish Police 2017). These things are connected to segregation, which is a societal problem that is beyond the investigative scope of this project. However, we see signs that moving in and out of the area reproduces some of these problems. Those who move out of the area are primarily described as having more resources than the general population in the area. They probably have higher incomes and human capital, and better networks than those individuals who move in and take their place.. Some of the people who move in sublet or sleep on mattresses in relatives' homes.

Secondly, there is a concentration of problems of varying gravity in the areas, ranging from littering and public disorder to shootings. It is reasonable to assume that the combination of small, but common, problems and uncommon, but serious, problems strengthens the sense of unsafety and unwillingness to cooperate with the justice system. It is difficult for the residents – and sometimes also for the police – to differentiate among youth who "hang out" outdoors, and criminals with intimidation capital. The image of the criminal as a young man in a hoodie risks spilling over to regular youths who may be searched by the police or viewed with suspicious eyes by residents. This may turn into a spiral of increased unsafety and reduced confidence in the police.

Thirdly, men's dominance of public spaces is striking. In some places and at certain times of day, women are absent or in a clear minority. This separation of women and men can partly explain women's higher sense of unsafety and many of the visible crimes in the areas.

Parallel societal structures

A fourth aspect that is referred to in the study is parallel societal structures. Previously in the report, we discussed a series of difficulties with the term itself, but here we bring up problems which the term encompasses. Some of these problems affect many residents, while other problems affect significantly fewer, but in

a significantly more radical way. Criminal groups can be seen as parallel societal structures, insofar as they are largely outside of society and resolve conflicts themselves. As stated earlier in these conclusions, they have a significant impact on the residents and a direct impact on the justice system.

Other forms of parallel societal structures can constitute serious problems for individuals or smaller groups, but do not appear to be the greatest challenge for the justice system. At the same time, these other forms may have an indirect impact on the justice system. In one and the same area, residents organise themselves based on, for example, ethnicity or religious affiliation. These groups may assist newly arrived individuals, in particular, to orient themselves but unless there is an open route into society, the same type of organisation may become an impediment to the individual. This entails a risk that the individual's life will be limited to the possibilities which can be offered by their own group. The way in which a person looks at the role of the state, societal exclusion, and how citizens participate in society is, at its core, a political question.

In addition to the examples of criminal cases identified above, there is a considerable strand of narratives regarding civil disputes which are resolved in alternative systems. However, there is a real risk that mediators or advisors in these systems have another view of gender equality, egalitarianism, and human rights than those which prevail in society at large. Specifically, if one party has a weak position in the alternative system, that party can be treated unfairly. This applies, in particular, to women and children. Hierarchies within the system influence the advice and the possible "solutions" to the dispute.

The fact that many individuals find themselves outside of important societal systems and that some use alternative systems also impede the justice system's work in a more diffuse way. Thus, one can speak of a more indirect impact in addition to the direct ones described above. The difficulties can be illustrated by a few examples. A person who lives under unstable conditions, in a location other than where they are registered, has no income, or who works under the table, is probably less inclined to call the police or give evidence. Overcrowded housing contributes to young men spending much time in public environments which, in turn, can serve as an important background factor for both recruitment to criminality and aggressive behaviour towards the police. Widespread handling of cash is not a problem per se, but it makes individuals vulnerable to robbery and makes it difficult for the police to follow the money in possible criminal investigations. Taken as a whole, the concentration of these and other, similar, problems contribute to particular difficulties for the

justice system's work in socially disadvantaged areas. It creates
a frustrating situation for the police and other actors who work
against the symptoms but cannot get at the causes.

Referenser

Appelgren, G. och Brodin, P. (2013). Facing a new criminal setting – A joint-agency initiative against organized crime in the municipality of Södertälje. I Töttel, U., Bulanova-Hristova, G. och Büchler, H. *Research Conferences on Organised Crime at the Bundeskriminalamt in Germany (Vol. II). Organised Crime – Research and Practice in Western and Northern Europe 2011– 2012.* Wiesbaden: Bundeskriminalamt.

