

AT HOME IN
EUROPE

EUROPE'S
WHITE
WORKING
CLASS
COMMUNITIES

STOCKHOLM



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This city report was prepared as part of a series of reports titled Europe's White Working Class Communities. The series focuses on six cities in the European Union, and within them specific neighbourhoods: Aarhus (Trigeparken), Amsterdam (Tuindorp Buiksloot and Floradorp), Berlin (Marzahn-Hellersdorf), Lyon (8th arrondissement), Manchester (Higher Blackley) and Stockholm (Southern Botkyrka).

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At Home in Europe has final responsibility for the content of the report, including any errors or misrepresentations.

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Preface

Over the past 50 years states in western and northern Europe have undergone dramatic demographic, social and economic changes, including de-industrialisation, a shift to a service economy, growing inequality, challenges to the sustainability of social welfare, and increasing ethnic and cultural diversity. The challenges these changes create to sustaining social cohesion and ensuring integration are experienced at the local city level.

Since 2007, the At Home in Europe Project of the Open Society Foundations has worked to support improved social inclusion, participation and advancing equality across 20 cities in 10 countries, in partnership with local policy makers, practitioners and civil society. The impetus for the engagement arose from Open Society Foundations' mandate to address and mitigate the concerns of vulnerable groups at a time when Europe's governments were beginning to accept that it's myriad of immigrant communities—particularly those with a Muslim background—were here to stay and an integral part of the social, political, and cultural landscape. As Europe's Muslims and other minorities became more visible and demographically larger, there has been a pursuit of policies to encourage integration but this has been set against a backdrop of growing anxiety about migration, the perceived erosion of national identity, and the perception that communities from the majority population of European countries have been ignored and consequently disenfranchised.

While there is rhetoric of integration as a 'two way' process, too often integration and social cohesion policies have failed to engage with the views and experiences of existing settled communities, focusing instead on what immigrants or their descendants must do to integrate. For many this failure to address the concerns or anxieties created by changes in the economic and social structures of their neighbourhoods reinforces a sense of being ignored, left behind and demonised. In some cases this has fed into resentment of mainstream political parties and the liberal political values they are seen to represent and increased the appeal of populist parties on mainly the right but also the left. Too often this has led to disengagement from political processes of any kind.

The Europe's White Working Class Communities project documents the experiences of 'white' communities in six cities across Europe (Aarhus, Amsterdam, Berlin, Lyon, Manchester, and Stockholm). Each report in the series focuses on a specific district or neighbourhood within the city. In doing so it provides new groundbreaking research on the experiences of a section of the population whose lives are often caricatured and whose voices and views are rarely heard in public debates and discussion on integration, cohesion and social inclusion. Through a comparative lens, the project seeks to highlight parallels and differences in policies, practices and experiences across the different European cities.

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Executive summary

This report on the situation of majority Swedes in Greater Stockholm is based on 12 focus group meetings with 70 inhabitants in Southern Botkyrka, and on 22 individual interviews with stakeholders working in and being engaged in the same area. In the recruitment of the focus group participants, the term “majority Swedes” was used. This term was treated as an open category by the research team in the sense that it was left to the participants to decide whether they belonged to this category or not. A few participants were mixed and adopted of a non-Western origin but all of them self-identified as “majority Swedes”.

The study is part of the Open Society Foundations At Home in Europe research project entitled Europe’s White Working Class Communities. This is a comparative study across six European cities: Aarhus, Amsterdam, Berlin, Lyon, Manchester and Stockholm. The research for this report was conducted by a team belonging to the Multicultural Centre between February 2013 to May 2014 in accordance with the research design, strategy and methodology that had been laid out in the research guidelines. Even though this report deals with the views and experiences of majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka, it is also potentially applicable to the situation of majority Swedes in Greater Stockholm in general, not least because the segregation pattern and the statistics in the municipality of Botkyrka are similar to the whole capital region. This report is the largest empirical study on majority Swedes that has been conducted in the Swedish contemporary context and in Swedish academia in connection with Swedishness.

Botkyrka is a municipality in the southern part of Greater Stockholm. It is sharply divided between the northern part, which is dominated by minorities, and the southern part where most majority Swedes live. Botkyrka is the first municipality in Sweden that has gone through the transition from having a majority Swedish population to a situation where majority Swedes constitute the biggest demographic group among many. Demographically, Southern Botkyrka with 44,447 inhabitants, of which the majority is white, contains all the social strata of Swedish society and all the different types of housing. It is a stronghold for non-mainstream single-issue populist parties in the capital region. Together such parties gained a quarter of the votes in the election of 2010. Within this context, the ethno-nationalist Sweden Democrats party stands out for having received an unprecedentedly high proportion of votes from youngsters and young adults in the 2010 school elections. Together with the area’s statistical representativeness of Greater Stockholm in general, and with Botkyrka being as sharply segregated as any other Greater Stockholm municipality, this voter turnout for the Sweden Democrats contributed to the selection of Southern Botkyrka as the location for this study.

Botkyrka is a working-class and lower-middle-class municipality. At the municipal level, it is still ruled by the Social Democrats in coalition with the Left Party and the Green

Party. Botkyrka is widely considered to be the role model for working actively with issues of inclusion, a governance policy which is called the “Intercultural Strategy” by the municipality. In other words, Botkyrka stands out in its policies as being one of the most progressive municipalities in Sweden for its conscious efforts to build a socially sustainable society, and with a strong stance against the discrimination against and exclusion of minorities.

However, like other municipalities in similar situations, Botkyrka is affected by the gradual disappearance of a comprehensive and interventionist urban policy at a national level aiming at actively combatting segregation patterns and social inequalities between the majority and the minorities, which has characterised the current ruling centre-right government. In practice, this non-interventionist *laissez-faire* approach means that the only policy that is still active with regards to urban policy is the labour market policy, according to the logic of a neo-liberal workfare regime.

In relation to the issue of identity and belonging, the focus group participants strongly identified with their own districts, with Greater Stockholm as well as with Sweden. This contrasted with participants not feeling at ease or identifying with the districts in the northern part of Botkyrka, and feeling uncomfortable among the minorities living there. Some participants expressed their own position as belonging to the majority by contrasting themselves with the minorities. This was the case even among those who self-categorised themselves as anti-racist or non-racist. There was particular anxiety about language in particular, which in practice means the perceived Swedish-language deficits among migrants and minorities.

Concerning education and employment, the vast majority of all majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka and Greater Stockholm were employed and had jobs, including those below the age of 25 who are usually most prone to unemployment. The majority Swedish pupils in Southern Botkyrka performed well in terms of educational achievement, and were able to reach both upper-secondary school and university. These findings confirm that in Sweden today being unemployed and outside employment, education or training, correlate with belonging to a minority group. No one mentioned having being discriminated against as a majority Swede, except for some opinions regarding the perceived disappearance of Swedish traditions in school; participants were quite aware of their privileged position in society in general.

At the same time, strong feelings of discontent and anxiety were expressed about the status of schools in Southern Botkyrka as being less prioritised and underfinanced by the municipality compared with the schools in Northern Botkyrka. Comments on this topic came mostly from residents in the most affluent and homogenous areas of Tullinge and Grödinge. Some participants also expressed anxieties concerning the fact that minority pupils enter schools where most pupils were white. There was both praise and criticism of the municipality’s strategy to move certain public services to Northern Botkyrka and to concentrate creative industry workplaces connected with

culture and entertainment there. On the other hand, many participants voiced positive opinions on the municipality's work to provide summer jobs for young people.

In all Greater Stockholm there is a severe housing shortage, because of the dramatically increasing population in the capital region, especially for young adults who want to leave home for the first time. In southern Botkyrka, there was particular concern about the lack of rental accommodation for this group. A diverse housing stock can be found, from detached houses and terrace houses to tenant-owned apartments and rented apartments belonging to the municipal company Botkyrkabyggen. Among residents in Botkyrkabyggen's apartments, positive opinions were raised about the company's continuous work to support social activities among its tenants. Equally positive comments were expressed about the municipality by participants who took part in the municipality's programme of neighbourhood watch groups. In some areas such as in the newly built Riksten in Tullinge, frictions were reported between those who lived in self-owned terrace houses and those who lived in rented apartments.

In the more mixed and diverse neighbourhood of Storvreten, conflicts between majority and minority residents are seemingly commonplace; Storvreten is also the strongest constituency of the Sweden Democrats. Some participants from more homogenous parts worried that the social fabric will change in the near future as more and more minority families move to Southern Botkyrka. This concern was especially noted in areas that are still homogenous, and where minority residents do not seem to be very welcome, at least not if they are perceived to be non-assimilated.

The opinions of majority Swedes about health and social services, and policing and security, can be summed up in the participants' general vague feelings of anxiety about the immediate future. The ill health index and the social allowance rate among majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka are notably low, and the only exception is the minority-dominated Storvreten. There were at the same time reports of discontent with the health services and with certain welfare centres, in spite of an ambitious public health policy, again with a special emphasis on the underprivileged minority population in Northern Botkyrka. Many participants were also worried about a rapidly ageing majority population and the growing numbers of minority staff in the health sector. They worried about the minority staff's proficiency in speaking Swedish when delivering care for the elderly. Finally, those majority Swedes who did not have steady jobs were very frustrated by all the paperwork and red tape that had to be overcome in order to access social services.

The language issue, which apparently creates feelings of insecurity among the majority population at large, was prominent in the discussions on policing and security in Southern Botkyrka, and it was linked to the growing diversity in the city. This situation was contrasted by many participants with a Sweden of not so long ago that was marked by cultural and racial homogeneity and sameness, and therefore believed to

have been safer and more secure. Finally, the commercial centre and the commuter hub in Tumba, the central area of Southern Botkyrka itself, was pointed out as an unsafe place, though confidence was expressed in the local police force, which has its main station house in Tumba.

Participants described civil society movements and activities in Southern Botkyrka as part of everyday life, almost like how it used to be in the old days. There was concern that young people were not active in civil society and a worry that many of the activities organised by civil society would not continue in the future. It was also felt that minorities were not participating in the traditional Swedish democratic way of life; their absence from participation in mainstream organisation was seen as an indicator that minorities were not Swedes according to the cultural citizenship model. The opinions on the municipality's initiative to strengthen and deepen the dialogue between politicians, civil servants and inhabitants were on the whole positive. However, some participants wanted the municipality not only to inform its citizens but also to engage more deeply with them.

The media's power of constructing and reproducing stereotypical images and representations of places and people is very visible in the case of Botkyrka, which is a highly stigmatised municipality. Northern Botkyrka and its minority population is associated with ghettos, crime, gangs, riots, poverty and difference, and this media image spills over into Botkyrka as a whole, thus affecting also the majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka. This may explain partly why many inhabitants in Southern Botkyrka self-identify with their places of residence rather than with the municipality as a whole, and may also explain the strong voter turnout for non-mainstream single-issue parties in the area and the support for the Tullinge Party's goal for Tullinge to secede from Botkyrka and become a municipality on its own.

The media obsession with Northern Botkyrka, which is present in popular culture and digital and social media, may for some young adults in Southern Botkyrka create feelings of invisibility for living in a part of Greater Stockholm that no one or very few know anything about, nor even where it is, while for others it could also create a kind of a counter-identification with the exotic cool of living in the odd municipality of Botkyrka. Almost all participants were critical of the local newspaper *Mitt i Botkyrka* which was accused of focusing on negative news from Botkyrka (again mainly Northern Botkyrka), while simultaneously almost all the participants praised the local newspaper *Södra Sidan* for its consciously local perspective and citizen-oriented journalism, as a way of countering the negative media portrayal of the municipality in the regional and national media.

Methodology

The report is based on individual interviews with 22 stakeholders and 12 focus group meetings, with a total of 70 local residents, and on a literature review of policy documents, reports and statistics.¹

The report covers the experiences and opinions of majority Swedes in relation to eight main themes: identity and belonging, education, employment, housing, health and social services, policing and security, civil and political participation, and the role of the media.²

Southern Botkyrka has a population of 44,447 residents as of 2011, most of whom are majority Swedes from all social classes. The results of the 2010 national, regional and local elections suggest that it is an important stronghold of new, populist and non-mainstream single-issue political parties in all Greater Stockholm.

The report uses the term “majority Swedes” to denote those who self-categorise themselves as belonging to the Swedish majority population regardless of whether they are Swedish-born or immigrants or descendants of immigrants from other Western countries. In principle, the term “majority Swedes”, which is neither a used nor an accepted designation in Sweden, is an open and negotiable category. In practice, it was up to the focus group participants to self-select themselves when they chose to take part in the study.

The term “majority Swedes” (*majoritetssvenskar*) rather than, for example, “white Swedes” was used when recruiting the participants for the focus groups and in the interviews also. Four focus groups were based on gender and age, and these meetings included discussions on all the themes mentioned above.

The recruitment of participants for the study was challenging and time-consuming. Participants were recruited through ads in local newspapers, on the internet and in social media, as well as through contacts with sports associations, senior citizens’ associations, churches, political parties, trade unions, tenants’ groups, and labour, young people’s and women’s organisations. Some participants were also recruited in the commercial centre in Tumba by direct contact with researchers asking individuals if they wanted to take part in the study. This somewhat unconventional method in the Swedish context nevertheless drew additional participants to the focus group meetings.

1 See Appendix 2 for a list of the interviewees.

2 See Chapters 4–11 of the report.

The 12 focus groups were held at Tumbascenen, a central venue in Tumba, from 2 April to 7 May 2013. All participants remain anonymous in this report. In terms of gender, 28 (40 per cent) of the focus group participants were women. Furthermore, 16 (30 per cent) were young adults below 30 years old; 32 (46 per cent) were working-class and lower-middle-class according to their stated professions and educational levels, and 34 (50 per cent) lived in the districts of Tumba and Storvreten which together make up the central part of Southern Botkyrka.

1

INTRODUCTION

This report is a part of a comparative policy-oriented study focusing on six cities in Europe titled “Europe’s White Working Class Communities”. This report is the Swedish contribution to the project, and consists of a study of the situation of majority Swedes in the Greater Stockholm district of Southern Botkyrka. This is an area in Botkyrka municipality in the southern part of Greater Stockholm, divided into four administrative areas: Tumba, Storstreten, Vårsta-Grödinge and Tullinge. It is here important to note that contrary to Northern Botkyrka Southern Botkyrka does not exist as a place name in itself which the inhabitants use or identify with.

The aim of the report is to shed light upon the situation of majority Swedes living in Southern Botkyrka with regard to the issue of social sustainability in an increasingly diverse Sweden, and in relation to the public policies of the municipality, the county and the government to meet future challenges, with a specific emphasis on addressing the increasing social, political and economic tensions between the majority population and the minorities.

This report focuses on the majority population in relation to how Swedishness is constructed and articulated, and it therefore offers new knowledge on how majority Swedes living in an increasingly diverse Greater Stockholm experience their lives and imagine their future. The report ends with a conclusion and a section with key findings and messages for improving policies to combat the threats to social sustainability which are identified in the report.

2

POPULATION AND DEMOGRAPHICS

Botkyrka is one of Sweden's 290 municipalities, and is geographically located in the southwestern part of Stockholm County (*Stockholms län*), which is one of 20 Swedish counties. Stockholm County covers the 26 municipalities that make up the capital region of Sweden known as Greater Stockholm (*Storstockholm*). Botkyrka municipality, which covers 224 km², is also a part of a wide urban area known as Söderort or Greater Southern Stockholm (*Södra Storstockholm*), and includes the municipalities of Haninge, Huddinge, Nacka, Nynäshamn, Salem, Södertälje and Tyresö, as well as the southern part of the municipality of Stockholm, usually known as Stockholm City (*Stockholms stad*).

The current population of Sweden stands at just over 9.6 million as of 2013, and that of Greater Stockholm is 2.1 million. The total proportion of people in Sweden having a foreign background either by being born abroad or by having one or two parents born abroad stands at around 30 per cent of the population, and about half of them has an origin in Europe and the rest in non-European countries. The population of Botkyrka stood at 86,657 in 2013, and is the 22nd-largest in Sweden and the fifth-largest in Greater Stockholm, after the municipalities of Stockholm (885,653 residents), Huddinge (101,360), Nacka (93,137) and Södertälje (89,990).³ The municipality has the fourth-fastest rate of population growth in Greater Stockholm.⁴ Botkyrka is also characterised by a high birth rate compared with the other municipalities in Greater Stockholm and the country as a whole, as well as by the fact that the annual number of new residents to the municipality, of which most are immigrants from abroad, exceeds the number of those who move out.

In 2010, Botkyrka became the municipality with the highest proportion of residents with a foreign background, at 53.2 per cent, of whom the majority has a non-European background. The term "immigrant" was officially discarded in 1999 and replaced with the term "foreign background" (*utländsk bakgrund*).⁵ People of "foreign background" is therefore the official term and statistical category in Sweden describing migrants and their children. The demographic category of foreign background includes all registered residents in Sweden regardless of citizenship who are either born abroad or who were born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents.⁶ (See section 4.1.)

Statistically Botkyrka thus surpassed the small municipality of Haparanda in northern Sweden with 50.3 per cent, which historically has been the most "foreign" municipality

3 For these numbers, see Statistics Sweden, "Befolkningsstatistik" (Population statistics), at http://www.scb.se/Pages/ProductTables____25795.aspx (accessed 16 May 2013).

4 After Stockholm, Nacka and Huddinge.

5 The term "immigrant" (*invandrare*) had in its turn replaced the term "foreigner" (*utlänning*) in 1969: Ministry of Culture, *Begreppet invandrare. Användningen i lagar och förordningar* (The term immigrant. The use in laws and regulations), Fritzes, Stockholm, 1999.

6 Statistics Sweden, *Personer med utländsk bakgrund. Riktlinjer för redovisning i statistiken* (Statistics on persons with foreign background. Guidelines and recommendations), Statistics Sweden, Örebro, 2002 (hereafter, Statistics Sweden, *Personer med utländsk bakgrund*).

in Sweden due to its close proximity to Finland.⁷ In other words, Botkyrka is the most diverse municipality in Sweden and the first municipality where the majority Swedish population is not the majority any more, but the biggest demographic segment among many minorities.⁸ Between 2010 and 2012 the proportion of residents with a foreign background increased to 55 per cent overall, and to 65 per cent among all children and youngsters (aged 0–18 years) in the municipality.⁹ Of the municipality's population, 38.9 per cent were born abroad and 17.3 per cent were foreign citizens, and the population with foreign background included close to 160 different countries of origin.

Migration is not new to Botkyrka. Since the 1960s it has been the municipality in Greater Stockholm with the highest rate of immigration, particularly from non-Western countries. In Sweden, Botkyrka is widely associated with non-Western immigration and non-white people.¹⁰ In the Greater Stockholm area, Botkyrka, together with the municipalities of Stockholm, Huddinge and Södertälje, receives the biggest number of newly arrived refugees and immigrants including unaccompanied refugee children from non-Western countries annually.

However, these figures for Botkyrka conceal the fact that most of this migration has been to the northern part of the municipality, Northern Botkyrka (*Norra Botkyrka*), which is spatially, administratively and historically as well as statistically and psychologically sharply separated from the southern part of Botkyrka, Southern Botkyrka (*Södra Botkyrka*), along both ethno-racial and socio-economic lines. Majority Swedes dominate as residents in the latter.

Botkyrka is also the poorest municipality in Greater Stockholm measured by income per head. It has the third-youngest population among all Swedish municipalities.¹¹ As many as 17.2 per cent of its inhabitants below 18 years are categorised as being poor, and this concerns 23.8 per cent of all children and youngsters with a foreign background and 6.1 per cent of all children and youngsters with a Swedish background.¹² However, it is highly probable that many third-generationers also are included within the 6.1 per cent, reflecting the fact that in contemporary Sweden

7 After Botkyrka and Haparanda, Södertälje (46.4 per cent) and Malmö (40.5 per cent) are the Swedish municipalities with the highest proportion of people with a foreign background among its population.

8 In absolute numbers, in total 1,797,889 residents in Sweden belonged to the foreign-background population in 2010, of whom 1,384,929 were foreign-born and 412,960 were Swedish-born with two parents born abroad. Of this foreign-background population 633,292 in all still had foreign citizenship. To generalise, minority Swedes are those who were born in or who have one or two parents from the three continents of Asia, Africa and South America. For detailed foreign-background population statistics, see Tobias Hübinette, *Den svenska utländsk bakgrund-befolkningen den 31 december 2011* (The Swedish foreign-background population 31 December 2011), Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 2012.

9 The municipality provided the statistics on Botkyrka.

10 A summary of Botkyrka's migration history can be found in Vendela Heurgren and Leif Magnusson (eds), *NoBo. Boken om Norra Botkyrka* (NoBo. The book about Northern Botkyrka), Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 2006.

11 See the public service company Swedish Television, "Finder" (*Pejl*), at <http://pejl.svt.se/stockholm/botkyrka> (accessed 5 June 2013).

12 The statistics on poverty among children and youngsters are taken from Tapio Salonen, *Barns ekonomiska utsatthet* (Children's economic vulnerability), Save the Children, Stockholm, 2012, p. 61.

poverty is extremely racialised, as nationwide 2.7 per cent of all majority-Swedish households with children are categorised as being poor compared with 40 per cent of all immigrant households with children born in Sweden.

While Southern Botkyrka has a longer urban history, going back to the construction of the mill town (*bruksort*) and the railway station Tumba in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively, and later on the English garden city of Tullinge founded a century ago, Northern Botkyrka was built as part of the government's Million Programme (*Miljonprogrammet*) which between 1965 and 1975 built 1 million housing units during the time of Swedish high modernity and under the governance of the Social Democrats. The urban development project of the Million Programme, which included high-rise buildings as well as terrace houses, was mainly for the benefit of the Swedish working class and lower middle class; however, the construction period coincided with a period of high labour immigration during the record years (*rekordåren*) of growth for the Swedish economy between 1950 and 1975.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the influx of foreign-born workers into the Swedish industry consisted of Nordic and European immigrants. As a predominantly working-class and industrial municipality, Botkyrka received labour migrants from countries like Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Spain and Germany. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s Turks and Turkish Kurds arrived as well as Christian minorities from Turkey, Syria and Lebanon. These groups settled mostly in the newly constructed Northern Botkyrka. From the 1970s other non-European, non-Protestant, non-white and non-Western migrant groups followed at a time when labour immigration was replaced by refugee immigration.

In addition to migration from Turkey, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, other notable minority populations in Botkyrka are Chileans, Colombians, Lebanese, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Filipinos, Chinese, Afghans, Moroccans, Indians, Iranians and Ethiopians, as well as Poles, Bosnians and Russians.¹³ From the 1980s and particularly from the 1990s non-Western immigration replaced European immigration, shaping Northern Botkyrka into an area heavily dominated by residents deriving from non-Western countries. As a consequence, the three administrative areas of Northern Botkyrka, Fittja, Alby and Hallunda-Norsberg, are among the most heavily racialised as well as proletarianised place names in all Sweden, turning up over and over again in the political debate, in the media and in cultural productions, including feature films, television dramas and pop songs, as urban spaces with Million Programme high-rise buildings made of concrete, and labelled and treated as immigrant areas and lower-class “ghettos”.¹⁴

13 The statistics on Botkyrka come from Tobias Hübinette, *Demografisk översikt över de 32 största invandrargrupperna i de 24 största kommunerna* (Demographic overview of the 32 biggest migrant groups in the 24 biggest municipalities), Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 2009.

14 This means that people who live outside Greater Stockholm and people who have not even visited Northern Botkyrka know about place names like Fittja and Alby and, above all, feel that they know that these urban districts are foreign, non-Swedish, non-white, dangerous and violent, as well as at times exotic, exciting and alluring.

In Northern Botkyrka over 65 per cent of the population has a foreign background, in some areas 90–95 per cent, and close to 70 per cent have a non-Western background.

