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Factors that impact the perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods

A case study in Rinkeby, Stockholm

Master's thesis in Urban Ecological Planning

Supervisor: Rolee Aranya & Cinthia Freire Stecchini

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Norwegian University of Science and Technology
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28th of June 2021 Stockholm, Sweden

Vårin Maria Lyngstadaas

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Vårin Maria Lyngstadaas', written in a cursive style.

Abstract

In this case study different factors impacting perceptions on safety in immigrant neighborhoods will be discussed through analyzing information gathered during fieldwork conducted in Rinkeby, Stockholm. The theoretical framework consists of facts about relevant topics such as immigrant neighborhoods, communities, housing and media, as well as the theories the broken window effect, the labelling theory and territorial stigmatization in action. Rinkeby is an immigrant dense neighborhood built by Miljonprogrammet during the 1960s and is in media today known as an example of where integration failed and a no-go zone. The residents of Rinkeby are well aware of the perceptions and stigma on their home neighborhood. This thesis is focusing on receiving and discussing information about the topic from Rinkeby residents, immigrants living in other parts of Stockholm and Swedish-born residents in the bordering district Sundbyberg, to address some of the gaps in existing theories. Methods used during the fieldwork are observation, interviews and walk and talks. The theory chapter is gathered through a literature review. The results of the analyzes of the fieldwork is that the majority of residents in Rinkeby feel safe in their neighborhood. Interviews revealed that most of the immigrants live there because of the great community and to live close to family and friends, not because of the housing policy or exclusion from other parts of Stockholm. However, some refer to these factors as well. The news media receive almost all the blame from both Rinkeby residents and outsiders, although social media is now playing a larger role today than before and have the power to influence the perception outsiders have from the news media.

Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven vil se på forskjellige faktorer som påvirker oppfatningen av trygghet i innvandrer-tette nabolag. Metoden som er brukt er en casestudy av det innvandrer-tette nabolaget Rinkeby i Stockholm. Rinkeby er valgt fordi nabolaget er kjent har en høy andel innvandrere, spesielt kjent gjennom media. Det teoretiske rammeverket består av teoriene The broken window theory, The labelling theory og Territorial stigmatization in action. I tillegg er fakta og informasjon om stigma, oppfatning, boligpolitikk, nabolagssamfunn og media en del av det teoretiske rammeverket da disse temaene blir diskutert som faktorer som påvirker oppfatningen om trygghet i innvandrer-tette nabolag. Feltarbeid og analyse benyttes sammen med de nevnte teoriene til å diskutere og koble sammen faktorene som påvirker oppfatningene og bemerke mangler i eksisterende teori. For å få en bedre forståelse av oppfatningene og stigma rundt tryggheten i innvandrer-tette nabolag har litteratursøk, intervjuer, observasjon og *walk and talk* både i et innvandrer-tett nabolag og et ikke-innvandrer-tett nabolag, vært gode hjelpemidler. Å bruke intervjuer som en forskningsmetode var en fin måte å forstå hvordan politiske vedtak direkte påvirker samfunnet og bydeler som Rinkeby. De fleste intervjuobjektene som bidro til denne forskningen er innvandrere eller personer som bor i et innvanderrområde. En person som arbeider med integrering av nyankomne innvandrere i rike nabolag i Stockholm, har også bidratt med informasjon der situasjonen sees fra et annet synspunkt. Analysekapittelet beskriver feltarbeidområdet og analyserer informasjonen samlet i intervjuer med teoriene valgt i det teoretiske rammeverket. Analysen konkluderer med at inkluderingen i innvandrer-tette nabolag er viktigere for innvandrere i Rinkeby enn utelukkelse fra andre deler av det svenske samfunnet. I tillegg er de rimeligere boligene og det faktum at de fleste har sine venner og familie boende i Rinkeby, faktorer som gjør at innvandrere velger å bo i det innvandrer-tette nabolaget. De færreste som ble intervjuet og bor i Rinkeby mener det skyldes boligpolitikken at de bor der. At boligprisene i Rinkeby er lavere er kun et pluss, da de uansett vil bo der av andre grunner. Medias bruk av Vi og De har mest innflytelse på oppfatningen av trygghet fordi den stereotypiske innvandreren blir sett på som et sosialt problem og noe negativt i flertallet av artikler. Den konstant dårlige omtalelsen av Rinkeby har resultert i at Rinkeby forbindes med kriminell aktivitet og dårlig sosioøkonomisk struktur. Tenåringsgutter utnytter det dårlige omdømmet som media gir dem til å få respekt i sosiale medier, mens resten av den unge generasjonen er bekymret for å bli kategorisert som en

Rinkeby-borger da de tror det reduserer muligheten for å få jobb. Det finnes mye uenigheter om temaene som er diskutert. Synspunktene er avhengig av hvem som er intervjuet. Likevel er det store flertallet enige om mye. Oppgaven konkluderes med at flertallet av folkene som bor i Rinkeby føler seg trygge, og oppfatningen om at innvandrer-tette nabolag ikke er trygge dannes hovedsakelig av media eller gjennom en holdning fra beboere som ønsker respekt fra utenforstående.

Acknowledgement

This thesis marks the end of the master program in Urban Ecological Planning at Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim. It has been an educational and interesting two-year long journey with experiences lasting for a lifetime, starting with fieldwork in India and ending with fieldwork in Stockholm. The most important knowledge gained is that the best approaches are through participatory methods with people themselves who lives in the fieldwork area. I learned a lot during the process of writing this thesis, both academical and personal, and will take the new knowledge with me to the next step in life.

A huge thank you to my supervisors Rolee Aranya and Cinthia Freire Stecchini for the guidance, motivation and inputs throughout the process of writing this master's thesis. I am grateful for the consistent support they have given me.

I also want to thank all the people who have contributed with interviews and walk and talks in my fieldwork. They inspired me to keep working on the thesis with their enthusiasm and smiles.

I could not have done this without sharing ups and downs with my friends who have also been writing their thesis this semester, thank you for the long conversations and workshops. And last but not least thank you to my husband for all the moral support.

Vårin Maria Lyngstadaas, Stockholm, June 2021

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1. Introduction

This chapter will present the topic of the research and what it will include, the aim and objective of the thesis, and how it is structured.

This master thesis will explore factors that can have an impact on perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods. It will focus on the opinions from residents living in an immigrant district in Stockholm, immigrants, and residents in other districts of Stockholm. The research will also look at how the perception may affect people's life, when living in a stigmatized neighborhood.

During walk and talk in Rinkeby in Stockholm, as well as the bordering district Sundbyberg, talking with immigrants living in immigrant neighborhoods and non-immigrant neighborhoods, and an interview with a person working with housing of immigrants in the rich neighborhood Norrmalm in Stockholm, one topic is agreed on by everyone: It does exist a perception that Rinkeby, as an immigrant neighborhood, is an unsafe place. Which factors causing this perception is disagreed on, but some factors are repeated by many with different standing points and backgrounds and has therefore impacted the theoretical framework of the thesis.

The research in this thesis illustrates how the different views from different sources on what the factors causing perception about the safety in immigrant neighborhoods differ and coincide. The immigrant neighborhood chosen as the case study area is Rinkeby in Stockholm, and this is where most of the interviews taken place and most of the fieldwork information has been gathered. Theories about stigma, perception, the labelling theory and the broken window theory state that people or places with a stigma often occur to receive more and more problems and negative perceptions as times go by. During fieldwork in Rinkeby and Sundbyberg, negative perceptions and stigma about Rinkeby as an immigrant district is found to exist, both among immigrants and non-immigrants. Factors people blamed as reasons for the perception to occur is how the media is using structural discrimination and immigrant stereotypes as well as painting a negative and dangerous picture of Rinkeby in the news media, the housing policy and Rinkeby existing due to Miljonprogrammet and the fast building of apartment buildings in the 1960s, the exclusion from other parts of Stockholm and at the same time inclusiveness in the neighborhood community in Rinkeby, and the

inherited stigma from older generations and how SoMe¹, Netflix, rap and music, and other popular topics are promoting the concept of being cool if you live in a dangerous area.

In the urban ecological planning master program at NTNU in Trondheim, the students learn how to deal with urban issues through working with projects and gaining theoretical knowledge. The students use participatory methods to solve issues in urban environments, such as environmental issues, cultural issues, social issues and so on. The students learn to combine different participatory methods to find the best solution for different projects. This gained skill is used in this master thesis. (NTNU, n.d.)

1.1 Aim and objectives of the thesis

The thesis aims to connect the different factors that affect the perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods. The analysis will discuss the theories from the theoretical framework with the information gathered in fieldwork through walk and talk, and semi-structured interviews.

In the semi-structured interviews five main topics has been discussed:

1. Who has these perceptions?
2. What makes people have a perception?
3. Do residents in Rinkeby recognize themselves in the perception from outsiders?
4. Exclusiveness and inclusiveness in neighborhood communities and the Swedish society.
5. What factors make a safe neighborhood?

1.1.1 Research questions

The main research question is *What are the factors that have an impact on perceptions of safety among residents in the immigrant neighborhood Rinkeby in Stockholm?*

Based on the initial the sub-research questions are:

- Who are the people with perception?
- Which role does the media have on the perception?

¹ Social media, where you can have a personal account to share your chosen content. For example, Instagram and Tiktok

- Is perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods a result of the broken window effect?
- How does the housing policy have a contribution to the perception?
- How does inclusion or exclusion of neighborhood communities contribute to the perception?

1.2 Structure of the thesis

The theory chapter will give an insight into information found in literature research. Here, the background information about the theories and the integration policies as well as information from previous research on the subject will be gathered to give the knowledge needed about the topic. Then, the theoretical framework will be explained. In the context chapter, it will be more specific information about the case study area Rinkeby. The methodology and methods chapter will give an insight into the different methods used and why these methods were used as well as explain the pros and cons of the case study part of this research, especially during a pandemic. In the analysis chapter the different factors causing perception and the information gathered in the fieldwork will be analyzed and discussed. The analysis chapter is divided into five different analyses; The media as a factor for perception and stigma, who the people with the perceptions are, how the broken window theory could be connected to the case study area, if the housing policy is a factor for the perception on immigrant neighborhoods, and if the inclusion or exclusion of neighborhood communities is causing perception about immigrant neighborhoods. The sixth chapter will show findings and results of the research analysis and also discuss the gaps in theory connected to this case study. The thesis will end with a conclusion who are reflecting on the results with Rinkeby in focus.

2. Theory

This chapter presents different theories and information about topics found in desk-based research. The theories are the labelling theory, the broken window theory, and territorial stigmatization in action. Then information about neighborhood communities, language barriers, immigrant neighborhoods, housing of immigrants and media and social media is provided. The discussion in this chapter will set this thesis in a theoretical context and define its scope. The chapter will conclude with the theoretical framework and the gaps in the theories.

2.1 Immigrant neighborhoods

An immigrant is a person who moves from one country to another with the intention of living there for a long period of time (NE Nationalencyklopedin, n.d.) When a person is born in Sweden but has immigrant parents it is normal to say that person is second generation immigrants. People immigrate for different reasons, and there are therefore different types of immigrant groups. People who immigrate for work and/or education, people who are refugees from war or nature catastrophes, people who apply for asylum and people who do not have any papers and therefore are in a country illegally (Jafary and Osein, 2016).

An immigrant neighborhood is a neighborhood or district where a high percentage of the population living there is first- or second-generation immigrants.

In folklore some specific places are more known as an immigrant neighborhood, even though there are other places with more or as many immigrants that are not known for it. Media often is to blame for this, but it can also be territorial stigmatization that is stuck from the previous generation. At least 40% of the population living in a neighborhood should be from a different ethnicity for the neighborhood to be an ethnic neighborhood (Logan *et al.*, 2013).

2.1.1 Immigrant neighborhoods in Sweden

The districts or neighborhoods that have become homes for mainly immigrants are often places built under Miljonprogrammet. (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002).

“Today the mention of the word suburb in mass media has become synonymous with an area with many migrants. A place for the Other.” – Urban Ericsson

Different types of immigrant have different prerequisites when it comes to housing situation. Refugees are placed by the municipalities, and are therefore spread across the country, while work immigrants have to find housing themselves (Aasland and Søholt, 2019).

The school is an important part of the integration of immigrant children, and those who graduate from school in Sweden are shown to settle in the same municipality as the school. (Socialstyrelsen, 2016).

There is an increase in situations where unaccompanied children are immigrating to Sweden and already know someone from their home country that they are going to live with instead of going into the migration system. These families can be, or not be already integrated into the Swedish society, and this could be good for the child and give the child a feeling of safety. But this can also worsen the child's integration opportunities. It is therefore important for the social services and the migration service to make sure the family has the right information and keep in contact with them. Since many of the families have not integrated fully themselves, it increases the possibility that the family does not know how to integrate the child (Socialstyrelsen, 2016).

The segregation of immigrant neighborhoods was already a fact in the 1970s in Stockholm. About 25 percent of the immigrants lived in Spånga, which is the area Rinkeby is a part of today, and only 6,5 percent of the population of Stockholm lived there. The districts that are immigrant districts today are often the ones that grew fast in the seventies (Lindén and Lindberg, 1991).

2.2 Housing for immigrants

Having a safe home and environment is a high priority in the work of finding housing for immigrants. This is important because it makes it much easier to integrate and have a healthy life. Some of the challenges that immigrants meet in the housing market are specific for them. Even though many immigrants have stayed in their new country for some time, and also worked there, they still have difficulty getting a house loan. The fact that there is a lack of housing in many municipalities makes it even harder to find housing for immigrants. This has made many immigrants live longer than necessary in asylum housing. Many immigrants start with renting their first housing, and many are never buying their own (Husbanken and IMDi,

2006). A crowded housing is defined as a housing with more people than rooms, or under 25 square meter per person in the housing.

2.2.1 Housing for immigrants in Sweden

Housing is an important part of integrating in a new society. It is the municipality that is responsible for making sure the immigrants who have been granted residence permits in Sweden have good housing. They get the policies for this from the Swedish Migration Agency. Some of the immigrants find housing for themselves, but the municipality still has a responsibility for making sure the housing is good. The municipalities receive support for this from the County Administrative Board. How many newly arrived people the municipality is obliged to arrange accommodation for, is governed by the number of municipalities that the County Administrative Board decides for. This is again decided after the number of newly arrived people that the county has responsibility for. The components that get counted for when deciding the number of immigrants for each municipality is the size of the municipality, the labor market situation, the total reception of newly arrived persons and unaccompanied children, and how many asylum seekers that are already staying in the municipality (Länsstyrelsen Stockholm, n.d.).

In the documents in the law, there is no requirement to the municipalities on what type of housing the immigrants are offered, nor whether the housing is temporary or for a longer period. The intention should be that the municipality find a permanent housing situation for the newly arrived before they arrive, as a preparatory work. Each person or family gets an individual case where housing is provided by the municipality. The idea behind the settlement of immigrant's law is that with a more proportionate distribution of the reception of newly arrived immigrants, it will be easier for them to integrate into the society and work. Even though the municipality has to offer housing for immigrants, most immigrants find housing themselves. Often they will go live with family or friends (Regioner, 2019).

The municipality can decide for themselves what kind of housing they are offering to the immigrants that they have the responsibility for. This can be separate housing, the municipality can build up group homes, or the municipality can rent housing from private owned facilities (Migrationsverket, 2020c). Many immigrants that are waiting for their papers

to stay in Sweden are choosing to live with relatives and friends that already live in Sweden. They have to give the address to the migration agency for this to be legal, and then the immigrant has to pay rent themselves, while if they chose to live in the migration agency's housing the municipality is paying the costs. But many are still choosing to get their own place by living with family or friends (Migrationsverket, 2021a).

From the 1st of July 2020 new rules regarding housing for immigrants are applicable. The persons that registered their address before this date are not affected by the new rules, but everyone that wants to register their home address after this date. The new rules are that 32 different municipalities have appointed areas that struggle with social and economic vulnerability (Migrationsverket, 2020d). If someone chooses to settle in one of these areas, they lose their right for financial support from the migration agency. The different support an immigrant can apply for from the migration agency is support for housing, support for daily living and if it is something special, they can also apply for this. This is if they don't have any other way of getting money, like savings or a job (Migrationsverket, 2021b). The new rules do not mean it is illegal for immigrants to get housing in these areas, but they lose their right to get financial support. This is because the areas that are socioeconomically vulnerable should not be as tempting to choose, and the migration agency wants the immigrants to choose to live in neighborhoods that are more sustainable for the social conditions. The migration agency predicts that this will lead to more immigrants choosing to live in the migration agency's housing and not with friends and family. The new rules goes under the law of own housing for immigrants; "EBO- lagen", translated to the EBO-law², which is the law for own housing (Migrationsverket, 2020b). The neighborhoods in Stockholm municipality that are affected by the new rules in EBO-lagen in Stockholm municipality is Rinkeby, some parts of Tenstad, Husby and Skärsholmen (see figure 1) which all are vulnerable areas where people live many people in the same household, many are unemployed, and many have no or little education. The immigration agency does not think it is good for the integration of immigrants to live in immigrant neighborhoods when they arrive in Sweden. They hope these new rules have an effect on where immigrants settle (Rundberg, 2020).