Aretun, Å. (2009). *Ungdomars utsatthet i bostadsområden – trygghetsprinciper för fysisk planering.* Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.

Boubekeur, A. Amghar, S. de Wijk, R. och Malashenko, A. (2006). *Between Suicide Bombing and the Burning Banlieues – The Multiple Crises of Europe´s Parallel Societies.* Bryssel: European Security Forum.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2005). *Narkotikabrottslighetens organisationsmönster.* Rapport 2005:11. Stockholm: Brottsföre-byggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2007). *Vart tog alla pengarna vägen? En studie av narkotikabrottslighetens ekonomihantering.* Rapport 2007:4. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2007). *Narkotikadistributörer. En studie av grossisterna.* Rapport 2007:7. Stockholm: Brotts-förebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2008). *Diskriminering i rättspro-cessen – om missgynnande av personer med utländsk bakgrund.* Rapport 2008:4. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2008). *Otillåten påverkan mot brottsoffer och vittnen. Om ungdomsbrott, relationsvåld och organiserad brottslighet.* Rapport 2008:8. Stockholm: Brottsföre-byggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2008). *Otrygghet och segrega-tion: Bostadsområdets betydelse för allmänhetens otrygghet och*

oro för brott. Rapport 2008:16. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2008). *Polisens utredningar av våld mot kvinnor i nära relationer.* Rapport 2008:25. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2009). *Polisens möte med organiserad brottslighet – En undersökning om otillåten påverkan.* Rapport 2009:7. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2011). *Storskaliga skattebrott – En kartläggning av skattebrottslingens kostnader*. Rapport 2011:7. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

ISF och Brå (2011) *Bidragsbrott och skattebrott – Välfärdens dubbla kriminalitet. Rapport 2011:12*. Stockholm: Inspektionen för socialförsäkringen och Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2012). *Utpressning i Sverige.* Rapport 2012:6. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2012). *Otillåten påverkan mot företag. En undersökning om utpressning*. Rapport 2012:12. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2013). *Bemötande i domstol.* Rapport 2013:11. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2014). *Korruption i Myndighetssverige. Otillåten påverkan mot insider.* Rapport 2014:4. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2014). *Brott i nära relationer – En nationell kartläggning*. Rapport 2014:8. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2015). *Intyget som dörröppnare till välfärdssystemet*. Rapport 2015:8. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2016). *Stöd till avhoppare från kriminella grupperingar. En nationell kartläggning*. Rapport 2016:9. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2016). *Kriminell infiltration av företag*. Rapport 2016:10. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2016). *Kriminella nätverk och grupperingar – Polisers bild av maktstrukturer och marknader*. Rapport 2016:12. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2016). *Otillåten påverkan mot myndighetspersoner. En uppföljnin*g. Rapport: 2016:13. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2017). *Att förebygga och hantera påverkansförsök. En handbok*. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå (2017) *Nationella trygghetsundersökningen 2016 – teknisk rapport*. Rapport 2017:3. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Brottsförebyggande rådet, Brå. (2018). *Nationella trygghetsundersökningen 2017 – Om utsatthet, otrygghet och förtroende*. Rapport 2018:1. Stockholm: Brottsförebyggande rådet.

Bradford, B. och Jackson, J. (2017). *Police legitimacy among immigrants in Europe*. United Kingdom: University of Oxford.

Bengtsson, B. och Hertting, N. (2015). 7. *Makten i den etnifierade staden – invandrarföreningar och lokal politik i Botkyrka*. I: Bengtsson, B., Myrberg, G. och Andersson, R. (red), *Mångfaldens dilemman – medborgarskap och integrationspolitik*. Malmö: Gleerups.

Breton, R. (1964). *Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz (2014). *Gibt es eine Paralleljustiz in Deutschland? Streitbeilegung im Rechtsstaat und muslimische Traditionen*. Berlin: Bundesministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz.