Southern Botkyrka covers the southern part of Botkyrka municipality, which altogether had 44,447 inhabitants as of 2011. The area is divided between the administrative districts of Tumba, Storvreten, Vårsta-Grödinge and Tullinge.¹⁵ Tumba with 16,926 inhabitants is the central administrative district of the municipality itself and the historical origin of Botkyrka as a modern urban place; Storvreten with 6,428 inhabitants is the poorest part of Southern Botkyrka, having the highest concentration of low-income whites, although nowadays the area has a majority population with a foreign background and it is also a Million Programme district; Vårsta-Grödinge with 4,199 inhabitants is a countryside area and almost solely dominated by majority Swedes; and finally Tullinge with 16,894 inhabitants is the richest part of the municipality itself and is also strongly dominated by majority Swedes. Close to 25 per cent of the population in Southern Botkyrka has a foreign background. However, 60 per cent of those with a foreign background have Nordic, European and Western backgrounds, meaning that among those with a foreign origin in Southern Botkyrka the majority derives from Western countries where the population is largely white and Christian; those inhabitants who come from non-Western countries and who live in Southern Botkyrka are heavily concentrated in Storvreten.

Southern Botkyrka is in other words an urban district in Greater Stockholm dominated by majority Swedes. In terms of social class, it is a heterogeneous place, with Tumba as the prime example, with all social strata being represented among its population, from working-class residents in for example Tuna and Segersjö to high-income inhabitants in Uttran. Southern Botkyrka is neither poorer nor richer than any other urban district in Greater Stockholm. Rather, it represents the average in the capital region in terms of class, gender, income, education and so on. Instead, Southern Botkyrka distinguishes itself as being the most important incubator and stronghold for new single-issue populist parties in Greater Stockholm. According to the results in the national, regional and municipal elections of 2010 as many as a quarter of the votes cast in Southern Botkyrka supported three single-issue protest parties, the Tullinge Party (*Tullingepartiet*), the Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*) and the Botkyrka Party (*Botkyrkapartiet*).¹⁶

15 The municipality provided the statistics on Southern Botkyrka.

16 The election results are available at the Election Authority, “Tidigare val” (Previous elections), at http://www.val.se/tidigare_val (accessed 28 May 2013).

Here is a statistical overview from 2011 of the four districts of Southern Botkyrka.¹⁷

44,447	Total population
14,139	Foreign-background population (31.8%) (of the foreign-background population 27.8% derive from Europe, 22.9% from the Nordic countries 20.9% from Asia and 7.2% from Africa)
23.5%	Foreign-background population 0–15 years
26.2%	Foreign-background population above 65 years
25.2%	Single-parent households (of all households with children)
31.4%	Proportion of rented apartments
74%	Labour participation 20–64 years
3%	Official unemployment rate
SEK 287,000	Average annual income 20–64 years
82.5%	Qualification rate for upper secondary school education
34.1%	Post-upper secondary school education rate
19.8	Ill health index
5.7%	Votes for the Sweden Democrats in the parliamentary election 2010

TUMBA

16,926	Total population
5,762	Foreign-background population (34%) (of the foreign-background population 34.3% derive from Asia, 34% from Europe, 21.9% from the Nordic countries and 4.5% from Africa)
25.1%	Foreign-background population 0–15 years
26.1%	Foreign-background population above 65 years
23.5%	Single-parent households (of all households with children)
34.2%	Proportion of rented apartments
74%	Labour participation 20–64 years
2.8%	Official unemployment rate
SEK 284,000	Average annual income 20–64 years
82.5%	Qualification rate for upper secondary school education
32.3%	Post-upper secondary school education rate
1.6%	Social allowance rate
21.6	Ill health index
4.65–7.91%	Votes for the Sweden Democrats in the parliamentary election 2010 (7 constituencies)

¹⁷ The municipality provided the statistics on Southern Botkyrka.

STORVRETEN

6,428	Total population
3,852	Foreign-background population (59.9%) (of the foreign-background population 35.2% derive from Asia, 26.8% from Europe, 13.8% from Africa and 11.5% from the Nordic countries)
56.3%	Foreign-background population 0–15 years
39.2%	Foreign-background population above 65 years
43%	Single-parent households (of all households with children)
86.2%	Proportion of rented apartments
61%	Labour participation 20–64 years
6.4%	Official unemployment rate
SEK 197,000	Average annual income 20–64 years
68.9%	Qualification rate for upper secondary school education
22.8%	Post-upper secondary school education rate
4.2%	Social allowance rate
30	Ill health index
5.54–12.03%	Votes for the Sweden Democrats in the parliamentary election 2010 (3 constituencies)

VÅRSTA-GRÖDINGE

4,199	Total population
688	Foreign-background population (16.4%) (of the foreign-background population 44% derive from the Nordic countries, 27.8% from Europe, 15.8% from Asia and 3.3% from Africa)
9.2%	Foreign-background population 0–15 years
13.9%	Foreign-background population above 65 years
24.4%	Single parent households (of all households with children)
20.5%	Proportion of rented apartments
78%	Labour participation 20–64 years
2.7%	Official unemployment rate
SEK 295,000	Average annual income 20–64 years
82.2%	Qualification rate for upper secondary school education
27.2%	Post-upper secondary school education rate
0.7%	Social allowance rate
18.5	Ill health index
7.01–10.15%	Votes for the Sweden Democrats in the parliamentary election 2010 (2 constituencies)

TULLINGE

16,894	Total population
3,837	Foreign-background population (22.7%) (of the foreign-background population 32.3% derive from the Nordic countries, 27.6% from Europe, 24.4% from Asia and 5.1% from Africa)
12.6%	Foreign-background population 0–15 years
26.5%	Foreign-background population above 65 years
21.1%	Single parent households (of all households with children)
11.6%	Proportion of rented apartments
78%	Labour participation 20–64 years
1.9%	Official unemployment rate
SEK 324,000	Average annual income 20–64 years
88.4%	Qualification rate for upper secondary school education
42.7%	Post-upper secondary school education rate
0.9%	Social allowance rate
5.3	Ill health index
3.49–9.3%	Votes for the Sweden Democrats in the parliamentary election 2010 (7 constituencies)

3

CITY POLICY

Sweden has been a member of the European Union (EU) since 1995, but not of the Eurozone. In Sweden, national, county and municipal elections take place every four years.¹⁸ Botkyrka has always been a traditionally working-class lower-middle-class municipality, and a majority of its population therefore votes for the Socialist parliamentary parties and particularly the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*), commonly known as the Social Democrats, which ruled Sweden from the 1920s and up until 2006 except for the years 1976–1982 and 1991–1994. The Social Democrats have governed Botkyrka since the municipality was formed in 1971 except for the period 1991–1994. Since 2006 they have formed a coalition with the Left Party (*Vänsterpartiet*) which was previously the Swedish Communist Party, and with the Green Party (*Miljöpartiet*). The traditional opposition block in Botkyrka consists of the four Swedish historical centre-right parties.¹⁹

The municipal parliament (*kommunfullmäktige*) of Botkyrka consists of 61 elected councillors, and the municipal council (*kommunstyrelse*) of 13 members headed by a municipal commissioner (*kommunstyrelsens ordförande*), a deputy municipal commissioner (*kommunstyrelsens vice ordförande*) and a second deputy municipal commissioner (*kommunstyrelsens andre vice ordförande*). The ruling Social Democrats hold the first two positions, while the last position is held by a representative from the biggest opposition party, the Moderate Party (*Moderaterna*). Although there are several elected councillors with a foreign background in the municipal parliament, the composition of particularly the municipal council does not statistically reflect the diversity of the municipality's population, and especially not the inhabitants with a non-Western background.

Municipalities in Sweden have a great deal of local self-government (*kommunalt självstyre*) capacity in relation to the state and the county governments, including the right to decide on their own taxation rates (*kommunal beskattningsrätt*).²⁰ This means that political decisions and responsibilities as well as the policies that are put in place are highly localised throughout the country, from everything from the level of taxation to the governing political parties and regional traditions. So even if the national government as well as the Stockholm County administration is currently ruled by a coalition consisting of the four traditional centre-right parties, Botkyrka, which is ruled by the Social Democrats, still has much local autonomy.

18 The three elections always take place on the same date, traditionally on the second Sunday in September. The next national, regional and municipal elections will take place on 14 September 2014, and before them, there was the European Parliament election on 25 May 2014.

19 Namely the traditionally Conservative and nowadays mostly Neo-liberal Moderate Party (*Moderaterna*) with 21.6 per cent of the votes in the last municipal election, the traditionally Left-liberal Liberal People's Party (*Folkpartiet*) with 5.2 per cent, the Lutheran-dominated Christian Democrats (*Kristdemokraterna*) with 3.5 per cent, and the traditionally agrarian-based Centre Party (*Centerpartiet*) with 1.5 per cent, which failed to gain any seat in the last election.

20 For more information on how Sweden is governed, see Government Offices of Sweden, "How Sweden is governed", at <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/9395> (accessed 4 June 2013); Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, "Municipalities, county councils and regions", at http://english.skl.se/municipalities_county_councils_and_regions (accessed 3 June 2013).

On the other hand, since the 17th century Sweden has also at the same time been a heavily centralised nation-state, similar to France. This means that when national governments choose to intervene in certain areas of society, it usually has a strong impact also on a local level. Generally the county has primary responsibility for health-care services including dental care, as well as cultural policies, public transport and regional planning. However, for most residents the municipality is the public authority they have the most interaction with. The municipality has primary responsibility for social welfare and social services, elderly care and child care, schools and adult education, leisure centres and activities for children and youth, as well as public housing, public health policies, security issues and local employment issues.²¹ As more than two-thirds of the taxes go to the municipality, and as Botkyrka also has a higher taxation rate than the other Greater Stockholm municipalities, it is not surprising that the municipality is most directly associated with public services, including activities which in reality are under the governance of the state, such as policing, or the responsibility of the county, such as public transport.²²

Botkyrka municipality is organised according to seven submunicipal bodies which are known as administrations (*förvaltningar*): the municipal council administration (*Kommunledningsförvaltningen*), the education administration (*Utbildningsförvaltningen*), the care administration (*Vård- och omsorgsförvaltningen*), the culture and leisure administration (*Kultur- och fritidsförvaltningen*), the social services administration (*Socialförvaltningen*), the labour market and adult education administration (*Arbetsmarknads- och vuxenutbildningsförvaltningen*) and the sustainable development administration (*Samhällsbyggnadsförvaltningen*).²³ These are separate bodies from the municipal council itself. The municipality is also the owner of several companies and foundations, of which the most important is the public housing company Botkyrkabyggen which owns 12,000 apartment units, and where as much as one-third of the municipality's population lives.²⁴

Botkyrka residents report the most cases of discrimination per head, and proportionally it is the ninth-largest municipality in the country for registered hate crimes.²⁵ In 2010, Botkyrka adopted its own local policy for social sustainability and social equality called the intercultural strategy (*den interkulturella strategin*), with the purpose of combatting discrimination against minorities, increasing the representation of minorities at all levels of the municipal organisation, and improving

21 All in all, around two-thirds of the public services and activities in Sweden are municipal, and the municipalities employ altogether over 1 million people and own around 2,000 companies.

22 For an overview of the Swedish taxation system, see the Swedish Tax Agency, at <http://www.skatteverket.se/privat/skatter/arbeteinkomst/vadblirskatten/skattetabeller/kommunalskattesatsermmunder2013/omskattesatser.4.2b543913a42158acf800016728.html> (accessed 4 June 2013).

23 An overview of the administrative structure of Botkyrka municipality is available at <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/forvaltningarochbolag/kommunallabolagochstiftelser#> (accessed 4 June 2013).

24 Interview with Jan-Erik Sandh, Key Account Manager of Botkyrkabyggen, Tumba, 19 March 2013.

25 Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, *Hatbrott 2012. Statistik över självrapporterad utsatthet för hatbrott och polisanmälningar med identifierade hatbrottsmotiv* (Hate crimes 2012. Statistics on self-reported exposure to hate crimes and police reports with identified hate crime motives), Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, Stockholm, 2013, p. 202.

cohesion in a municipality that is sharply segregated between Northern and Southern Botkyrka.²⁶ At the moment of writing, this strategy which is inspired by a similar one in Barcelona, and which is targeted at both the majority and the minority populations, is on the verge of becoming implemented in all the municipal administrations and the whole municipal system of governance, so it is not clear yet how much it will influence and change the current situation in the municipality.

At the European and national level, Botkyrka has been bound to the Lisbon Treaty from 2000 and the Europe 2020 Strategy from 2010 as well as the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities from 2007 and other similar agreements, which all stress the vital importance of creating a society marked by social sustainability in the development of European cities, with a strong emphasis on labour market issues.²⁷ The Leipzig Charter specifically stresses the marginalisation of certain deprived urban areas as an issue which the EU countries' respective city policies must address specifically to be able to combat the increasing inequality divisions and segregation patterns.

Since 1996, Botkyrka has also been one of the prime target municipalities for national urban policy aimed at combatting the dramatically increased housing segregation and unemployment rate in certain areas in Sweden's big and medium-sized cities. This worrying development especially concerns the capital area and the two other big city areas of Greater Gothenburg (*Stor-Göteborg*) and Greater Malmö (*Stor-Malmö*). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has also repeatedly pointed out the lack of integration of migrants and their descendants into the Greater Stockholm labour market and the extreme residential segregation in Greater Stockholm along racial lines as being a serious threat to both future regional growth and future social sustainability in the Swedish capital region.²⁸

Between 1996 and 2006 the Social Democratic government implemented three different urban policy programmes and interventions. The three programmes—the Blomman Enterprise (*Blommansatsningen*), National Examples (*Nationella exempel*) and the Big City Enterprise (*Storstadssatsningen*)—involved several hundred millions SEK.²⁹ However, since 2006, when the current government coalition of four centre-

26 Botkyrka municipality, "Strategi för ett interkulturellt Botkyrka. 2010-05-12" (Strategy for an intercultural Botkyrka. 2010-05-12), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/SiteCollectionDocuments/Kommun%20och%20politik/Strategi%20för%20ett%20interkulturellt%20Botkyrka.pdf> (accessed 3 June 2013).

27 The Lisbon Treaty and its process are documented at http://europa.eu/lisbon_treaty/index_en.htm (accessed 3 June 2013); the EU 2020 Strategy is available at http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/index_en.htm (accessed 3 June 2013); the Leipzig Charter is available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/archive/themes/urban/leipzig_charter.pdf (accessed 3 June 2013).

28 See for example OECD, *Integrating distressed urban areas*, OECD, Paris, 1998; OECD and Stockholm County Administrative Board, Territorial reviews. Stockholm, Sverige, Stockholm County Administrative Board, Stockholm, 2006.

29 *Blomman*, meaning flower, was the nickname of the then Social Democratic Minister of Integration, Leif Blomberg (now deceased). An evaluation of the effects of these programmes in Botkyrka can be found in Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi, *Stora fiskar äter fortfarande små fiskar Helhetsutvärdering av storstadssatsningen i Botkyrka kommun* (Big fish are still eating small fish. A comprehensive evaluation of the Big City Enterprise in Botkyrka municipality), Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 2002.

right parties came to power, these programmes based on strong interventions and backed by relatively substantial economic funds have gradually been replaced by a non-interventionist *laissez-faire* policy. Thirty-eight urban districts in 21 municipalities signed local development agreements (*lokalt utvecklingsavtal*) with the government from 2007 onwards, which in turn provided the municipalities with specialised and updated statistics through the government body Statistics Sweden. The areas of Fittja, Alby and Hallunda-Norsborg, that is, the whole of Northern Botkyrka, were all involved initially, but from 2012 this list has been reduced to 15 urban areas in nine municipalities, excluding Botkyrka altogether. In the latest government budget for urban policy (2012) only SEK 2.5 million remains for a policy which in practice does not exist any more except for what is called knowledge exchange in the form of occasional seminars and conferences.³⁰

Since its initiation in the 1990s the focus of Swedish urban policy for ameliorating social exclusion, structural discrimination, residential segregation, unemployment and poverty has been on the urban areas which are dominated by migrants and their descendants, mostly having their origin in the non-Western world, and specifically labour market problems.³¹ These urban areas are socially excluded from the rest of the city in terms of high unemployment rates and are currently referred to as alienation areas (*utanförskapsområden*). This labelling has resulted in massive stigmatisation and demonisation of the areas and their inhabitants.³² More recently a number of policy reports have identified specific demographic groups such as children and young adults who have dropped out of school as being particularly at risk of “living in alienation” (*leva i utanförskap*), as it is called. This new group is either located in the alienation areas or in small industrial towns.³³

The general image of who is marginalised and where marginalisation is geographically located is therefore, as a consequence of these urban policies and labour market foci, firmly established among the Swedish population at large. For the vast majority it is a matter of “immigrants”, which in practice means non-whites regardless if they have immigrated to Sweden or if they have been born in the country, and about “immigrant areas” (*invandrарområden*) or simply “suburbs” (*förorter*), as they almost

30 For the 2012 budget, see the Government Offices of Sweden, at <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/15168> (accessed 4 June 2013). For a critical analysis of Sweden's urban policy from its start in 1996 to its demise after 2006, see Mikael Stigendal, “Segregation som blev utanförskap” (Segregation which became alienation), *Invandrare & Minoriteter* 39(1) (2012), pp. 5–9.

31 Roger Andersson, Åsa BråmÅ and Emma Holmqvist, “Counteracting segregation: Swedish policies and experiences”, *Housing Studies* 25(2) (2010), pp. 237–256.

32 Tobias Davidsson, “Utanförskapelsen. En diskursanalys av hur begreppet utanförskap artikulerades i den svenska riksdagsdebatten 2003–2006” (Alienation creation. A discourse analysis of how the concept of alienation was articulated in the parliamentary debate 2003–2006), *Socialvetenskaplig tidskrift* 17(2) (2010), pp. 149–169.

33 See for example Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, *Sveriges strategirapport för social trygghet och social delaktighet 2008–2010* (Sweden's strategy report for social security and social participation 2008–2010), Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, Stockholm, 2010; Ministry of Education and Research, *Ungdomar utanför gymnasieskolan—ett förtydligat ansvar för stat och kommun* (Youth outside upper secondary school—a clarified responsibility for state and municipality), Fritzes, Stockholm, 2013.

always relate to Million Programme areas on the outskirts of the historical city centres. Not surprisingly, this is also the dominant image in the contemporary political and media discourse as it is articulated in the continuous discussions on social exclusion, integration and marginalisation. In accordance with this, there is no formulated policy on majority Swedes who are—or who experience that they are—marginalised in some way or other, and the only occasion when majority Swedes are discussed in relation to social exclusion and poverty seems to be almost in a playful way, when the American English derogatory and colloquial term “white trash” is brought up in the media.³⁴

Botkyrka municipality also has a history of single-issue parties receiving a high proportion of votes, and this particularly concerns Southern Botkyrka as it is here that new parties have always gained the vast majority of their votes. As early as 1985 a local party called the Action Group against Flights at F18 (*Aktionsgruppen mot flyg på F18*) gained 13 per cent of the vote in the municipal election by protesting against the construction of a civil airport at the site of the old airforce base F18 in Riksten. The party stayed in the local parliament until 1991 when the airport plan was aborted and the party had achieved its goal. In the 1991 election, the populist and anti-immigration party New Democracy (*Ny demokrati*) gained two representatives in the municipality, which were subsequently lost in the next election (thereafter the party also dissolved). Furthermore, since 1991 the local Botkyrka Party which wants to split the municipality between Northern and Southern Botkyrka has gained between two and five representatives in every election. In 2006, another local dissent party called the Tullinge Party, which is solely based in the white upper-middle-class dominated area with the same name, gained one representative, a number which in the 2010 election increased to six, on a programme wanting to break out from the municipality and form an independent Tullinge municipality. A central part of their argument is that the inhabitants in Tullinge have no “natural relations” with the minority population in Northern Botkyrka and therefore do not want their tax money to be distributed to them.

In 2010, the Sweden Democrats gained three representatives on an ethno-nationalistic anti-immigration programme.³⁵ The Sweden Democrats also gained 15–25 per cent of the votes in all school elections in Southern Botkyrka, indicating that among white youngsters there is a growing and strong radical strand of anti-immigration sentiment.³⁶ Altogether, this means that currently even if the Social Democrats still

34 See for example Kristina Edblom, “De är stämpade som white trash” (They are stamped as white trash), *Aftonbladet*, 4 November 2012, pp. 24–25. For a background to the concept itself, see John Hartigan, Jr, “Who are these white people? ‘Rednecks’, ‘Hillbillies’, and “white trash” as marked racial subjects”, in Ashley “Woody” Doane and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (eds), *White out. The continuing significance of racism*, Routledge, New York, 2003, pp. 95–111.

35 Most of its votes came from Bremora and Grödinge constituencies, Tuna and Segersjö in Tumba, i Tullingeberg in Tullinge, and East Storvreten.

36 School elections are held at schools among pupils who are not yet 18 years old and therefore not eligible to vote, at the same time as ordinary elections take place. The Sweden Democrats call themselves Social Conservative and Nationalistic. For an overview of the far right and of the National Socialist movement in Botkyrka, see Tobias Hübinette, *Väldsam extremism och Botkyrka kommun. En nulägesrapport* (Violent extremism and Botkyrka municipality. A situation analysis), Botkyrka municipality, Tumba, 2012.

govern the municipality after the last election in 2010, receiving 36.2 per cent of the votes and in coalition with the Left Party (6.6 per cent) and the Green Party (7.1 per cent), an anti-immigration rhetoric has a strong foothold in Botkyrka, with almost 5 per cent voting for the radical Sweden Democrats in the national parliament election and 4 per cent in the municipality election, and with 10 per cent or more in the three Southern Botkyrka constituencies of Old Tullingeberg, Vårsta Centre/Bremora and East Storvreten, while the Botkyrka Party received 3.3 per cent and the Tullinge Party 10.5 per cent in Southern Botkyrka and locally in Tullinge as much as 40–48 per cent of the votes cast. As the Sweden Democrats, the Tullinge Party and the Botkyrka Party together received around 25 per cent of all votes in Southern Botkyrka, the district can be seen to be the leading stronghold for populist single-issue dissent parties in the whole of Greater Stockholm.

4

IDENTITY AND BELONGING

The first part of this chapter introduces the concept of majority Swedes and other related terms that are being used in contemporary Sweden in relation to Swedishness and whiteness, and the second part accounts for how participants in the study talk about their situation as majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka.

4.1 | BEING A MAJORITY SWEDE: TERMS AND CATEGORIES

In contemporary Sweden, there is no official or socially accepted terminology to talk about race and Swedishness at the governmental level, in academia or among the general public. Sweden is arguably one of the most colour-blind societies in the world: it is the only state that has abolished the word “race” from official language through a parliamentary and governmental decision in 2001, and race was consequently removed as a ground for discrimination in 2009.³⁷ This has resulted in the disappearance of the word on the official public level as well as in legislation, official texts, academia and the media.³⁸ Colour-blindness in the Swedish contemporary context means that for many Swedes it is even difficult to utter the word “race” in everyday speech, and it is equally uncomfortable to talk about white and non-white Swedes.

One consequence of the disappearance of the word “race”, especially for the minorities at risk of being discriminated against, is that the term is often translated into Swedish as “ethnicity” or “culture”, sometimes also in connection with international agreements aimed at tackling racism such as the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the EU Racial Equality Directive and similar anti-discrimination charters.³⁹ Not surprisingly this makes the wordings of such normative documents both confusing and difficult to adhere to.⁴⁰

In accordance with this, the terms “majority Swedes” and “white Swedes” are seldom used in contemporary Swedish language, either on an official or on an everyday level, due to this deeply ingrained and institutionalised colour-blindness, which means that

37 Discrimination Act, at <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/11/59/03/0e63b92f.pdf> (accessed 22 September 2013).

38 Tobias Hübinette and Catrin Lundström, “Sweden after the recent election: The double-binding power of Swedish whiteness through the mourning of the loss of ‘old Sweden’ and the passing of ‘good Sweden’”, *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 19(1) (2011), pp. 42–52; Sayaka Osanami Törngren, *Love ain’t got no color? Attitude toward interracial marriage in Sweden*, Malmö University College, Malmö, 2011.

39 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, at <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx> (accessed 22 September 2013). The EU Racial Equality Directive or the Council Directive implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin is available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:en:HTML> (accessed 22 September 2013).

40 Yamam al-Zubaidi, *Statistikens roll i arbetet mot diskriminering—en fråga om strategi och trovärdighet* (The role of statistics in the work against discrimination—a question of strategy and credibility), Equality Ombudsman, Stockholm, 2012.

anything related to race and whiteness is difficult to talk about in Sweden.