² This is the researchers own translation



Figure 1: map showing where the affected areas of “EBO lagen” is. (Migrationsverket, 2020a)

2.3.2 “Miljonprogrammet”

In 1965 the government in Sweden decided to build one million residences that should be affordable enough for a person with the income from working in a fabric to buy. The housing was supposed to be built within a ten-year period. Sweden experienced a housing shortage, and this was the motivation for the program that they called “Miljonprogrammet” translated as “the one million home programme”. The residences were built between 1965 and 1974, and the planning included roads, traffic systems, shops, food markets, churches, schools and workplaces as well as housing. The housing was built with focus on efficiency and standard that could reach out to both the middle class and working class. Both townhouses and apartment buildings were built, and often many of the same kind were built in the same place, looking exactly like each other. This was because they wanted to build the houses quickly and as cheaply as possible. 180,000 new residences were built in Stockholm, and one of the one million program areas is Rinkeby(Stockholms stad, n.d.).

The housing from Miljonprogrammet is today in desperate need of an upgrade. The houses are well constructed, but the design is too monotonous and needs technical refurbishment, see figure 2. Half of the apartments are built with three rooms, but there should definitely be more five room apartments, since families today do not just exist of the “two parents with maximum two kids” family anymore. It is a much wider spectrum of different family connections, divorced parents, half siblings, and families with many children. One solution could be to rebuild two three-room apartments to one five-room and one one-room apartment (Ahlfort, 2012).

Rinkeby is one of the Miljonprogrammet areas, where many of the apartment houses look the same.



Figure 2: Rinkeby, Miljonprogrammet Foto from Bertil Ericson/Scanpix (P4 Stockholm, 2012)

Almost one fifth of the apartments in Sweden today were built during the one million home programme, and it was a solution to housing shortage after the war. Figure 3 shows how many apartments that were built during the different years, and also how many floors the different buildings had. Today many Swedish people think that it was only built large apartment buildings with many floors but as figure 3 shows, it was built all types of housing and the 3 floor buildings was the most common. The housing construction was heavily regulated by the government, which also paid for most of the building. This was also a very politically influenced program (Boverket, 2020).

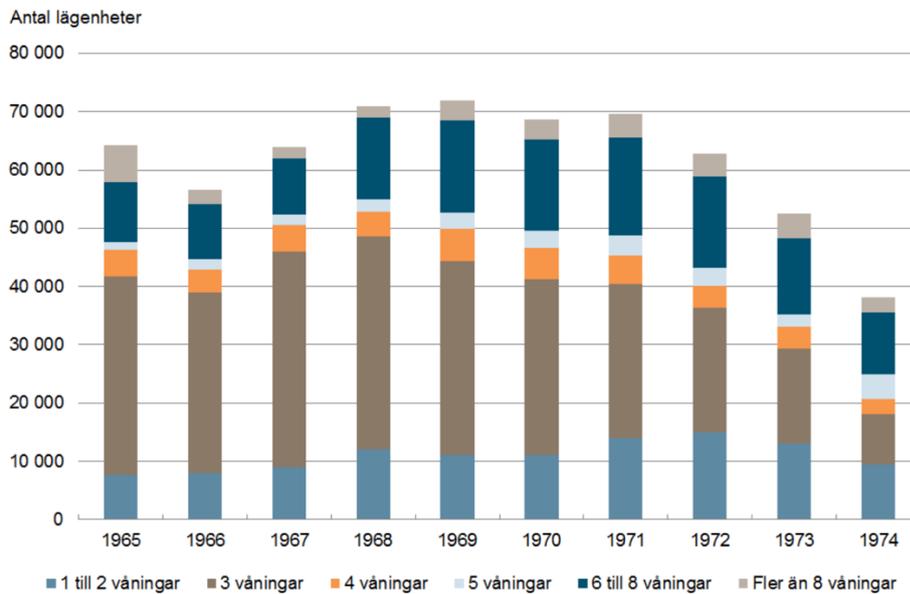


Figure 3: How many apartments are built each year and how many floors they have. Translation: våningar=floors, fler ä=more than (Boverket, 2020).

2.3 Neighborhood communities

“In a neighborhood where there is little social control, there are many who feel unsafe” (Åsland, 2009).

In a place that has social control, a person can count on the neighbors to say or do something if someone is doing illegal things. This is important for a person to feel safe. Today people will have friends independent of where they or their friends live, it does not matter if they live in the same neighborhood or not. It is therefore not necessary to live in the same area as your friends anymore, and the neighborhood community may not be as social as it was before. Back in the days it was more common that people became friends with their neighbors or moved close to their family and friends. Today it is easier to travel, short or long distances, to visit family and friends. People often have friends that are in the same life situation as themselves, and they do not mind so much if the neighbors are in the same situation. But if a neighborhood is filled with people in the same life situation, or same point in life, it is a higher probability that a friend can also be a neighbor. The community in a neighborhood can still be important for families and individual people. If people are moving in and out of a neighborhood often, it will weaken the social cohesion. Social control can be a bad thing as well as a good thing. It can be gossip, or exclusion of some people or families. It can also be

judging the ones that are different or have other preferences than the average person in that exact neighborhood. It is more social control, in the good way where people are working against situations or behaviors that can hurt themselves or others, in smaller towns than in bigger cities. It is most common to feel that the neighborhood has good social control in the towns or smaller cities than in the big cities. It is especially in the areas with apartment buildings that people do not really know their neighbors and also do not feel safe. Social control in a neighborhood has an impact on how safe the individuals feel there (Åsland, 2009).

Reports from Sweden show that the segregation of ethnicity in large cities is increasing at the same time as actions are being taken to counter the segregation from happening. The rich neighborhoods have become richer over the years, and the poorer neighborhood has become even poorer. The ethnicity of who lives in the rich and poor neighborhoods are clear; the non-European immigrants are mainly living in the neighborhoods that are poor. Sweden-born people are moving out of these neighborhoods at the same speed as immigrants are moving in. One of the invisible reasons for the segregation to happen are the rumors, perception from outsiders and stigma. The name of a place becomes a term, (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002), for example, in this case study Rinkeby has become the name for an immigrant dense suburb with social issues.

Research shows that the neighborhood community a person lives in affects the life standard like getting an income and the socio-economic quality. The effect of a neighborhood community can therefore be both negative and positive on the individual. Socializing, local norms, local networks, local competition over resources, local social exclusion, and unhealthy neighbor relationships or home relationships are some of the factors that could have negative effects on the individual. The social exclusion can be caused by an individual or a family having a lower or higher economic or social status than the local norm. The unhealthy community can be if the community has problems, crimes, or disagreements (Wimark, Nielsen and Haandrikman, 2017).

2.3.1 Exclusion/inclusion of neighborhood communities and society

The EU has defined social exclusion as: “*Social exclusion refers to the multiple and changing factors resulting in people being excluded from the normal exchanges, practices and rights of modern society*” (Omtzigt, 2009).

When Sweden experienced a wave of immigrants that they were not ready to handle, it influenced many different arenas in the Swedish society, and most of all the integration of the immigrants. A poor integration results in, among other things, a language barrier. This is because many immigrants end up living in the same neighborhoods and therefore do not have the best starting point of learning the Swedish language (Jafary and Osein, 2016).

The language barrier can make immigrants feel unsafe, for example when they are calling the hospital or calling for help and the people who are there to help do not understand what they are saying. It is also important for health workers that they know that their patients understand the information that they are giving them (Zetterdahl, 2020).

A study done in North Carolina on second generation immigrant children in the school system, it was found that the children were “*trapped between states of belonging and exclusion*», because they named themselves as Americans, but felt like they did not have the same opportunities as their classmates because of their parents’ background who often resulted in not enough money to go on higher education. The fact that they were undocumented made it also very difficult for them, and they experienced stigmatization (Torres and Wick-Asbun, 2012).

A social exclusion can be defined as someone who is categorized as a social problem, or that someone is excluded from a type of livelihood such as people that do not have a job or that the housing situation is poor (Omtzigt, 2009). The immigrant children growing up with the perceptions and stigmatizations against their home neighborhoods and their identity as immigrants are having an effect on the development of their own identity. They often have to prove that the perception about them is not true for being accepted (Adami, Nordh and Carlgren, 2005).

A research done on stress related health issues on immigrants in the USA show that the immigrants with a language barrier were more depressed, had more anxiety, and were more

unhappy. The stress and the language barrier together made the immigrants struggle more with their health than other people in the USA (Ding and Hargraves, 2008).

The perception of the stereotypical immigrant in Sweden is making it harder for many immigrants to achieve the jobs they want because the labor market has a stigmatization and discrimination against these stereotypes. Half of the men living in immigrant neighborhoods in the age group of 15 to 29 answered in a survey that their opportunities are poorer on the labor market because of the negative stigma. In the age group 30 to 49 half of the men who answered thought they will experience discrimination in their job and 64 percent of the men thought that they could have better chances in the job market if they change their name to a Swedish name (Adami, Nordh and Carlgren, 2005).

2.4 News media

The media, or the press, is known as the fourth estate (Schultz, 1998).

The general role of news media is supposed to be an objective source for news, and it is assumed that many view the news as identical with facts. The media is shown as a place to reflect on reality and is perceived as neutral. Research, done both in Sweden and other countries, on trying to understand the media's position in structural discriminating shows that it is different factors that lead to this: the way the media is talking positively about Sweden and the Swedish people, the way that immigrants are talked about in a stigmatizing and racist stereotypical way. The media is routinely recreating an ethnical *We* and *Them* (Regjeringskansliet, 2015).

When media use the terms like *Us* and *Them* it is usually a *We* are talking about *Them* situation that often is stating the differences between the two groups, or any conflicts between the groups. The texts in these cases are often written in a way where "we" as the Swedish reader, feel familiar with the feelings from the *We* specter, but the *They's* have little or no way of influencing how they are described in the text. The news journalism need conflicts to formulate their point (Brune, 2015). Media often write in a way where *They* are the problem and have to be like *Us* (Andersson and Fortea, 2019). It is a general trend in countries in the EU that media is writing about immigrants or ethnical minorities as a negative stereotype where they often are a threat to the society or a problem. Immigrants are often written about in connections with poverty, social problems or unemployment. The media is constituting a norm for storytelling about immigrants and Swedes who both offer a "finished" interpretation

package and at the same time make it difficult for alternative voices and stories. This means that the view of the mass media's role as neutral mediators can be questioned. The media creates a framework that strongly influences how things can be interpreted and what can be said and not said. One thing is what the media chooses to write about, the other thing is what they choose not to write about. It is a huge power to have the opportunity to select what to be considered news and what to exclude. This can help the newspaper or the journalist to front his or her own interests (Regjeringskansliet, 2015).

In a survey, made in a cooperation between the Swedish integration agency, TCO³ and the newspaper Gringo, immigrants who lived in immigrant neighborhoods or suburbs were asked what they thought of the medias way of describing them. One thousand people living in Hjällbo, Rinkeby and Rosengård answered the survey and the results showed that they thought media is speaking negatively about the immigrant dense suburbs and neighborhoods, and that the majority do not recognize themselves in the picture the media is presenting. Four out of ten, or 37 percent, of the people who did the survey and lived in an immigrant area had the opinion that the negative way media is talking about them is influencing their integration process negatively, and 15 percent thinks that it has a positive influence on their integration. 47 percent of the people in the age group 15-29 think that media is describing immigrant in a negative or very negative way. The typical stereotype in media is that immigrant boys or men are rapists, dangerous and criminals, while immigrant girls and women are passive and oppressed. It is often that the media has stated that the criminal is an immigrant. When positive articles are posted it is often about how an immigrant has succeeded in getting out of a bad gang environment, and these articles are then showing that this are the exceptions from the normality (Adami, Nordh and Carlgren, 2005).

2.4.1 Social media

Social media is different internet-based platforms where users can share their content, socialize, or join different communities. The different platforms are blogs, collective websites, social bookmarking, social networking, status-update services, virtual world content, and media sharing sites. Some of these categories are overlapping with each other. The social medias are open for both personal users and businesses and can be used as a place for sharing private content with chosen friends and family, keeping in touch with

³ A Swedish trade union

acquaintances, or as a marketing place. It is also a new way of reaching out to many people, for example when governments want as many citizens to receive information (Dewing, 2012).

Social media is a huge part of the young generations' social life, and it has an influencing effect on how people see themselves (Rønning, 2019).

When people are posting content about a stigmatized topic, they can help the perceptions people have about it change. Social media is giving people a platform to use their voices and reach out to millions of people. Those who do not use social media as much are people living in a family with a lower income and people with any disabilities. The use of the internet can therefore make the people who already have trouble being heard, even further away from the rest of the population (Betton *et al.*, 2018).

A research followed two different local police Instagram accounts on social media, one in Norrmalm (a rich area in Stockholm) and one in Skärholmen (a poorer area with many immigrants). The research stated that the police chose to post different content, and in that way different values, in the different places. The two different places struggle with very different crimes. While Norrmalm has crimes that are easier to investigate, such as robbery and other smaller crimes, Skärholmen struggle with more serious crimes. The research found that the pictures the police in Norrmalm posted on social media were money, nice pictures of buildings in sunlight and a police car in the sunset. While the pictures on the police account in Skärholmen show dark pictures of a building on fire, broken glass in front of a dirty door and a police officer handcuffing a man. The research states that it has become communicative changes in line with the timeline of digitalization, meaning that the society is changing with new digitalization and also new ways to socialize and keep updated on news etc. The police and other authorities have to change their way of giving information because people are using other platforms than earlier (Allstrin and Lundmark, 2020).

2.5 Stigma, perception and the labeling theory

The labeling theory states that people who deviate from the normal standards or do something that differ from the norms are easier labeled negatively. This again makes the labeled people (or places) have more negative behavior. No matter the reason for the label, the label often brings more problems and negativity along (Bernburg, 2019).

If the media's way of showing an immigrant neighborhood and a non-immigrant neighborhood are compared to each other it is very different topics that are written about. For example, in a research looking at Rinkeby and Djursholm in Sweden, it was found that Rinkeby is shown as a place for constant crime and gang activity, while Djursholm is an expensive place for rich people and the crimes that are exposed are almost always about drugs. The way the media is fronting the different districts and neighborhoods affect the way outsiders are looking at the places. The media is influencing the stereotypes we have in society and social categories (Elaies and Jaconelli, 2020).

A research on attitudes 15 years old and 16 years old boys from Rinkeby has to the police shows that because they feel like the police have a stigma that all boys their age in Rinkeby are vandals, they have a relatively negative attitude to the authorities. The interviewees also seem to feel like the police were discriminating against them. Some of the attitude problems are inherited from the older generation in Rinkeby. The research stated that it is possible to change the attitude to be more positive. The boys in the research wanted the police to have a better attitude to them, for them to have a better attitude back. Some of the boys did say their attitude will never change because of the bad experiences they already have had with the police (Masihi, 2010)

It is normally the outsider of an immigrant district or neighborhood that speaks negatively about the place, and not the people living there. This negative perception ruins the government's plans on building neighborhoods in the suburbs with nice and safe environments. The urban planners' biggest issue in this problem statement is that the stigma is fed by the media all the time. The perception can be the beginning- and pushing factor of segregation in the big cities (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002). Ylva Brune ⁴talked

⁴ Swedish media researcher and freelance journalist with PhD in journalism and mass communication

about the mental segregation that the media is creating, and how this deprives people's opportunity to take power over their own situation (Regjeringskansliet, 2015). Mental segregation is the perception people have of a specific place, a group of people, or a culture. The perceptions are transferred from person to person, when people are telling stories or discussing things they have heard or read. How the media is talking about a topic in the mental segregation is playing a very important role in how the stigma or perception is developing. When the media is talking about immigrants as objects through saying "them" and "their culture", it is in a way saying that the article or social media content is not meant for the immigrant to read. Research done by Teun A van Dijk (van Dijk, 1993) states that when research on ethnical questions has been done, it is often with the topic's integration or immigration connected to problems, cultural threats, cultural differences, cultural deviation, crimes from immigrants, a social problem or crime caused by cultural or ethnical or religious source, or ethnic relations. Some places are standing as symbols for bad integration, segregation, crimes and problems in the media even though the place is not like that anymore. It is not just that the people who live in the places with stigma and negative perception get a disadvantage, it also gives an advantage to the people who own housing in other areas. People not living in the stigmatized neighborhood gain a kind of power (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002).