Clough Marinaro, I. (2017). Loan-sharking in a time of crisis: lessons from Rome's illegal credit market. *Trends in organized crime*.

Dahlstedt, M. (2017). Young people in suburbs feel discriminated, but hopeful. *Sociologisk forskning*, årgång 54, s. 341–346.

De los Reyes, P. Hörnqvist, M. Boréus, K. Estrada, F. Flyghed, J. González, A.A. Lundgren, M. och Lundström, M. (2014). *Bilen brinner, men problemen är kvar: Berättelser om Husbyhändelserna i maj 2013*. Stockholm: Stockholmia.

Egnell, S. och Ivert, A. (2016). *Flera nyanser av trygghet - en studie om oro för brott i Herrgården*. FoU rapport 2016:2. Malmö Högskola.

Emmelin, M. och Eriksson, M. (2012. *Kan social kapital byggas in I våra bostadsområden och därmed förbättra invånarnas upplevda mentala hälsa?* Malmö: Kommission för ett socialt hållbart Malmö.

Farrall, S. Jackson, J. och Gray, E. (2009). *Social Order and the Fear of Crime in Contemporary Times*. New York: Oxford University Press

Farrington, D. P. och Loeber, R. (1999). *Risk factors for delinquency over time and place*. Youth Update.

Gerell, M. (2013). *Bränder, skadegörelse, grannskap och socialt kapital*. Malmö University Publications in Urban Studies 11.

Goudrian, H (2006). *Reporting crime – Effects of social context on the decision of victims to notify the police*. Universal press, Veenendaal.

Hale, C. (1996). *Fear of Crime: a Review of the Literature*. International Review of Victimology.

Hartmann, A. och von Lampe, K. (2008). *The German world and the Ringvereine from the 1890s through the 1950s*. Global Crime.

Heber, A. (2007). *Var rädd om dig! Rädsla för brott enligt forskning, intervjupersoner och brott*. Akademisk avhandling. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.

Hiscott, W. (2005). *'Parallel Societies' – A Neologism gone Bad*. Paper. Multicultural center Prague, July 2005.

Hough, M. och Sato, M. (2011). *Trust in justice: why it is important for criminal policy, and how it can be measured*. Institute for Criminal Policy Research Birkbeck, University of London.

Ivert, A-K. Torstensson Levander, M. och Mellgren, C. (2015). Den ojämlika otryggheten – Stabilitet och förändring i bostadsområden över tid. *Socialvetenskaplig tidskrift* 2015:3-4.

Jackson, J. (2015) Cognitive closure and risk sensitivity in the fear of crime. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 20: 222–240.

Jackson, J. Pooler, T. Hohl, K och Kuha, J. (2011). *Trust in Justice: Topline Results from Round 5 of The European Social Survey*. European Commission.

Jackson, J. Bradford, B. Hough, M. Kuha, J. Stares, S. Widdop, S. Fitzgerald, R. Yordanova, M. och Galev, T. (2011). Developing European Indicators of Trust in Justice. *European Journal of Criminology*.

Kelling, G. och Coles, C. (1996). *Fixing Broken Windows: Restoring Order and Reducing Crime in Our Communities*. New York: Free Press.

Larsson, O. och Lindgren, M. (2012). *Hot och våld i arbetslivet. Minska de negativa konsekvenserna*. Malmö: Studentlitteratur.

van Leiden, I. Appelman, T. van Ham, T. och Ferwerda, H. (2014). *Undergoing or undertaking. Developments in the nature*

and approach of business extortion. Engelsk sammanfattning. Arnhem: Bureau Beke.

Lewis, D.A. och Maxfield, M.G. (1984). *Fear in the Neighborhoods: an Investigation of the Impact of Crime*. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 17(2): 160–189.

Marttila, A. Lindberg, L. Burström, K. Kulane, A. och Burström, B. (2017). *Utökat hembesöksprogram för förstagångsföräldrar – samverkan mellan Rinkeby BVC och föräldrarådgivare inom Rinkeby-Kista socialtjänst*. Stockholm: Karolinska institutet.