Instead, the term that is used to name majority Swedes in colloquial speech is either simply “Swedes” (*svenskar*), thereby implying that only people can be Swedes, or “ethnic Swedes” (*etniska svenskar*), even if ethnicity in a non-Swedish and English-speaking context usually denotes culture, religion, language and so on, as opposed to the term “race”, which is usually reserved for bodily markers and aspects of appearance. In practice, this means that “ethnic Swedes” means white majority Swedes, who are also usually expected to speak Swedish and be at least culturally Christian.⁴¹ This also suggests that citizenship alone does not decide who is a Swede except strictly legally. Instead, together with this racial blood- and kinship-based aspect of being Swedish, cultural citizenship is more important than legal citizenship when deciding who is a Swede or not.⁴² The conflation and collapse between race and ethnicity in contemporary Sweden is therefore also an expression of the relationship between Swedishness and whiteness, even though whiteness does not always have to mean white bodies per se, as it is often rather a matter of performing whiteness. This means that adopted and mixed Swedes of colour sometimes also can pass as majority Swedes.

The “ethnic Swede” term stands in opposition to the term “immigrant” (*invandrare*). “Immigrant” is the most common term that white majority-Swedish population uses to denote someone who is not white. “Immigrant” also normally denotes a non-white person regardless of her or his migration background or citizenship status. This means that non-white Swedes who are second- or third-generation, that is those whose parents or grandparents immigrated to Sweden, along with non-white adoptees and Swedes of mixed heritage, who are almost always Swedish citizens, are sometimes called “immigrants”, and may also occasionally refer to themselves as “immigrants”. At the same time, white immigrants and their children and descendants are rarely called immigrants at all, at least not in ordinary speech. In other words, in everyday discussions on Swedishness, the Swedish population is divided between two groups—Swedes and immigrants—but in practice this is often a euphemism for white and non-white Swedes.

To complicate matters even more, the term “immigrant” was replaced in 1999 by a term that refers to people of a foreign background (*utländsk bakgrund*).⁴³ “Foreign background” is therefore the official term and statistical category in Sweden to denote

41 Catrin Lundström, “Concrete bodies: Young Latina women transgressing the boundaries of race and class in white inner-city Stockholm”, *Gender, Place and Culture* 17(2), pp. 151–167.

42 Katarina Mattsson, “Diskrimineringens andra ansikte – svenskhet och ‘det vita västerländska’” (The other face of discrimination – Swedishness and the white Western), in Paulina de los Reyes and Masoud Kamali (eds), *Bortom Vi och Dom. Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering* (Beyond we and them. Theoretical reflections on power, integration and structural discrimination), SOU 2005: 41, Fritzes, Stockholm, 2005, pp. 139–157; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and nation*, Sage, London, 1997 (hereafter, Yuval-Davis, *Gender and nation*).

43 The term “foreigner” (*utlänning*) had in its turn been replaced by the term “immigrant” (*invandrare*) in 1969: Ministry of Culture, *Begreppet invandrare. Användningen i lagar och förordningar* (The term immigrant. The use in laws and regulations), Fritzes, Stockholm, 1999.

migrants and their children.⁴⁴ The opposite official category to “foreign background” is “Swedish background” (*svensk bakgrund*), which includes everyone who is born in Sweden with at least one parent who was born in Sweden. This last category also includes many of those who belong to Sweden’s five official national minorities: the Tornedalians, the Swedish Finns, the Sami, Jews and Roma people. In practice, the category of Swedish background includes both mixed Swedes and the third generation as well.⁴⁵ As the foreign-background category is solely based on having another registered birth country and thereby having a migrant background, it disregards ethnic-minority status, race, language, religion and nationality, as no element of self-identification is practised in Sweden in the population register.⁴⁶

All this means that when the term “majority Swedes” is used in this report, it represents an interpretation of the language used by the informants, who did not label themselves as majority Swedes or as white Swedes, and seldom even as ethnic Swedes, and simply talked about themselves as Swedes, implicitly meaning white Swedes.

4.2 | EXPERIENCES OF MAJORITY SWEDES IN THE CITY

The present study stated in its call for participants that only majority Swedes living in Southern Botkyrka could be involved in the focus groups. Some participants also used the self-designations “pure Swede” (*pursvensk*), “archetypical Swede” (*ursvensk*) and “original Swede” (*originalsvensk*), which are all less common than the term “ethnic Swede”.

Furthermore, all of the participants spoke Swedish fluently, sometimes in the form of another dialect than the Greater Stockholm one, as some had moved to the city from other parts of the country. Several participants also had their origins in other Nordic, European and Western countries either by being born abroad themselves or, which was more common, one or even two generations back.

44 Statistics Sweden, *Personer med utländsk bakgrund*.

45 Although mixed Swedes, that is those born with one foreign-born and one Swedish-born parent, were excluded from the foreign-background category when it was introduced in 1999, they are still sometimes included in official statistical reports, while foreign-born adopted Swedes are sometimes excluded from the foreign-background category and sometimes not. Nevertheless, in spite of these two official categories of foreign and Swedish backgrounds, which are operationalised in national statistics and at governmental and official levels, being white means being Swedish, as the conceptual difference between race and ethnicity has collapsed, and as whiteness and Swedishness have coalesced. Equally to be non-white is to be an immigrant, and in the longer run to be foreign and to be non-Swedish. Besides this sharp dichotomy according to race it is also difficult to be Swedish and something else at the same time without becoming less Swedish, which means that hyphenated group terms such as “Swedish-Chinese” or “Swedish-Turks” are little used in today’s Sweden.

46 This also means that sovereign states as well as territories and colonies that have been dissolved and that have disappeared throughout modern history are still counted in Swedish statistics, and are still turning up in the Swedish population register, such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

No particular gender difference was discernible in the focus group meetings in relation to the issue of belonging, identity and Swedishness. However, male participants referred to interactions with and opinions on the minorities in Northern Botkyrka more frequently and also more explicitly than the female participants. The focus group discussions also revealed some differences across age. Elderly participants identified themselves with a more ethno-racially homogenous Greater Stockholm, while today's multicultural and multiracial Sweden was more or less the norm for the young participants, and they were also generally more oriented towards the world outside Sweden than the older focus group participants.

None of the participants said that they did not feel at home and that they did not belong to Sweden, to Greater Stockholm or to Southern Botkyrka. The inhabitants of Southern Botkyrka mainly relate to the districts and the neighbourhoods where they are living. One reflection of this tendency is that in the 2012 citizens' poll, 57 per cent of the respondents answered that Botkyrka was a good place to live in, and 64 per cent agreed to the statement: "I can recommend a friend to move to my neighbourhood."⁴⁷ The strongest sense of belonging to a certain area in Southern Botkyrka was expressed by those who live in Grödinge. This is the most homogenous part of Botkyrka, and it was an independent municipality until 1971 when it was incorporated into Botkyrka. Together with two other homogenous areas, namely Tullinge and Uttran, Grödinge is also associated with being a secure and safe area, and thus, according to one participant, with being a sustainable area.

*Grödinge, old Tullinge, Uttran, can be a foundational structure which is sustainable. The areas that have developed within the last 30 years – not the same foundational security there.*⁴⁸

A particularly strong sense of belonging to their area was expressed by those who live in Storröten, which is the main Million Programme area in Southern Botkyrka, having the most heterogeneous population; by those who live in Uttran, which is an affluent neighbourhood in Tumba; and last but not least by those who live in the garden city of Tullinge, which is the richest part of Southern Botkyrka. One young woman who identified herself as belonging to the Sweden Finnish minority expressed the inhabitants' strong sense of belonging to Tullinge in the following way.

*It doesn't feel as if Tullinge residents identify with Botkyrka. Maybe they are ashamed a bit.*⁴⁹

47 Botkyrka municipality, "Medborgarundersökning 2012. Botkyrka kommun, januari 2013" (Citizens' poll 2012. Botkyrka municipality, January 2013), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/ombotkyrka/medborgarundersokning/Sidor/default.aspx> (accessed 30 May 2013) (hereafter, Botkyrka municipality, "Medborgarundersökning 2012").

48 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

49 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

The informant was referring to the local Tullinge Party which with a support base of 40–50 per cent in the 2010 municipal election is demanding that Tullinge should secede from Botkyrka and become its own municipality. The party argues that the residents of Tullinge are paying too much tax, which is said to be spent on the deprived minority areas in Northern Botkyrka instead of benefiting the Tullinge residents themselves.⁵⁰ This kind of sentiment and myth seems to be widespread among the majority population in Southern Botkyrka in general, and the municipality has therefore recently launched a myth-busting campaign (*antirykteskampanj*), according to a model used in Barcelona in Spain. Myth-busting agents (*antiryktesagenter*), who will be educated on how to combat myths, are expected to counter the myths which particularly concern the minority population in Northern Botkyrka. These agents will be trained to respond to inaccurate or misleading information about minorities by providing factual and up-to-date information.⁵¹

The same informant was also referring to a common lack of identification with Botkyrka as a place name among not just the Tullinge residents, but among many inhabitants in Southern Botkyrka. This is caused by the negative and heavily racialised image of Northern Botkyrka outside the municipality, which spills over to Southern Botkyrka and often results in feelings of shame about being a Botkyrka resident, and may explain why many of the participants in the focus groups preferred to identify with their local areas than with the municipality, by calling themselves, for example, Tumba residents or Grödinge residents. Some even stated that they never tell people outside the municipality that they live in Botkyrka at all as they are conscious of the negative image of Botkyrka.⁵²

The participants were generally reluctant to explicitly address the question of what it meant to be a Swede. Instead, this issue was indirectly addressed through their willingness to discuss “the others” (*“de andra”* or simply *“dom”*) who were not always named, but they were almost always geographically located in Northern Botkyrka, and if they named them, they called them immigrants or just those who lived in, for example, Fittja, Alby or Hallunda-Norsborg. The residents in Northern Botkyrka were not always explicitly racialised, nor was religion brought up more than a few times. Instead the general feeling of distance among the participants towards the minority population in Northern Botkyrka was mainly expressed with references to culture and language. For example, one focus group participant commented negatively on the support that is given to minorities’ languages:

*If you come to Sweden, Sweden should not put a lot of resources for immigrants so that they can keep their culture and all that, including home language classes. Instead in Sweden there are certain requirements, and you have to be open about them.*⁵³

50 See the Tullinge Party, at <http://www.tullingepartiet.se> (accessed 13 June 2013).

51 See a description of the Barcelona model at http://citiesofmigration.ca/good_idea/fighting-fiction-with-facts-the-bcn-anti-rumour-campaign/ (accessed 12 May 2014).

52 For the image of Botkyrka in the media, see Chapter 11.

53 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

Since 1977 due to the home language reform (*hemspråksreformen*), immigrants and their children as well as any minority person speaking a language other than Swedish at home have had the right to receive extra-curriculum lessons in their mother tongue.⁵⁴ At the beginning this right was perceived as being both unique and radical for Sweden in the 1970s discourse of multiculturalism and minority rights, but nowadays it is mainly representatives from the Far Right who characterise it as an impediment to integration. Beyond language, the above participant's reference to "certain requirements" also mirrors an opinion that immigrants and minorities must learn Swedish values and in the end become like majority Swedes. This way of articulating the difference between the majority and the minorities through language (as well as through culture) is in line with the dominant integration discourse in Sweden as well as in many other Western countries.⁵⁵

*We have language problems, there are so many languages at work. Yes, we have language problems, and therefore we have to put the resources towards language education in Swedish.*⁵⁶

The dominant tendency among the participants in the focus groups when they talked about the others, regardless of political views, was to put all the blame on them for the extreme segregation pattern in both Botkyrka and Greater Stockholm in general. Arguments and comments that were put forward were, for example, that the minorities do not want to socialise with Swedes, and that they are isolating themselves:

*It is difficult to get to the immigrants. They don't want to be involved. They cannot blame us. They don't want to learn Swedish.*⁵⁷

The minorities, for example Roma people or Muslims, were also accused of marking themselves too visibly in public space, by dressing differently or by eating food that is too different from what is considered to be Swedish food. They were also said to be fighting too much among themselves by bringing conflicts from their countries of origin with them to Sweden.

*Gypsies, who dress in weird clothes, and then they get surprised when one reacts. One has to strive for integrating oneself in the group.*⁵⁸

Another tendency of the participants was to distance themselves from negative comments about immigrants and to claim that it was other majority Swedes who were

54 Veli Tuomela, *Modersmålsundervisningen—en forskningsöversikt* (Mother tongue education—a research overview), National Agency for Education, Stockholm, 2002.

55 Tommaso Milani and Rickard Jonsson, "Who's afraid of Rinkeby Swedish? Public debates and school practices", *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 22(1) (2012), pp. 44–63.

56 Comments from two participants in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

57 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 7: Civil and political participation, Tumba, 22 April 2013.

58 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 12: Older men aged 45 and over, Tumba, 2 May 2013.

saying or thinking like this about immigrants. Through this strategy participants made it clear that they themselves were not against minorities, and above all that they were not racist. However, after having declared themselves to be anti-racist or at least non-racist, the very same participants were able to express similar opinions and views. This paradox of being anti-racist but also uncomfortable with multicultural diversity reflects findings in attitudinal studies which show that Swedes are the most tolerant people in the world in terms of being self-declared anti-racist, which means that the vast majority of Swedes see themselves as being tolerant, open-minded and non-racist, while at the same time 80–85 per cent seldom or never socialise with people from non-European countries.⁵⁹ This means that to declare oneself and to identify oneself as being anti-racist is an integrated part of Swedish identity and of Swedishness itself. In the focus groups there was therefore only a minority expressing strong and explicit negative opinions on minorities and on Northern Botkyrka, and there were always other participants who challenged such opinions.

All this implies that the majority of the focus group participants did not feel at home in Northern Botkyrka and in similar areas in Greater Stockholm where most residents are non-white and not integrated enough. There was, however, an exception to this: the minority population in Storvreten.

*Storvreten is also like a neighbourhood in Northern Botkyrka, but there haven't been so many problems there.*⁶⁰

In other words the minority population in Storvreten was not perceived to be as different as the one in Northern Botkyrka, and several of the focus group participants also lived or had lived in Storvreten. Tumba, the central area in Southern Botkyrka, was also perceived to be relatively mixed, but again the immigrants there were said to be integrated and thereby acceptable.

*Half of my street in Tumba is from the whole world, but it doesn't matter. Many of them have climbed up to the middle class, but they can still have their parents in Northern Botkyrka.*⁶¹

Several participants referred to affluent non-white families that had moved into the Uttran area in Tumba, a white high-income area, where they had built houses that were considered un-Swedish and vulgar. These houses are reminiscent of the colonial-style architecture that was introduced by European settlers in non-European colonies. In the focus group, some of the young male majority Swedes referred to these houses

59 Max Fisher, "A fascinating map of the world's most and least racially tolerant countries", *Washington Post*, 15 May 2013, at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/05/15/a-fascinating-map-of-the-worlds-most-and-least-racially-tolerant-countries> (accessed 23 June 2013); Charlotte Levay, *Framtida utmaningar för sammanhållning och rättvisa* (Future challenges for cohesion and justice), Fritzes, Stockholm, 2013, pp. 73–85.

60 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

61 Interview with Beyron Ahxner, security coordinator, Botkyrka municipality, Tumba, 26 March 2013.

as pizza palaces (*pizzapalats*); this is a racialised reference to the fact that most pizza restaurants and similar fast-food places in Sweden today are run by non-whites, and implies that these families are said to have become rich by owning pizza restaurants. The pejorative description of these properties, which implies that even if non-majority Swedes become as rich as some majority Swedes and start to move into the latter's neighbourhoods, they will not belong or fit in unless they live in houses that are not too different, suggests that they will continue to be "other-ised" and be regarded as not belonging to the area, the city or the country itself. In other words, making money does not always make you middle-class as a minority person; there are also issues of taste and cultural preferences.

There was generally quite a strong sense of intolerance among the participants of those differences that are perceived to be non-Swedish, non-Nordic, non-European or non-Western, but neighbours and colleagues were better accepted.

Finally, as there were hardly any explicit references in the focus group discussions to what it means to be a majority Swede, it is worth mentioning that there is one previous study of white Swedes living in a non-white area, a situation that is applicable to at least the western part of Storvreten. In an ethnographic study of Swedishness in a diverse neighbourhood in Greater Stockholm and where the number and proportion of white Swedes are small, the ethnologist Maria Bäckman found that Swedishness in the Million Programme is something that you sometimes distance yourself from, and something that those who characterise themselves as Swedes sometimes choose to hide or under-communicate.⁶² Some of the white teenage girls that Bäckman followed developed different strategies to under-communicate their Swedishness, or more accurately their whiteness. For instance, they might dye their hair dark in order to fit in more easily among the non-white population in the neighbourhood, and in order to avoid the negative stereotype of the stupid white blonde girl. In the suburb where Maria Bäckman conducted her fieldwork, Swedishness was not only an ethnic category among others like being a Turk or an Iranian, but Swedishness or whiteness was also associated with negative characteristics like alcoholism, racism and a general lack of norms.

62 Maria Bäckman, *Miljonsvinnar. Omstridda platser och identiteter* (Million Swedes. Contested places and identities), Makadam, Göteborg, 2009.

5

EDUCATION

5.1 | EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF MAJORITY SWEDISH PUPILS

Education is the responsibility of municipalities. It is compulsory for all children resident in Sweden aged 7–16 (these comprehensive schools are called *grundskola*). It is optional from the age of six (so-called *sexårsverksamhet*), although in reality almost all children enter the school system from that age.⁶³ Municipalities are also obliged to offer pre-school (*förskola*) from age one. After the age of 16 everyone who has completed compulsory school is entitled to a three-year upper-secondary school education (*upper secondary school*). Although this is not compulsory, it is in reality needed in order to get employment as a young adult, and therefore around 90 per cent of children choose to enter upper-secondary school, and those who do not are mainly those who have failed at the lower level, including those who have dropped out of school.⁶⁴ The total labour participation rate among those who only go through compulsory school, as well as those who only go through upper-secondary school, has also decreased substantially since 1980, from 80 per cent to no more than 35 per cent and from 80–90 per cent to 55–60 per cent respectively.⁶⁵

From pre-school to upper-secondary school, there are both municipal (*kommunal skola*) and independent private schools (*friskola*), all funded by taxation. As funding is based on the number of pupils a school has, all schools compete for pupils. Since the deregulation of the Swedish school system in 1992, parents can choose which school they want their children to attend. Before 1992 and the introduction of free choice (*fria skolvalet*), with the exception of just a handful of historic boarding schools primarily attended by the children of the Swedish elite, practically all Swedish children were placed in schools that were geographically located in their vicinity, regardless of both socio-economic and ethnic background. Research suggests that deregulation has led to an extreme segregation of pupils and schools on the basis of class and race, in the sense that the “best” and most popular schools are dominated by white pupils from middle-class backgrounds, normally located in the historic inner city; this development is particularly evident in the capital region.⁶⁶

Students who have completed upper-secondary school according to the standardised grade requirements are able to attend universities and university colleges for between three and five years or pursue higher vocational education targeted at specific sections of

63 For an introduction to the Swedish school system, see the Swedish National Agency for Education, “The Swedish education system”, at http://www.skolverket.se/om-skolverket/om-oss/in_english/the_swedish_education_system (accessed 5 June 2013).

64 Swedish National Agency for Education, “Alltför många obehöriga till gymnasieskolan” (Too many not entitled to the upper secondary school), press release, 23 August 2012, at <http://www.skolverket.se/press/pressmeddelanden/2012/alltfor-manga-obeoriga-till-gymnasieskolan-1.176477> (accessed 5 June 2013).

65 Carl le Grand, Ryszard Szulkin and Michael Tählin, *Education and inequality in Sweden: A literature review*, Stockholm University, Stockholm, 2005.

66 Nihad Bunar and Jenny Kallstenius, *Valfrihet, integration och segregation i Stockholms grundskolor* (Freedom of choice, integration and segregation in Stockholm’s compulsory schools), Stockholm City, Stockholm, 2007.

the labour market. Around 15 per cent of each cohort of students each year is, however, not eligible for university studies. Again, these statistics show sharp differences based on race, class and gender. For example, of all young adults who were born in 1987 and who were at the age of 24 in 2011, 44 per cent studied at a university. However, when these data are disaggregated by gender, we see that within this cohort 52 per cent of the women were eligible to attend university compared with just 36 per cent of the men.⁶⁷ Of course, not everyone who is eligible for university studies goes to university, and not everyone who studies at university comes out with full examination results.

In Greater Stockholm, the proportion of young adults born in 1987 who studied at a university in 2011 was as high as 48 per cent, but the differences between the municipalities as well as between schools and urban districts are enormous. For example, the figure in the wealthy municipality of Danderyd was 76 per cent and in it was Botkyrka 41 per cent. The dramatically increasing disparity in educational achievements between different demographic groups is one of the chief areas of educational research that is working on understanding the consequences of the liberalisation of the educational system and the concomitant segregation that has followed deregulation.⁶⁸

In Botkyrka municipality as a whole, in 2011 83 per cent of the compulsory-school pupils were eligible for upper-secondary school and 63 per cent of the pupils who left upper-secondary school were eligible for university studies. In other words, over 15 per cent of the compulsory-school pupils did not have a complete upper-secondary school eligibility (*gymnasiebehörighet*) and one out of three did not have full university eligibility (*högskolebehörighet*). If the figures only include pupils attending the three upper-secondary schools located in the municipality (excluding those who commute to other schools outside Botkyrka), the proportion eligible for university studies goes up to 79 per cent.⁶⁹ Among those who had fulfilled the upper-secondary school requirements, 66 per cent had gone through an academic programme (*studieinriktade program*), while 34 per cent had chosen a vocational training programme (*yrkesinriktade program*), compared with 49 per cent and 51 per cent respectively on a national level and 91 per cent and 9 per cent respectively in Danderyd municipality.⁷⁰ This means that in Botkyrka a higher proportion of pupils take an academic

67 National Agency for Higher Education, "44 procent av en årskull har påbörjat högskolestudier vid 24 års ålder" (44 per cent of a birth cohort has started university studies at the age of 24), statistical analysis 2012-09-11, at <http://www.hsv.se/download/18.485f1ec213870b672a680003474/statistisk-analys-andel-hogskolan-10-2012.pdf> (accessed 5 June 2013).

68 See for example Nihad Bunar, *När marknaden kom till förorten. Valfrihet, konkurrens och symboliskt kapital i mångkulturella områdens skolor* (When the market came to the suburb. Freedom of choice, competition and symbolic capital in schools in multicultural areas), Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2009.

69 Botkyrka municipality, *Årsrapport. Hållbar utveckling med fokus på mänskliga rättigheter 2011* (Annual report. Sustainable development with a focus on human rights 2011), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/SiteCollectionDocuments/Kommun%20och%20politik/Årsrapport%20mänskliga%20rättigheter%202012.pdf> (accessed 5 June 2013).

70 Stockholm County Administrative Board, *Stockholms studenter—flest, bäst och sämst* (Stockholm's students—most, best and worst), Report 2012: 1, at <http://www.lansstyrelsen.se/stockholm/SiteCollectionDocuments/Sv/publikationer/2012/nutid-o-framtid-2012/Gymnasieskola-nutid-o-framtid-1-2012.pdf> (accessed 5 June 2013).

programme than the Swedish national average, but not as high as in the wealthier municipalities.

There are huge differences between the schools in Botkyrka, that is, between Northern and Southern Botkyrka, and therefore also between minority and majority pupils. In almost all schools in Southern Botkyrka the proportion of pupils who were eligible for upper-secondary school education in 2012 was close to 100 per cent, except for Storvreten school in Storvreten (62 per cent), where a majority of the pupils had a foreign background, and Tuna school (84.1 per cent) and Broängen school (86.4 per cent) in Tumba, all schools in Southern Botkyrka with substantial numbers of minority pupils. These proportions can be compared with Fittja school in Fittja with only 67.9 per cent eligible for upper-secondary school education, a school in Northern Botkyrka where 95–100 per cent of the pupils had foreign backgrounds.⁷¹ Here it must also be mentioned that the foreign-background category contains newly arrived immigrants as well as those born in Sweden with two foreign-born parents, meaning that there is a high level of heterogeneity, something which affects the school results in different ways.