Neighborhoods in Sweden with a high percentage of immigrants, who originally are built up from Miljonprogrammet (which will be described later in this chapter) and are poorer districts than the others around are often mentioned as exposed, immigrant-dense and problematic. Terms such as "no go zone" were used already in the 1960s. Many researchers and analyses agree that ethnic minorities are negatively exposed in the media. In the 1970s the immigrants who moved into Miljonprogrammet's districts were referred to as a problem. Before that, the newspaper had already talked about the drugs that found place in the same districts. The segregation and stigma started there. From the mid 1990s actions were put in place to focus on improving the districts that had received negativity in the media. The main goal was to change the stigma that has occurred. In 2014 a police report containing an overview of the criminal networks had named these districts "particularly vulnerable areas" and this is when the newspapers renamed it to a no go zone (Åhman, 2018).

When the newspapers are writing about immigrant districts or neighborhoods, it is not only the text itself that impacts people's perception, but the pictures are also very important in the

process. Pictures used when it comes to the poorer districts with a high percentage of immigrants are often showing the worst angle, using pictures of a place you do not want to go visit. Pictures of richer neighborhoods are often showing the best side and it looks like a peaceful place, in contrast to the war zone to be seen in pictures of the poorer suburbs (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002).

Erving Goffman (Goffman, 1963) states that the word stigma is from the old Greek empire where they wanted to distinguish between normal people and their slaves or criminals and people with bad morals by marking the slaves or traitors so everyone would know. The people that were not marked would ignore the marked people in the public areas. Goffman argues that people are put in categories by how well they conform into the society's norms. People have two identities, the one that is actually the person with his or her qualities, and the identity that other people give by judging you from the expectations you have. This leads to three different types of stigma. One is if a person has a physical handicap; the second is when a person has a negative attitude, for example a liar; the third is stigma to a group. The group has a community where they have something in common, for example being from the same country, having the same religion, or sharing the same cultural preferences. Goffman's stigma theory has been criticized for only focusing on the social aspect and power relations in a society (Peksen, 2021).

2.6 The broken window theory

The broken window theory argues that the slightest indication of a crime in a neighborhood will cause more crimes to happen. This could be a broken window, hence the name of the theory, or any other broken object that represents physical damage. It can result in both more physical damage but also social damage. The theory states that this happens because the broken window, or any other broken surface, indicates that the police or any other authority in this area is not able to control the source of the broken object. Or that the people living in the area do not care to fix the broken window. In an environment like this, it seems easier for criminals or vandals to break the social norms. The people living in these neighborhoods will then again withdraw from the streets in fear of encountering criminal acts. The theory claims that the neighborhoods with the broken window therefore will face a road of negative

happenings. The physical broken window contributes to a social downhill for the people living in the neighborhoods (Johansen, Neal and Gasteyer, 2015).

Different neighborhoods have different norms and rules. The only thing that truly is the same in every neighborhood, is that the regulars know the rules and norms of their area. The regulars are the people who are normally in the neighborhood. They can be people living there, working there, shopping there or walking by on a regular basis.

In a study done by George Kelling and James Wilson (Kelling and Wilson 1982) they followed a project in New Jersey called “Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program”. The purpose of the program was that the police officers should walk on the streets and not drive in their cars. Many people, the police in particular, were very skeptical of this idea because they were afraid that the police would not be able to move quickly enough to places that needed them. They also thought that this would not get the crime rates down in these neighborhoods. The government was paying for it, so everyone agreed to give it a chance anyway, and it ended up with the police being right. The crime rate did not decrease, but the people in the neighborhood where the police officers were walking in the streets, felt safer.

What people fear is not always any crime, but more specific types of crime. Many will not care too much about drunks or homeless people sleeping in public spaces but are afraid of violence and to be attacked. People feel safe when there is order in the public spaces, and when they know that the police are keeping that order. If the theory is true, then it does not matter if it is a nice or poor neighborhood, if no one is fixing the broken window, more windows will be broken, but if it gets fixed the crimes will also decrease (Kelling and Wilson 1982).

Philip Zimbaro did an experiment in 1969 where he put two cars without any license plates in two different neighborhoods with different social and economic levels. The car in Bronx were totally ripped for value within the next day, and then smashed and burned before turning into a place where the kids played. The other car was in Palo Alto in California. No one touched the car, but when Zimbaro broke it, the same thing happened there. In both places the tearaways were white adults. This is proof that the type of neighborhood does not matter, the broken windows theory still occurs to be true (Kelling and Wilson 1982).

Raudenbush and Sampson’s study show that the broken window effect is more applicable in neighborhoods that are already vulnerable because of other factors that cause the criminality

and disorder, for example stigma and perception from outsiders already existing and that the downhill of a neighborhood is therefore socially constructed. Structural discrimination and negative stereotypes of ethnic minorities is also making the broken window theory more relevant to neighborhoods with many minorities as they often are perceived as having poorer socioeconomic standards (Raudenbush and Sampson, 2004).

2.7 Territorial stigmatization in action

When a geographical isolated area is stigmatized because of people thinking the persons living in this area are unsuccessful and poor because of their ethnicity, it is defined as a territorial stigmatization. The neighborhoods that are particularly vulnerable in a city can be examples of this. People living in these areas can be feeling ashamed of living there because of the outsider's attitude and perception of the stigmatized neighborhood (Wacquant, Slater and Pereira, 2014). Loïc Wacquant said that when people living in stigmatized neighborhoods and make the stigma part of their identity it has several negative consequences. But research done on a territorial stigmatized neighborhood in Denmark showed that the residents did not make the stigma influence their attitude or behavior. They were upset about the stigma but had a positive or contradictory feeling about their neighborhood. That does not mean that the theory is not valid, because when the researcher talked with people who live in the stigmatized neighborhood, they were very aware of the negative label the area has received. This again is making the residents have a perception of what outsiders' perception of them is (Jensen and Christensen, 2012).

2.8 Theoretical framework

Since this thesis is about factors impacting perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods, the theories chosen to support the research are the broken window theory, the labelling theory, and territorial stigmatization in action because it addresses relevant information and theories about perception, stigma and exclusion from the normal. It is also gathered relevant data through literature research about the media and social media, neighborhood communities and inclusion/exclusion and safety, integration and housing policy and information about Miljøprogrammet. In the context chapter the data gathered is specific for the fieldwork area, Rinkeby.

The assumptions that are guiding the theoretical research is based on the perception that Swedish-born people have a perception on the safety in neighborhoods that have a high percentage of immigrants, and that a stigma around the immigrant neighborhoods in general is caused by different factors. The factors being how people are copying the way media is using *us* and *them*, and the different components that a neighborhood needs for people to feel safe there. It also looks at the different reasons for immigrant neighborhoods to occur, if it is the housing policy, the exclusion from other neighborhoods, or the inclusion of being in a community with other immigrants, or a combination. The expectation is to find comparable factors in the fieldwork and the theories chosen, and to fill the gaps the theories have.



Figure 4: Theoretical framework figure

2.8.1 Gaps in theory

For finding exactly the combination of information needed to figure out the problem statement in this thesis, a mix of different theories are needed, and in addition to this more data has to be gathered to fulfill the information required to fill the gap that the existing knowledge found in the literature review have. The biggest gap in existing knowledge in this research is that the point of view from the residents living in the stigmatized neighborhoods are not agreeing with all that is stated in the theories. This thesis is looking at the individual's opinion of why the perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods are existing, how it is affecting people living there, and what factors are causing the perception. The opinion is from residents living in the stigmatized immigrant neighborhood Rinkeby, immigrants living outside of Rinkeby and other residents in different districts of Stockholm. The theories that are chosen to build the framework of the thesis do not have the exact combination of information needed but have knowledge about parts of it and are therefore used as theoretical background for the research. The theoretical framework is a response to the gaps in the existing knowledge.

3. Context

3.1 Rinkeby

Rinkeby is a place in the district Rinkeby-Kista in Stockholm municipality, 10 km outside of Stockholm city. Rinkeby is well-known in media for being an immigrant neighborhood and has received a bad reputation and many have negative perceptions about the place.

The building of Rinkeby started in 1968 and was completed in 1971 (Fastparner, n.d.). The statistics for Rinkeby shows that the average income is much lower in Rinkeby compared to the rest of Stockholm, with the average income of 172800 SEK in Rinkeby and 352000 in Stockholm. There are also many more people with governmental financial support with 11,7 percent in Rinkeby compared with 2 percent in Stockholm. The statistics also show that people in Rinkeby are not as participating in municipal elections with only 51,7 percent compared to Stockholm city with 82,1 percent (Insyn, 2016). The media has written negatively about Rinkeby for over 40 years (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002). In the media Rinkeby is used as an example for where the integration of immigrants in Sweden has gone wrong (Eriksen, May 6, 2016). Different actions have been put in place for the children and teenagers in Rinkeby, for example, the activities are under the schools' control and the school has a close connection to the families. The school also has a cafe for girls where they can talk with a sexologist and ask questions (Aarset, Lidén and Seland, 2008). Figure 5 and figure 6 are aerial photo view from google maps of Rinkeby and Rinkeby Torg which is where the fieldwork in Rinkeby is taking place.



Figure 5: Rinkeby (Google Maps, 2021a)

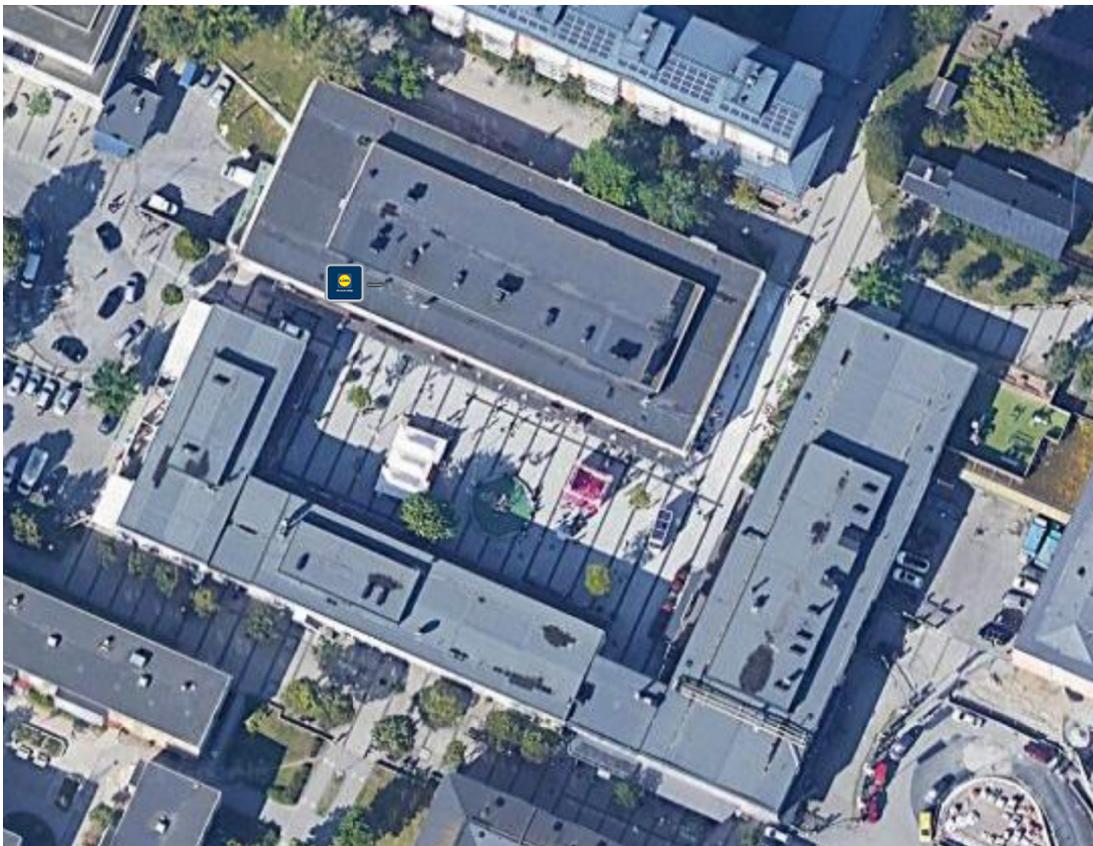


Figure 6: Rinkeby Torg (Google Maps, 2021b)

3.2 Media in Rinkeby

It has never been easier to access information and news and it is often not necessarily needed to actively enter a newspaper's webpage to keep updated. Information reaches all ages through all kinds of sources, from a paper version of a newspaper to social media. In this way, people do not control what kind of information and news we receive, the media does it for us. And it is hard to know what sources to trust and not to trust. It is easy to build a perception of a place, a religion, a person, a group, or anything else, without even knowing that the perception is made. How the media is writing about a place is making the perception people have about it, without ever being there themselves.

The media is full of huge and warning headlines about the immigration conditions in Sweden and are often mentioning Rinkeby specifically. As seen in figure 7 newspapers use terms such as "NO-GO ZONE" and in the articles it is used terms such as "WAR ZONE". When searching online for Rinkeby, it is noticeable that news articles often use the same picture of a burning car, see figure 8, in multiple different newspaper articles. These newspapers usually portray Rinkeby badly. The media also talk about how the situation in immigrant dominated districts have worsened over the years, and how Sweden is thinking of sending the military into the districts where "Swedish law no longer applies"(Hale, 2018, January 29). Swedish police have told the press about how the criminals in Rinkeby are laughing at them due to the lack of consequences of their actions. The police also had concerns about the safety of the police officers who work in Rinkeby, and are telling how the police station was attacked by masked men with stones and fireworks under the construction of the police station (Tomlinson, 2019).

NO-GO ZONES: UK GOVT WARNS PEOPLE TRAVELLING TO SWEDEN BEWARE 'GANG CRIME, SHOOTINGS, AND EXPLOSIONS'

f EMAIL PARLER TWEET



Figure 7: News article calling Rinkeby a "No-go-zone" (Hale, 2018, January 29).

 **Breitbart London**
@BreitbartLondon

Sweden: New 'No Go Zone' Police Station Rammed by Car, Attacked by Masked Arsonists



Sweden: 'No Go Zone' Police Station Rammed by Masked Men
A new police station under construction in Sweden's no-go suburb of Rinkeby was rammed by masked men in a fireworks-packed car.
breitbart.com

3:00 PM · Aug 8, 2018

48 73 people are Tweeting about this

Figure 8: Tweet about "Sweden's no-go suburb of Rinkeby"(Tomlinson, 2019)

It is not only the newspapers and television that contribute to the perception people have about Rinkeby being unsafe. For the young generations it is more social media and the most popular apps Instagram and Tiktok. Both platforms are used with personal profiles where you on Instagram post mainly photos with a caption and Tiktok is for posting short clips and movies. People can like and comment on the photos and movies that are posted. The top posts on Tiktok while writing this and searching on Rinkeby is police violence on immigrant in Rinkeby, young men and teenage boys running from someone during nighttime and interviews where people are blaming the police for harassing the people living in Rinkeby, and interviews with older people hating on the media for giving Rinkeby a bad name. In the comments many people are agreeing or disagreeing and a lot of name-giving each other and arguing. Some of the comments that are repeated are: “Well, do not blame the police, stop being criminals”, “the police cannot help you if you throw stones at them”, “all the police do is ruin our life”, “you know you are bad ass if you survive Rinkeby”. The clips can be funny or serious, but they are mostly telling the same story; Rinkeby is dangerous.

The police in Rinkeby have an account on the social media Instagram as well, called “polisen_rinkeby”, see figure 9 (polisen_rinkeby, 2021). They have a wide specter of topics, and their content is everything from lost bunny and incorrect parking, to information about violence against women after 5 women have died in a short time and crimes such as stealing, fraud and attempted murders. They have information about how parents should not use the police as someone who gives a penalty for their children, because it can damage the relationship children get with the police, both today and in the future. See figure 10. Using sentences like “If you do not wear your seatbelt the police will take you” is one of the examples they use in the post. They want the parents to take their children to the police and police car to say hello instead, so that the children can have positive associations with the police. They also have a post to parents that have teenagers at home and how they are their role models and how they can make their relationships better and the summer safer for everyone, see figure 11. What is interesting is that all the information, and all that text is just in Swedish and they have no translation in English. The fact that Rinkeby has so many immigrants that struggle with the Swedish language, and that much of this information is meant for the parents, who are the people with most difficulty reading and talking Swedish. Since they already have the text in Swedish in the photo, maybe it could be a good idea to have the text under, or on the side of, in English and even in Somali or other language so that they can reach out to more people in Rinkeby. Even on the post where they are telling people that information is coming in other languages about the covid-19 pandemic, see figure 12, is



Figure 10: The police asking parents to help them achieving a good relationship with their kids (polisen_rinkeby, 2021).



Figure 11 Police giving parents advice how to keep their teenagers safe (polisen_rinkeby, 2021).



Figure 12: «Information about covid-19 in different languages on a webpage” in Swedish (polisen_rinkeby, 2021).