Norèn Bretzer, Y. (2017). *Sveriges politiska system*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.

Pardini, D.A. Waller R. och Hawes S.W. (2015). 13 Familial Influences on the Development of Serious Conduct Problems and Delinquency. In: Morizot J., Kazemian L. (red.) *The Development of Criminal and Antisocial Behavior*. Springer, Cham.

Pettersson, L. och Pettersson, T. (2012). *Kontrollens variationer*. Lund: Studentlitteratur AB.

Polismyndigheten (2017). *Myndighetsgemensam lägesbild om organiserad brottslighet 2018–2019*. Öppen version. Stockholm: Polismyndigheten.

Politiet (2016). *Parallellsamfunn? – et politiblikk*. Oslo: Oslo politidistrikt.

Rohe, M. och Jaraba, M. (2015). *Paralleljustiz. Zusammenfassung einer Studie im Auftrag des Landes Berlin, vertreten durch die Senatsverwaltung für Justiz und Verbraucherschutz*. Erlangen: Erlanger Zentrum für Islam & Recht in Europa. https://www.ezire.fau.de/files/2016/04/studie-paralleljustiz-zusammenfassung.pdf

Rönnerstrand, B. och Johansson, S. (2008). *Förtroendet för myndigheter Riks-SOM-undersökningen 1986–2007*. Göteborg: SOM-institutet.

Sampson, R.J. (2012). *The Great American City: Chicago and the Enduring Neighborhood Effect*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

SCB (2009). *Boende och boendemiljö 2006–07*. Levnadsförhållanden rapport 117. Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån. www.scb.se/statistik/_publikationer/le0101_2006i07_br_le117br0901.pdf

Schclarek Mulinari, L. (2017). *Slumpvis utvald – ras-/etnisk profilering i Sverige*. Solna: Civil Rights Defenders i samarbete med Kriminologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

Skinnari, J. och Korsell, L. (2006). Svart på rött – statliga kasinon, skattekriminalitet och svart konsumtion. Bilaga till Kasinoutvärderingens betänkande, *Internationella kasinon i Sverige – en utvärdering*. SOU 2006:64. Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer.

Skinnari, J. och Korsell, L. (2016). The illicit tobacco market in Sweden – from smuggling to warehousing. I *Trends in Organized Crime*.

SOU 2006:30. *Är rättvisan rättvis? Tio perspektiv på diskriminering av etniska och religiösa minoriteter inom rättssystemet.* Betänkande av Utredningen om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering. Stockholm: Fritzes Offentliga Publikationer.

SOU 2014:16. *Det ska vara lätt att göra rätt – Åtgärder mot felaktiga utbetalningar inom den arbetsmarknadspolitiska verksamhete*n. Betänkande av Utredningen om åtgärder mot felaktiga utbetalningar inom den arbetsmarknadspolitiska verksamheten. Stockholm: Elanders Sverige AB.

SOU 2017:37. *Kvalificerad välfärdsbrottslighet – förebygga, förhindra, upptäcka och beivra*. Betänkande av Utredningen om organiserad och systematisk ekonomisk brottslighet mot välfärden. Stockholm: Elanders Sverige AB.

Statskontoret. (2017). *Förtroende för staten – förvaltningpolitiska utvecklingsområden och prioriteringar 2017–2018*. Förvaltningspolitikens utveckling.

Tolsma, J. Blaauw, J. te Grotenhuis, M. (2012). When do people report crime to the police? Results from a factorial survey design in the Netherlands, 2010. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, vol 8, 2012.

Wilson, J.Q. och Kelling, G. (1982). Broken Windows: The police and neighborhood safety. *The Atlantic* 127: 29–38.

Whitman, J. och Davis, R. (2007). *Snitches get stitches: youth, gangs, and witness intimidation in Massachusett*s. Washington, DC: National Center for Victims of Crime.