As there are no statistics on race in Sweden, it is not possible to pinpoint the proportion of disadvantaged majority Swedish pupils in schools in relation to, for example, dropout rates and educational levels of girls compared with boys, nor can one say anything on admissions policies in schools and initiatives taken by schools in response to the needs of disadvantaged majority Swedes. The statistics do indicate, however, that over 90 per cent of majority Swedes in Tumba, Vårsta-Grödinge and Tullinge in Southern Botkyrka (with a small difference between the sexes), are able to achieve the requirements of the Swedish school system that make most of them eligible both for upper-secondary education and university education, though this does not mean that all majority Swedish pupils are going through the educational system without any problems.⁷²

5.2 | EXPERIENCES OF MAJORITY SWEDISH PUPILS IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The educational system, schools, children and young people, and the municipality were frequently brought up both in the stakeholder interviews and in the focus groups. The discussions focussed on the distribution of economic resources; parents raised questions about the amount of tax money that is spent on their neighbourhoods,

71 See the list "Så många är behöriga" (So many are eligible), *Dagens Nyheter*, 8 November 2013, at <http://www.dn.se/nyheter/sverige/sa-manga-ar-behoriga-skola-for-skola> (accessed 11 November 2012). Detailed statistics on all 32 schools in Botkyrka can be found at Swedish Television, section "Finder" (*Pejl*), at <http://pejl.svt.se/skola/lista/?kommun=0127> (accessed 5 June 2013).

72 These statistics on majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka derive from Statistics Sweden as of 2011.

their schools and their children.⁷³ Most wanted a maximum ratio of the number of pupils and teachers in a school. They believed that maintaining this was crucial to educational quality in Sweden. There was a fear that this situation would change in the future with a shrinking public funding budget.

Civil servants interviewed for this study described the parents in Southern Botkyrka in general as being very resourceful and highly engaged, to the point that some felt some were too demanding.⁷⁴

Residents in Southern Botkyrka, particularly parents, were aware that the schools in Northern Botkyrka receive more public funding per pupil compared with Southern Botkyrka.⁷⁵ Most understood the rationale for the increased funding, but they nevertheless felt that it had unfair consequences for their own children. The knowledge that there is extra funding for schools in the north can lead to parents in the south assuming that any differences between the schools are due to more favourable funding of schools in the north, when in fact this may not be the case, as there are also myths and misunderstandings. One parent, for example, noted that the pupils at a school in Alby in Northern Botkyrka received personal computers as educational tools before the pupils at a school in Tullinge. This was cited as a blatant example of unfairness towards both the parents and the pupils in Tullinge, thereby increasing the discontent with the municipality.⁷⁶ In reality, Alby school just happened to be the first school in this programme to give out notebooks to all pupils at municipal schools, but the parents in Tullinge perceived it as yet another example of how Northern Botkyrka is getting a privileged treatment by the municipality.

At that time, everyone had a notebook at Alby school, while the pupils at Falkberg school in Tullinge only had one stationary computer, and such things make people in Tullinge wonder, but why do they have all this? So even if Tullinge is affluent, it has to be equal in the municipality.⁷⁷

There were strong feelings of discontent about the educational system especially in focus group participants from Tullinge and Grödinge. This was despite the significant financial investment from the municipality into renovating the schools in these two areas.⁷⁸ Parents from Tullinge felt that their children were neglected by the municipality as they perceived that the bulk of the tax money was spent mainly on the schools in Northern Botkyrka. Such sentiments are the principal mobilising factor for support

73 Interview with Petter Beckman and Mariela Quintana Melin, chief editor and editor of *Södra Sidan*, Skärholmen, 20 March 2013, and comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

74 Interview with Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013.

75 For example, in 2012 a pupil at Fittja school in Northern Botkyrka cost SEK 29,561 compared with SEK 24,338 as a whole in the municipality.

76 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

77 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

78 For example, the renovation of Malmsjö school in Grödinge cost SEK 248 million.

for the Tullinge Party.⁷⁹ Interestingly, the schools in Tullinge and Grödinge which are perceived as being neglected by the parents are also the ones whose pupils expressed the strongest support for the Sweden Democrats in the school election of 2010, with record high results of 17–26 per cent, and these are also the schools that are most dominated by whites and where there are reports that minority teachers have been harassed by some pupils for not speaking proper fluent Swedish and forced to resign as they felt stressed out working there.⁸⁰ In spite of these reports and these high election results, the schools did not seem to have taken any action to combat these tendencies.

All the schools in Southern Botkyrka are principally dominated by pupils of majority Swedish background; one is mainly for the Finnish minority. However, they all include minority pupils from Northern Botkyrka as well as from some neighbouring municipalities like Södertälje. According to the focus group participants, the most diverse schools are Tuna school and Björkhagen school in Tumba, both of which are geographically well located for students commuting from Northern Botkyrka. Finally, many children and young people in Southern Botkyrka are attending schools in other parts of Greater Stockholm, which are often even more white-dominated than the schools in Southern Botkyrka.

None of the focus group participants reported that they had been discriminated against, nor did any parent report that their children were or had been mistreated or marginalised for being a majority Swede in the educational system. Some young adults who were attending or had recently attended upper-secondary school mentioned that racial words and racialising denominations are widespread when categorising, describing and addressing minority pupils, such as those who commute from Northern Botkyrka and minority school personnel. In their experience such everyday racism and a general segregating pattern in the pupils' socialising were accepted whether the teachers knew about it or not.

*There, it has become so common to say wog, so no one reacts any more. There is an employee with foreign background in the coffee bar, and yet pupils just say Negro and similar words, but one doesn't think about it as everyone is so used to it.*⁸¹

The exposure of non-white pupils to everyday racism in schools, something that seems to be even more pronounced in schools that are heavily dominated by white pupils, has been noted in previous studies of experiences of racism in the educational system.⁸² The findings in the focus groups are also consistent with studies which

79 Interview with Anders Thorén, group leader for the Tullinge Party, Tullinge, 27 March 2013.

80 Information given by a participant in a focus group (confidentiality requested).

81 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

82 Swedish National Agency for Education, *Diskriminerad, trakasserad, kränkt? Barns, elever och studerandes uppfattningar om diskriminering och trakasserier* (Discriminated, harassed, humiliated? Attitudes on discrimination and harassments among children, youth and students), Swedish National Agency for Education, Stockholm, 2009.

suggest that everyday racism at school is something which pupils, both perpetrators and victims, are more aware of than adults who work at the very same school, and who do not always notice the interactions going on among the pupils, and if they do they do not always react.⁸³ In spite of this, the schools did not seem to address racial discrimination and the use of racialised slurs, according to the participants.

In the focus group discussions, minority pupils in general were almost always associated by the participants with being bad and unsuccessful, in terms of language deficit, misbehaviour, rudeness and even violence, or just being problem pupils (especially the boys). One example which recurred from time to time was the arrival of minority pupils in schools with few minority pupils, following the closure of the Storvreten school in 2013, which had a large number of pupils of minority backgrounds. After the school closed, its former pupils were moved to other schools in Southern Botkyrka. Focus group participants suggested that this happened against the will of parents of majority Swedish background as some of them felt that minority pupils from Storvreten are so problematic that they will disturb the majority pupils at the schools where they had been placed temporarily.

When Storvreten school was closing and the children were placed elsewhere, and most of them were immigrant children, there was for a while a lot of commotion among the Swedish parents at different schools such as those in Tuna, Björkhagen, Kassmyra and Broängen.⁸⁴

Some parents had stated to the principal of Malmsjö school in Grödinge, which also received some of the former Storvreten school pupils, that there was a reason why they had chosen to settle in Southern Botkyrka and Grödinge, implying that they had actively sought a neighbourhood which was as white-dominated as possible for the sake of their children.⁸⁵ Few if any parents seemed to have welcomed the new minority pupils from the Storvreten school. In addition to the concern among parents about sending their children to a school with a majority of minority pupils, the dominant tendency seems to be that minority and majority pupils socialise separately at school and with few exceptions do not interact in a substantial way.

In the class, all pupils with foreign background are hanging out together, while those with Swedish background are socialising.⁸⁶

Storvreten is the only neighbourhood in Southern Botkyrka where a minority population originating in non-Western countries is in the majority. Several focus group participants recalled that in the 1990s, before this demographic shift took place,

83 Cecilia Englund, *En skola för alla? Skuggutredning om ungas upplevelser av rasism* (A school for all? Shadow report of young people's experiences of racism), Youth against Racism, Stockholm, 2012.

84 Interview with Behzad Dariussan, manager of the Southside youth centre, Tumba, 25 March 2013.

85 Interview with Johan Nyström Hjertvinge, principal of Malmsjö school, Grödinge, 27 March 2013.

86 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

Storvreten school had been a site of conflicts between white and non-white pupils, with a large Nazi gang active there for some years.⁸⁷ One parent who had lived in Storvreten quite recently recalled her own children's experiences at Storvreten school; she said that they had felt a bit like outsiders, as white pupils were outnumbered by minority pupils. According to key stakeholder interviewees, following the deregulation of school admissions almost all majority Swedish pupils left Storvreten school because their parents did not want them to be in a school where they were in a minority.⁸⁸

One exception to this increasingly sharp pattern of school segregation is Falkberg school in Tullinge, which otherwise is very homogenous and also the school with the highest voter turnout for the Sweden Democrats in 2010.⁸⁹ Since 2013 the school has been receiving a selected number of newly arrived immigrant pupils from Northern Botkyrka who are bussed to the school and offered special classes in both their own language and in Swedish in order to speed up their learning of Swedish, a method which has proved to be successful. It must be mentioned that this has nothing to do with the high Sweden Democrat vote in the school election of 2010, as the choice of the school was a practical matter. So far, according to the principal, this has not led to any particular tensions between the majority pupils living in Tullinge and the commuting minority pupils.

Finally, another topic that was brought up by many participants over and over again was the perceived threat to the Swedish majority culture in the educational system concerning certain cultural heritage rituals that were seen as being on the verge of disappearing due to the presence of minority pupils. It is here important to note that issues of migration and multiculturalism are seldom brought up in Swedish school books, particularly not in history and civic education books, pointing to the fact that the grand narrative of a homogenous nation is still very much kept alive in today's Sweden.⁹⁰

*It is wrong to drive out the Church of Sweden from schools, as well as not hoisting the Swedish flag, so we must protect the Swedish culture more.*⁹¹

The most common examples that were brought up were the gradual disappearance of the hoisting of the Swedish flag at the traditional school breaking-up day in June, and the subsequent secularisation of this day, which previously often took place in a church belonging to the Lutheran Church of Sweden. This phasing out of Swedish traditions and rituals was contrasted with a growing feeling that the minorities were being granted more rights to celebrate and worship their cultures and religions, such

87 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

88 Interview with John Rawley, district developer for Tumba and Grödinge, Tumba, 18 March 2013.

89 Interview with Susanne Englund, principal of Falkberg school, Tullinge, 2 April 2013; Maria Sundén Jelmini, "Bussen snabb väg till svensk skola" (The bus the fast way to Swedish school), *Svenska Dagbladet*, 25 June 2013, p. 16.

90 Anders Johnson, *Garpar, gipskatter och svartskallar. Invandrarna som byggde Sverige* (Garps, gypsum cats and black heads. The immigrants who built Sweden), SNS, Stockholm, 2010, p. 10.

91 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

as, for example, the police permission in 2013 given to the Fittja mosque to call for prayer once every Friday, a decision which in its turn has led to protest meetings and demonstrations organised by groups and individuals who worry about the Islamisation of Sweden.⁹² Although some traditional rituals have been phased out, such as the hoisting of the flag, it is still not uncommon for schools to convene in churches on certain occasions, although it is rare that a traditional sermon is included. While talk of the beginning of the end of Swedish traditions may be seen as highly exaggerated, many majority Swedes perceive that that is what is happening today.

92 Sebastian Chaaban, "Demonstration mot böneutrop i Fittja" (Demonstration against the call to prayer in Fittja), *Metro*, 6 May 2013, at <http://www.metro.se/stockholm/demonstration-mot-boneutrop-i-fittja/EVHmeflezzwueiEd6hqU> (accessed 25 June 2013).

6

EMPLOYMENT

6.1 | THE SITUATION OF MAJORITY SWEDES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

From 1945 the Swedish labour market was characterised by an extremely low unemployment rate of less than 2–3 per cent, at a time when Sweden was a Social Democratic welfare state with full employment (*full sysselsättning*).⁹³ This postwar period was also the time when Swedish women became highly engaged on the labour market, and when massive immigration from the neighbouring Nordic countries and from many other European countries took place to satisfy industry's need for labour in particular during the years of record economic growth of 1945–1975 (*rekordåren*), when Sweden was repeatedly noted as the richest nation in the world per head, and when income disparities between social classes in the country were also by far the lowest in the Western world.⁹⁴

However, in the 1980s this system, widely known outside Sweden as the policy of the middle way or the third way (*tredje vägens politik*), or the Swedish model (*den svenska modellen*), which was structured around powerful trade unions, collectively set salary levels (*kollektivavtal*), different forms of state monopolies and state regulations, a high taxation rate and a mass organised civil society according to a corporate model, started to be criticised by those who favoured more neo-liberal policies in the centre-right parties. Between 1990 and 1994, there was a deep and traumatising economic crisis due to a combination of the chaotic effects of the deregulation of the banking sector and the housing market and uncontrolled financial speculation on the Swedish currency, which changed the Swedish labour market for ever, and the unemployment rate increased to 7–8 per cent during the most critical years.⁹⁵

During and after the crisis, both the subsequent Social Democratic and centre-right governments continued to deregulate the welfare society and this deregulation has continued to take place during the current government of a coalition of the four main centre-right parties led by Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, which has been in power since 2006. As a result of all these reforms and policies, within two decades Sweden is now the most rapidly deregulated country in the OECD, with the fastest growing economic disparities between different social strata.⁹⁶

Throughout the postwar record years, immigrants had a higher employment rate than majority Swedes, particularly when foreign-born women were compared with Swedish-

93 Statistics Sweden, *Sysselsättning och arbetslöshet 1976–2004* (Employment and unemployment 1976–2004), Report 2005-11-21, at www.scb.se/statistik/AM/AM0401/Sysselsattning_och_arbetsloshet_1975-2004.pdf (accessed 6 June 2013).

94 Björn Elmbrant, *Så föll den svenska modellen* (How the Swedish model ended), Atlas, Stockholm, 2005.

95 Ulf Perbo, "Varför fick Sverige en depression i början på 90-talet" (Why did Sweden get a depression at the beginning of the 1990s?), *Ekonomisk Debatt* 27(6) (1999), pp. 325–333.

96 Göran Eriksson, "Den liberala revolutionen" (The Liberal revolution), *Svenska Dagbladet*, 24 March 2012, at http://www.svd.se/naringsliv/sverige-varldens-snabbast-liberaliserade-land_6949421.svd (accessed 7 June 2013); Heritage Foundation, "2012 index of economic freedom", at http://www.timbro.se/pdf/Index_Economic%20Freedom_2012.pdf (accessed 30 September 2013).

born women, but after the 1980s and especially after the crisis in the 1990s this position was reversed, as labour immigration from European and Western countries was replaced by refugee immigration from non-Western countries, despite the fact that in comparison with the former group these generally had better educations in their countries of origin.⁹⁷

Today the labour market is sharply segmented and hierarchical according to gender, class and race, in the sense that women are overrepresented in the care sector for example, and Sweden nowadays has the fastest-growing income and wealth inequality in the Western world, according to OECD statistics, as the proportion of poor people in the population has increased from 4 per cent to 9 per cent between 1995 and 2010.⁹⁸ Although there are no statistics on race, it is highly probable that this growing disparity in income levels according to both gender and class is heavily racialised, as most majority Swedes are employed regardless of sex and social background. In 2012 around 3.0–3.5 per cent of adults with a Swedish background above the age of 25 were unemployed in spite of the global economic crisis, which can be compared with 15–25 per cent among those born in Africa, Asia and South America and a total labour force participation rate of no more than 55–65 per cent in this latter group.⁹⁹

This racialised labour market pattern has unfortunately also been inherited by the second generation, that is, those born in Sweden with two parents from either Africa, Asia or South America, and it also concerns adoptees originating from the same continents as well as mixed Swedes, that is those born with one parent from either Africa, Asia or South America and with one white parent.¹⁰⁰ There is also a large income gap between majority Swedes and minority employees which is actually greater than that between male and female employees. The government has suggested that in the future the most vulnerable groups in the Swedish labour market will be people with disabilities, people who only have compulsory school education and people of non-Western origin.¹⁰¹

97 Pieter Beverlander, *Immigrant employment integration and structural change in Sweden, 1970-1995*, Lund University, Lund, 2000.

98 Göran Eriksson, "Klyftor växer snabbast i Sverige" (Sweden has the fastest growing disparities), *Svenska Dagbladet*, 15 May 2013, at http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/klyftor-vaxer-snabbast-isverige_8172016.svd (accessed 7 June 2013); OECD, *Income distribution data review – Sweden*, at <http://www.oecd.org/els/soc/OECDIncomeDistributionDataReview-Sweden.pdf> (accessed 30 September 2013).

99 Newspapers' Telegram Bureau, "Reinfeldt kritiserats för uttalande" (Reinfeldt is criticised for statement), *Svenska Dagbladet*, 15 May 2013, at http://www.svd.se/nyheter/inrikes/reinfeldt-kritiserats-for-uttalande_7201642.svd (accessed 7 June 2013); Stefan Eriksson, *Utrikes födda på den svenska arbetsmarknaden* (Foreign-born on the Swedish labour market), at <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/15/67/80/4e37a363.pdf> (accessed 7 June 2013).

100 Alireza Behtoui, *Om de hade föräldrar födda på "rätt plats". Om ungdomar med utländsk bakgrund i det svenska utbildningssystemet och på den svenska arbetsmarknaden* (If they had parents born in the "right place". On youth with foreign background in the Swedish educational system and on the Swedish labour market), Swedish Integration Board, Norrköping, 2006; Dan-Olof Rooth, "Adopted children in the labour market—discrimination or unobserved characteristics?", *International Migration* 40(1) (2002), pp. 71–98.

101 Swedish Employment Service, *Arbetsmarknadsutsikterna våren 2013. Prognos för arbetsmarknaden 2013-2014* (Labour market views spring 2013. Prognosis for the labour market 2013-2014), Swedish Employment Service, Stockholm, 2013.

Finally, young adults (between 16 and 25 years old) are at a higher risk of being unemployed compared with all other age groups. The unemployment rate nationwide and in Greater Stockholm is 8.5 per cent. There are, however, substantial differences between the municipalities: for example, the unemployment rate is less than 6 per cent in affluent Lidingö compared with a record high 11.7 per cent in Botkyrka.¹⁰² Although two-thirds of the unemployed young adults are born in Sweden (and one-third is born abroad), those with a foreign background are overrepresented in the group which is in neither education nor training; this reflects that they are also overrepresented in the group which fails either in compulsory school or in upper-secondary school. In 2010, for example, 3 per cent of all youngsters with a Swedish background (including mixed Swedes and third-generationers) were not in employment, education or training, compared with almost 10 per cent among those with a foreign background.¹⁰³

Generally, therefore, majority Swedes above the age of 25 of both sexes and from all social strata are fully employed, and they are also in many cases able to reach higher positions and to be paid higher salaries regardless of educational achievements, compared with minority Swedes, as there is a high rate of under-qualification and under-education among majority Swedes in middle and higher employment positions. This is also the situation in Greater Stockholm and in Botkyrka municipality, with an unemployment rate of 3 per cent in Southern Botkyrka compared with around 15 per cent in Northern Botkyrka, and a total adult (20–64 years) labour participation rate of over 75 per cent in Southern Botkyrka compared with no more than 55–60 per cent in Northern Botkyrka.¹⁰⁴ The unemployment rate among majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka is as low as 2.3 per cent, and within the age group 18–25 it is as low as 1.5 per cent—in both cases with a slightly higher proportion of unemployed among women.¹⁰⁵ The total labour participation rate in Southern Botkyrka is the same as in Greater Stockholm, standing at 76.4 per cent, although the municipality as a whole has the lowest labour participation rate in the capital region due to the extremely low rate in Northern Botkyrka. In Southern Botkyrka, only Storvreten stands out with a total unemployment rate of 6.4 per cent and a labour force participation rate of 61 per cent, and it can be assumed that the vast majority of the unemployed there has a foreign background, although Storvreten does have a smaller population segment of disadvantaged majority Swedes.

102 Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, *2013 års uppföljning av unga som varken arbetar eller studerar* (Updated information 2013 on youth who neither work nor study), Swedish National Board for Youth Affairs, Stockholm, 2013.

103 Stockholm municipality, *Statistik om Stockholm. Arbetsmarknad. Arbetssökande i stadsdelsområden 2012* (Statistics on Stockholm. Labour market. Unemployed in urban districts 2012), Executive Office, Stockholm, 2012.

104 Anna Eldestrand and Sara Berggren, *Från osynliga till synliga. En studie av invånare i norra Botkyrka som står helt utanför arbetsmarknad och bidragssystem* (From invisible to visible. A study of residents in Northern Botkyrka who are outside the labour market and do not receive benefits), Botkyrka Municipality, Tumba, 2011. The labour participation rate excludes those who are at the moment of measurement on parental leave, those who have retired early, and those who are on sick leave. For detailed statistics on Northern Botkyrka, see Statistics Sweden, "Register data for integration", at http://www.scb.se/Pages/List____275836.aspx (accessed 7 June 2013).

105 These statistics on majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka derive from Statistics Sweden.

6.2 | EXPERIENCES OF MAJORITY SWEDES IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Most of the participants in the focus group meetings were employed or had a career behind them if they were retired, and among the young adults most of them were in school, in training or employed as well. Only a few participants declared that they were unemployed or were looking for work at the moment, or that they were participating in a government labour market programme. There were also comments on the type of jobs that have gradually disappeared from the labour market, and which not so long ago dominated in Southern Botkyrka and particularly in Tumba, namely manual and manufacturing jobs in factories and workshops. One focus group participant also mentioned that the number of public and municipal job positions also seemed to be diminishing, and instead the service sector and knowledge-based professions had expanded. Furthermore, many of the workplaces of inhabitants in Southern Botkyrka are outside the municipality, often in the city centre and sometimes in the northern part of Greater Stockholm and also in Northern Botkyrka, making commuting either by car or by public transport almost the norm. All social strata were represented among the participants, from blue- and white-collar workers to academic professionals and the self-employed.

I feel that I am privileged myself, I have no experiences of being marginalised. But I may become so. I feel that I am a majority Swede, with a Swedish name.¹⁰⁶

Many participants stated that they were well aware of their privileged position in society and on the labour market as being majority Swedes who neither look different nor have a different name, and others also added that majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka are neither more nor less marginalised than other majority Swedes in Greater Stockholm.¹⁰⁷ In Sweden an estimated 70 per cent of all employment positions are sought for, offered and appointed through existing networks and contacts. This was a fact which was brought up in connection with statements about being a majority Swede and having a privileged position on the labour market compared with migrants and their descendants who usually lack the necessary social networks to be able to find employment through contacts.¹⁰⁸

The two demographic subgroups that are more vulnerable to unemployment in Southern Botkyrka are disabled people and young adults less than 25 years old who only have compulsory school education; in that sense Botkyrka is like any other

106 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

107 Comments from participants in Focus Group 3: Employment, Tumba, 6 May 2013.

108 Rickard Lindholm, "Kontakter viktigast för att hitta ett nytt jobb" (Contacts most important to find a new job), *Metro*, 10 December 2010, at <http://www.metrojobb.se/artikel/6732-kontakter-viktigast-for-att-hitta-ett-nytt-jobb> (accessed 25 June 2013); Caroline Tovatt, *Erkännandets Janusansikte. Det sociala kapitalets betydelse i arbetslivskarriärer* (The Janus face of recognition. The significance of social capital in working life careers), Santerus, Stockholm, 2013.

Swedish municipality.¹⁰⁹ One participant had a daughter in her mid-20s who had a disability, and who therefore had problems entering the labour market.

As soon as one doesn't fit in and needs economic support, one automatically becomes marginalised and has to fight all the time. Those who end up in a grey zone have a hard time and are always directed to different authorities.¹¹⁰

The participant referred to the chronic bureaucratic problem where people fall between two stools and are referred to different public institutions which sometimes do not have that much contact, and how energy-draining and time-consuming this can be for the individual as well as for the relatives and partners. Another participant's son was also a young adult more or less outside the labour market who had to fill in a lot of paperwork and visit different authorities. This participant expressed a frustration that society does not always help and support those who fall out of the system, and so he could understand if some young people got attracted to destructive behaviour and lifestyles due to the frustration and aggression that can be the result of the bureaucratic processes.