3.4 The safety in Rinkeby

Research on the feeling of safety from both citizens in Rinkeby and the officials working there was done in 2021 by using interviews. These interviews were used together with safety measures done in the area, and the municipalities actions to improve the safety issues to analyze how the safety in Rinkeby and Kista really are. The research result was that the locals living in Rinkeby are mainly agreeing on the questions the interviewer had, but they had a different feeling of safety in their neighborhood. The interviewer reflects that this can be because of the different age (58, 26, 20) the interviewees have. An interesting fact is that the officials were not agreeing with the locals on the feeling of security. While the locals are mainly feeling safe, the officials state that Rinkeby is unsafe. The locals are blaming the medias presentation of Rinkeby and that Rinkeby has received a negative status because of this. The officials seemed to believe the picture that the media have presented. The locals were applauding parts of the actions the municipality had done for safety, but are skeptical of other parts like the methods they use for dialog (Peksen, 2021).

There have been multiple happenings that make people feel unsafe, for example in 2020 Ungdomens hus, a place for young people to meet and do activities like sports and trip and socialize in safe environments, had two masked men crashing an event. The outcome of this

was that Ungdomens hus closed since they could not be sure of the kids and teenagers safety (Stockholms stad, 2020). Later it was decided that the organization should be shut down, with the argumentation “Taxpayers' money should not go to a living room for young criminals”. The factors supporting this argument was that some of the staff has a skeptical attitude to the police, it was some drug related happenings, and known criminals that visits the venue. The deputy mayor in Rinkeby does not agree with shutting it down, and thinks it is better to think long-term (Kirvesmäki and Alm, 2020). Today the Ungdomens hus are having activities outdoors.

In June 2020, after many delays, the new police station in Rinkeby was finally finalized. They wanted to employ people from Rinkeby, to strengthen the relationship between the police and the locals (Lindgren, 2020). Today it is easy to find multiple articles about the planning of the station and course of actions to improve safety and the local environment, but there is limited information about how well these actions have worked.

4. Methodology and methods

The methodology and methods chapter will present the methods used in this research. This master thesis is both desk-based research and a case study. Literature review, data collection, site visit and observation, walk and talk, and interviews are methods that will be described. The chapter will then conclude with a reflection on how the corona pandemic has affected the methods used. In the beginning of the work with the thesis a time schedule was made, this time schedule was remade many times as both the corona situation made it hard to do fieldwork and other delays happened.

4.1 Case study

The methodology of this thesis is a case study which is taking place in Rinkeby in Stockholm, Sweden. A case study is a way of doing research from the individuals in the case study's view of point or viewing the research from another point of view. It is when a researcher study a specific part of a complexity (Thomas, 2021). To gather information needed for the case study, a fieldwork is necessary. The methods planned to use in the fieldwork to collect information are the participatory methods interviews, walk and talks, and observation, that will be added and compared with information found in literature research. The researcher must be prepared to change or edit the research questions as he or she goes, due to information achieved in field visits (Tjora, 2019).

As Rinkeby is an example of an immigrant neighborhood, and for some even *the* immigrant neighborhood, it seemed like a good place to choose as the case study area for this thesis. It is easy to access newspaper articles about Rinkeby, and it has a square where there are good possibilities for observation and to get in contact with residents. To make sure all the participants rights are followed in the different methods, the guidelines from Norwegian Center for Research data is used in the process of this thesis.

4.2 Data collection

The collection and analysis of data in a case study is the base of research success. In the collecting process the researcher is gathering and measuring the information needed to evaluate outcomes by answering relevant matters. Then by using the data from the data

collection phase, the analysis will try to find the most relevant information and connections, and may find conclusions (Assistance, 2019).

It is normal to experience a situation that will be surprising or not as expected during the fieldwork, that will change some parts of the case study, and it is therefore important to have collected all data early in the process (Tjora, 2019).

A lot of the data collected in this research is from literature review, where newspapers, bachelor- and master thesis', articles and books have been used to gather the information needed. In this case study it has been important with literature that can gain knowledge about Rinkeby as a place to live, the experiences of Rinkeby, reports and laws about how integration policies are in Rinkeby and literature about housing policies. Since media is using Rinkeby as a bad example of integration, it is important to use both these news articles and also try to find literature that argues against it. The rest of the data collection is from observations and interviews in the case study area Rinkeby, and also some interviews in the bordering district Sundbyberg (see figure 1 on page 8) to make clear who the people with perception are. It has been important to gather as much data as possible in the beginning to make sure to have the basis of theory before starting with field visits and fieldwork. Then the desk-based part of the thesis and the fieldwork part of the thesis has functioned parallelly during the working on the master.

4.3 Site visit and observation

Observation is to observe and register people and the activities in an environment. It is to see how people are acting and what people do, listening to conversations and taking photos and notes. Observation can be both participatory and covert. It is usually called an ethnography when the person is in participatory observation. Luck can be as crucial as skills in an observation because timing, which stakeholders are available, having a main gatekeeper or what events that happen, or situations who will occur can be very random. During an observation it is important to take field notes. This will help with the writing later.

Observations usually are a process over time, but in this case it will only be for a shorter time, it is therefore good to choose a specific topic to focus on (Bryman, 2016). Observational data can be used as a basis for new theories about the site or lead to new research questions or changed research questions (Jamshed, 2014).

A site analysis and observations as a method in field visits is important to make a better understanding of the case study area. The observations in this thesis gave an overview of who used the main square in Rinkeby. For the best results observation was done multiple times, in the morning, in the middle of the day and in the afternoon. Field visits were done on both weekdays and weekends, and notes about who was there, what they were doing and what time and day it was, were taken every time. There was a clear difference between the mid-day and the afternoon, this was because many is in school, university or jobs during the day. Many people got curious about why someone would go to Rinkeby to observe, which in many of the times ended up with walk and talk and conversation about the thesis topic. The part of the fieldwork that was actively going to people to start conversation and informal interviews was always after observation and not the other way around.

4.4 Walk and talk

A walk and talk, or a walking interview is where information about a specific topic is gathered through an interview or a conversation with people in a specific place or environment connected to the topic. So that the conversation is not interrupted unnecessarily, the researcher is recording the interview/conversation and taking notes from the recordings after (Kinney, 2017). In the walk and talks the interviews were informal. Interviews that are informal are where the interviewer seeks out random people for example on the street, and asks open questions, that hopefully will end up with storytelling from the participants, that can give the interviewer answers she did not know she was looking for. Receiving statements from a random pull of people with information about the case area can be very helpful for the interviewer. Interviews could be through the entire fieldwork part and data collection part of the thesis, because the researcher will continually gain more information that he or she will ask more questions from (Bryman, 2016).

All the people who contributed with their knowledge and stories in the walk and talks were randomly contributing to the thesis, and no one was talking multiple times in different fieldwork days. They did not know that the researcher would come to Rinkeby or Tornparken and had no time to prepare for the conversations or the topics.

The walk and talks in this research were in two different places. Two times in Tornparken in Sundbyberg, and five times in Rinkeby. The talks were not structured with already planned questions but had a topic. As different factors and topics came up during the first walk and

talks, it gave reason to go back to gathering more data from literature review in the theory chapter. Some of those topics were social media, othering and neighborhood communities. When new topics got mentioned by many people, the next walk and talk would mention that topic to gather more information about it. For example, the first walk and talk in Rinkeby, without getting it mentioned, many talked about the neighborhood community. Therefore, on the second walk and talk, people who wanted to join a conversation were asked to talk about the neighborhood community. Some of the talks were with only one person, most of the talks were with two or three persons, and occasionally bigger groups of five or six persons but these groups were always friends that had their children with them. Many would let me know personal stories and situations that had happened. People talked about the good and the bad and their meaning of how, what, who and why on the different topics.

Sometimes while talking with a group of people other people would keep an eye on us and then yell something about how this was not welcomed in Rinkeby or that I should go. The person or persons I were in a conversation with while this happened would then either be upset by this and talk angry back at them or excuse their behavior to me and talk about how media, interviews or people being interested in Rinkeby mainly have bad intentions and Rinkeby ends up being negatively pointed out in media again.

Multiple times during the walk and talks people would say they really liked the topic of this thesis and that they were glad the data gathered was from people living there, and not the police as many other articles or studies have. Some also said that they liked that the thesis did not focus on the crime and immigrants, but the stigma on immigrants.

When a game, which were part of Rinkeby celebrating 50 years, was installed in Rinkeby Torg, it was a good icebreaker because people would come to the researcher and start the conversation by being curious about the game. The game is described in the case description on chapter five.

4.5 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are conversations between two or more people where the interviewer is asking questions to find answers to a specific topic. A semi-structured interview is used when the interviewer does not know exactly what to look for in the answers, and therefore have open-

ended questions that later can give a new perspective for a new theory or questions (Bryman, 2016).

In this case the interviews have collected knowledge about the people living in Rinkeby, how they ended up living there, if they are happy about the situation in Rinkeby at the moment, and what they think the factors are for the perception about Rinkeby. Most of the interviews were planned to be informal semi-structured interviews. Other interviews were planned to be a more “walk and talk” formed interview where the topic for the conversation was addressed and then the people interviewed took control over the conversation. The goal with the interviews is to understand the experiences of the people living in Rinkeby and compare it with the experiences of the governmental perspectives, to get a wider understanding of how the perception took place, and why it is still here, and to understand what the people in Rinkeby thinks of the situation. People living in Sundbyberg were also interviewed about the topic to gather more information about the perception of Rinkeby, and immigrant districts in general, and to hear their reflections on where the perception comes from and why it is still here.

Several interview-guides were used to make sure to get as much information about the topic as possible. The different guides were used for different types of interviews. One interview guide was made for an interview with a person working with integration in Stockholm. Another interview guide was made for interviews with two young men, one who has integrated to Stockholm a few years ago and have lived in both a rich area of Stockholm and in a poorer area known as an immigrant neighborhood. The other man are living in another immigrant dense neighborhood in Stockholm and are a second-generation immigrant. The third interview guide was topics for the walk and talks and questions for semi-structured interviews in Rinkeby, and the fourth was for walk and talk in Sundbyberg. The interview guides are to be found in the appendix.

The table shows the code for the different interviews or walk and talk conversation and the date it was completed. The code is used as reference in all quotes, and the interview guide number shows which interview guide were used in the different interviews. The summary of the interviews and the interview guides are to be found in the appendix of the thesis.

CODE	INTERVIEWEE	DATE OF INTERVIEW	Interview guide number
R1	A worker on housing for newly arrived immigrants in Stockholm	24 th of March	IG1
R2	Woman living in Rinkeby	9 th of March	IG3
R3	Man living in Huvudsta	13 th of April	IG2
R4	Man living in Rinkeby	22 nd of April	IG3
R5	Woman living in Rinkeby	24 th of May	IG3
R6	Man living in Märsta	28 th of May	IG2
WT1	Walk and talk conversations from Rinkeby	9 th of March, 20 th of March, 16 th of April, 22 nd of April, 24 th of May,	IG3
WT2	Walk and talk conversations from Sundbyberg	15 th of April, 22 nd of April	IG4

Table 1: Table showing the codes used for different interviews, walk and talk, and which interview guide is used.

4.6 Reflections and biases

4.6.1 Methods that did not work

When asked to show pictures of where they are normally spending time during a day in Rinkeby, people did not want to. Almost all of the people who were asked about favorite parts of Rinkeby, or favorite things about Rinkeby would become quiet and modest, or just answer short that they did not have any particular place or thing in mind. When asked if they could take some pictures that could sum up a typical day in Rinkeby everyone said no. It was also very important for many to be hundred percent anonymous. It seems like people are not

comfortable with anything that is more than talking in general. So as soon as they are asked to point out something specific, they will retreat.

4.6.2 Biases

It is impossible to know one hundred percent for sure if people are telling the truth, and it is almost impossible to fact check everything. It is anyway hard to believe that someone would tell a lie under the interviews or the walk and talks, everyone seemed like lovely people with enthusiasm for what they were sharing. A lot of the information gathered is their opinion and their meaning of things and would be no point in twisting the truth. When talking with groups some may have felt a social press from the rest of the group and therefore agreed on things that person normally would not agree on. A surprising factor in the fieldwork was that people very easily identified that it was an outsider in Rinkeby Torg. This could have been a trigger for curiosity.

4.6.3 Reflection on working with the thesis under a pandemic.

The pandemic made the fieldwork a bit more difficult than what was expected. Places were closed more often, and people were skeptical to talk because of the virus. Many people in Rinkeby were infected by the virus, it is one of the places in Sweden with the highest level of corona infections. The government has had a plan to prioritize the covid-19 vaccinations in the exposed and poor areas in Stockholm, but despite this plan it shows that Rinkeby is one of the places in Stockholm with fewest percentage vaccinated. The vaccine coordinators say it will take time to get the trust from immigrants to take the vaccine. The fact that immigrant neighborhoods have fewer vaccinated people compared to the rich areas in Stockholm is a consequence of class differences in society (Nilsson and Sandberg, 2021). Wearing a mask was also challenging because it is harder to hear what people say and it is breaking a nice flow in the conversation. It is hard to know if people wearing a mask were smiling or not, and difficult for the researcher to show emotions as well. This made some awkward moments in the interviews and talk and walks in Rinkeby. This may have affected some of the interviews, or conversations or peoples' storytelling.

5. Case description and analysis

This chapter will present analysis on different factors causing perception and the case study area Rinkeby. The researcher's observation and experience of Rinkeby will also be stated. Theories and information gathered in fieldwork in Rinkeby and Sundbyberg will be discussed in the analysis. The analyses are divided into five different subheadings: The media and the inherited stigma from older generations the main reason for perception on the safety in immigrant neighborhoods?, Who are the people with perception?, The broken window theory compared to the gathered information from Rinkeby, How housing policy and Miljonprogrammet apartments contributes as factors causing perception, and how inclusion or exclusion of neighborhood communities can impact perceptions.

5.1 Location Rinkeby

The fieldwork in this case study is located in Rinkeby, more specifically in Rinkeby Torg which is a square that consist of, among other things, the subway station, the shopping mall, restaurants, a fruit- and vegetable market, and is a place where many hang out. The people interviewed about Rinkeby in Sundbyberg had a perception about the place from what they had read and seen in the media, or what they had heard from people talking about the topic. Some would also talk about Rinkeby from what they have heard from friends or stories they did not know the origins to. The perception people had about Rinkeby is mainly made out of second- or third-part information. Few people had actually been there themselves. It is a stigma about Rinkeby that the citizens of Rinkeby do not agree with. The majority of residents in Rinkeby do not understand why people think Rinkeby is unsafe, many have perceptions of outsider's perceptions, and even more think they know which factors impact the perception. The people who have helped with information through interviews in Rinkeby and Sundbyberg are people from a walk and talk, so they had not prepared for the conversations.

“Rinkeby has always had so many immigrants. First it was mostly Greek people, and maybe people from Serbia and those countries. Then all the other immigrants came to Rinkeby as well” - WTI

Rinkeby mainly contains of rental apartments and the housing is gathered around Rinkeby Center, which is called Rinkeby Torg (figure 6 page 32). Fresh fruit and vegetable markets, shops, health care, police and restaurants are gathered in the center of Rinkeby (Fastparner, n.d.).

To access Rinkeby from Stockholm city center subway number 10 is going straight from T-Centralen to Rinkeby (figure 13) in about 17 minutes, and this is the traveling route the majority of people travelling to Rinkeby are using. The majority of walk and talks and observation is done in Rinkeby Torg, and the observations were mainly done in the entrance area shown in figure 14.



Figure 13: Rinkeby subway station Photo: V. Lyngstadaas CC BY-SA 3.0



Figure 14: Entrance to Rinkeby Torg from the library and school. Photo: V. Lyngstadaas CC BY-SA 3.0

5.1.1 Description of Rinkeby Torg from the researchers view

Rinkeby stands out from other parts in Stockholm, and it is noticeable once you get out from the subway with a mix of cultures, different stores with details from other countries such as the signs written in other languages. People are standing and sitting in groups inside the shopping mall, outside the shopping mall, in the vegetable market (figure 15), and outside smaller shops. In the mornings and until noon, all the groups that are standing outside the mall are men, mainly waiting for their wives, who are shopping. Others hang with their friends who are working or waiting for food they have ordered from a street food car in the middle of the square. The place gives a feeling that everything in Rinkeby is built around this square. It has two main entrances, one in the direction of the police station, social service and

homes, and one in the direction of the school, library, maternity ward and more housing (figure 14).

It is a chill and peaceful atmosphere there, the normal Stockholm stress is nowhere to be found here, and people are minding their own business while standing still or moving slowly. The exception is in the rush hours when people are going to, and coming home from, their workplace or universities. Then many people are stressed about getting home and picking their children up from school and kindergarten. The square then has a wave of people going through stores and the subway, and just on their way. No one wants to stop for a chat in these hours. Some people are wearing masks, but most people are not, and people are standing close, hugging and living life like before the covid-19 pandemic came.