Internet sources

Europeiska unionens byrå för grundläggande rättigheter (FRA). (2010). *Poliskontroller och minoriteter.* Vienna: FRA. Kan hämtas på FRA:s webbplats: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/1132-EU-MIDIS-police_SV.pdf

NOA (2014). *En nationell översikt av kriminella nätverk med stor påverkan i lokalsamhället*. Sekretessprövad version. Rikskriminalpolisen. Kan hämtas på polisens webbplats: https://polisen.se/Global/www%20och%20Intrapolis/Ovriga%20rapporter/Kriminella%20natverk%20med%20stor%20paverkan%20i%20lokalsamhallet%20Sekretesspr%2014.pdf

NOA (2015). *Utsatta områden – sociala risker, kollektiv förmåga och oönskade händelser.* Kan hämtas på polisens webbplats: https://polisen.se/Global/www%20och%20Intrapolis/%C3%96vriga%20rapporter/Utsatta%20omr%C3%A5den%20-%20sociala%20risker%20kollektiv%20f%C3%B6rm%C3%A5ga%20och%20o%C3%B6nskade%20h%C3%A4ndelser%20(2).pdf

NOA (2017). *Utsatta områden – social ordning, kriminell struktur och utmaningar för polisen.* Kan hämtas på polisens webbplats: https://polisen.se/PageFiles/683149/Utsatta%20omr%C3%A5den%20-%20social%20ordning,%20kriminell%20struktur%20och%20utmaningar%20f%C3%B6r%20polisen.pdf

Sarnecki, J. (2016) *Brottslighet och motåtgärder i socioekonomiskt utsatta områden.* Kan hämtas på Fores webbplats: http://fores.se/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Hela-staden-bryt-segregationen-2016-01-21.pdf

Appendix 1

More on the respondents to the door-to-door survey

A total of 1,176 persons responded to our questionnaire. The percentage of women who responded to the questionnaire is somewhat greater than the percentage of men, 54 per cent and 45 per cent, respectively. The median age of respondents was approximately 40 years of age, and almost 30 per cent of the respondents were born in 1987 or later. The percentage of younger persons who responded to the questionnaire is greater among women than among men.

In respect of education, approximately 70 per cent of the respondents have at least an upper secondary education and approximately one-half also have a post upper secondary education. Eight per cent of the respondents stated that they have not completed or lack formal education. The differences in educational level are not particularly great between men and women, but the percentage of men who have an upper secondary education/trade school or suchlike is greater. In total, slightly less than one-half of the respondents state that they are employed or have their own company. A greater percentage of women than men are students or designate themselves as a stay-at-home spouse. The percentage of men who are looking for employment or participate in employment initiatives is greater than women.

Table 21. Background factors of the respondents to the door-to-door survey, divided on the basis of gender. Expressed as percentage.

		Women (n=616 −626)	Men (n=509 −523)	Total (n=1125 −1145)
Age	Younger (born 1987 and later)	32	26	29
	Older (born 1986 and earlier)	68	75	71
Education	Did not complete/lack formal education	9	7	8
	Primary school/elementary school/junior secondary school or suchlike	21	20	20
	Upper secondary school/trade school or suchlike	33	39	36
	Post-upper secondary education	37	35	36
Occupation	Employed/own business	46	49	47
	Student	16	12	14
	Job seeker/employment initiatives	10	16	13
	Long-term disability/sickness or activity compensation	7	7	7
	Pensioner	13	15	14
	Stay-at-home spouse	7	1	4

Appendix 2
Logical regression analyses

Basis for *table 13* in the report. Regression analysis of the impact of different variables on confidence in the police.

Dependent variable: confidence in the police (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.847	0.347
Age (younger/older)	1.353	0.100
Effective police (no/yes)	3.410	0.000
Fair police (no/yes)	2.663	0.000
Quick response time (no/yes)	1.836	0.001
Shared norms (no/yes)	1.773	0.002
Police are respectful (no/yes)	1.590	0.024
Constant	0.165	0.000

n=733, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.331

Basis for *table 17* in the report. Regression analysis of the impact of different variables on likelihood of calling the police and giving evidence in court if one sees a mugging affecting someone else.