As already mentioned, certain groups of young adults are particularly vulnerable in the labour market in Botkyrka (as well as all over Sweden), and because of that the municipality created a summer vacation job programme which started in 2010, which aims to provide every young adult employment for a certain time period during the summer as a way of providing experience of the labour market.¹¹¹ In 2012 the municipality was able to offer around 1,000 employment positions for a three-week period to the cost of SEK8 million and in a wide range of workplaces such as administration, elderly care, libraries, pre-schools, animal farms, media enterprises and sports associations.¹¹²

My son got a summer vacation job from the municipality for at least three weeks. Every youth who is looking for a job is entitled to that. No one shall be refused. And that is something that the municipality has succeeded in.¹¹³

Both parents and young adults praised the municipality for this programme for young people as a way getting a foothold in the labour market at an early stage and of getting valuable work experience which would be beneficial at a later stage in life. One young man stated that taking part in this programme had helped him to learn

109 Interview with Beyron Ahxner, security coordinator in Botkyrka, Tumba, 26 March 2013.

110 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

111 Botkyrka municipality, "Sommarjobb för unga" (Summer jobs for youth), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/naringslivocharbete/jobbaibotkyrka/sommarjobb> (accessed 25 June 2013).

112 Signe Oskarsson, "Jobben för unga kostar 92 miljoner" (Jobs for youngsters cost SEK92 million), *Dagens Nyheter*, 27 July 2012, at <http://www.dn.se/sthlm/jobben-for-unga-kostar-92-miljoner> (accessed 4 October 2013).

113 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 7: Civil and political participation, Tumba, 22 April 2013.

“how to behave to become employable”.¹¹⁴ Even among participants who had strong negative opinions on other municipal matters and activities, the general attitude was that the municipality did good work for young adults in Southern Botkyrka at least concerning the labour market. The young adults themselves did not express any fear of being unemployed for a longer period, although some were forced to still live with their parents even if they were in their early 20s, and they were also, like everyone else in Sweden, conscious of the crucial importance of having contacts and networks when finding a job (which most of them also said that they had).

Since 2002, Botkyrka municipality has actively been supporting the establishment of creative industry workplaces in Northern Botkyrka. However, several participants expressed discontent with its recent policy of attracting creative industry and workplaces associated with the creative classes and the cultural sector and placing them in Northern Botkyrka. This discontent was also related to the general feeling that the municipality prioritises Northern Botkyrka and its minority population over Southern Botkyrka and its majority population. This feeling was exacerbated, as the creative industry and the cultural sector were also seen as elitist and exclusive, including also of the inhabitants of Northern Botkyrka on whose behalf these workplaces had been established, and as it was felt to be unclear if and how they had really benefited from the policy of nurturing a creative cluster in Northern Botkyrka (according to the theories of Richard Florida).¹¹⁵ The existence of this criticism in Southern Botkyrka was also known to civil servants.

*And even if one has Riksteatern and Cirkus Cirkör and so on in Northern Botkyrka, one wonders—but has it contributed to lift up Northern Botkyrka? The unemployment rate is still high, and most of the employees are Swedes.*¹¹⁶

The municipality has moved some of the social services from Tumba and Southern Botkyrka to Hallunda and Northern Botkyrka, among them the Public Employment Service (*Arbetsförmedlingen*), and there was also discontent among some participants because of this, as they have to spend a considerable time travelling if they take the not very modern public transport between the two ends of the municipality.¹¹⁷

Finally, both stakeholder interviewees and focus group participants worried about the high preponderance of criminality among those outside the labour market and possible extremist tendencies among certain segments of the unemployed.¹¹⁸ The latter problem was connected with the Sweden Democrats' voters and sympathisers in, for example, Storvreten, Tuna, Segersjö and Grödinge, who were described

114 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 11: Young men aged 18–35, Tumba, 29 April 2013.

115 See for example Richard Florida's bestseller, *The rise of the creative class: And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*, Basic Books, New York, 2002.

116 Interview with Behzad Dariussou, manager of the Southside youth centre, Tumba, 25 March 2013.

117 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

118 Comments from participants in Focus Group 3: Employment, Tumba, 6 May 2013.

as sometimes being unemployed and feeling bitter.¹¹⁹ The general image of the unemployed was not, however, that of majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka, but not surprisingly the minority population in Northern Botkyrka and partly also in Storvreten. Unemployed minority inhabitants in Northern Botkyrka and in Storvreten were also connected in people's minds with living on benefits, and thus implicitly to be somewhat parasitical, although there was also a certain awareness about the existence of labour market discrimination, that is, that is was not just their fault if they are unemployed.

I am an immigrant in Sweden, open-hearted. Receive them, but then one has to take care of them. It is about learning the language, because otherwise one cannot make it. I think that everyone wants to enter society, but if you don't get these opportunities ... Some who don't get it cannot enter society, and they are at home the whole day ... It was good then, but not now, that I have to say.¹²⁰

The high unemployment rates in Northern Botkyrka were also often associated with a Swedish-language deficit. This syndrome may be contrasted with the earlier waves of labour migrants from Europe who had arrived in Sweden in the postwar period and who up until the 1970s had a higher labour participation rate than the majority Swedes themselves. Some of the focus group participants belonged to this white labour migrant group or were children of European labour migrants, and it appeared that they therefore felt that they had the right to criticise the migrants from non-Western countries who are not as successful in today's labour market.

119 Interviews with Björn Lagerstedt, member of the Moderate Party, Tumba, 18 March 2013, and Jens Sjöström, deputy municipal commissioner, Fittja, 2 May 2013.

120 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

7

HOUSING

7.1 | MAJORITY SWEDES AND HOUSING

The housing sector has been radically transformed during the past two decades from a state-regulated system and an interventionist policy to a deregulated and privatised market.¹²¹ Before deregulation, rents were negotiated and agreed between landlords and tenants according to the Swedish corporate bargaining model; municipal housing companies known as the common good (*allmännyttan*) had a dominant position in most municipalities; the state co-financed new building projects as a way of keeping the costs of rents down; and a generous system of housing allowances for low-salaried tenants was in place. Although postwar urban planning segregated different social strata from each other geographically by separating garden cities with detached houses (*villa*) and terrace houses (*radhus*) for the middle-class from high-rise buildings (*högghus*) which were associated with the working class and therefore had a lower status, the overarching aim of the Social Democratic housing policy of that period was to combat socio-economic divisions and to equalise the living costs between houses that had been built during different periods.

Between 1965 and 1975, Social Democratic Sweden carried out the grandest building programme ever under the Million Programme, in which 1 million housing units were constructed throughout the country to counter the lack of housing in a rapidly urbanising Sweden. Also during this period Northern Botkyrka with its urban districts Fittja, Alby and Hallunda-Norsberg was built within a few years, as well as Storvreten in Southern Botkyrka.¹²² However, after the programme had been completed, the oil crisis ended the record years of constant economic growth, and many of the apartments in the Million Programme which had been built for the working and middle classes stood empty and were instead increasingly used by the Migration Board for newly arrived family reunifications among migrant workers and refugees who mainly came from Africa, Asia and South America.

Up until the 1990s, Sweden's urban areas were neither more nor less segregated than any other European or Western country's cities and urban areas in terms of class and ethnicity, and the population of the Million Programme areas whose houses account for up to a quarter of all residential buildings in Sweden was still mixed.¹²³ All this changed with the economic crisis in the 1990s, which also coincided with the liberalisation of the Swedish housing sector and growing anti-immigration sentiment among the white majority population. These have today resulted in an extreme urban segregation pattern especially along racial lines.¹²⁴

121 Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, *Bostadspolitik. Svensk politik för boende, planering och byggande under 130 år* (The housing policy. Swedish policy for housing, planning and building during 130 years), Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, Karlskrona, 2007.

122 Carina Gråbacke and Jan Jörnmar, "The political construction of the 'million housing programme': The state and the Swedish building industry", in Per Lundin, Niklas Stenlås and Johan Gribbe (eds), *Science for welfare and warfare: Technology and state initiative in cold war Sweden*, Science History Publications, Sagamore Beach, MA, 2010, pp. 233–249.

123 Åsa Bråmås, *Studies in the dynamics of residential segregation*, Uppsala University, Uppsala, 2006.

124 Cecilia Englund, *National analytical study on housing*, Expo Foundation, Stockholm, 2003.

The contemporary Swedish urban segregation pattern is characterised by a heavy statistical concentration of people from Africa, Asia and South America in the Million Programme areas located on the peripheries of large and medium-sized cities, including the capital area of Greater Stockholm. Majority Swedes together with immigrants from Western countries and their descendants are equally heavily overrepresented in the historic inner cities as well as in the affluent garden-city suburbs with detached houses and terrace houses.¹²⁵ For example, in the historic inner city of Greater Stockholm not more than 7–8 per cent of the population comes from Africa, Asia and South America even though that demographic segment represents close to 30 per cent of Greater Stockholm's total population, while in many of the Million Programme areas the proportion of majority Swedes stands at 5 per cent or even less.¹²⁶

Class and race overlap in today's Sweden. Since 2006 there are no urban areas which are classified as poor, marginalised and deprived, where most of the inhabitants are majority Swedes.¹²⁷ This makes Sweden one of the most racially segregated countries in the Western world. In addition to the sharp geographical separation between these two population segments, this pattern is also clearly discernible in labour participation rates and income levels, differences in health and life expectancy, vulnerability to crime, social allowance dependency and so on.

Botkyrka's segregation pattern is, as has been described in previous chapters, in line with the national one, and the municipality is well aware of this although hitherto there seems to be no working solution to this increasing segregation either nationally or locally. Rhetorically, however, the municipality tries to avoid talking about Northern Botkyrka and Southern Botkyrka and prefers to refer to the whole of the municipality as a way of not strengthening the feeling that they are more or less two worlds apart.¹²⁸

The only exception to the sharp geographical separation between the Northern and Southern sections is the Million Programme area of Storvreten. In the western part of Storvreten the population is similar to the one in Northern Botkyrka in the sense that the majority of the inhabitants who live there originate from Africa, Asia or South America. Western Storvreten consists of rental apartments which belong to the municipal housing company, Botkyrkabyggen. The company also has rental-housing units in certain parts of Tullinge (Tullingeberg), as well as in Segersjö, Tuna and Vårsta-Bremora in Tumba.¹²⁹ Rented apartments are increasingly placed at the bottom of the

125 Roger Andersson, Lena Magnusson Turner and Emma Holmqvist, *Contextualising ethnic residential segregation in Sweden: Welfare, housing and migration-related policies*, Uppsala University, Uppsala, 2010.

126 See Stockholm City, "Statistik om Stockholm" (Statistics on Stockholm), at <http://www.statistikomstockholm.se> (accessed 11 June 2013).

127 National Board of Health and Welfare, *Social rapport 2010* (Social report 2010), National Board of Health and Welfare, Stockholm, 2010, pp. 176–226.

128 Interview with Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013.

129 See Botkyrkabyggen, "Våra områden" (Our areas) at <http://www.botkyrkabyggen.se/CM/Templates/Article/general.aspx?cmguid=9010f7ce-d474-4345-9698-cb6fe086923d> (accessed 11 June 2013).

Swedish housing sector's hierarchy, with detached houses with gardens at the top and terrace houses with (usually a bit smaller) gardens together with tenant-owned apartments in the middle. It has to be said that this hierarchy is a recent development. In spite of the lack of statistics on race in Sweden, it is therefore reasonable to assume that at least some of the tenants in Botkyrkabyggen's rental apartments in these specific areas are majority Swedes who may be marginalised economically. Interestingly enough, the very same areas correspond to the electoral constituencies where the ethno-nationalistic Sweden Democrats receive upwards to 10 per cent of the votes, in Southern Botkyrka.

7.2 | SEGREGATION

Because we also have a record high housing segregation, we become increasingly alienated from each other nowadays.¹³⁰

The hyper-segregated Swedish housing sector was naturally the backdrop as well as the point of departure for all discussions on the housing situation of majority Swedes, both in the individual stakeholder interviews and at the focus group meetings.¹³¹ The segregation between the northern and the southern parts of the municipality is even more pronounced because of the public transport system. Northern Botkyrka is connected to the inner city through the subway system, Southern Botkyrka through a commuter train. Between the two parts of the municipality there are only bus lines that provide an infrequent and slow service. As a result, many majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka have never visited or seldom visit Northern Botkyrka, and few have any social and private relationships with people there. Southern Botkyrka is also segregated itself, both geographically and socially according to the different types of houses and ownership arrangements.

The status of living in a rented apartment is decreasing right now, in relation to those I know who live in detached houses, terraced houses or tenant-owned apartments.¹³²

Storvreten in Tumba is the most heterogeneous area in Southern Botkyrka, and all the different types of housing that exist in urban Sweden are there. It is also the place where open conflicts between majority and non-majority Swedes are most noticeable, according to one interviewee, and it is also the strongest constituency for the Sweden Democrats: "It is almost like a war between whites and non-whites in the public space."¹³³

130 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

131 Comments from participants in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013; interviews with Beyron Ahxner, security coordinator in Botkyrka, Tumba, 26 March 2013, and Simon Safari, chairman of the Swedish Union of Tenants in Botkyrka and Salem, Tumba, 15 April 2013.

132 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

133 Interview with Björn Lagerstedt, member of the Moderate Party, Tumba, 18 March 2013.

*Bremora is a white neighbourhood with only Swedes. Now darkies have started to arrive. There are some who just have curtains on their windows, and just keep to themselves. It's getting insecure. This creates problems and it will grow in Southern Botkyrka.*¹³⁴

As small numbers of minority families have started to move to Southern Botkyrka, often from Northern Botkyrka or from neighbouring municipalities, and as they are not moving to Storvreten any more if they can afford to live in a detached house, a terrace house or a tenant-owned apartment, some participants who already live in those areas talked about increasing feelings of anxiety, stress and insecurity in areas that are highly homogenous, for example in Bremora in Grödinge and in Tullinge and Uttran. These views were expressed by participants who saw themselves as anti-racist. In other words, some informants talked about the new presence of minorities in their areas as being more or less a threat to their feelings of security, while at the same time seeing themselves as anti-racists.

7.3 | LACK OF HOUSING SUPPLY

One participant who lives in a rented apartment belonging to Botkyrkabyggen felt that in Sweden and Greater Stockholm being a tenant and paying rent is increasingly becoming associated with being poor, problematic and most probably also belonging to a minority. One focus group participant referred to a closed discussion forum on Facebook about the area Riksten, a new neighbourhood in Tullinge, which has been built on a former military airbase, and where tensions between owners of separate houses and tenants in the few municipal flats that exist there seem to be strong. There is an ongoing conflict concerning boundaries of plots, and what tenants can and cannot do outside their flats.

*At the beginning, there weren't supposed to be any rental apartments in Riksten since those often bring with them weird people and lower the value of the rest of the neighbourhood. Due to economic reasons it didn't work with tenant-owned apartments only. And now it is proven that [those] who live in rental apartments are unable to behave.*¹³⁵

The deputy municipal commissioner of Botkyrka underlined in an interview that especially in Tullinge, the richest part of the municipality and with a low proportion of tenant-occupied apartments, it is important for the residents not to connect tenants with social problems.¹³⁶

134 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

135 Riksten (Tullinge) closed forum, given to us by a participant in a focus group (confidentiality requested).

136 Interview with Jens Sjöström, deputy municipal commissioner, Fittja, 2 May 2013.

Participants noted the lack of rental apartments for young adults as a growing problem. Almost all focus group participants wanted Botkyrkabyggen to build small rental apartments in Southern Botkyrka. The municipality is aware of the problem, but in the near future Botkyrkabyggen has to concentrate its resources mainly on renovating the Million Programme areas in Northern Botkyrka. The participants wanted housing both for the young adults who have grown up there and as a way to attract new residents such as students. There was concern that without the ability to retain and attract young people to the area, the majority population of Southern Botkyrka, inhabitants in detached houses and terrace houses who are generally middle-aged and elderly, will just continue to age until the area becomes economically and demographically untenable.¹³⁷

The situation for young adults who are outside the labour market is particularly troubled, as they cannot afford to buy a tenant-owned apartment, nor can they rent an apartment. Instead they either have to stay with their parents or become subtenants, as the housing companies almost always require people to have a stable income before they can become tenants.¹³⁸ In interviews officials and other stakeholders compared the small number of new rental apartments that are being built in Southern Botkyrka with the rapidly increasing number of expensive detached houses and terrace houses in, for example, Tullinge, Riksten and Uttran, and noted that many former rental apartments are being transformed into tenant-owned apartments which are too pricy for young adults to buy.¹³⁹ Another reason for the lack of rental apartments for young adults is also that there is a low turnover of tenants, especially among pensioners in areas like Segersjö in Tumba and Stendal in Tullinge, a fact which of course also is positive as it means that elderly tenants live in their own apartments instead of moving to an elderly care centre.¹⁴⁰

137 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 12: Older men aged 45 and over, Tumba, 2 May 2013. Furthermore, homelessness was not seen as a problem in Southern Botkyrka, apart from a few individuals and some temporary guest workers who according to focus group participants sometimes live in tents or caravans, usually in specially designated places that are not too visible to other residents. These people seemed to be few, and there are no official statistics on them.

138 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013.

139 Interviews with Simon Safari, chairman of the Swedish Union of Tenants in Botkyrka and Salem, Tumba, 15 April 2013, and with Anders Arnesson, former municipal commissioner, Fittja, 26 March 2013.

140 Interview with Lotta Arnesson, former public relations manager of Botkyrkabyggen, Fittja, 26 March 2013.

7.4 | THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY AND BELONGING

When I lived in Storvreten, one or two times a year we cleaned the houses, and then we had a barbecue party, and everybody took part in cleaning up the yard, it created a sense of community, and that I liked, that was a good thing. Botkyrkabyggen paid for the hotdog, and I appreciated that.¹⁴¹

Botkyrkabyggen has a programme to support and nurture a feeling of community among its tenants, which is clearly appreciated by those who have experienced it, and which includes local caretakers (*bovärdar*) who work with the Swedish Union of Tenants' local members and organise social events and meetings in neighbourhoods.¹⁴² Botkyrkabyggen has allocated a total of SEK2.6 million for this programme, and in some of its areas the activities among residents are lively and valuable and create a sense of community. Concerning interactions with neighbours and feeling a sense of community, some participants contrasted a more formal and colder Southern Botkyrka with Northern Botkyrka, where the minority residents were said to have stronger communities among themselves than the majority Swedes had in Southern Botkyrka.¹⁴³

Most participants agreed that in Southern Botkyrka the sense of community was stronger before and is still quite strong among older residents, but young adults are much less engaged in organisations such as community associations (*samfälligheter*), tenant-owned apartments' associations (*bostadsrättsföreningar*) and tenants' associations (*hyresrättsföreningar*). The activity among the local tenants' associations was at the same time seen as a rare context in which majority and minority Swedes could interact with each other and get to know each other.¹⁴⁴ Living in a detached house seemed to be the most isolating type of housing. Participants living in detached houses also talked about being mainly just "polite over the hedge" with their neighbours.¹⁴⁵ Generally, interactions with others in the vicinity was also related to having children, as they socialise with each other in a more natural way than adults, but when the children become adults and leave home there is again less interaction other than this formal politeness among neighbours.

Neighbourhood watch is like a new social movement—to create a society where civil society is active, many positively inclined people who want to do something.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

¹⁴² Interview with Jan-Erik Sandh, key account manager of Botkyrkabyggen, Tumba, 19 March 2013.

¹⁴³ Comments from participants in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013, and Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013; interview with Johan Magnusson, football coach for Nackdala AIS, Tumba, 25 March 2013.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with Simon Safari, chairman of the Swedish Union of Tenants in Botkyrka and Salem, Tumba, 15 April 2013.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Anders Arnesson, former municipal commissioner, Fittja, 26 March 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

This quotation refers to a new initiative which seeks to counter the growing feeling of social isolation in Southern Botkyrka. This is the municipality's neighbourhood watch (*grannsamverkan*) programme, and participants enthusiastically reported how getting involved with this had changed their relationships with their neighbours (see also Chapter 9, Policing and security).

Finally, the feeling of community was also clearly and closely related to the feeling of sameness, in the sense that even if almost everyone deplored the extreme segregation pattern in Southern Botkyrka and Greater Stockholm, at the same time most of the participants seemed to desire to live in a neighbourhood which was ethno-racially homogenous, and so-called "immigrant areas" were associated with conflicts and differences and implicitly with problems.

*There are so many groups with so many different origins and religions. There will always be conflicts, so how can one do anything about it, I wonder. I wouldn't choose to live in an immigrant area myself, with different feasts and traditions.*¹⁴⁷

147 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.



HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

8.1 | THE SOCIAL SECURITY SYSTEM

The social security system was developed as part of the Social Democratic social welfare state. From the late 1800s up until the 1930s, voluntary insurance based on membership fees paid by the workers themselves functioned as a form of collective insurance.¹⁴⁸ However, most workers did not have insurance and were therefore dependent upon support for the poor (*fattigvård*) from the municipalities. The interwar period laid the ground for the formation of the modern welfare state at a time when the Social Democrats consolidated their political power.

In the postwar period till the 1980s, a number of insurance systems were implemented in Sweden, such as illness and work injury insurance (*sjuk- och arbetsskadeförsäkring*), general insurance (*allmän försäkring*), parental insurance (*föräldraförsäkring*), unemployment insurance (*arbetslöshetsförsäkring*) and a new social service law (*socialtjänstlag*).¹⁴⁹ As a result of and after the economic crisis in the 1990s, major changes in the social security system have taken place, a transformation which is described as a regime shift towards a stronger emphasis on work (*arbetslinjen*), that is, a workfare society.¹⁵⁰ The political scientist Kristina Boréus argues, for example, that the official political language in Sweden changed during the 1980s and 1990s, and became influenced by a terminology rooted in neo-liberal ideology.¹⁵¹

The social security system is today managed by the Social Insurance Agency (*Försäkringskassan*) and regulated in the National Insurance Act (*Socialförsäkringsbalken*).¹⁵² Social insurance automatically covers all persons who live and work in Sweden. It provides financial protection for families and children, disabled people, in connection with work injury, illness and old age. Social insurance is individually based and compensates for the loss of income when individuals are unable to support themselves by working as a result of, for example, a long-term illness or caring for a child. Social insurance consists of two parts, universal benefits and means-tested benefits.¹⁵³ Universal benefits, such as child-care allowance and adoption allowance (*adoptionsbidrag*) for those who adopt children from abroad, are paid to everyone who is eligible for them at the same rate. The housing allowance, housing supplements for pensioners and supplementary maintenance support are, however, means-tested allowances according to income and individual wealth.

148 Malin Junestav, *Socialförsäkringssystemet och arbetsmarknaden. Politiska idéer, sociala normer och institutionell förändring—en historik* (The social security system and the labour market. Political ideas, social norms and institutional change—a history), Institute for Evaluation of Labour Market and Education Policy, Uppsala, 2007, p. 3 (hereafter, Junestav, *Socialförsäkringssystemet och arbetsmarknaden*).

149 Junestav, *Socialförsäkringssystemet och arbetsmarknaden*, p. 27.

150 Junestav, *Socialförsäkringssystemet och arbetsmarknaden*, pp. 39–40.

151 Kristina Boréus, *Högenväg: Nyliberalismen och kampen om språket i svensk debatt 1969-1989* (The right-wing wave: Neo-liberalism and the language struggle in the Swedish debate 1969-1989), Tiden, Stockholm, 1994.

152 See the introduction to the Swedish Social Insurance Agency, at <http://www.forsakringskassan.se> (accessed 11 June 2013), National Insurance Act 2010:110, http://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Lagar/Svenskforfattningssamling/Socialforsakringsbalk-201011_sfs-2010-110/ (accessed 9 May 2014).

153 Government Offices of Sweden, “Social insurance in Sweden”, at <http://www.government.se/sb/d/15473/a/183495> (accessed 11 June 2013).