The library and school are just half a minute walk outside the centrum square. Families are talking, a group of children are waiting to get picked up outside the library, and men, women, children and teenagers are sitting in the library staircase even though the library is closed. This seems like a place where people are comfortable hanging or having as a meeting point when meeting friends before moving on to another place or shopping together.



Figure 15: The square Rinkeby Torg seen from the subway entrance. Photo: V. Lyngstadaas CC BY-SA 3.0

5.1.2 The people at Rinkeby Torg

Talking with people in Rinkeby gave a clearer view and a lot of new information about the topic of the thesis. A few of the people talked about how the media and the municipality are working against them. They feel like they do not have any other options, some because they do not feel welcomed in other neighborhoods, some because they do not feel safe in other neighborhoods, some because they cannot afford living in other places. Others because it is easy to get housing in Rinkeby and hard to get housing in other places. All the topics and problem statements people are talking about in the walk and talks are at least mentioned twice. There is no statement mentioned by only one person. The factors focused on in the thesis have been repeated many times by different people in the walk and talks in Rinkeby.

People are curious as to why this topic is chosen, and many are excited that it is focusing on information from the residents and immigrants, and not on authorities and police. It appears that journalists, news reporters and others have come to interview residents in Rinkeby several times, and this is not new, but that people often mean the interviewers have a bad attitude and the information they receive from the people are twisted in the news later. There are not many who trust journalists anymore.

When it comes to the question of how immigrant neighborhoods occur, there is disagreement among the residents. Some of the people said they really want to move closer to the city center and to a richer district in Stockholm municipality. A mother wants her children to go to school in a place where the other children speak normal Stockholm-Swedish and not “Rinkebysvenska”, which is what Swedes call the immigrant Swedish dialect of many suburbs with a high percentage of immigrants. Three sisters are talking about how the government wants them to live in immigrant neighborhoods. “They make it impossible for us to move to more central neighborhoods”. They say many are angry about the rent prices in other parts of Stockholm and making Rinkeby so much cheaper forces parents to choose to live in Rinkeby.

“After many years in a queue to get an apartment in another part of Stockholm I could rent a one room for 5000SEK more than the three room apartment I have in Rinkeby. They give an

offer they know I have to say no to. They can say they gave me the opportunity to live outside of Rinkeby, but in reality, they did not. I can't live in a one room apartment with my children.” - WT1

On the other hand, most of the people argue that they wanted to live in Rinkeby. A mom and a girl are telling about how they lived in another part of Stockholm before, but were not even invited to the housing association meetings where they lived. They had family and friends living in Rinkeby already, and said it was easy to find a new apartment there. They are happier when they are with friends and family and are very glad that they moved to Rinkeby. They are convinced that the majority of Rinkeby citizens would choose to live in Rinkeby over most other places in Sweden because of the good neighborhood community they have.

People living in Rinkeby are genuinely proud of the community in Rinkeby.

“I feel respected and safe everywhere I go in Rinkeby, all my friends and family lives here, we take care of each other” one said, and his friend added *“If I would get ill here on the street, I know people would help me immediately, but I don't think people would even ask me how I am if the same happened other places in Stockholm”*.

People who are living in other parts of Stockholm and are in Rinkeby only on visit, are agreeing when it comes to the good community in Rinkeby. *“It feels more like home here than any other place in Sweden, the food is good, and it is good halal meat to buy here”*. Everyone makes it clear that a safe neighborhood is important for them, and that one way to get a safe neighborhood is a good neighborhood community.

During the fieldwork a game was set up in the middle of Rinkeby Torg, see figure 16. It is part of the celebration of Rinkeby turning 50 years (Stockholm stad, 2021). The clue with the game is to remember the pictures so that you can find two that look alike when turning the squares with pictures. The pictures represent Rinkeby's history. Standing here playing was a great way of connecting with people because then they often would be curious and start the conversations.



Figure 16: A game where you play against others, in the middle of Rinkeby Torg. Photo: V. Lyngstadaas CC BY-SA 3.0

5.2 Analyses

5.2.1 Who are the people with perception?

This analysis will look at who the people with perception are. It is mainly based on the information gathered from two different walk and talk areas, two in Tornparken in Sundbyberg and several in Rinkeby Torg. Then theories and interviews are also contributing to the analysis.

When talking with people in Tornparken in Sundbyberg, a bordering district to Rinkeby, the question “What is the first thing that comes to your mind when I say Rinkeby?” were asked and all the answers seem to be approximately the same. The first thing most people said were

“immigrants”, after that it was mainly “dangerous”, “I do not go there”, “Never been there” and “I do not think it is a nice place to go”. Some stopped there, and did not have anything more to say, while others had a lot to add. It seems like most people in this bordering district knows about Rinkeby, and do have a lot of perceptions, because they have plenty to say but almost everyone said they have never been there and do not know anyone who lives there. It also seems like the perception is mainly about the place, and not the people living there.

“I think most of the people living in Rinkeby are nice people, but I do not think anyone actually wants to live there, because I have heard that it is not a safe place. You can read about it in the news also”. – WT2

The other group with perception is people living in Rinkeby. Many of the people talked about the non-Rinkeby living people as one group with the same thoughts and culture. Even though many of them said that all of their family and friends are living in Rinkeby, they still had a clear idea of what people outside of Rinkeby were like. Some even said almost every one of *them*, if not all of the Sweden-born people, are racists. Many of the people in Rinkeby were concerned about what the perception people had about them was. They would usually have a perception of others’ perception.

The labeling theory and territorial stigma theory do not have to be, and are usually not, a one-way thing. It can be both ways, and if the heritage factors add in as well, we can say that people on both sides are growing up with labeling *the other*.

“All Swedes are..”, “All immigrants are..”, “all of those..”, “white people”, “them” and “us”. These words or groupings were said multiple times during both interviews and walk and talk, they were used in both positive and negative meaning and form. It became very clear that most people have a perception about other groups of people, and most people are also putting together groups of people that they do not really know anything about. That these people are not alike on any other set than their background, housing situation or living area. Othering and name calling was repetitive.

“Rinkeby is almost another name for a suburb. When people are talking about something bad happening in a suburb, people are automatically thinking that it is in Rinkeby. It is not that no bad things are happening here, but bad things are happening everywhere. It is just so

hilarious that people think Rinkeby people will shoot random people who come here. That is not what is happening. People getting shot or doing crimes are gang related and these people do not even necessarily live in Rinkeby.” R5 date 24th of May

It is not only Swedish-born people that argue that Rinkeby is an unsafe place, but immigrants living in other parts of Stockholm do also have this perception. Through interviews with immigrants who have friends in Rinkeby, it gave the impression that Rinkeby is actually a dangerous place with a lot of serious crimes and gang activity that is hard to get out of. If this is the truth, or if this is a part of an attitude young men and teenagers want to show their friends living outside of Rinkeby is not easy to figure out. When the majority of people living in Rinkeby are arguing that their neighborhood is not just safe, but even safer than other parts of Stockholm, it may seem like the impression Rinkeby residents have given their friends living other places is not more than an attitude. An attitude that they use to get respect from others, and give the impression that they are dangerous, and with that creating an image that people should be afraid of them as a way of protecting themselves and their neighborhood.

“Almost everyone in Sweden, and many people living outside of Sweden have heard about Rinkeby and all the crime, almost as if we are a ghetto and therefore some people, mainly boys, think it is cool to tell people they are living here because of that. I have gotten so many comments through the years when people get to know I am from Rinkeby, their responses are often something like “oh my god, isn’t it dangerous there?”. People really think Rinkeby is such an exposed area where it is bad to grow up. This has just become a thing.” R2 date 9th of March

With both the news media, social media, the general perception from outsiders and the residents of Rinkeby providing this attitude, it is maybe not that weird this perception and stigma is existing. Some of the people contributing with information on interviews and walk and talk in Rinkeby are aware of the fact that many in the younger generations are promoting this perception for their own image, and it clearly irritates. Some express sadness over these facts because they want the stigma to disappear completely. They feel like the perceptions are having negative effects on their life. People worry that the stigma is so deep into people’s minds that they can’t do anything to change their perception of them. As they have examples of them having to prove themselves and demonstrate for people that the stigma is not true to get accepted.

“It may ruin my chances of getting my dream job because the employer has this perception”
R6 date 28th of May

How the stigma is an advantage for the people not living in stigmatized neighborhoods make the social differences even bigger, because then the perception factor is not only that people look down on the immigrant neighborhoods and the people living there, but also giving *the others* a power to not be stigmatized. This is forcing people from stigmatized neighborhoods or groups to work extra hard for the same first impression as the non-stigmatized person.

5.2.2 Media and the inherited stigma

This analysis will look at the factor’s media and inherited stigma from older generations as reasons for perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods, and with Rinkeby as the example.

“Media is just afraid of us because they do not know us” -R5 date 24th of May

Both Rinkeby interviews and Sundbyberg interviews agreed fully on one thing: media and social media are a huge reason for why people think of Rinkeby the way they do. While people in Rinkeby are almost fully blaming the media for their bad reputation, people in Sundbyberg had not really reflected that much about it before they were asked, but then they would admit that the media absolutely had had an influence in the way that they were thinking of Rinkeby, and some would even admit that they trusted the media without having any doubt that it was the correct information they had gain. Or that it is more to Rinkeby than the information they had from the media and rumors.

It seems like media is only gathering and posting the exact information they want, and then they ignore the other sides of the story or the other people’s opinion on the matter. For example, when the newspaper “Expressen” was writing about how the people in Rinkeby were so happy the police moved the station from Solna to Rinkeby, that they offered to help the police move their stuff inside the new station. Talking with people in Rinkeby most of them say they do not like the police at all. They feel harassed and constantly watched like

they are criminals. Some also say that it is so sad the municipality chooses to use their money on the police and guards instead of using the money on children, activities and other positive welfare programs. The main impression was that many people in Rinkeby are not happy with the way Stockholm chose to fix the problems Rinkeby has had, and still has. Some people say they feel safer when the police are close and the security guards are at the subway station, but most of the people say they feel safe just because of the community they have in Rinkeby, and not by the police at all. The media have made a picture that Rinkeby is not safe at all, so it makes it clear that this information is not from talking with several people who live there.

When looking at social media, people who post the more extreme happenings are often the ones who receive the most attention. Since many young people want to be popular, they do more extreme things to receive attention online. People often comment, like or post content that shows which side or group they belong to. This give the impression that they are included in a community or in a group, and that they are not alone, and this is very important for at least the younger generations.

“My little brothers are 11 and 15 and there is no doubt that they think it is cool to be from Rinkeby and that Rinkeby has such a bad reputation. I think having this attitude is how boys get friends. And then, on the other side of the situation, my friends say they are from Spånga and not from Rinkeby when they are applying for jobs. We are registered in Spånga even though we live here in Rinkeby. If you ask a person who lives in Spånga if they live in Rinkeby, they will get mad though” -R2 date 9th of March

As described in the theory chapter, news media have had a structured discrimination of immigrants. But social media is in many ways giving a new perspective on the matter when the poorly way news media has described the immigrant neighborhoods is put in a new light after individuals from these neighborhoods have become popular on social media, or in the music industry, and tv shows and movies that reflects on the environment and attitudes in the immigrant communities has become popular. The younger generations are now growing up with another attitude to the different aspects of neighborhoods in a city with the help of new trends and a changing society. Searching on Rinkeby in the popular social media Tiktok, young people are making videos with dark humor and several of the people contributing to this research showed me things from this app. One Tiktok that was shown multiple times is a short movie of two girls in their twenties who are moving to Rinkeby. It is a happy song

before it is paused by the sound of shooting, then the shooting stops, the girls are shrugging before moving on with the happy song. The video is named “When in Rinkeby” and has many likes, views and comments and it is clear that the younger generations think this is a good content and that it is funny.

“Honestly, what would really help is that people would stop making rap and tv series that make the tough life cool. We live in Huvudsta but are hanging here in Rinkeby a lot because it is cool to be here on snapmap⁵, but I do think many people are taking it too far. It is not dangerous to be in Rinkeby in real life, as long as you do not hang out with the wrong people. It is only if you are in a gang, it is dangerous, but gangs are everywhere, and everyone knows that it is not here the big drug deals are, then you have to go to the richer suburbs of Stockholm, try Djursholm” -R3 13th of April

Many of the citizens living in immigrant neighborhoods that have contributed with information in this thesis are clearly frustrated over the way media is talking about their neighborhood. People living in Rinkeby describe how they feel attacked when it is specifically pointed out that a crime has happened in Rinkeby. They think it is unfair since the media is not usually as specific with the details about the area crimes have happened in if it is in another place than Rinkeby. They also struggle to recognize themselves in the way media is describing the people living in Rinkeby or describing an immigrant or individual in an immigrant family. They feel like the articles are not meant for them to read and that it is just a way for others to read about something dramatic or shocking. The labelling theory argues that a person with a negative label will get more negative problems because of the identity the label gives. It seems like the people in Rinkeby do not identify with the way media is describing them, but it seems to trigger them that Rinkeby always has to be pointed out.

“It is funny how the newspapers always remember to say it is Rinkeby if there is a shooting here, but if it is in any other place, it is just “south of Stockholm” or “in the Northern part of Stockholm”. They love pointing it out every time something bad happens in Rinkeby” -R3 date 13th of April

⁵ Snapmap is a map on the social media app Snapchat where your friends can see your emoji where you are at the time you are there.

It is not a new trend that being from an exposed area is often connected with people who are living a harder life than the norm with both criminals and poorer areas around, but after more and more movies, rap songs and TV series are creating an unrealistic image of how it is to have immigrant parents, being an immigrant or living in an immigrant neighborhood such as Rinkeby, it has received a label of being cool. The people that contributed to this research that were in any of the three living situations would repeatedly say that their life is nothing like the songs, shows or how media are painting it. Again, not recognizing themselves in a description made by outsiders.

“It is cool to have a Rinkeby-attitude, boys want to be in gangs and hang out with the older guys. I understand that other people think it is stupid, but it is just how it is. It does not help that all the guys that people our age look up to are making songs and rap about the tough life in gangs and with violence and crime. As weird as it is to say, it is cool to have an attitude that likes crime and the tough life. That Netflix makes series like Snabba Cash ⁶ is just feeding this attitude even more. People our age are not posting videos of crime and quarrels to alert the rest of the world that it is dangerous here, we are doing it to show that we live in this and that people should be afraid of us. So that people would give us respect and do not come at us. It is cooler to have people be scared of us and therefore keep their distance instead of coming at us with crap.” -R3 date 13th of April

What irritates a lot is the way immigrant neighborhoods often are connected to bad integration, and many feel like media is clearly looking for the happenings that can support this. Many of the people living here are born in Sweden and are angry about having to hear people say people in Rinkeby have bad integration. Ylva Brune’s mental segregation theory supports this feeling, because outsiders have already labelled them on the information of where they are living and where they are coming from.

“Some people in Rinkeby are helping the media, giving Rinkeby a bad reputation. Especially younger people are doing bad things, maybe because they are bored, and they want attention. They are often challenging each other and doing stupid things. These are the things that the

⁶ Snabba Cash is a Swedish Netflix series built on the movies with the same name, that follows a gang-member, a problematic teenager and a businesswoman who are all searching for fast cash in Stockholm.

media are writing about also. And all the other people living here just think they are stupid.”
-R2 date 9th of March

5.2.3 The broken window theory compared to the gathered information from Rinkeby

This analysis is comparing the gathered information from fieldwork with the broken window theory. The possible consequences of living in a stigmatized neighborhood can end up with a social downhill for the residents, according to this theory. Looking at the different opinions from both residents in Rinkeby, immigrants living other places, and other residents of Stockholm the analysis will compare their opinions with what the theory states.

Most of the people living in Rinkeby are meaning that Rinkeby is a safe and nice place to live, and the only people who said Rinkeby was unsafe also felt unsafe in other neighborhoods in Stockholm, so that was not a fear connected to Rinkeby as an area. In these talks it was only girls who said they felt unsafe, especially at night or when they walked alone. Some girls said that they felt unsafe in other neighborhoods in Stockholm, but not in Rinkeby. This group of girls stated that they would go outside at night alone without looking over their shoulder at all in Rinkeby, but that they never would walk alone in Stockholm city.

“I have never had anyone questioning me, my religion, my skin color or my clothes here in Rinkeby, but people have yelled racist things after me when I have been going home from a night out in Stockholm city, or even on the subway”. R2 date 9th of March

Many say that they think Rinkeby looks like an unhappy place and needs a renovation. But that it does not matter that Rinkeby is not as aesthetically beautiful as other parts of Stockholm, because other factors are much more important to them. These factors being their neighbors, their classmates, friends, family, easy accessibility to foreign goods like fabric, foods, clothes, etc., the cultural richness, and the things many of the people living there have in common, for example growing up with mixed cultures.