Dependent variable: call the police in the event of mugging (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.774	0.214
Age (younger/older)	0.899	0.635
Sense of unsafety (no/yes)	1.041	0.854
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	2.081	0.003
Confidence in the courts (no/yes)	1.521	0.098
Criminal influence (no/yes)	1.053	0.821
Problem with shootings (no/yes)	1.328	0.181
Constant	5.426	0.002

n=842, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.056

Dependent variable: give evidence in court in the event of mugging (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	1.451	0.013
Age (younger/older)	1.214	0.221
Sense of unsafety (no/yes)	0.874	0.385
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	1.558	0.009
Confidence in the courts (no/yes)	1.697	0.002
Criminal influence (no/yes)	0.712	0.041
Problem with shootings (no/yes)	0.641	0.003
Constant	0.600	0.193

n=842, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.115

Basis for *table 19* **in the report. Regression analysis of the impact of various factors on questions regarding a sense of unsafety when outdoors at night, concern about offences against the person (mugging and assault considered together), concern about burglary, and concern that relatives will be the victim of an offence.**

Dependent variable: sense of unsafety (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.620	0.001
Age (younger/older)	1.654	0.001
Number of problems (fewer/more)	2.138	0.000
Criminals influence (no/yes)	2.051	0.000
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	0.856	0.263
Constant	0.191	0.000

n=1039, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.118

Dependent variable: concern about offence against the person (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.513	0.000
Age (younger/older)	1.213	0.263
Number of problems (fewer/more)	2.649	0.000
Criminals influence (no/yes)	2.064	0.000
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	0.869	0.389
Constant	0.504	0.098

n=719, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.163

Dependent variable: concern about burglary (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.675	0.013
Age (younger/older)	1.313	0.102
Number of problems (fewer/more)	2.526	0.000
Criminals influence (no/yes)	1.327	0.127
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	0.913	0.569
Constant	0.498	0.081

n=720, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.102

Dependent variable: concern about relatives (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Gender (woman/man)	0.790	0.151
Age (younger/older)	0.885	0.479
Number of problems (fewer/more)	3.694	0.000
Criminals influence (no/yes)	1.692	0.005
Confidence in the police (no/yes)	0.853	0.332
Constant	0.699	0.384

n=720, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.177

Basis for *table 20* in the report. Regression analysis of the impact of experiences of various problems on the question of sense of unsafety when outdoors at night. Impact expressed as relative risk.

Dependent variable: concern about relatives (no/yes)

	Exp. (B)	Sig.
Variables in the model		
Littering (no/yes)	0.919	0.656
Joyriding (no/yes)	1.479	0.045
Vandalism (no/yes)	1.138	0.457
Gangs which fight and disrupt (no/yes)	1.887	0.000
Open sales of narcotics (no/yes)	1.402	0.035
Stone throwing (no/yes)	1.006	0.970
Shootings (no/yes)	1.182	0.310
Cars being set on fire (no/yes)	1.348	0.121
Sexual harassment (no/yes)	0.944	0.772
Constant	0.181	0.000

n=1033, R2 (Nagelkerke)=0.109

The report is based on questionnaire responses and interviews with residents in socially disadvantaged areas. The residents describe, among other things, the extent to which they:

- have confidence in the police and courts
- feel safe in their neighbourhoods
- are willing to telephone the police, identify perpetrators to the police, or give evidence in court
- experience that there is influence exercised by criminals or other forms of parallel societal structures in the areas.

Interviews with representatives of civil society, business owners, municipal employees, police officers, and others working in the areas provide additional perspective.

The report is intended primarily for the justice system, but is also of interest to municipalities, public authorities, and other parties who work in socially disadvantaged areas. We hope that the report can also be useful for decision makers on the local and national levels.