8.2 | THE HEALTH STATUS IN MAJORITY SWEDISH COMMUNITIES

There are many factors to take in to account when discussing public health and ill-health. Being unemployed, having no higher education and/or a lower income often lead to ill-health. The Policy for Public Health in Botkyrka municipality states that there are several “decisive factors” (*bestämningsfaktorer*) in ill-health. Some of the most important of these are living conditions, schools, educational level, employment, the work environment, housing and social participation.¹⁵⁴

In total, 1.7 per cent of the population in Southern Botkyrka lives on social benefits.¹⁵⁵ The rating for Botkyrka on the ill-health index stands at 19.8.¹⁵⁶ However, including only majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka, the ill-health index is 17.9 for those aged between the ages of 16 and 64 (21.4 among women and 14.5 among men), which may be compared with the national average of 27 and 22.1 in Greater Stockholm.¹⁵⁷ A problem with the ill-health index is that it only captures those who have been active in the labour market. Those who are outside the labour market, or who have never entered it, are not included in the statistics.

In Southern Botkyrka in Tumba 1.6 per cent of the population lives on benefits and the ill-health index 21.6; in Storvreten the benefit rate is 4.2 per cent and the ill-health index 30; in Vårsta-Grödinge the benefit rate is 0.7 per cent and the ill-health index 18.5; and in Tullinge the benefit rate is 0.9 per cent and the ill-health index 5.3. Storvreten clearly stands out in Southern Botkyrka, and this may reflect the fact that it is the neighbourhood with a significant minority population.

In the citizens' poll which is conducted annually by Botkyrka municipality, all the residents answer questions concerning the municipality and its work, their contacts with the municipality, and their experiences of the dialogue forums, the access to culture, the local services (sports, shops, health care, banks, etc.), housing, information and experiences of discrimination.¹⁵⁸ The result is divided among the different areas in the municipality, but there is no differentiation between majority Swedes and minority Swedes. The municipality also includes self-description as regards health status, and generally Botkyrka gets poor results from the point of view

154 “Folkhälsopolicy antagen av kommunfullmäktige 2012-02-23, Botkyrka kommun” (Policy for Public Health, Botkyrka municipality, 2012-02-23), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/hallbarutvecklingochmanskligarattigheter/folkhalsa> (accessed 4 June 2013), p 8 (hereafter, “Folkhälsopolicy 2012-02-23”).

155 These statistics on majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka derive from Statistics Sweden as of 2011-12-13.

156 This index is based on Statistics Sweden's measurement of the number of sickness benefit days being paid at a certain moment every month, and it also includes work injury compensation, illness benefit, rehabilitation benefit, and activity and sickness compensation from the social welfare insurance. The number of days are then added and divided by the population between 16 and 64 years old. Statistics Sweden, “Mer om ohälsotal” (More about ill-health index), at http://www.scb.se/Pages/List_____264036.aspx (accessed 4 June 2013).

157 These statistics on majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka derive from Statistics Sweden.

158 Botkyrka municipality, “Medborgarundersökning 2012”.

that health is correlated to, for example, educational achievement. There is a gradient between short education, upper-secondary school, post-graduate education and reported levels of good health. The level of high education is low in general in Botkyrka compared with the county as a whole. The self-reported level of good health is also lower in Botkyrka as a whole.

The 2012 citizens' poll showed an improvement in the health status of residents, especially among women. However, among respondents, 17 per cent of the population in Grödinge, 24 per cent in Tullinge and 25 per cent in Tumba (here including Storvreten) reported experiencing some form of discrimination in their contacts with health services in Southern Botkyrka. The most common forms of discrimination referred to among the respondents were gender (Tullinge 36 per cent, Grödinge 25 per cent, Tumba 7 per cent) and age (Tullinge 22 per cent, Grödinge per cent, Tumba 17 per cent).

Storvreten stands out as the poorest part of Southern Botkyrka with the highest concentration of people on low incomes, including some low-income majority Swedes. In an interview, one stakeholder described Storvreten as a place characterised by gambling, alcohol abuse, drug abuse and mental-health problems.¹⁵⁹ Storvreten also turned up in discussions at focus group meetings with reference to perceived marginalisation in some areas in Southern Botkyrka, as a place where some young adults in their early 20s had never joined the labour market and had already been granted early retirement due to sickness (*sjukpensionärer*).

The public health coordinator in the municipality argued in an interview for the operationalisation of the concept of proportional universalism, that public efforts should be directed at the population as a whole, ordered according to those who have the greatest needs and then adapted to the population and needs of different groups.¹⁶⁰ This concept derives from the *Marmot Review* and means that reducing health inequalities is a matter of fairness and social justice, not a matter of economic growth in a society.¹⁶¹ The *Review* identified six policy areas that required action to reduce health inequality.¹⁶² According to the public health coordinator, the Botkyrka municipality follows that spirit and has done so for a long time, for example, the

159 Interview with Björn Lagerstedt, member of the Moderate Party, Tumba, 18 March 2013.

160 Interview with Elisabeth Skoog Garås, public health coordinator, Tumba, 13 March 2013.

161 Institute of Health Equity, "Fair Society, Healthy Lives", *Marmot Review* 2010, at <http://www.instituteofhealthequity.org/projects/fair-society-healthy-lives-the-marmot-review>, (accessed 4 June 2013). Sir Michael Marmot was given the task by the Secretary of State for Health to chair an independent review to propose the most effective evidence-based strategies for reducing health inequalities in England from 2010. The final report, "Fair Society, Healthy Lives", was published in February 2010, and concluded that reducing health inequalities would require action on six policy objectives:

162 1. Give every child the best start in life. 2. Enable all children, young people and adults to maximise their capabilities and have control over their lives. 3. Create fair employment and good work for all. 4. Ensure a healthy standard of living for all. 5. Create and develop healthy and sustainable places and communities. 6. Strengthen the role and effect of the prevention of ill health.

citizens' offices (*medborgarkontor*), a one-stop shop for municipal services, are located in every neighbourhood in Botkyrka, not only the poorest areas, like the development programmes and the dialogue forums. Furthermore, there is a right to children's day care of 35 hours per week regardless of the parent's employment status (working part-time, sick, out of work, studying, etc.), there are reduced fees for learning an instrument at the Culture School (*Kulturskolan*), and a PC has been supplied to all children in grades 7–9 in secondary school.

The municipality's goals for public health are listed in a special document on public health policy¹⁶³ based on the 11 most important governmental goals for public health. Botkyrka has chosen seven goals to develop further in public health policy and in development plans. The first goal, participation and influence in society, is stated as fundamental for public health. A key feature for ensuring people feel that they can participate and influence society is good relations between the municipality and its inhabitants. It is of special importance to facilitate social and cultural participation for everyone, especially from an economic and social perspective.¹⁶⁴ The second goal concerns economic and social conditions. There is a connection between good public health and a society dominated by economic and social safety, good living conditions, equality and justice; economic stress leads to social insecurity and causes ill health. Therefore the municipality enhances some of the key competences stressed by the European Union, which together with education determines a person's place in the labour market (communication in the mother tongue, mathematic skills, interpersonal and social competence, etc.). The third goal concerns children's and young people's living conditions and states the strong correlation between living conditions and mental health and the influence of the family's economic conditions. Therefore society has to give extra support to enhance safe and sound living conditions for children and youngsters. The fourth goal concerns the fundamental aspects of the environment, including air and water quality and housing, transport and consumption. The work for a safe and sound environment concerns everything from preventing work-related accidents and crime to increasing the health component in the planning of neighbourhoods, schools, leisure time and playgrounds. The fifth goal emphasizes the strong correlation between living conditions and structural socio-economic factors and stresses the municipality's responsibility to create good conditions for physical activity in everyday life. The sixth goal concerns the correlation between good eating habits in combination with physical activity as a prerequisite for good health. It is necessary to work to level out the differences in eating habits due to gender, age, and social and economic situation. And the seventh goal targets the abuse of illegal drugs, tobacco, doping pills and gambling and stresses the need to coordinate efforts and make them more efficient.

The policy is formulated in general terms as being relevant to the whole population of Botkyrka, while at the same time it targets particular groups, stating that public health work is not directed at individuals, but at different groups. This is done by analysing

163 "Folkhälsopolicy 2012-02-23".

164 "Folkhälsopolicy 2012-02-23", pp. 10ff.

the needs of different parts of the population, including where health is not distributed equally. By groups the policy means men and women with different life conditions, backgrounds, religious beliefs, ages and living with some sort of disability. For instance, the government's public health work has identified women and immigrants who work in traditional working-class trades or are unemployed, youngsters with low or uncompleted education and people living with some sort of disability.¹⁶⁵

The Aalborg Charter on Sustainable Development is also relevant to the development of public health policy. This is a European Commission agreement between municipalities and cities, which Botkyrka municipality has ratified and according to which it has made 50 commitments.¹⁶⁶ After a mapping phase and analysis the municipality identified six challenges relating to public health. These were areas where indicators suggested things were getting worse. The commitments in these six areas are formulated as challenges for the municipality to be addressed over a 30-year period from 2008. The challenges are that Botkyrka's population:

1. should all be employed,
2. should feel at home,
3. should not contribute to climate change,
4. should have confidence in one another and in democracy,
5. should be healthy and feel well, and
6. should have the best schools.

The municipality sees all the goals, not just those specific to health, as contributing to good public health. In the 2011 "Annual Human Rights Report", the municipality identified eight indicators in order to follow up the work related to goal no. 5 above, that the citizens of Botkyrka should be healthy and well, in the Aalborg Charter on Sustainable Development.¹⁶⁷ The eight indicators are: self-described health, the ill-health index, physical activities, mental health, psychosomatic pain, mental illness, exposure to physical violence or threats of violence and men's violence against women.

165 "FolkhälsopolICY 2012-02-23", p. 13.

166 Botkyrka municipality, "A sustainable Botkyrka – a starting document towards sustainable development linked to Aalborg + 10", 2008.

167 "Årsrapport Mänskliga Rättigheter 2011, Botkyrka kommun" (Annual Human Rights Report 2011, Botkyrka municipality), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/hallbarutvecklingochmanskligarattigheter/folkhalsa> (accessed 5 June 2013).

8.3 | EXPERIENCES USING HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

A common issue raised by participants in the focus groups, irrespective of age, class or gender, was the difficulty of getting to the local health and welfare centre (*vårdcentral*) in Tumba. This is a consequence of both the large area of Southern Botkyrka itself and of the local public transport system, which makes it hard for people in Grödinge to reach Tumba (too few buses a day).¹⁶⁸ One participant in the focus group with older women recalled the difficulties she had faced the previous winter when it was impossible to leave the house with her walking frame due to the snow.¹⁶⁹ The focus group with young women had had both negative and positive experiences in their contact with the health system.

*I hesitate to go to the health and welfare centre (in Tumba). So I try to stay well. It feels like the ones I've visited ... It feels like you have to decide yourself, which medicine and which tests you should make. So I've turned to another place.*¹⁷⁰

Experiences of problems with bad attitudes towards disabled people and getting the right diagnosis, as well as language communication difficulties with minority personnel, are examples that were mentioned in the focus group discussions, particularly language, which is a very complicated problem. Many of the employees in the health sector are either immigrants or born in Sweden with immigrant parents. One focus group participant said that the municipality is naïve about health care:

*When I speak about naivety, I think of health care. There is an attitude that immigrants are so good at taking care of the elderly. I mean, they are immigrants and will not therefore take care of our country as well as we should. And if they exceed us in numbers, then they will work and take care of the elderly like they do in their countries and not do like we do here in Sweden. They come here and are poorly educated.*¹⁷¹

The focus group participant was worried that the “minorities would exceed us” that is the majority Swedes, in numbers, and then majority Swedes would not receive the care that they need, perhaps particularly because the majority population of Sweden (as well as in Southern Botkyrka) is an ageing demographic group, contrary to the minority population. The participant expressed a culture clash with the staff at health and welfare centres and hospitals, since she connected culture with the care work itself. She felt that immigrants working in care work do not perform the care work as it should be done in Sweden and that majority Swedes are at risk of not getting proper care.

168 Local transport is not the municipality's responsibility in Sweden, but the county's.

169 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 10: Older women aged 45 and over, Tumba, 25 April 2013.

170 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

171 Comment from a participant in Focus Group: Health and social services, Tumba, 17 April 2013.

But there are more positive experiences from the health and welfare centre in Storvreten. One woman in the young women's focus group had used it for her whole life as she was so satisfied with her dentist there.¹⁷² The same applied to the focus group with older women. One of the women (who had two children) was happy that their old children's nurse (who used to work in the City of Stockholm were they used to live) had started to work in Tullinge's child welfare centre, which established a strong feeling of continuity for her and made her feel safe.¹⁷³ However, it is difficult to get in touch with the welfare centre in an emergency. Everybody in the focus group with young women said that contacting Huddinge emergency centre (*närakut*) for urgent care was not easy. Finally, the manager of the women's shelter in Botkyrka said that although women from all over Botkyrka came to them for help, the long-term stayers were almost always women with a migrant background, indicating that majority women seek out help less often than minority women.¹⁷⁴ This may reflect the fact that majority women have more options or are less reliant on support from the shelter.

A topic discussed at length in one of the focus groups on civil and political participation was the right to health and dental care for refugees with no identity papers.¹⁷⁵ A new law on this came through on 1 July 2013.¹⁷⁶ This was a result of a political agreement on migration politics between the government and the Green Party (*Miljöpartiet*). Some of the participants in the focus group (members of the Sweden Democrats) did not approve of the new law; they expressed this in economic terms, for instance by mentioning that there were many poor elderly majority Swedes who could not afford dental care. Those who were opposed to the new law said that it was not fair to those who had been paying taxes all their lives. However, there was also opposition to these views in the discussion groups. "I think you have to treat them, when they are in acute need of care". And, "I can afford paying the dental care for one of them (refugees with no papers)" were two of the voices that were heard.

172 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

173 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 10: Older women aged 45 and over, Tumba, 25 April 2013.

174 Interview with Johanna Hammarström, chairperson of Botkyrka Women's Shelter, Fittja, 18 April 2013.

175 Discussion in Focus Group 7: Civil and political participation, Tumba, 22 April 2013

176 See Migration information, Fores, at <http://www.migrationsinfo.se/migration/sverige/papperslosa> (accessed 6 February 2014). Fores describe themselves as the green liberal think-tank. They are supported by the traditionally agrarian-based Centre Party (*Centerpartiet*).

9

POLICING AND SECURITY

9.1 | SAFETY WORK NATIONALLY AND IN THE MUNICIPALITY

National policing, crime reduction and public safety work are built on a number of assumptions about society and its cohesion. Safety work and crime prevention can be understood as a reaction to changing conceptions of risk and threats in society.¹⁷⁷ The urban sociologist Rolf Lidskog argues that security work is an active part in the construction of society itself as it creates and spreads notions of what characterises a good society, what threatens this society and how you should act to maintain or recreate good social order. The sociologist Ulrich Beck has famously described our late modern Western society in terms of a risk society.¹⁷⁸ Late modernity is characterised by people's increasing individualisation, more attention paid to risk, an increased reflexivity in individuals and institutions, and greater diversity of lifestyles and values, which may be connected to migration and globalisation.

Swedish safety work is often described as belonging to the Nordic model.¹⁷⁹ The Nordic countries are characterised by a strong social welfare system, a tradition of cooperation between sectors outside the legal system, a combination of social and situational crime prevention, and a focus on local crime prevention.¹⁸⁰ Social crime prevention consists of counteracting the factors that increase people's risk of entering a life of crime and staying there. The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (*Brottsförebyggande rådet*, BRÅ), is the government's body of expertise in the judicial system and its work forms the basis for decision-makers in the judicial system, Parliament and the government.¹⁸¹

BRÅ is an agency working under the Ministry of Justice, and a centre for research and development in the judicial system. It primarily works to reduce crime and to improve safety in society by producing data and disseminating knowledge on crime and crime prevention. The agency also produces Sweden's official crime statistics, evaluates reforms, conducts research to develop new knowledge and provides support to local crime prevention work. BRÅ produces reports, sometimes in collaboration with other councils, which help municipalities with crime prevention and neighbourhood watch,

177 Rolf Lidskog, *Staden, våldet och tryggheten* (The city, the violence and safety), Daidalos, Stockholm, 2006, p. 189 (hereafter, Lidskog, *Staden, våldet och tryggheten*).

178 Ulrich Beck, *Risksamhället. På väg mot en annan modernitet* (Risk society. Towards a new modernity), Daidalos, Stockholm, 1986/2000.

179 Lidskog, *Staden, våldet och tryggheten*, p. 192; Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, *Crime prevention in the Nordic context. The Nordic model*, Stockholm, 2001.

180 Lidskog, *Staden, våldet och tryggheten*, p. 193.

181 Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, at <http://www.bra.se/bra/bra-in-english/home.html#&panel1-1> (accessed 15 June 2013).

for instance how to conduct a neighbourhood security survey.¹⁸²

The safety work in Botkyrka municipality is organised at different levels and with varying degrees of involvement from the residents themselves. The municipality's safety policy states that "the municipality shall contribute to a safe environment for the residents, those who work in or spend time in Botkyrka".¹⁸³ The municipality has a specific job position, a safety coordinator, who is professionally situated between the municipality, the police and the emergency service. If a resident is a victim of a crime, the municipality offers a victims' helpline (*brottsofferjour*) through which victims can get help from psychologists, protected accommodation (*skyddat boende*) or urgent financial support.¹⁸⁴ Assistance is available for contacts with the authorities and information on the rights to compensation or redress. The municipality offers help with neighbourhood support in cases of burglary, a support centre for young victims (12–20 years) and fills the function of broker (*medlare*) between victim and perpetrator. It is a method, when an intervention (*medling*) is arranged between a victim and a perpetrator, in order to ease the reconciliation process for the victim. Furthermore, the municipality is organising neighbourhood watches, in which volunteers walk through neighbourhoods or ride the neighbourhood watch car (financed by the municipality), and night walkers (*Nattvandrararna*), adults who are out on the streets during the evenings at weekends to act as social support and prevent crime and drug abuse. There is also an anti-bullying and anti-harassment programme in schools.

The municipality offers training in neighbourhood watch for community associations (*samfälligheter*), tenant-owned associations and tenants' associations.¹⁸⁵ The course is arranged for 40 participants a couple of times a year and takes place at the main police station in Tumba, and the local fire brigade presents information about fire prevention. The newsletter *Neighbourhood watch* (*Grannsamverkan*) is published ten times a year by the local branch of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention in collaboration with the police. The focus is on crime prevention, and is the responsibility of the safety coordinator at the municipality. The safety coordinator also arranges meetings twice a year on different themes related to security and safety, aiming to reduce burglaries from houses and cars. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 7, people engaged in the neighbourhood watch work felt that it helped bring people together, and it was generally viewed very positively.

182 Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, "Neighbourhood watch in multiple family dwellings. A guide", at <http://www.bra.se/bra/bra-in-english/home/publications/archive/publications/2012-12-21-neighbourhood-watch-in-multiple-family-dwellings.html> (accessed 15 June 2013); A More Secure and More Humane Gothenburg, National Board of Housing, Building and Planning and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, "Neighbourhood security survey. A guide", at <http://www.bra.se/bra/bra-in-english/home/publications/archive/publications/2011-02-24-neighbourhood-security-survey-%E2%80%93-a-guide.html> (accessed 15 June 2013).

183 Botkyrka municipality. "Säkerhetsarbete—övergripande arbete i kommunen" (Safety policy—overarching work in the municipality). At <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/trygghetsochsakerhet/sakerhetsarbete> (accessed 15 June 2013).

184 Botkyrka municipality, "Brottsofferstöd och medling" (Safety work). At <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/trygghetsochsakerhet/trygghetsarbete/brottsofferstodochmedling> (accessed 15 June 2013).

185 The safety coordinator is responsible for this programme: see <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/trygghetsochsakerhet/nyhetsbrevochutbildning> (accessed 15 June 2013).

9.2 | DANGEROUS PLACES, VIOLENCE AND SECURITY AT A PRACTICAL AND A MENTAL LEVEL

According to the municipality's safety coordinator, it is important to work with the residents when making renovations, for instance in public parks.¹⁸⁶ He believes that strong efforts need to be made to make the commercial centres and malls safe and to coordinate the cleaning companies. There are several companies responsible for different parts of these centres, and people do not establish a relationship with them, so they sometimes leave litter, the safety coordinator says. A good example of collaboration was when the municipality renovated Sven Tumba Park in Tuna, which was previously considered to be an unsafe place. As a consequence of involving young people in the local area, the municipality ensured that a skateboard park was built as part of the renovation process. The initiative came from members of the skateboard association Sub Surfers Tumba.¹⁸⁷ However, the municipality did not plan any organised activities for young people, so there are still people hanging out in the park at night and so there is therefore a risk that they will ruin the skate park. Another problem in Southern Botkyrka is that age limits at the local youth club (10–16 years), Southside, which is run by the municipality, shut out young adults, and now some of them are drifting around with no place to go to at night.

Botkyrkabyggen does its work from a social responsibility perspective according to its key account manager and is continually arranging meetings with the tenants about safety issues like street lights and the state of the stairwells.¹⁸⁸ Botkyrkabyggen has specific caretakers (*bovårdare*) hired who are responsible for contacts with the tenants and the local tenants' association, they show apartments to new tenants and coordinate cleaning days (a collective communal cleaning by all residents) and private cultivation (as a tenant you could be responsible for the flowerbed).

Most of the participants in the different focus groups expressed a strong confidence in the police force in Southern Botkyrka. The local police have offices in Tumba in Southern Botkyrka as well as in Hallunda and Fittja in Northern Botkyrka. The main station is located in Tumba.

In general participants said that they feel safe in Southern Botkyrka: "it is our home". Unsafe places include badly lit paths between the neighbourhoods. One participant in a focus group said that the municipality had done a bad job there.¹⁸⁹ She believed that it would take a serious incident of violence or sexual assault before the municipality improved street lighting along the paths, especially in Storvreten. Safety on public transport was also a concern.

186 Interview with Beyron Ahxner, security coordinator in Botkyrka, Tumba, 26 March 2013.

187 Sara Sjöström, "Ny park i Tumba" (A New Park in Tumba), *Mitt i Botkyrka*, at http://arkiv.mitti.se:4711/2012/34/botkyrka_salem/MIBO-20120821-A-016-A.pdf (accessed 9 May 2015).

188 Interview with Jan-Erik Sandh, key account manager of Botkyrkabyggen, Tumba, 19 March 2013.

189 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013.

*An elderly gentleman selling Situation Stockholm (a magazine sold by the homeless) was beaten by a gang of 25-year-olds at the commuter train station.*¹⁹⁰

Older women feel unsafe at the terminal waiting for the bus at night.¹⁹¹ Young men were also worried about the risk of experiencing physical violence.

*I avoid Tumba centre. It is disorderly there. My friends were beaten. They were chased to the new playground. One of them was stabbed, and they were older.*¹⁹²

The young men said that they avoid walking alone, that they try to stick together in unsafe places and not to sit alone in the bus.¹⁹³

The safety coordinator was negotiating during 2013 with the bus company in order to establish a system of security hosts (*trygghetsvårdar*) during those hours when people feel unsafe on public transport. The security hosts would, for example, stand at the bus stop late at night and by their very presence establish a safer situation for the passengers. The bus terminal, the commuter train station there and the mall in Tumba are places that the focus group members mentioned as unsafe.

One recurring theme in the interviews and the focus group meetings was a general sense of diminishing safety in society, related to globalisation, migration and the development of a diverse Sweden. The chairman of the Sweden Democrats in Botkyrka described this notion in terms of a “lost society”, referring to the mythical people’s home (*Folkhemmet*), and that there is no belief in the future any more.¹⁹⁴ The interviewee referred to a period in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, when he claims that society was more homogenous, when you knew where you had people, politically, and where the modern right-wing and left-wing divisions still existed, and the society model worked well as a whole; now we live in a fragmented society where the gaps between Swedes and immigrants grow larger and larger, and that is a social model that is not sustainable at all.

Another way to express this feeling of fragmentation is by talking about a fear of different lifestyles and cultures. One focus group participant said that if you do not know anyone who eats halal food or wears a turban, you get frightened by these things.¹⁹⁵ The same participant added that people need groupings to feel safe, and now we have a society that becomes more and more segregated in housing and schools. Another focus group participant argued that the media’s reporting on honour killings and gang rapes creates fear (implicitly of minorities), and so you guard your

190 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013.