Talking with people who do not live in Rinkeby, many have a negative attitude to both how Rinkeby looks like and how safe it is there. They express that they do not think all the people living there want to, but that they have no other option because the municipality has chosen Rinkeby as where to have housing for newly arrived immigrants, and that the immigrants do

not move when they have their own place because they get so settled in Rinkeby. The fact that so many people say this, and that it is the opposite of what the municipalities do is very interesting. It gives the impression that people have a lot of meanings and perceptions but have not had enough interest in the topic to actually look it up.

“I would never go there, there are a lot of crimes and shootings, and I have heard it is pretty unsafe there”. – WT2

The information about the broken parts of Rinkeby that people are reading about in the newspapers and on social media have made a strong perception about the place, and if someone saw a broken window there it is likely that many outsiders would automatically think it is from a crime in some sort, and not an accident from kids playing football or the wind overturning an object causing the window to break. When talking with the people in Sundbyberg people said it was likely they would think it was an accident if a window was broken in their street, and not a crime. This shows that the broken window theory is true at least on some level. When people were reflecting over this, they also found themselves to rather connect the broken window to a crime in Sundbyberg as well, instead of thinking that the broken window in Rinkeby maybe is from an accident. This is also supporting the theory. As research has shown, the broken window theory is more likely to occur in the places that are already vulnerable areas. This also shows in the walk and talk answers received in this research in many ways.

The security guards working at the subway and other watchmen in the Rinkeby Torg area are visible all the time when you are at the square. During observation in fieldwork, they mainly helped people finding the right directions, and a lot of the times they were pointing in the direction of the police station, the social services or the school and library. They would never join in on conversations or answer any questions regarding the thesis, but some of them said it was because they did not want to do or say something wrong. They were easy to see and stood out of the crowd with their high visibility vests or uniforms. Two times during the fieldwork the police or security guards had to break up a fight and in an episode people were pushing at one another, but mainly screaming at each other. The surrounding crowd did not care at all, and just walked by as it was a normal thing. Both incidents were in the entrance of the subway, which also is the most crowded area in Rinkeby Torg no matter what day it is.

It is, under this observation, no doubt that there are more security guards in Rinkeby subway station than in the other nine stops in between. The majority of people who live in Rinkeby that have contributed to the thesis do not reflect on this under conversations or interviews without being asked about it. More people are talking about the police being moved to Rinkeby, and the general observation is that the young people think this is more a threat than help. That the police are there to observe and monitor them, to give them the message that they have their eyes on them. The older generations, on the other hand, are more positive to the police in Rinkeby, and also the security guards at the subway. They feel that their children are safe when the police are so close. The women were especially the ones who stated this. So, comparing the information gathered from the informal and semi structured interviews with the broken window theory, it does in many ways support the theory in the aspect of the police being visible. Kelling and Wilson's research on the walking police is therefore having the same effect in Rinkeby as it had in New Jersey since the people *feel safer* when the police are there. Even though the younger generation is not happy with it, it still supports the theory because the theory expresses how the local people in a neighborhood will always know the norms of the place. It seems like it has an effect since they feel watched and that can make them avoid vandalism or other illegal activities.

Also, that the parents think their children are safer out in the street because of the police being there is putting a stop to the negative happenings that the theory states will happen if people start to get scared of crimes in their own neighborhood.

An important factor to consider is that the definition of safe can vary from person to person. What people are afraid of is very different, so what they need the police for is also very different. While someone is just afraid of getting attacked or people being violent, others can be afraid of drug addicts, drunks and homeless people, even though they are usually not a personal threat. One person put it like this:

“I am not afraid of other people doing drugs, I am afraid of what can go wrong under drug deals and if different gangs are making my neighborhood into a gang related war zone because they are not agreeing on something. This is what you see in movies and stuff, I do not want to be the innocent passerby that get hurt for being in the wrong place at the wrong time”. -WT1

5.2.4 Housing policy

This analysis will look at how the housing policy can contribute to the perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods. The different municipalities get a percentage of immigrants who need housing, and the only rule the municipality has to follow is that the housing needs to be safe. If the immigrants do not want to be in the housing provided by the municipality, they can find housing themselves by living with family or friends that already have papers to live in Sweden. How the rules around this topic have newly changed, different people's view of the matter, how the renting prices and housing prices have a huge difference in different parts of Stockholm where the immigrant dense suburbs are the places with the lowest prices, are all topics discussed in this subchapter.

If it is because of the housing policy that immigrant neighborhoods occur is a well debated question. Asking people in Rinkeby about why they think Rinkeby became an immigrant neighborhood, many people blamed, or at least mentioned the housing policy. But even more people said it was on their own will to live in immigrant dense neighborhoods because they want to live with the same culture and close to friends and family, but that the reason from the beginning probably had to do with the low prices on apartments there compared to other places in Stockholm and suburbs to Stockholm. Because if not, the whole family and friends would probably have settled down somewhere else. The third group said it is a combination of the two, and the fourth group did not think it was any of the two, here people blamed that they were there simply because they did not feel welcomed anywhere else and that it had nothing to do with the housing policy directly, but maybe because no one else wants to live there. Asking people outside of Rinkeby, people said it was probably the municipality that made it easier for immigrants to settle there.

*“The government knows that Swedish people do not want immigrants as their neighbor, and they do not want the rich people to move out of the rich parts of Stockholm, so they make sure our new citizens cannot afford to live there. I am sure many of them could afford it if they needed to, but when Rinkeby and other districts like Rinkeby are so much cheaper, then people do not want to spend all their money to live 10 minutes closer to the city center”. -R5
date 24th of May*

A 20-year old man from Syria who lives in a rich neighborhood in Stockholm said that he mainly spends nearly all his time in different immigrant districts anyway, because that is where his friends are. Even though he came to Sweden alone and did not know anyone here from earlier, almost all of his friends are from other countries than Sweden or have immigrant parents. He does not think that the housing policy has anything to do with why Rinkeby has so many immigrants, he thinks they choose to live there because they want to live close to the same culture, and that most of his friends there *want* to live there. He met the other Syrian people in programs for integration, and he also met other immigrants and Swedish people there.

“I was lucky and made many friends from both Sweden and other countries during my first year. They all taught me different parts of integration that made me integrate much faster. I think my Swedish is so good today because I have learned to speak it from people who speak normal Swedish and people that speak “Rinkebysvenska” (immigrant-Swedish). It made my vocabulary better, and I understand everyone here now.” -WT1

On the walk and talk in Rinkeby some of the people would blame the housing policy as the only reason for Rinkeby to become an immigrant district. People would talk about how they really wish to move to other places in Stockholm.

*“They make the housing cheap here so that it is the only place we can afford. I do not like it here, it looks like the ghetto of Stockholm, it is ugly apartment buildings from Miljonprogrammet, and the only reason we live here is because no one else wants to”. R5
date 24th of May*

Since the new EBO law came in 2020 it is possible that the future of newly arrived immigrants will experience this differently. At the same time, when so many of the newly arrived immigrants choose to live with their family and friends when arriving in Sweden, and so many of them living in already immigrant dense neighborhoods, it can be a challenge to change the pattern. The effect of the new law, that immigrants who choose to settle in immigrant neighborhoods or vulnerable neighborhoods lose their financial support from the migration agency, is not going to show until it has been some years. The municipalities and the migration agency are following the effects continuously. It does not seem like the people who have the strongest opinion of the housing policy being the reason for immigrant

neighborhoods, have received the information about the new rule in the EBO law, but when they are told they still do not think it will make any differences as it shows in quotes from one of the walk and talk in Rinkeby:

“They will move to the neighborhood where other immigrants and their family lives when they have their papers. It is so cheap housing in Rinkeby, so it will be the best option for them anyway”- WT1

“Rinkeby has become a place where it is easier for immigrants to settle. It feels good to live in a place where people have the same values and background.” R2 date 9th of March

People living outside of Rinkeby and residents living in Rinkeby all agreed that the apartment buildings from Miljonprogrammet are in need of a refurbishment. *Ugly* and *practical* are some of the most used words people used to describe the housing in Rinkeby, along with affordable and living close to family and friends.

“Rinkeby is not a beautiful place, it is the same-looking apartment buildings everywhere, they are ugly and therefore cheap” -WT1

Even though many of Rinkeby residents say it does not matter that Rinkeby is not a beautiful place because they are still happy with their neighborhood, it is clear that most of the people talking about the topic are very aware that Rinkeby is not the prettiest environment to live in. Many focus the conversation to the nicer parts of Rinkeby to turn the conversation and cites the school as an example of new and fresh content in their neighborhood. The fact that they are turning the conversation away from Miljonprogrammet architecture to the modern architecture is maybe a way of protecting Rinkeby by not focusing on the negative sides of their neighborhood. As many said, *“The aesthetic is not what matters anyway” -WT2*

“It is time to take the stigma away, people just have to get to know us and our culture, they will understand that we live here because of our culture, and not because we are poor or criminals.” R4 date 22nd of April

An integration and housing worker talked about an «IOP-avtal», which is an agreement that follows a framework for cooperation between the state, or municipality, and an organisation(s), in this case Norrmalm Statsforvaltning and KFUM, a project on housing for

newly arrived immigrants in rich areas in Stockholm was started. This cooperation started because of all the immigrants coming to Sweden in 2015, and the fact that all of the municipalities in Sweden have a responsibility to accept a percentage of immigrants each year. If they do not accept the percentage of immigrants that the law tells them to, they get a ticket. Norrmalm had to accept a big number of immigrants because of this law in 2015 and 2016. Norrmalm is a very rich district in Vasastaden in Stockholm. The project was mainly in two different areas in Norrmalm. One of the places was an old facility for elders that was remade to a place for newly arrived immigrants. The second place was an area with old apartments that needed refurbishment. There are many immigrant families living in these places. The integration workers could tell that this is very normal in Sweden.

“Making housing for immigrants out of old elderly facilities is very normal in Sweden, and Stockholm at least, to make facilities for elders to housing for refugees and other immigrants that need a place to stay. These places are often for them to stay just for some years, and not a permanent solution». - R1 date 24th of March

The facilities for elders that were reorganized as housing for newly arrived immigrants had a lot of fires that were put on by someone. Most likely was it put on by someone who did not like that the immigrants were living there.

«Some people that did not want the neighborhood to have immigrants, they started the fires there. Some of the apartments got so burned that the families could not live there any more. They had to be moved. These fires were most likely done by some people with racist motives. It is never optimal to put all the immigrants in one house like that. It is so much better to spread immigrant housing. When they are in a house like that, the class differences are so clear. It is not good. The neighbors to this apartment house were telling me that KFUM had to let the immigrants know that they could not run around in the streets and to remind them that they could not have their stuff on the balconies. This is because of a fire safety issue, but they do not have storage sheds, and therefore they use their balconies for this. One more problem was that they had their strollers in the stairwell, which also caused a lot of disagreement with the neighbors. This is both a cultural difference, but also a side effect of the fact that they do not have any other place to store their strollers” -R1 date 24th of March

The apartment buildings from Miljonprogrammet in Rinkeby and the elderly facilities turned in to housing for immigrants in Norrmalm have one thing in common, they have many immigrants in the same buildings or area, and this is making a territorial segregation on both bigger scale (Rinkeby) and smaller (facility in Norrmalm). The worker at KFUM could tell about the sceptics from the neighbors when the immigrants first moved there, and how it after a while turned into friendships. The older generation was loudest about the protests for their neighborhood to become the new home for many immigrant families, but after getting to know each other, and after seeing that their new immigrants were not dangerous at all, just normal people as themselves, they became friends.

“It was amazing seeing the skeptical people in Norrmalm being the ones helping the immigrants learning the language. I saw them going on walks together and working on the Swedish language, smiling and laughing”- R1 date 24th of March

This was just one apartment building with immigrants, and it is on a very different scale than a whole neighborhood. But it can show that people are just afraid of what they do not know, and that the housing policy may not have such a huge impact on the prevailing perception, but that the housing policy may have an impact on changing people’s perception of immigrants, and also immigrant neighborhoods and the safety there. The new EBO-law therefore seems to be a good idea for a solution on how to stop the segregation and immigrant neighborhoods in a way of people outside the immigrant neighborhoods changing their perceptions when the neighborhoods in general get more immigrant residents.

5.2.5 Inclusion and exclusion of neighborhood communities

This analysis will look at how inclusion or exclusion of neighborhood communities are contributing to the perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods. A surprisingly large number of the interviewed people in Rinkeby talked about the great neighborhood community they have in Rinkeby. Many of the residents talked about Rinkeby in a way that made an impression that it was a small community where everybody knows everybody. In fact, several people said that they feel like they do. With 16.000 people living in Rinkeby that is pretty much impossible. But what causes them to have the feeling that they do?

People talked about how inclusive the community is, at least for the right persons. *“The community is what makes Rinkeby so safe,”* a person on one of many walk and talks said. *“It is never unsafe for people here unless you have done something bad”*.

“I have felt like such an outsider in many different situations in my life, but none of them have been in Rinkeby.” R4 date 22nd of April

When an individual in a neighborhood is very different from its neighbors, for example by having a higher or lower income than the rest of the community, the individual can be excluded from its neighborhood. It is clear from talking with Rinkeby residents that they feel equal with their neighbors and that they share the same values. This seems to be the main reason for people in Rinkeby to want to stay in Rinkeby. At the same time there are many, especially young women who are open to the same experience in other neighborhoods, but do not feel an urge to try it out since they already know it is good for them in Rinkeby.

“I feel like home in Rinkeby, but on the other hand, maybe I would feel at home in other neighborhoods as well, I have never lived any other place, so how could I know?” – R2 date 9th of March

The description of the territorial stigmatization theory can in many ways be a description of Rinkeby. The way people answered in the survey TCO, Swedish integration agency and the newspaper Gringo made, show that the territorial stigmatization of the immigrant dense neighborhoods and suburbs are a theory that reflects on Rinkeby’s reality.

“The stigma is definitely the biggest factor for why some people has perceptions. They are often talking suburbs down in general, but Rinkeby is always called by name. It is always written about immigrants when some sort of crime has happened. I have lived in Rinkeby all my life, and never seen a crime. I have never been afraid here unless it is late at night, but then I am afraid everywhere, that is just how it is to be a girl and has nothing to do with Rinkeby in specific. The Rinkeby name is now associated with a bad place with immigrants and crime” R2 date 9th of March

The language barrier is shown to be a factor for the exclusion of the Swedish society and at the same time the inclusion in the immigrant community. The fact that even the messages that

are letting people know that the information about the covid-19 pandemic is in other languages, is only in Swedish is making it hard for the people who do not speak Swedish to keep updated on the society outside of their community. Both people living in Rinkeby, and immigrants that live other places have stated that the lack of language skills is a problem. It makes it harder for them to get a job and to get friends with different backgrounds. This makes the integration harder and the social gap bigger.

The Swedish culture is different from what many immigrants are used to, and the cultural shock can be difficult to handle if they do not have anyone to help them understand the differences.

In Italy it is way easier to integrate because the people there are so open and easy to be with and talk with, here in Sweden it is nearly impossible to be part of the Swedish culture. No one will let you in” – R6 date 28th of May

It only makes sense that the Swedish people also would have a cultural shock if it was the other way around, and this could maybe be one of the reasons why many Swedish-born people have a poor perception of the safety in immigrant neighborhoods. Since the culture is so different, and many are afraid or skeptical of what they do not know.

“I think the community here in Rinkeby is much more important for my parents and their generation than mine. I am Swedish and do not feel any homesick at all to my parents’ home country. The traditions we have from there simply just feels like a part of my Swedish childhood”. -R2 date 9th of March

As Åsland (Åsland, 2009) defines a safe neighborhood as a neighborhood with social control, many in Rinkeby feel safe because that is what they say they have in Rinkeby. People living there know many of the people in their neighborhood. They trust that people would step up if they saw something that was wrong. Since many have the same cultural background, religion or language, they feel safe that people are growing up like themselves and raising their children the same way. It is normal that neighborhoods with apartment buildings are the places where people do not know their neighbor, but since so many people in Rinkeby live in the same area as their friends and family, this “normal” is not occurring here even though most of the residents in Rinkeby live in apartment blocks made under Miljonprogrammet.

“Also, it is cheap to live here, and all the family and friends are living here, it is nice to both live cheaply and live close to all friends and family. It is the best of both worlds for us. I think it is easier to integrate to Sweden if you live close to family or friends that lived here before. If you have trouble with the language, so many people can translate for you, and people that have already integrated here many years ago have many tips and tricks and know what to do with housing and papers. It is good to have a supporting network around you when you are in a new country. And when you miss your home country it feels good to know that your neighbor is also celebrating Eid, or Easter or whatever it is you are celebrating. If you are in a neighborhood with many people from the same place as you, you will not feel so alone because you can find stuff from your home country in the grocery store, you cannot find that in other places in Stockholm.” –R4 date 22nd of April

This man was one of many that had this opinion, and this counter argues that the integration is poorer when immigrants are living in immigrant neighborhoods.