191 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

192 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 4: Housing, Tumba, 7 May 2013.

193 Comments from participants in Focus Group 11: Young men aged 18–35, Tumba, 29 April 2013.

194 Interview with Robert Stenkvis, chairman of the Sweden Democrats in Botkyrka and Salem, Stockholm, 16 April 2013.

195 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013.

“own house” and put a safety lock on the door.¹⁹⁶ There are discussions about this on Facebook all the time, he added.

These discussions did not just focus on people with a migrant background, like Muslims, but extended to topics such as the dress style of the Finnish Roma, a group belonging to one of Sweden’s five national minorities.¹⁹⁷ Other minorities are also described as deviating and it was suggested that they should change in order to fit in more in society. “The women come here with their veils, and take stuff from us, but they do not adapt themselves to us,” as one member of a focus group stated.¹⁹⁸ The focus group participants discussed their own sense of safety and confidence as members of Swedish society and wanted immigrants to feel as safe as they did. They felt that if immigrants felt safer and more secure, the quality of the interaction between immigrants and majority Swedes would improve. Besides lifestyles, home decorations, eating habits, dressing styles, culture and violence towards women, many of the focus group participants continued to return to the language issue as being the major problem that causes feelings of insecurity in society.¹⁹⁹

Even though there have always ethnic and linguistic minorities in Sweden, there is a strong belief in the notion of Swedish culture and the Swedish language as the unifying ingredients in the nation. Therefore the Swedish language holds a very strong position as a tool for the integration of migrants and for community cohesion as a whole. This idea is expressed by the focus group participants in terms of causality:

- there is a lack of experience of safety in society, and this is due to the lack of communication between residents with a foreign background and majority Swedes;
- these groups do not communicate since they do not share a common language; and
- if only everybody could speak Swedish many of the problems could be solved.

There were explicitly strong demands in many of the focus groups for more extensive language training for immigrants, which would promote communication between majority Swedes and minority Swedes. The neighbourhood watch programme was mentioned as a way to lessen the distance between people,²⁰⁰ and indeed,

196 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 12: Older men aged 45 and over, Tumba, 2 May 2013.

197 Sweden has five recognised national minorities: Jews, Roma, Sami (also an indigenous people), Swedish Finns and Tornedalers. They are covered by the Swedish minority policy. The long-established minority languages are Yiddish, Romany Chib (all varieties), Sami (all varieties), Finnish and Meänkieli (Tornedal Finnish). See Government offices of Sweden, “National Minorities”, at <http://www.government.se/sb/d/2184/a/19444> (accessed 14 October 2013). Sweden ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Strasbourg, 1 February 1995) on 13 January 2000, at <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/01/28/30/5f6251e4.pdf> (accessed 14 October 2013).

198 Comments from participants in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

199 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

200 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

it was more or less described as a new social movement, and as a way to create a society where civil society is more involved. The focus group participants saw neighbourhood watch as a method to persuade people to get off the fence, and a way to make people feel safer.

10

CIVIL AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION

10.1 | CITIZENSHIP AND SWEDISHNESS

Swedish citizenship law is a mix between the *jus sanguinis* principle and the *jus solis* principle. It means that in principle citizenship is acquired at birth if either of the parents is a Swedish citizen, and regardless of sex.²⁰¹ Another fundamental principle, which governs Swedish citizenship policy, is that statelessness should be avoided; hence, stateless persons are often given citizenship. Since 2001 Sweden also accepts dual citizenship if the law of the other country allows it, although before that many had dual or even multiple citizenships anyway.²⁰² Foreign nationals can apply for citizenship if they have reached the age of 18 and have been residents with permanent resident permits (*permanent uppehållstillstånd*, PUT) for five years in a row.²⁰³ If a person has been married to, living in a registered partnership with or cohabiting with a Swedish citizen for at least the past two years, he or she may apply for Swedish citizenship after spending three years in Sweden. As a refugee, or as a stateless subject, one can apply for citizenship after at least four years in Sweden. However, in order to become a Swedish citizen, one must have conducted oneself well during the time spent in Sweden.²⁰⁴

Foreign nationals who are registered as residents in Sweden and have a permanent resident permit (*permanent uppehållstillstånd*) by and large have the same rights and obligations as Swedish citizens,²⁰⁵ but there are some important differences. Only Swedish citizens have an absolute and unconditional right to live and work in Sweden, and only Swedish citizens are entitled to vote in the national parliamentary elections. Any resident in Sweden is entitled to vote in the county and municipality elections, if he or she has turned 18 years old on the election day and has been registered on the Swedish population register (*folkbokföringen*) for a continuous period of three years.²⁰⁶ A foreign citizen cannot be elected to the national parliament, and there are also a number of positions, such as police officers and military officers, that can only be filled by Swedish citizens. The obligation to serve time in the armed forces also applies only to Swedish citizens.²⁰⁷

201 Government Offices of Sweden, "Swedish citizenship", at <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/21/57/10/07304fa5.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2013).

202 Government Offices of Sweden, "Swedish Citizenship Act", at <http://www.government.se/content/1/c6/10/57/28/3ddfc07b.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2013).

203 To apply for citizenship, one has to contact the Swedish Migration Board: Swedish Migration Board, "Applying for citizenship", at http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/316_en.html (accessed 20 June 2013). It requests information from other authorities such as the Enforcement Authority if a person has debts, the Swedish National Police Board if one has committed a crime or is suspected of having done so, and the Security Service for security checks.

204 Swedish Migration Board, "Good conduct", at http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/500_en.html (accessed 20 June 2013).

205 Government Offices of Sweden, "Swedish citizenship," at <http://www.government.se/sb/d/2188/a/19449> (accessed 20 June 2013).

206 Government Offices of Sweden, "Who is allowed to vote?", at <http://www.regeringen.se/sb/d/10855> (accessed 8 July 2013).

207 Swedish Migration Board, "Applying for citizenship", at http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/316_en.html (accessed 20 June 2013).

The Swedish Citizenship Act has recently been investigated and a proposal for revision was presented in April 2013.²⁰⁸ The investigation has had the task of presenting a proposal for a definition of the importance of Swedish citizenship, to suggest how citizenship ceremonies should be arranged, and how citizenship could be used as a tool in the work with integration. The major suggestions in the investigation are an opportunity to receive Swedish citizenship earlier if you are proficient in the Swedish language (that is, a language bonus), better opportunities for children born in Sweden to become citizens, and citizenship ceremonies in all the municipalities.

The conditions described here are those necessary for juridical citizenship, but to be active in the everyday cultural and social life of the country there is a cultural citizenship that must also be considered when discussing Swedishness. A cultural citizenship is about how rooted a person is in the heritage of a certain country, and therefore in the country you are considered to belong to. The sociologist Nira Yuval-Davis argues that nation-building can be viewed from three perspectives.²⁰⁹ The first, the genealogical, is constructed out of people's descent, that is through blood, race and kinship. The second is civil, and focuses on citizenship as a determinant of the borders of a nation; it relates to the sovereignty of nation-states and their specific territoriality. The last, the cultural, is the symbolic heritage, the essence of a nation, like language, religion and traditions. Here there is little tolerance for deviance and the "others" become very visible, Yuval-Davis states. The previous chapters have shown that it was the notion of cultural citizenship that was predominantly most explicit in the focus group discussions, both as a subtext and openly verbalised, for instance:

*"They will never become Swedes." "No, not entirely like us."*²¹⁰

Civil and legal citizenship does not, in other words, mean that one is seen and treated as a Swede, and genealogical considerations were present in the focus groups but not explicitly articulated due to the colour-blindness surrounding everything to do with race in Sweden.

10.2 | BEING AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

Since the late 19th century taking an active part in Swedish society has been facilitated by social movements and many different associations. This active civil society characteristic of Sweden is what the British sociologist T.H. Marshall described as a development of citizenship: "from a period where civil citizenship was safeguarded with formal civil rights to political citizenship with political participation and further on to social citizenship which should give people the conditions to participate in the development of the formation of

208 Government Offices of Sweden, "Swedish Citizenship," at <http://www.government.se/sb/d/2188/a/19449> (accessed 20 June 2013).

209 Yuval-Davis, *Gender and nation*.

210 Comments from participants in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

society.”²¹¹ Crucial to this was the development of the welfare system, including the social security system as it was constructed by the labour movement from the early 1940s onwards.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a number of social movements and associations emerged in Sweden. The movements developed around such concepts as civil rights, freedom of religion, temperance, labour issues, women’s issues and the cultural heritage. Thus, to join an association or a political party has for a long period been the way for citizens to make an impact in any sphere in Swedish society. In the 1990s, the political parties suffered a decrease in the number of their members, and from then on young people have also started to organise themselves in new and different ways from those of the decades of Swedish high modernity in the postwar period.

Studies on political participation in Sweden during the past decade have shown an increasing distrust of politics. In polls more and more people say that they do not trust established mainstream politicians.²¹² At the same time, local networks and constellations are developing, working for improving the living conditions and the environment in the underprivileged suburbs. There has been an emergence of groups and networks based in the non-white areas in the bigger cities, and mainly consisting of the so-called second generation, such as the Megaphone (*Megafonen*) in Greater Stockholm and the Panthers—for a Revitalisation of the Suburb (*Pantrarna—För en upprustning av förorten*) in Greater Gothenburg. These new activist organisations are heavily localised, pan-ethnic, with their members mostly youngsters and young adults, and they are challenging what the non-white suburb means, what a Swede and an immigrant is. Above all, they are the first independent voices coming from a new demographic segment of the Swedish population which has not been heard before. Another development is the more loosely formed networks engaging with a local question, for instance Alby is not for Sale! (*Alby är inte till salu!*), which is involved with the sale of some of the rental houses belonging to Botkyrkabyggen in Alby in Northern Botkyrka.²¹³

10.3 | EXPERIENCES OF DEMOCRACY AMONG MAJORITY SWEDES

All associations in Botkyrka can apply for financial support from the municipality if they are registered in the association register (*Botkyrka föreningsregister*).²¹⁴ They can

211 Adrienne Sörbom, "Den tömda demokratin—och vägarna tillbaka till makten. Inledning" (The drained democracy—and the roads to power. Introduction), *Agora's Annual Book 2004*, Stockholm, pp. 7–8 (hereafter, Sörbom, "Den tömda demokratin"), after T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and social class and other essays*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1950.

212 Sörbom, "Den tömda demokratin", p. 10.

213 See Pantrarna—För en upprustning av förorten (Panthers—for a revitalisation of the Suburb), at <http://pantrarna.wordpress.com> (accessed 9 July 2013); Megaphone (Megafonen), at <http://megafonen.com> (accessed 9 July 2013); Alby is not for Sale! (*Alby är inte till salu!*), at <http://albyarintetillsalu.wordpress.com/about> (accessed 9 July 2013).

214 Botkyrka municipality. "Bidrag till föreningar" (Support to associations), at <http://www.botkyrka.se/idrottfritidochnatur/foreningsliv/bidragtillforeningar> (accessed 20 June 2013).

receive basic support (*grundbidrag*), flexible support (*rörligt bidrag*) and support for specific events (*evenemangsbidrag*). The flexible support is only for associations that perform activities in sectors that the municipality has defined as prioritised. These are children's and youth activities, activities for disabled people and for the elderly and activities that promote an inclusive anti-discrimination approach. The support for specific events, temporary or annually, can be applied for if the event is aimed at and open to the public. The events may be festivals, performances, lectures or culture days.

Southern Botkyrka is described by many of the interviewees and focus group members as being like the old Sweden of social movements and associations (*det gamla förenings-Sverige*), with a still strong membership in labour unions, tenants' unions, church groups, senior citizens' associations and sports associations, among others.²¹⁵ One focus group member presented himself as being a social movement activist: "Once a social movement man, always a social movement man" ("*en gång folkrörelsemänniska, alltid folkrörelsemänniska*").²¹⁶ This is an idiomatic expression in Swedish, and is associated with strong pride in being an active citizen contributing to the maintenance of Swedish democracy and walking in the footsteps of the historical social movements and all their leaders. This expression can be seen as almost a symbol of how one should behave as a Swede.

Many if not most of the focus group participants were engaged in one or more associations and political parties. There were participants who were engaged in senior citizens' associations (for example, *Sveriges pensionärsförbund*), the Swedish Union of Tenants, different sports associations, neighbourhood watch groups, free churches (*frikyrkor*), associations for the disabled and the Swedish Red Cross. There were several participants who were members of political parties such as the Sweden Democrats, the Tullinge Party, the Botkyrka Party, the Social Democrats and the Liberal People's Party. Southern Botkyrka is often compared with Northern Botkyrka, where the minority residents are said to be active mainly in ethnically-based associations instead of associations working for the common good. This widespread view was also expressed by participants, who explained this in terms of cultural differences, in the sense that "they" do not want to engage themselves if "they" do not gain something from it individually.

Not only residents in Northern Botkyrka, but also young people in general, were the target of these worries about the future of the more traditional social movements and associations in Southern Botkyrka—and indeed elsewhere in the country. Some of the interviewees and many of the focus group participants expressed despair that many young people nowadays are not interested in non-profit volunteer collective work, like for instance arranging a midsummer festivity for the community. This could by all means be seen as an opinion widespread all over society; it is more of a tradition that

215 For instance in the interview with Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013.

216 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

the elderly complain about the younger generations, their habits and behaviours. The general opinion was that soon only the older citizens will be the ones who keep up the non-profit work and the associations, and that the young people's attitude can be summed up in a remark at one meeting: "What's in it for me? And if they don't earn any money they're not interested."²¹⁷

The municipality has also developed citizen dialogue forums (*dialogforum*) where the inhabitants in a certain area are able to meet politicians and civil servants and express their views. The forums have been used to discuss public health, the development of a recreational area near Tullinge, safety work in Tumba and concerns about becoming a senior citizen.²¹⁸ The dialogue forums were discussed extensively in the focus group meetings. There are divergent opinions concerning their purposes and their effects on democracy. One interviewee thought that it was not much of a dialogue, but more of a monologue, where the politicians informed the citizens of certain decisions rather than discussed them.²¹⁹ One focus group member said that the forums were a good way to develop democracy, but also asked for methods for participation at a deeper level of society;²²⁰ this comment may reflect the fact that while the forums create a space for politicians and citizens to meet, they do not make any decisions.²²¹ The municipality has appointed a democracy developer who works on the dialogue forums with citizens. The developer explained in an interview for this report that democracy is a political system that has to be adjusted to its population and that the majority population in general has great abilities to have an effect on decision-makers since they have the knowledge of the tools.²²² There are nevertheless individuals within the majority, who are, as he put it, forgotten about. In these cases it is the responsibility of the municipality to create opportunities for them to have opportunities to participate. In his view, a major problem is that most people do not understand that we are facing a new society now. In order to get in contact with the population and to get information about their views the democracy developer uses different tools; besides dialogue forums there are methods such as the citizens' panel (*medborgarpanel*), which is a digital tool where 600 citizens (100 in each part of the municipality) are invited to

217 See for instance the interview with the chairman for the Swedish Union of Tenants in Botkyrka and Salem, Tumba, 15 April 2013; the interview with the municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013; comments from participants in Focus Group 2: Education, Tumba, 10 April 2013, and Focus Group 12: Older men aged 45 and over, Tumba, 2 May 2013.

218 Botkyrka municipality, "Dialogforum i Grödinge—folkhälsofrågor" (Citizens' dialogue in Grödinge on public health issues), 4 November 2010; "Dialogforum i Tullinge—Utveckla Lida Friluftsområde" (Citizens' dialogue in Tullinge on development of the recreational area of Lida), 1 October 2012; "Dialogforum i Tullinge—Att åldras i Tullinge" (Citizens' dialogue in Tullinge—Ageing in Tullinge), 27 November 2012; "Dialogforum i Tumba-Storvreten—Hur gör vi Tumba tryggare tillsammans?" (Citizens' dialogue in Tumba-Storvreten—How do we create a safer Tumba together?), 30 March 2010, at <http://www.botkyrka.se/kommunochpolitik/sakandupaverka/delta-i-dialogforum/Sidor/Grödinge-dialogforum.aspx> (accessed 30 May 2013).

219 Interview with Anders Thorén, group leader for the Tullinge Party, Tullinge, 27 March 2013.

220 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 6: Policing and security, Tumba, 18 April 2013.

221 During the autumn of 2013 the municipality ordered an evaluation of the effect of the dialogue forums, in order to get information for a decision concerning their future development. Nina Edström, Dialogforum i Botkyrka. En utvärdering (Dialogue forum in Botkyrka. An evaluation) Botkyrka: Mångkulturellt centrum, 2014

222 Interview with Ahmad Azizi, democracy developer Botkyrka Municipality, Botkyrka, 17 April 2013.

answer questions about the work and services carried out by the municipality and by community informants (*samhällsinformatörer*), who are chosen on the basis of gender, age and place. The aim is to have more young persons than middle-aged and old, since the young do not attend the dialogue forums as much as the other age groups.

A citizen in Botkyrka municipality can submit a citizen's proposal (*medborgarförslag*) to the municipality which carries a promise that the politicians will at least consider it. Some focus group members have used this opportunity to try to affect the municipality's activities. For instance, one proposal was to stop the municipality using road salt (*vägsalt*) during wintertime in order to protect the ground water.²²³ The municipality responded to this petition by arguing that there were no alternatives to the use of road salt at the time being. The focus group participant felt this was a pity in relation to the environment (also in the light that Botkyrka municipality emphasises their environmental work) and noted that in the northern part of Sweden they have stopped using road salt and use sand instead. The whole process took about 10 months. The focus group member emphasised that it was very easy to hand in a citizen's proposal. Another focus group member handed in a proposal that the municipality should build an agility course, where you could train your dog and not have to be a member of any association. She received an answer saying that the municipality thanked her for the suggestion but emphasised that they prioritised young citizens. She was at the time only 15 years old. The recent police permission given to the Fittja mosque to call for prayer once every Friday was initially also a citizen's proposal.²²⁴ However, this was mentioned in some focus group meetings and an interview as an example where democracy does not work, as the call to prayer was not included initially in the application to build a mosque.²²⁵ The participants and interviewees who were critical of allowing the call to prayer felt that it was an example where the democratic process was being sidestepped, since the call for prayer was not included in the original proposal.

Every year a citizens' poll (*medborgarundersökning*) is carried out. Also, all residents are able to contact the municipality via the internet or through one of the citizens' offices (*medborgarkontor*), a one-stop shop for municipal services to voice complaints.

One thing that is called for is physical meeting places where the citizens can meet without spending money, and not yet another commercial centre. It was stressed that it is important that these meeting places are not connected to any specific ethnic or religious group, but instead are places where everybody can meet regardless of differences.²²⁶

223 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young women aged 18–35, 24 April 2013.

224 The Islamic association in Fittja handed in a citizen's proposal in January 2012 that asked that the call to prayer should be allowed. The municipality board decided in January 2013 that it was a matter for the police force because it concerned the general order. The local police decided on 26 April 2013 that a call for prayer was not a disturbance of the general order.

225 Interview with Robert Stenkvisst, chairman of the Sweden Democrats in Botkyrka and Salem, Stockholm, 16 April 2013.

226 Interview with Petter Beckman and Mariela Quintana Melin, chief editor and editor of *Södra Sidan*, Skärholmen, 20 March 2013.



ROLE OF THE MEDIA

11.1 | MAJORITY SWEDES AND THE SUBURB IN THE MEDIA

Research on the media in Sweden has to a large extent focussed on either Swedishness as it is portrayed in relation to depictions of immigrants and integration issues, or on the images of multicultural suburbs and how they affect the inhabitants' identity.²²⁷ The ethnologist Per Markku Ristilampi has described how the suburb (*förorten*) is constantly shaped within different types of "black poetry"²²⁸ constructed by certain discourses. The descriptions of places build on, and are in themselves, interpretations and thereby play an active part in the construction of places. Just like other types of place-making activities, the descriptions take place within existing social hierarchies and therefore give some people more influence than others, so certain ways of characterising and defining places get a stronger legitimacy and dominate over others.²²⁹

Representations and images of Botkyrka in the media have been dominated for a long period by descriptions of the northern part of the municipality. Many media texts have been about gangs, crimes, riots, segregation and different integration projects in the Million Programme, and this black poetry has had extremely negative effects on the inhabitants, whose neighbourhoods have received a bad reputation which they do not deserve.²³⁰ In popular culture like feature films and television dramas on gang crimes or in crime novels, Botkyrka is also a commonplace for the setting.²³¹ According to the municipality's own statistics on the media texts on Botkyrka, they are not solely negative any more compared with the 1990s and the 2000s.²³² Some articles are becoming more positive, more and more are just neutral, while many are still as negative as before.²³³ A robbery in the city of Stockholm does not affect the image of Stockholm in the same way as it affects Botkyrka, should it happen here, one interviewee said.

In a thesis on representations of Swedishness in newspaper articles on integration issues, the author has identified four main ways through which Swedishness is imagined.²³⁴ First, Swedishness is defined as common values and norms; second,

227 Lars Nord and Gunnar Nygren, *Medieskugga* (Media shadow), Atlas, Stockholm, 2002, pp. 64–86; Oscar Pripp, "Mediabilder och levd erfarenhet" (Media images and lived experiences), in Ingrid Ramberg and Oscar Pripp (eds), *Fittja, världen och vardagen* (Fittja, the world and everyday life), Multicultural Centre, Botkyrka, 2002, p. 50 (hereafter, Pripp, "Mediabilder och levd erfarenhet").

228 Ristilampi uses the concept of poetry in the sense of the classical Greek *poiesis*, "making, creating", which indicates that a description always includes a depiction.

229 Tim Cresswell, *Place. A short introduction*, Blackwell, Malden, 2004, p. 102.

230 Pripp, "Mediabilder och levd erfarenhet", pp. 50–52.

231 See for instance Jens Lapidus, *Snabba cash* (Fast cash), Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm, 2006; Anders Roslund and Börge Hellström, *Två soldater* (Two soldiers), Pocketförlaget, Stockholm, 2012.

232 Botkyrka municipality provides quarterly media watch follow-ups. Interview with Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013.

233 The municipality's internal reports.

234 Beatrice Amsenius, "Framställningar av svenskhet i media. En diskursanalys av tidningsartiklar om invandring och integration" (Representations of Swedishness in the media. A discourse analysis of articles on immigration and integration), BA thesis for Stockholm University (Department of Social Work), 2009.

Swedes are portrayed as integrated and immigrants as not integrated; third, Swedishness is depicted as characterised by certain traditions, habits and a common history; and finally, there are descriptions of Swedish society as being racist and discriminating.

In addition to this, it has been becoming more common to discuss the mainly North American concept of “white trash”, or just simple WT, in the media, sometimes without quotation marks, and denoting poor majority Swedes or majority Swedes who deviate in some way or another in terms of dress styles, food habits and so on (as mentioned in Chapter 3).²³⁵ This phrase embraces notions of a poor education and certain lifestyles (curve of the back tattoos and tribal tattoos, for example), and certain ways of speaking and interacting. A radio show in 2012 entitled “They call us white trash” on national radio provoked strong reactions.²³⁶ Hundreds of listeners contacted the radio station because they were upset by the terminology that they perceived as stereotypical and degrading. It was an invitation to a masquerade that gave the journalist Mia Blomgren the idea for the show. It said: “Welcome to a fancy dress party with a white trash theme! Wear well-worn jogging bottoms, crocs²³⁷ and get a lower back tattoo at the door. Drink cheap wine and don’t give a damn about do’s and don’ts for one evening. Mia Blomgren was surprised by the frequency of the pejorative and that the group that was targeted was so exposed. She was interested in giving voice to the people who were seen as white trash. The strong reactions to the show made her do a follow-up, “They call us white trash—the sequel”, where she met some of the critics and discussed their reactions to the terminology, categorisation, marginalisation and the feelings the show stirred up.

11.2 | THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA AND EXPERIENCES OF MAJORITY SWEDES

*The young people in Tullinge experience that Tullinge doesn't exist as it isn't visible in the media. When they are at a party in town, no one knows where it is. And who wants to live in a hole?*²³⁸

Southern Botkyrka and its various areas are seldom in the media, making many of

235 *Norrköpings Tidningar*, “White trash”, 2 February 2013; Kristina Edblom, “De är stämplade som white trash” (They are stamped as white trash), *Aftonbladet*, 4 November 2012, *Mariestads-Tidningen*, “De kallas white trash” (They are called white trash), 24 October 2012.

236 Mia Blomgren, “De kallar oss white trash” (They call us white trash), “*Tendens*” (Tendency) on Programme 1 of national radio, at <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/gruppsida.aspx?programid=3381&grupp=18201&artikel=5205012> (accessed 28 October 2013).

237 The Swedish term “*foppatofflor*” denotes a cheap copy of the widespread and more expensive crocs. The word foppa comes from Peter “Foppa” Forsberg, a famous ice hockey player who started to wear the shoes and they got immensely popular.

238 Interview with Petter Beckman and Mariela Quintana Melin, chief editor and editor of *Södra Sidan*, Skärholmen, 20 March 2013.

them feel as if they are living in a media shadow (*medieskugga*), which the focus group participants were well aware of and ambivalent about. The general tendency in the interviews and among the participants in the focus group meetings was that the negative media image of Northern Botkyrka is attached to the general perception of the municipality. The place name Botkyrka evokes images in people's minds of burning cars, a high crime rate, violence, segregation and high-rise buildings. The participants naturally experienced a huge discrepancy between the media image and their own everyday experiences. As one focus group participant put it:

The picture I had of Botkyrka, before I moved here, was that it was deadly dangerous. But when I moved here I understood that there are no dead persons on the streets. In Southern Botkyrka you usually talk about even smaller neighbourhoods [like Tumba] and not Southern Botkyrka.²³⁹

According to the area's democracy developer, the effect of this negative media image is that the majority population in Southern Botkyrka feels unfairly treated, and this causes a downwards spiral that does not help the municipality's work with social sustainability, as it leads to more hostility and resentment towards Northern Botkyrka and minorities among majority Swedes in the southern part of the municipality.²⁴⁰

Due to the negative image of Botkyrka, young majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka sometimes avoid mentioning that they live in Botkyrka when they are invited to parties, and they refer to their neighbourhoods (for instance Tumba or Uttran) as their home addresses, since people outside the municipality do not know that Tullinge or Grödinge are in the municipality of Botkyrka. However, some of the younger men exaggerate the coolness connected with media representations of Botkyrka which they can use when interacting with young people from other parts of the city.²⁴¹ They mention "the hood", "the concrete" and hip hop music groups like Latin Kings from Northern Botkyrka, referring to them as positive symbols of the municipality.

Participants said they mostly relied on the television news programmes ("*Rapport*" and "*Aktuellt*") on public service channels 1 and 2, and "*Nyheterna*" (news on commercial Channel 4) and the Stockholm-based newspapers with national coverage (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*). The Greater Stockholm local television news programme "ABC" is heavily criticised for being too much centred on the inner city in its coverage of the capital region.²⁴² But mainly the local newspapers were discussed. Residents mostly rely on the two local newspapers *Södra Sidan*²⁴³ (Southside) and *Mitt i Botkyrka* (At the Centre of Botkyrka), which are both distributed free as they are financed by advertisements. *Södra Sidan* started to cover Southern Botkyrka only

239 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young Women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

240 Interview with Ahmad Azizi, democracy developer, Fittja, 17 April 2013.

241 Comments from participants in Focus Group 11: Young men aged 18–35, Tumba, 29 April 2013.

242 The name "ABC" refers to the old county names: AB = Stockholm County and C = Uppsala County.

243 *Södra Sidan's* editorial staff is in Skärholmen along the tube red line no. 13 and covers the northern part of Botkyrka.

recently, and focus group members and the interviewees all agreed that it is a very good alternative to *Mitt i Botkyrka*, since it not only covers the negative side of news in Botkyrka, contrary to *Mitt i Botkyrka*, run by the Mitt i enterprise which operates throughout Greater Stockholm with different titles around the region (such as *Mitt i Huddinge*, *Mitt i Skärholmen* and so on) and its editorial staff offices are in Årsta, in the southern part of Stockholm city.²⁴⁴ They are journalists who write about Botkyrka and do not even live there (or have not even visited the municipality).

The media generally mirror the upper and middle classes, since the journalists themselves are middle-class, said a journalist interviewed; the problem is not that the white Swedish working class is not portrayed, it is that they are limited to specific roles as victims, unemployed, alcoholics, people with bad taste or single mothers.²⁴⁵ “I am extremely grateful for their (*Södra Sidan*) initiative to cover the whole municipality,” said Katarina Berggren, the municipal commissioner.²⁴⁶ One focus group member was annoyed because it is hard to get a letter to the editor published in *Mitt i Botkyrka*, which does not support the political majority in the municipality. The newspaper sells a lot of advertising space, and therefore it only publishes certain views, was his comment.²⁴⁷ One interviewee also mentioned that the entrepreneurs in Botkyrka have threatened to withdraw their advertisements if *Mitt i Botkyrka* do not start to include good news from Botkyrka.²⁴⁸

Social media, mostly Facebook, was mentioned as a medium for ordinary people to make their voices heard and as a way to change power relations in the media sphere.²⁴⁹ Many of the comments on Northern Botkyrka in social media and in discussion forums on the internet reproduce media and popular culture, in the sense that they are negative, demonising and stigmatising. In the focus groups and interviews, people talked about local Facebook groups that they are members of or about groups that they had heard of. Some focus group participants expressed ambivalent feelings about the Facebook groups. They can serve as an extra resource for communication between neighbours and residents in a specific area, and they can also be used as a forum for hate speech and as a border marker for those who do not belong in a certain neighbourhood. One good example given by a focus group member is a trade forum in a local forum in Riksten, through which residents sell, buy or give clothes, toys, bicycles, etc., among each other, and which also is an example of a sustainable lifestyle.²⁵⁰ Another example is the local forum “We all love Tullinge”,

244 *Mitt i* publishes 31 different versions of the paper covering the inner city and surrounding municipalities and urban areas.

245 Interview with Petter Beckman and Mariela Quintana Melin, chief editor and editor of *Södra Sidan*, Skärholmen, 20 March 2013.

246 Interview with Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Tumba, 26 April 2013.

247 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 1: Identity and belonging, Tumba, 9 April 2013.

248 Interview with Anders Arnesson, former municipal commissioner, Fittja, 26 March 2013.

249 For instance in Focus Group 7: Civil and political participation, Tumba, 22 April 2013, Focus Group 8: Role of the media, Tumba, 23 April 2013, and Focus Group 9: Young women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

250 Comment from a participant in Focus Group 9: Young Women aged 18–35, Tumba, 24 April 2013.

an open group but very small and exclusive, focusing on the historic Tullinge. People publish pictures of old stores, and old documentaries and pictures of houses that are no longer there. The group serves a nostalgic purpose and supports the home feelings of people who have their roots in the neighbourhood.

12

CONCLUSION

THE CHANGING DEMOGRAPHIC OF BOTKYRKA

Botkyrka is the first municipality in Sweden to become a minority-majority municipality; to make the transition from having a total majority Swedish population to where majority Swedes constitute the biggest demographic group but not a majority of the population.

While Botkyrka is the first municipality in Sweden where majority Swedes do not constitute the absolute majority any more, a substantial number of Swedish municipalities will go through the same demographic transition in the near future. This study on the situation of majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka can provide relevant insights for other municipalities that will face a similar transition soon. Thus, the experiences of majority Swedes in Southern Botkyrka potentially show us the future of both Greater Stockholm and urban Sweden in general.

In Botkyrka this demographic shift has been managed (if not intentionally) through segregation, by the sharp division between the northern part which is dominated by a minority population, and the southern part where majority Swedes dominate. The findings in this report show that managing diversity in this way is not an option in the long term for Botkyrka, Stockholm or Sweden. The experience of other European countries shows that where there are significant residential concentrations for minority and majority communities, policies focused on disadvantaged areas may reinforce tensions and reinforce rumours that minority groups are being favoured over the majority populations. There was criticism of the municipality's strategy to move certain public services to Northern Botkyrka and to concentrate creative sector, culture and entertainment workplaces there. These were policies that were considered to favour minorities.

Research participants also noted the higher funding for schools in Northern Botkyrka compared with areas in the south. Although such policies are based on economic and social need, they were perceived to favour minorities over majority Swedes.

Such perceptions can be exploited by populist political parties. This report has picked on some early indications of this already happening. Southern Botkyrka is a stronghold for single-issue populist parties in the capital region which together gained as many as one-quarter of the votes in the 2010 elections, and particularly the Sweden Democrats in particular received record high results in the school elections of the same year.

IDENTITY AND BELONGING

Botkyrka is widely considered to be the role model for working actively with inclusion problems, according to its intercultural strategy. The findings from this report suggest that these policies need to engage with majority populations in order to be effective.

From the study, it is evident that many majority Swedes are still apprehensive about this new Sweden emerging in front of them, and are in some cases longing for an imagined old homogenous Sweden. Some participants are voicing feelings of discontent and anxiety in spite of the fact that the most of them are doing well socio-economically. Some of them are also prepared to vote for populist and ethno-nationalist political parties which try to actively maintain the already extreme segregation pattern that characterises the cities of Sweden and to protect the privileges of being a majority Swede.

At the same time, the research finds that support for human rights, equality and opposition to racism are central components of modern Swedish identity. This is a positive feature and one that provides an opportunity for developing a new narrative of Swedishness. At present, this anti-racism is based on Swedish colour-blindness which makes it difficult to discuss the issues detailed in this study. Diversity is only discussed through the categories of 'Swedes' and 'people of immigrant background'. In spite of its radical anti-racist intentions, this colour-blindness could reproduce the idea that only whites can be Swedes and that non-whites can never be fully accepted as Swedes. It also makes it difficult to talk about the demographic transition that Sweden is going through.

More efforts are needed to support majority Swedes in municipalities like Botkyrka in adjusting to the changing demography and growing diversity of their areas. Action is needed to create opportunities for majority Swedes to share urban space with a growing minority population. Greater contact across Northern and Southern Botkyrka is hindered by the existing poor transport links, which make it more difficult to travel between the north and south than to the centre of Stockholm. According to the participants the public transport system zones in Greater Stockholm make it not just time-consuming but expensive to travel from Southern and Northern Botkyrka.

A renewal of Swedish identity that builds on Sweden's deep commitment to human rights and equality is needed to enable everyone to participate in and contribute to Swedish society and feel comfortable with the new reality of a diverse population. Open debate at many levels could further this process. This can be done by opening up the public culture of Sweden to reveal the country's diversity to a much greater extent than today, as the already highly diverse population is not reflected culturally in the theatres, museums and in official narratives and monuments in the public space either in Greater Stockholm or in Sweden as a whole.

EDUCATION

More needs to be done locally to address segregation in education and the differences in educational achievements between schools dominated by minority pupils and schools dominated by majority pupils. There are indications of a need for much more work with anti-discrimination and anti-racist pedagogy on an everyday level across all schools. The support for the ethno-nationalist Sweden Democrats in the school elections is particularly worrying, alongside the indications of the use of racialising words and epithets vis-a-vis minority Swedes, whether they are classmates or teachers.

EMPLOYMENT

While employment levels are high and unemployment levels low, some groups within the majority population require additional support in ensuring access to employment. One good practice which received appreciative comments from participants in this study was the municipality's programme to provide summer jobs for young people as a way of giving them early experiences of the labour market and prepare them for their future professional careers. This programme needs to be strengthened on the side of the mentors in order to make the interaction between young people from different social strata and different areas smoother.

HOUSING

Southern Botkyrka has a diverse housing stock. A key concern is the shortage of rented apartments for young adults. New rental housing is needed to retain and attract young people to the area, which is vital to its social sustainability. The maintenance of a balance between different types of housing is particularly important in Tumba and Storvreten, which statistically are the most diverse and balanced areas not only in Southern Botkyrka but in the whole of Greater Stockholm in terms of the representation of all social classes, generations and ethnic backgrounds.

There was a feeling among some participants that as more minority families move to Southern Botkyrka, the social fabric there will change in a negative way in the future. However, Tumba and Storvreten provide a role model and proof that it is possible to live in a diverse urban area in an otherwise heavily segregated Greater Stockholm. The research finds that initiatives and actions locally can make a positive impact in supporting social cohesion. One good practice which came up in the study and which received praise from participants was the programme for social activities which Botkyrkabyggen is running to maintain a feeling of community in its rental housing units. Equally positive comments were expressed by participants who took part in the municipality's programme with neighbourhood watch groups. In some areas, frictions were reported between those who lived in owner-occupied terrace houses and those who lived in rented apartments.

In Botkyrka municipality as a whole, there is an urgent need to change the division of zones of the public transport system in Greater Stockholm. The division of the municipality into two transport zones means that it is more expensive to travel between Southern and Northern Botkyrka than into the centre of Stockholm, as already noted. This situation only exacerbates the extreme segregation pattern. A change in the zoning would result in many benefits and support the need for physical meeting places between the minority and the majority population segments of the municipality. It would also make it easier for the inhabitants of Southern Botkyrka to visit both the Social Insurance Agency and the Public Employment Service which are in Northern Botkyrka, as are the cultural institutions and entertainment centres.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The experiences of majority Swedes in health and social services, and policing and security can also be expressed in anxiety for the near future. The ill-health index and the social allowance rate among majority Swedes in southern Botkyrka are low. There were some reports of discontent with the health services and with certain welfare centres in spite of the municipality's ambitious health and social protection policy.

Many voices were raised indicating that the health and welfare services in general had got worse in recent years, although overall they still seemed to be functioning quite well. There were complaints about the increasing distances to be travelled in order to access health and welfare services, caused by the general shrinking of the welfare state, and feelings that compared with before one cannot always trust that one gets the care that one wants and needs to get, not even always the right diagnosis. As a consequence some residents in Southern Botkyrka actively seek health and welfare services outside the municipality in the private sector that evolved after deregulation.

Many participants were also worried about an ageing majority population and the growing presence of minority staff in the health sector who were not seen as having good enough Swedish-language skills.

POLICING AND SECURITY

The public transport and commercial centre in Tumba was identified by the participants as unsafe, as were similar places where many people meet and pass through for a short period without knowing each other. These are the places where the highest incidences of crime in any big city occur. A number of participants commented on the need to improve the street lighting in certain areas perceived to be unsafe. The policing and security work which the municipality is already conducting received praise from the participants, and is therefore both a recommendation and a good practice in itself, particularly the

neighbourhood watch programme, whose active members were highly satisfied and saw them as a way of sustaining community feeling in the neighbourhoods. However, the neighbourhood watch programme needs to recruit a broader cross-section of the population as it seems to consist mainly of majority Swedish men.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Civil and political participation is an area which does not seem to be in crisis, and the municipality continues to support the still vital civil society among majority Swedes, as well as being actively engaged in deliberative democracy work in order to create a better dialogue between policymakers and the inhabitants. According to the participants, the good practice example that the municipality is already using in its democracy work is the citizen's proposal system, whereby any inhabitant has the right to submit a proposal to the municipality which has to be considered by the politicians and the civil servants before it either is discarded or taken up as a feasible and serious proposal which becomes processed through the democratic system. There was criticism of how the dialogue forums of citizens, policymakers and civil servants operate, as they were not always perceived as being about dialogue, but rather about giving out information to the residents about decisions and policies which sometimes already had been made.

Older majority Swedish residents were concerned about the sustainability of civil society organisations, as members of minorities and young majority Swedes were not seen to participate in the traditional ways of Swedish democracy. The perception that minorities were not participating contributed to a sense that they were not really seen as Swedes following the cultural citizenship model. The allocation of the so-called flexible support (*rörligt bidrag*) to the associations contains an incentive to cooperate between majority and minority associations.

ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The role of the media in the national and regional stigmatisation of Northern Botkyrka and of Botkyrka as a place name deeply affects the majority Swedes in the latter area, and also contributes to the widespread lack of identification with the municipality as a whole and the increasing fragmentation, antagonism and the popularity of non-mainstream parties wanting to divide Botkyrka on majority–minority lines. The problem with the media (as well as with popular culture) and how they adversely affect Botkyrka cannot be solved as long as any neighbourhood with a minority population is stereotyped and “other-ised”. However, the participants pointed to the journalism of the local newspaper *Södra Sidan* as good practice, not just because of its balance between good and bad news but also because it has a physical presence

in the municipality, contrary to most media, who are not familiar with Botkyrka, but nevertheless publish news that is often highly negative. The new arena of digital and social media was also brought up by participants as a source of the stigmatising and negative discourses on Botkyrka, but in comparison with analogue old media, anyone can engage and counter rumours and images.

The municipality has launched a myth-busting campaign (*antirykteskampanj*) as a way of engaging inhabitants and asking them to actively counter negative rumours about their neighbourhoods or groups, a method which was inspired by the City of Barcelona. It is hoped that this will turn out to be good practice for the future.

13

KEY FINDINGS AND MESSAGES

At present, few majority Swedes can be described as economically marginalised, thanks to high employment and a welfare system that supports the disadvantaged. There are signs that this is changing, with inequality on the rise and labour market participation decreasing for those with low educational levels. As in other countries, jobs in traditional industries and the public sector are declining as the economy becomes more knowledge- and service-based. Schools can help prevent marginalisation by challenging and supporting pupils of all backgrounds to achieve high levels of educational attainment. Strategies for economic growth, business development, skills improvement, job creation and employment can help ensure that opportunities for skills development and employment are available and accessible to all.

Botkyrka is the first municipality in Sweden to become a minority-majority municipality, to make the transition from having a total majority Swedish population to a situation where majority Swedes constitute the biggest demographic group but not a majority of the population. Majority Swedes need greater support in adjusting to the increasing diversity of the Swedish population. Few majority Swedes are marginalised and do not appear to see immigrants as a threat to their economic well-being. However, they do not see immigrants and their children as fellow Swedes and see immigration as hostile to Swedish values and way of life. Such attitudes are an important factor in the continued marginalisation of immigrants. This in turn threatens Swedish social cohesion and prosperity by undermining the particularly Swedish values of equality and social justice and preventing immigrants from realising their potential to contribute to economic, civic and cultural life. A renewal of Swedish identity that builds on Sweden's deep commitment to human rights and equality is needed to ensure everyone is able to participate in and contribute to Swedish society, to feel comfortable with the new reality of a diverse population. Open debate at many levels could further this process. This can be done by opening out the public culture of Sweden to reflect its diversity to a much greater extent, in the theatres, museums and through official narratives and monuments in the public spaces in Greater Stockholm and in Sweden as a whole. Action to tackle discrimination and hate crime, initiatives on employer awareness, including diversity in the school curriculum, more inclusive civic engagement and inclusive community activities would be practical steps towards this renewed identity.

Competence in the Swedish language is seen as key to inclusion, particularly in connection with the increasing numbers of immigrants working in health care. Enabling and challenging immigrants to acquire the linguistic and other skills needed for employment and life in the community would empower new Swedes to realise their own aspirations and at the same time challenge the attitudes of majority Swedes.

Botkyrka has an intercultural policy whose aims, objectives and content could be regarded as a model of good practice. The municipality has also adopted the proportional universalism recommended in the *Marmot Review*, and the Aalborg Charter on Sustainable Development. However, it is not clear how much impact these long-term strategies have had to date. Effective monitoring and reviewing of these

initiatives will identify and sustain successful initiatives while improving or replacing less effective measures.

The chief factors in reducing marginalisation are community well-being, civic engagement, employment and education. Labour market participation is high among majority Swedes but decreasing among those with minimal education. Civic engagement is also strong but can be further enhanced by ensuring that residents can raise their concerns and achieve real impact on local policies and services. Engagement would become more inclusive by encouraging participation by immigrants and young people. Health, housing, security, community activities and welcoming public spaces all help to strengthen communities and enable residents to take on the challenges of education, skills development and civic engagement that reduce marginalisation.

Ensuring access to the labour market for all residents is key to reducing and preventing marginalisation. Increasing the low rate of market participation among those of immigrant background will reduce marginalisation but also contribute to a new identity that recognises diversity by changing perceptions among the majority Swedes. In addition to current good practice such as the summer youth employment and a diverse municipal workforce, the municipality could also work with employers to introduce good practice in the recruitment and management of a diverse workforce by supporting initiatives such as the Diversity Charter²⁵¹ or Diversity Works for London²⁵².

Stronger, more inclusive civic engagement will help promote cohesion by enabling residents from diverse backgrounds to identify common priorities and goals and then translate these into concrete actions. Young people and immigrants should be encouraged to participate in mainstream community bodies and activities, and immigrant civil society organisations could be encouraged to cooperate with mainstream organisations. Engagement with school communities has the potential for addressing and resolving issues such as the allocation of resources, planning school activities that balance tradition and diversity, dealing with diversity in the school curriculum, tackling racist language and behaviour and promoting positive contact between residents of diverse backgrounds. New media would help strengthen civic engagement by young people.

Media coverage has an important impact on communities by promoting a more positive and representative identity. Disproportionately negative stories may discourage new residents, visitors and businesses or prejudice employers. Enabling residents to identify local stories will produce a more balanced and representative media coverage. The municipality, businesses and public institutions can ensure that images and communications reflect the diversity of the area.

²⁵¹ <http://www.diversitycharter.se> (accessed 15 May 2014)

²⁵² <http://www.diversityworksforlondon.com> (accessed 15 May 2014)

ANNEX 1:

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ANNEX 2:

List of stakeholders interviewed

List of interviews carried out for this report with stakeholders in alphabetical order by surname

1. Beyron Ahxner, security coordinator, Botkyrka: interviewed on policing and security, Tumba, 26 March 2013.
2. Anders Arnesson, former municipal commissioner, Botkyrka: interviewed on civil society, participation and citizenship, Fittja, 26 March 2013.
3. Lotta Arnesson, former public relations manager of Botkyrkabyggen: interviewed on civil and political participation, Fittja, 26 March 2013.
4. Ahmad Azizi, democracy developer, Botkyrka: interviewed on civil and political participation, Fittja, 17 April 2013.
5. Petter Beckman, chief editor of *Södra Sidan*: interviewed on the role of the media, Skärholmen, 20 March 2013.
6. Katarina Berggren, municipal commissioner, Botkyrka: interviewed on social cohesion and social sustainability, Tumba, 26 April 2013.
7. Behzad Dariusson, manager of the Southside youth centre in Tumba: interviewed on educational and youth issues, Tumba, 25 March 2013.
8. Susanne Englund, principal of Falkberg school Tullinge: interviewed on educational and youth issues, 2 April 2013, Tullinge.
9. Ann-Kristin Gunnarsson, district police chief of Botkyrka Police Force: interviewed on policing and security, Tumba, 19 March 2013.
10. Johanna Hammarström, chairperson of Botkyrka Women's Shelter: interviewed on health and social services, Fittja, 18 April 2013.
11. Björn Lagerstedt, member of the Moderate Party in Botkyrka: interviewed on identity and belonging, Tumba, 18 March 2013.
12. Johan Magnusson, football coach for Nackdala AIS Tumba: interviewed on civil and political participation, Tumba, 25 March 2013.
13. Johan Nyström Hjertvinge, principal of Malmjö school, Grödinge: interviewed on educational and youth issues, Grödinge, 27 March 2013.
14. Elisabeth Nobuoka Nordin, member of Tumba Mission Covenant Church and the Green Party Botkyrka: interviewed on identity and belonging, Fittja, 25 April 2013.
15. Mariela Quintana Melin, editor of *Södra Sidan*: interviewed on the role of the media, 20 Skärholmen, March 2013.
16. John Rawley, district developer for Tumba and Grödinge: interviewed on civil and political participation, Tumba, 18 March 2013.
17. Simon Safari, Chairman of the Swedish Union of Tenants in Botkyrka and Salem: interviewed on housing, Tumba, 15 April 2013.

18. Jan-Erik Sandh, key account manager of Botkyrkabyggen: interviewed on housing, Tumba, 19 March 2013.
19. Elisabeth Skoog Garås, public health coordinator, Botkyrka: interviewed on health and social services, Tumba, 19 March 2013.
20. Jens Sjöström, deputy municipal commissioner, Botkyrka: interviewed on social cohesion and social sustainability, Fittja, 2 May 2013.
21. Robert Stenkvist, chairman of the Sweden Democrats Botkyrka and Salem: interviewed on identity and belonging, Stockholm, 16 April 2013.
22. Anders Thorén, group leader for the Tullinge Party: interviewed on identity and belonging, Tullinge, 27 March 2013.



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