On the other hand, an immigrant living in a non-immigrant neighborhood is having the impression that all his Somali friends who live in Rinkeby are not learning Swedish because they do not have to when all their friends are talking in Somali. He argues that when people are not pushed to learn the Swedish language, they will never integrate properly.

“My friends in Rinkeby are never talking in Swedish, most of them don’t know Swedish at all. Many speak some English, but mostly just speaking Somali. Only one of them has a job, and I do not like how they are being the stereotypical lazy immigrant the news media is talking about. They are ruining for us who work hard” R6 date 28th of May

Goffman’s theory (Goffman, 1963) on how people are put into categories of how well they blend into the social norms are applicable in many of the interviewees’ opinion as well as the information gathered on walk and talk. Many Swedish-born people think that the ones with perceptions on immigrants is Swedish people, but it becomes clear that it is not only non-immigrant people who classify the immigrants on their capability of following the Swedish culture and ways of doing things. Immigrants are judging immigrants, and non-immigrants are judging non-immigrants as well.

“I think it is easier for immigrants to live in places that are not as “set up” as other parts of Stockholm. Like if you go to richer or more Swedish parts of Stockholm it is harder to

connect with everything because every single part of the new life is, well, new. And if you go to Rinkeby you will find so many things that are reminding you of home, or that are the same as home. This makes a safe feeling for many. There is no doubt, the closer you get to the city center, the more Swedish everything gets". R2 date 9th of March

It can be unclear how to interpret the EU's definition of the Social exclusion into the Swedish immigrant neighborhood, because the ones that have little, or none, Swedish language skills will automatically be excluded from some information and conversations. And it can also make them unsure of how to proceed with health care facilities or reaching out for help with other necessities in their life. The second-generation immigrants have pointed out that they are often translating for their parents, or that their parents are not that invested in being updated on the Swedish society. They do not think it is the society that are excluding their parents, but more their parents that do not have interests for being a part of other communities. And that it is also not necessary for them to be interested in that, when they are included in such a good community with people like themselves in Rinkeby. So, it is maybe themselves that are excluding themselves from the Swedish society, and not the Swedish society that exclude them. The EU definition of being excluded from normal exchanges, practices and modern society is therefore hard to analyze because the language barrier is a factor, but it is also chosen by many that they do not have any interest in learning the language. The language barrier is known as a result of bad integration, but it is clearly also a choice many take knowing the consequence.

"I think it is more like Rinkeby is including, and not that other parts of Stockholm are excluding. People want to live with what and who they know. It makes sense really. We, the people that are born and raised here in Rinkeby are so familiar with how everything is, you want what you know. I would never move. When it is Eid, everyone is coming here, people have nice clothes on, and it is a special feeling of being in a community where you have the same values. I do not think people have it like this in other districts in Stockholm." R2 date 9th of March

People living in Rinkeby focus much more on the fact that Rinkeby is an inclusive community than other parts of the Swedish culture or places being exclusive. In the walk and talks in Rinkeby, there are more of the older residents of Rinkeby that consider the exclusion from other parts of Stockholm more important than the inclusiveness in Rinkeby. This could

also be because the younger people in Rinkeby identify themselves as both Swedish and the identity of their parents' birth country. The parents identify themselves much more to their culture than the next generation, but for some young people who contributed with information, their parents' culture and birth country is very important as well as the Swedish.

“I have lived here all my life, but my parents immigrated here from Syria. We have all our life here as both Syrian and Swedish. We have all the traditions from both countries. It is lights and decorations in the street and every window around us in all the different traditions in so many different cultures. Especially Eid. It feels like home and my parents get so happy when they see that their home country's traditions are still living on.” - WT1

Talking with the integration worker for the KFUM project in Norrmalm, she informed about how they in the easter vacations and summer vacations took the kids from the different newly arrived immigrant housings in Norrmalm on trips to the skerries outside of Stockholm with a boat. This was, for many of the children, the only time they left the area they live in. The interest was huge. A problem that occurred often was that the communication between the newly arrived immigrants and the KFUM were incomplete, because many of the immigrants struggled with the Swedish language. Often the children learn the language faster and are much better at it than the adults. This could be a problem because the adults did not sign papers so that their children could join the trips and activities in the program. The parents were probably scared, or did not trust the people working at KFUM, mainly because they could not speak Swedish or English. It is hard to trust something you do not understand. Many did not want to answer the KFUM workers on SMS or when they called, because of this language barrier. It was also a money issue for many. Even though the program tried the best to get it as cheap as possible for the immigrant children with discounts and such, they still had to pay an amount, and many did not have this amount of money. If they had 5 or 6 kids, they could not pay for activities for any of them, because they could not afford it for all of the children and would not choose to pay for only some of the siblings. The trips were also open for non-immigrant children, and they also had a huge interest. This was good because the KFUM wanted the immigrant children to have the opportunity to be friends with Swedish-born children in Norrmalm. The interviewee explained:

“The problem was that the social and economic differences were very visible, and since many of the immigrant children did not always have the money to join the trips the gap got even bigger, and the immigrant children felt excluded” - R1 date 24th of March

5.3 Summary of analyses

The perception is both ways. The stigma on Rinkeby is both from Swedish-born and immigrants living outside of Rinkeby. The majority of people in Rinkeby have a perception about the outsiders as well, mainly they have a perception about what people may think of them. Both groups are growing up with labelling *the others*. While the majority of residents in Rinkeby are arguing for Rinkeby being a safe neighborhood, one group stands out. Young men and teenagers seem to give their friends outside of Rinkeby an impression that Rinkeby is, as the media is portraying them, a dangerous place with crimes and low socioeconomic standards. Through interviews and conversations in the fieldwork this can be a way for them to gain respect and protect themselves by giving *the others* a perception of them being someone not to joke around with. Rinkeby residents have also commented on this attitude and many think it is ridiculous and sad because they want the stigma and perceptions to disappear since they think it has a negative effect on their life.

All of the people who have contributed to this research have mentioned, and many even fully blamed, the media as a factor causing the perception and stigma. The news media has been mentioned the most, then social media, the music industry and series and movies. Rinkeby residents do not recognize themselves or their neighborhood in the way media is describing them. At the same time did people on walk and talk in Sundbyberg admitting that they fully believe all they read and see in the different media platforms and that they do not think of the fact that Rinkeby is more than just the crimes and issues that they are reading about. The way media has painted Rinkeby as an unsafe place is contradictory from the information gathered through fieldwork.

The broken window effect argues that living in a stigmatized neighborhood can result in a social downhill to the individual residents. The police are now moved to Rinkeby and different groups of people living in Rinkeby have very different opinions about that, some think it feels safer, and others feel like the police is a sign of a place with crimes. It is mainly

outsiders who think Rinkeby is an unsafe place, the residents in Rinkeby say it is safe. Security guards are visible at the subway station almost all the time, which is a lot more compared with other places in Stockholm, which again gives the impression to some that this place needs more security guards, and to others that this place is safer because of the security guards being there. During observation some minor happenings took place that needed the security guard's attention, and then no one of the residents seemed to care.

Many of the interviewees mentioned the housing policy as a reason for Rinkeby to become an immigrant neighborhood because it is cheap to live there, and immigrants often have a poorer economy than the average Swede. The Miljonprogrammet apartment buildings were described as ugly and in need of refurbishment and also one of the reasons no one else wanted to live there. Even though these factors were mentioned, the majority of residents said that the housing policy is not the reason for them living there, but they choose to live there because of the positive things with Rinkeby. Many also think the more affordable renting prices are worth it itself. Immigrants living in other neighborhoods in Stockholm are often in Rinkeby because of family or friends living there and groceries and other products being sold there and no other places in Stockholm. The new rules in the EBO law are making it a bit harder for newly arrived immigrants to settle in already immigrant dense neighborhoods such as Rinkeby. If they choose to settle there, they lose their financial support from the migrant agency. People on walk and talk think people will settle there anyway because they want to be close to family and friends that already live there. An interview with an integration and housing for immigrant worker talked about how old elderly facilities often are used as housing for immigrants, and that the neighbors of the facilities she worked on in a rich neighborhood in Stockholm had many problems. They had issues with the neighbors, and some had even put the immigrant housing on fire several times so that they had to move families. When many immigrants are living in one place it is easier to get a territorial stigmatization, such as these facilities, or Rinkeby.

Rinkeby residents mentioned the good neighborhood community as the reason for Rinkeby to be a safe place. The majority of people on walk and talks were proud of the inclusiveness they felt in Rinkeby, and how the mix of cultures, religions and people made the neighborhood have respect and acceptance to each other. This again makes them feel safe. They felt equivalent to their neighbors and had the feeling of shared values in the community. Many like living in a neighborhood where the neighbors are in the same boat as them, in this

case, having the same background, religions, traditions and being in the same situation of integration to a new country or having parents who integrated to a new country.

The language barrier many have in Rinkeby is making them feel excluded from the Swedish society and other communities in Stockholm. Many immigrants do choose to not learn the Swedish language anyway because their friends speak their language and they do not feel they *have to* know Swedish to maintain a good life. Others, both living in and outside of Rinkeby, think it is a problem that people do not know how to speak Swedish. They get excluded from reaching important information, for example when the police are letting people know in Swedish only that covid-19 information exists in other languages as well. Some argue that the integration is better when living in immigrant neighborhoods, and others argue for the opposite. Interviews with immigrants both living in and outside of Rinkeby shows that they think it is very hard to be included in the Swedish society in general, and much easier to build friendships with fellow immigrants. The majority of people who contributed to this research find that the inclusiveness in Rinkeby is greater than the exclusion from other communities.

6. Findings and Results

This chapter is presenting the findings and results from the analysis of the fieldwork and states the gaps in the existing theories. The findings of this research are divided into subheadings to answer the research question and sub-questions that are discussed through analysis of information gathered from interviews and the walk and talks in fieldwork.

What are the factors that have an impact on perceptions of safety among residents in the immigrant neighborhood Rinkeby in Stockholm?

This master thesis has explored factors that can have an impact on safety in immigrant neighborhoods. It has focused on both residents living in Rinkeby's, and residents in other parts of Stockholm's opinions and experiences on the factors causing perception. The research has also looked at how the perception and stigma may affect the residents in Rinkeby's life when living in a stigmatized neighborhood.

6.1 Who are the people with perception?

The fact that most people have a perception about Rinkeby as a place, does not mean that they have a perception about the people living there. The people living there think the perception is more on them as immigrants, and not on Rinkeby.

Through the walk and talks and interviews with Rinkeby residents it came clear that many have a perception of the Swedish-born people as well. Disregard the comments on discrimination from Swedish people, the greater number of interviewees have a perception about the perception outsiders have on them. They were sure about the fact that “*everyone dislikes us, and no one wants to go here*”, and that people think badly of them and Rinkeby. What was interesting was that the immigrants living outside of Rinkeby were either loving Rinkeby and wanted to move there, and they were spending a lot of time there. Or they hated Rinkeby, had a perception of people living there being the stereotypical immigrant media are addressing in many cases, and felt like Rinkeby were ruining for themselves by living up to this stereotype and making the stigma on immigrants in general even bigger.

6.2 Which role does the media have on perception?

That media, especially news media, is a huge factor for perception on safety in immigrant neighborhoods is clear both in the theories in the theoretical framework, and also in interviews and walk and talk. The interesting thing is how the social media is taking over more and more, both on where people choose to keep updated on news, and how people are social and engaging in the society. Because of social media platforms such as Instagram and Tiktok, people get to see new sides of the stigmatized areas and people through their content on private accounts. In this way, the journalists' chosen words in new media are not the only source of information for people living outside of Rinkeby or any other immigrant dense neighborhood. This can also be feeding the perception even more, relying on what content people are posting. There is a lot of negative content, from people who live outside of Rinkeby, but even more from people living there. When clips and photos from the negative sides of Rinkeby are shown it is not helping in changing the perceptions, but the social media apps are also showing negative sides from other places, and in this way, it may help people understand that bad things happening is not exclusive to Rinkeby. At the same time there is positive, funny or simply normal everyday content from users posted, showing that Rinkeby has all the normal things that all other places in Stockholm have, as well.

Rinkeby residents stated that they experience that they have to prove themselves for outsiders to show media is correctly describing them or Rinkeby. They need to work a little extra to make a good impression on new people because they have to get through the perception to be accepted. Majority of Rinkeby residents want the stigma and perception to disappear.

6.3 Is perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods a result of the broken window effect?

Both territorial stigmatization to the suburbs that are immigrant dense, with Rinkeby set as an example, and a stigma around the stereotypical immigrant are playing a role when it comes to perception on the safety in immigrant neighborhoods. The broken window theory occurs to be more related to neighborhoods that are already vulnerable and exposed in the media. How news media is using the structural discriminating of *We* and *Them* is one of the biggest factors for the perception, and other factors such as the housing policy or the

Miljonprogrammet apartment buildings being less beautiful than other places in Stockholm does not have the biggest impact.

How the different generations, and people, are looking at the police being moved to Rinkeby as a good or bad factor in their neighborhood is not reflected on in any of the existing theories found. It is researched on boys and young men's relation and relationship with the police, and it addresses how happy people were when the police station opened, but no place to be found that the different groups feel very different about the police being there, especially in regard to the safety. While some feel unsafe when seeing the police, because they think the police are where the crimes are, others feel safer when the police are close in case crimes should occur. The fact that the feelings are so mixed could have had more attention. The police are through their local Instagram account working on the relationships with the young generation through asking parents for help and giving them advice. But the fact that a language barrier is a big deal for many parents living in Rinkeby, and everything being written in Swedish, the police most likely does not reach out to the people the information is intended for.

6.4 How does housing policy have a contribution to the perception?

The one thing that was mostly disagreed on was if the immigrant neighborhoods occurred because of the housing policy and the government making immigrants live there, or that immigrants want to live with other immigrants and prefer that much better than living more mixed with non-immigrant neighbors. The majority of people in Rinkeby feels like the neighborhood community is playing a huge role in why they want to live in Rinkeby, and that the common religion, traditions, and also the diversity of people and cultures are important factors. These are circumstances that make them feel safe, and at the same time factors that contribute to the perception from outsiders who think it is unsafe in immigrant neighborhoods. The cultures in Rinkeby are unfamiliar to many Swedes, and from the information gathered from immigrants in this fieldwork, it seems like few Swedish people are open to be friends with immigrants.

Outsiders appear to think Rinkeby citizens would rather live in a richer neighborhood, and for some of the people living in Rinkeby this perception from outsiders seems to be correct, and the housing policy is blamed as a huge factor by several. But for most people who live in

Rinkeby, this is far from the reality. They think the neighborhood community is the biggest role for the immigrant neighborhood to arise and that even though the migration office is trying to stop future immigrants to move to already immigrant dense neighborhoods with the new rule in the EBO law, they believe immigrant neighborhoods will keep existing because they want to live with familiarities from their culture and a place where their family and friends can afford to live in the same neighborhood.

6.5 How does inclusion or exclusion of neighborhood communities contribute to the perception? And what is people's opinion of a safe neighborhood?

Majority of people think a safe neighborhood has a good neighborhood community and that it looks nice. Residents in Rinkeby think that the community is more important than having a beautiful neighborhood. In an interview with an immigrant living outside of Rinkeby he revealed that he would never live in an immigrant neighborhood because it is unsafe and that the safest neighborhood for him is with Swedes as his neighbors. There are clearly many different views of what a safe neighborhood is, and it also depends on the life situation the interviewee is in. The parents would appreciate neighborhoods where children can play outside and the police are close, while teenagers and young adults would prioritize having friends and family close as a safe neighborhood.

6.6 Findings and gaps in theory

The theories in the theoretical framework are addressing the fact that stigma exists and that vulnerable neighborhoods are having an impact on the way people who grow up there see themselves, but none of the theories put together immigrant neighborhoods and the perception both ways as well as other immigrants' perception on immigrant dense neighborhoods.

Existing theory is covering parts of the problem statement and research questions in this thesis, but none of them are covering all factors. It is only parts of the issue that are stated. Information from residents in Rinkeby indicate that the theories is often not correct from their point of view. An example of this is how the broken window theory argues that the visible police would result in residents feeling safer. While this is only representative for some of the

residents and completely wrong for others. The theories are often generalizing all of the residents or immigrants or outsiders as one group with individuals with the exact same feelings, experiences and meanings. Another example is how a very specific group is in the focus in a research, as the research on the attitude 15- and 16 years old boys have to the police. In this research it supports the conclusion on the boys' feelings around the police, but it also shows that other groups in the neighborhood have significantly different meanings on the subject. When it comes to the perceptions being an issue for the government's plans for building safe and nice neighborhoods in the suburbs (Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi, 2002) it looks like the buildings itself are more of an issue than the territorial stigmatization since the apartment buildings from Miljonprogrammet is called ugly by many, both from interviews with residents inside and outside of Rinkeby. Residents are stating that "*Nice people live in nice neighborhoods*" and that "*Rinkeby is not a beautiful place, it is the same-looking apartment buildings everywhere, they are ugly and therefore cheap*".

None of the theories discuss how social media is affecting outsider's perception or the stigma on a group of people or a place. There are a lot of theories about how media have a negative effect on the stigma and perceptions on immigrant suburbs and neighborhoods, but nothing says anything about the positive effect media can have, for example how social media can be used as a way to change the perception outsiders have.

This research can state that the perception is existing, and that it is both ways. Residents in Rinkeby do think the perception and stigma is affecting their life. They have many perceptions about what people think about both them and their neighborhood and this is keeping them from wanting to say they live in Rinkeby in some settings. For example, when people are afraid of using their address in Rinkeby when applying for jobs.

This research found that the perception from outsiders is mainly on the place and not the people living there.

6.7 Summary of findings

A visual presentation of the main factors causing perception is to be found in figure 17. There is found that the majority of the individual factors have connections to several other. The

factors impacting the perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods are often also impacting other factors leaving the perception in a vicious cycle.

The findings show that it is a mutual relationship because they all have perceptions on each other. The Rinkeby residents on the outsiders, the Swedish-born and immigrants living outside of Rinkeby on Rinkeby. There is found that it is the perception from the outsiders who may affect the general perception the most. While Rinkeby residents' perception on *the others* are as much a *perception* as the other way around, the perception they have on the others perception is more important in this research. Through analyses it is found that the perception on the perception is wrong, since the outsiders have more perception on Rinkeby as a place, while most of Rinkeby residents think they have negative perceptions of them as persons or as immigrants. The mutual perception on each other is impacted by both inherited stigma, media, the labelling theory and the use of *We* and *Them*, and the feeling of safety or unsafety in Rinkeby as an immigrant neighborhood.

The neighborhood community is an important factor for both how Rinkeby residents are feeling about their place and how outsiders' perceptions is impacted. The housing policy, with Miljonprogrammets' apartment buildings as the main housing, is blamed by almost all the outsiders and a few Rinkeby residents for why so many immigrants are living in Rinkeby. Then again, the absolute majority of Rinkeby residents refuses this as a factor. They argue that their friends and family that also lives in Rinkeby is the main reason, and then the acceptance and inclusion they receive from the community in Rinkeby. Their commonalities and being close to familiarity are making them feel safe. At the same time is the community in Rinkeby different from other places in Sweden and are therefore strange for many outsiders who ends up with a perception made out of all the factors stated in the figure. The neighborhood community do disagree on some main factors. The generations, and also genders, do not agree on if the fact that the police now are in Rinkeby is a good or a bad thing. While the broken window theory argues that the visible police are making the residents and regulars feel safer, this is only true on the older generation or the younger women. The fact that Rinkeby is already a vulnerable place after receiving a bad label in media, the negative effects is more likely to appear from the stigma and perceptions. The medias use of *We* and *Them*, their way of describing the stereotypical immigrant and using Rinkeby as an example of where integration went wrong, are making the territorial stigmatization worse and the already negative perceptions even stronger. The way the young generation in Rinkeby is using social media is also making the perception standing from the outsiders. Many of these factors do have an opposite side. For example, the inclusiveness in the Rinkeby neighborhood

community can also be exclusion from the Swedish community. This can be on purpose from the Rinkeby resident or an unfortunate situation. A language barrier, a difficult economic situation, or the existing perception or stigma can be reasons for this. Then the neighborhood in Rinkeby can feel even more inclusive which also can result in the feeling of not having to do anything about the reasons for the exclusion.

The light blue circles in the diagram are the same as in the theoretical framework figure 4 (page 21), the dark blue circles are what is added to the diagram in findings after the analyses.



Figure 17: Diagram of findings. The light blue is adapted from the theoretical framework, the dark blue is added as a result of findings.

7. Conclusion

All of the factors discussed and analyzed to find the impact they have on perception of safety in immigrant neighborhoods are at least two sided. In all the topics people are arguing for and against and there is also always a middle group that is either agreeing and disagreeing at the same time, or not agreeing at all, but having a whole new perception and meaning of the matter. Through the fieldwork with observation and walk and talks, a lot of different people in different age groups, living situations and backgrounds have contributed. Most of them were very excited to be asked for their opinion, and some were more skeptical, but wanted to participate anyway mostly because they wanted to get a chance to be heard and say their opinion.

It is clear that both Rinkeby residents and non-Rinkeby residents are having the opinion of Rinkeby being stigmatized. Both immigrants and Swedish-born people agreed on this as well. What people did not agree on, is what is causing the stigma and perceptions, and why people think it is not safe in immigrant neighborhoods. An important note to this is that all individuals have different experiences and meaning of what safe is. It is therefore very natural that the reflections on safety vary a lot. The different life situations will also matter in all the different topics. A mom with young children will look very different at the stigma, the label, how media is describing their neighborhood and how safe the neighborhood is compared to a teenager who uses the perception as an advantage in his social life, or the young adult who lists Spånga, instead of Rinkeby, as their address on job applications.

Even though some people are complaining about the housing policy being the reason for them to live in Rinkeby, or other immigrant districts and suburbs, most of the residents contributing to this research say they want to live close to friends and family and believe that is the only reason for immigrant dense neighborhoods to occur. Both outsiders and Rinkeby residents agree that Miljonprogrammet's apartment buildings are not aesthetically beautiful and that the apartments are more affordable than other places in Stockholm. While outsiders think this is one of the main factors for Rinkeby receiving the stigma and perceptions, Rinkeby residents think it is not an important factor.

The broken window theory stated how non-regulars in a neighborhood assume the communities with a broken window do not care, which seems to entice people to commit more crimes in the area. It also argues that the residents will be afraid of going outside as a negative effect of the outsiders perception and therefor increased crime rates. This is not applicable to Rinkeby because this research can state that Rinkeby residents do feel safe in their neighborhood and are not afraid of crimes. The perception of safety in Rinkeby is from the outsiders and media. Rinkeby does not have a broken window, but it appears to be “broken” in the news media. It has received a rumor of being unsafe, while most people feel perfectly safe there. It seems like Rinkeby has more of an attitude problem than problems in action.

7.1 Recommendations for future research and practice

Since the majority of people are stating the inclusiveness and good neighborhood community as the main reason for them to feel safe in Rinkeby, it could be a good idea to find factors that can make them feel included in other parts of the Swedish community as well. Then they may feel as safe in another district also. Since non-immigrants are moving out of neighborhoods in the same speed as immigrants are moving in, making immigrants feel safe in the Swedish community can prevent immigrants from settle in already immigrant dense neighborhoods. The new rules in the EBO law could really help prevent immigrant dense neighborhoods from becoming even more immigrant dense, and push immigrants to overcome the language barrier and then also have better opportunities in the labor market and other parts of the Swedish society. It is important that the information about the positive happenings in Rinkeby is given without it being an “exception” from the negative happenings. When it is addressed that a person from Rinkeby has done something good or achieved a goal, it should not be written in a “she did this even though she is from Rinkeby” setting that emphasizes the negative perception about Rinkeby. To deal with the language barrier it could be good to have some information on the local police Instagram account in Rinkeby in English as well as Swedish. Then the people who do not speak Swedish can feel more included. When they feel more included it can also motivate to learn the Swedish language.

It would be good to be more observant to the content on social media since that is where the young generation is reachable. For example, by making sure there is as much positive content

as negative content, this can be a way to change the perception from outsiders. Starting new trends who are positive for Rinkeby and other immigrant suburbs, that show outsiders that there is more to Rinkeby than what the news media is writing, can give a better insight to how life in Rinkeby really is. This can help spread the correct information about immigrant neighborhoods. That they are not how media, Netflix or individuals in the music industry, or on private social media accounts are picturing it, but just as any other part of Stockholm. There can be a good contribution to theory to have more research on how Netflix series and social media are influencing the perception both from outsiders on Rinkeby as well as Rinkeby residents' perceptions on the outsiders' perceptions of themselves.

The inherited stigma and attitudes from older generations or older siblings even, can be turned by working on changing the older generations attitude and relationships to the authorities, and then have them help with the relationships between the young Rinkeby residents and the authorities. If famous musicians or other influencers would try to make a #loveRinkeby movement in their artistic work or on social media, it could also help changing the perception of people living in Rinkeby in their own neighborhood. It could therefore be an idea for the authorities to partner up with the persons the younger generations in Rinkeby look up to.

A bottom-up approach, where the residents in Rinkeby are much more included in the processes and planning of the district, would gain Rinkeby a lot. The residents have so much to say and ideas to improve their neighborhood. As some residents expressed disappointment with how the governmental money is used and had other proposals of how to use them better during walk and talk, one said *“The money used on the new police station would benefit Rinkeby better if it was used on the community, activities for the young, refurbishment on the Miljonprogrammet buildings, and activities for dealing with the language barrier”*.

The residents of Rinkeby have a lot of enthusiasm for their community and knows Rinkeby better than anyone, so their voices should be heard.

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Appendix

Semi-structured interviews

R1

Summary of interview number one: “Integration of immigrants in rich neighborhood”-worker

This interviewee worked as a project leader for a project of integration and health in an association called KFUM (YMCA) which is the worlds’ biggest association for teenagers. Here the interviewee worked for a local association in Stockholm, named KFUM Central. This work was an “IOP-avtal” (IOP=ideburet offentlig partnerskap), which means that it follows a framework for cooperation between the state, or municipality, and an organisation(s), in this case Norrmalm Statsforvaltning and KFUM. This cooperation started because of all the immigrants coming to Sweden in 2015, and the fact that all of the municipalities in Sweden have a responsibility to accept a percentage of immigrants each year. If they do not accept the percentage of immigrants that the law tells them to, they get a ticket. Norrmalm had to accept a big number of immigrants because of this law in 2015 and 2016. Norrmalm is a very rich district in Vasastaden in Stockholm. The project lasts for 3 years, from 2018 to 2021.

KFUM does a lot of activities in Norrmalm, like sports, trips, singing and so on. The target group are children and teenagers. We want the group of children and teenagers to be a mix of all kinds of backgrounds, but I am sad to say that it often is a huge percentage of the already rich kids that join our activities.

“We want to reach out to the ones that are in a difficult life situation also, and that is why KFUM wanted this project, because they want to help integrate the immigrant kids and youth into the Swedish society. We know that it is important for integration to join an activity or hobby in the spare time.”

The immigrants they worked with lived mainly in two different places in Norrmalm. One of the places was an old facility for elders that was remade to a place for newly arrived immigrants. This is very normal in Sweden, and Stockholm at least, to make facilities for elders to housing for refugees and other immigrants that need a place to stay. These places are often for them to stay just for some years, and not a permanent solution. The second place was an area with old apartments that needed refurbishment. It is many immigrant families

living in these places. In the easter vacations and summer vacations, KFUM took the kids on trips to the skerries outside of Stockholm with a boat. This was, for many, the only time they left the area they live in. The interest was huge.

The communication between the newly arrived immigrants and the KFUM was a problem, because many struggled with the Swedish language. Often the kids learn the language faster and were much better at it than the adults. This could be a problem because the adults did not sign papers so that their kids could join the trips and activities in the program. The parents were probably scared, or did not trust the people working at KFUM, mainly because they could not speak Swedish or English. It is hard to trust something you do not understand.

Many did not want to answer the KFUM workers on SMS or when they called, because of this language barrier. It was also a money issue for many. Even though the program tried the best to get it as cheap as possible for the immigrant children with discounts and such, they still had to pay an amount, and many did not have this amount money. If they had 5 or 6 kids, they could not pay for activities for any of them, because they could not afford it for all of the children and would not choose to pay for only some of the siblings.

The facilities for elders that were reorganized as housing for newly arrived immigrants had a lot of fires that were put on by someone. Most likely was it put on by someone who did not like that the immigrants were living there.

Some people that did not want the neighborhood to have immigrants, they started the fires there. Some of the apartments got so burned that the families could not live there no more. They had to be moved. These fires were most likely done by some people with racist motives. It is never optimal to put all the immigrants in one house like that. It is so much better to spread immigrant housing. When they are in a house like that, the class differences are so clear. It is not good. The neighbors to this apartment house were telling that KFUM had to let the immigrants know that they could not run around in the streets and to remind them that they could not have their stuff on the balconies. This is because of a fire safety issue, but they do not have storage sheds, and therefore they use their balconies for this. One more problem was that they had their strollers in the stairwell, which also caused a lot of disagreement with the neighbors. This is both a cultural difference, but also a side effect of the fact that they do not have any other place to store their strollers.

R2

Summary of interview number two: Woman living in Rinkeby

This woman is a second-generation immigrant, her parents are from Syria. She has two brothers and two sisters and the family of seven live together in one of the Miljonprogrammet-buildings. She has lived in Rinkeby her entire life, 26 years, and feels like she is both Swedish and Syrian. She has all her friends and family in Rinkeby, and even though she is a student full time in Stockholm, she is never with the other students in her class. She thinks it has nothing to do with inclusion or exclusion, just that everyone already has their friends from before they started to study. She does not think the housing policy has anything to do with the fact that immigrant neighborhoods occur or that the stigma is on media alone. She has gotten many negative comments from people outside of Rinkeby when they then learn that she lives there. She reflects on how many people in Rinkeby are the reason for the stigma, because they like that people have this stigma, she thinks it is stupid of them. The stigma makes her friends say they are from Spånga when talking with new people or applying for jobs. She is proud of the great community they have in Rinkeby, and happy that she grew up with many different cultures and traditions around her. She feels like Rinkeby is one of the safest places to be in Stockholm, because everyone is already so used to being around different cultures and religions.

A safe neighborhood for her is a neighborhood where she can be herself without having to take into account what others think of her. It is a plus if the neighborhood looks nice. “Nice people live in nice neighborhoods. And nice people can live in ugly neighborhoods too. But bad people do not live in a nice neighborhoods”

R3

Summary of interview number three: Man living in Huvudsta

This man is a second-generation immigrant who is living in Huvudsta. Huvudsta is another immigrant dense district in Stockholm, or Solna to be more exact. He is 20 years old and is often going with his friends from Huvudsta to Rinkeby. He talks about how he thinks the housing policy definitely has something to do with immigrant neighborhoods, and that immigrant neighborhoods for many, himself included, are connected to crimes and danger. He says that it is also some of the reasons for them to hang in Rinkeby, because they want their friends and acquaintances to see that he is hanging there. It is Snapchat that is the most popular social media app he and his friends are using and the feature Snapmap is always showing where he and his friends are. He says that he always feels safe in Rinkeby, and that he does not think he never will feel like he is in danger there. He says that Rinkeby is known

for being a “bad ass” place, and “that is just something everyone knows”. It is good for him if people think he is dangerous because it gives him respect. He reflects on why it has become like that and blames media and social media a lot. He understands that people can think it is weird how it became cool to be in the kind of environments that are known for crimes and shooting, but that it is definitely cooler than being hipsters and nerds. Or even worse, the rich kids on Stureplan (a well-known party and shopping district in Stockholm city center). Then he reflects on how series and rap have a lot to do with crimes and “dirty” places like Rinkeby are becoming cool. He wishes to move to Rinkeby one day, because many of his friends are living there already. A safe neighborhood for him is where all his friends are. “If you know many people in the place you live, you never feel alone and then you feel safe” He thinks that a place with a lot of police and other authorities is a sign that it is not safe in the area, and do not feel safer because of the police being there.

R4

Summary of interview number four: Man living in Rinkeby

This interviewee is living in Rinkeby with his two children. He came to Sweden from Somalia for almost 8 years ago and he slept at his friends’ guest room for the first months before getting his own apartment. He says that he had planned it for a long time and had a lot of help from friends and family who already lived here in Rinkeby. He did not have to go into the Swedish integration system because he had his family that he was going to live with. It took him time to get settled but his children were in the Swedish system very quickly. He says his children talk Swedish fluently now, but he has focused on learning English instead. The language barrier has become though sometimes, most of his family and friends does not speak Swedish and they rely on their children to translate when they need it or give information about important things. He does not speak English as much either, but he does practice it. The language is not the only barrier he has as an immigrant, he has had racist experiences, and felt excluded many times. None of these times has been in Rinkeby. He feels good when he can be with his family and friends and think it is nice that his neighbors celebrate the same holidays as he does. The cheap housing in Rinkeby make is a good choice for him to live, and he says that his friends in Rinkeby makes it easier to integrate when he was new in Sweden. When it comes to what is a safe neighborhood for him, he does not care what it looks like or what facilities it has as long as the police are there. He feels safer when he sees the police walking around the area for no reason. He thinks this makes people stay

away from doing crimes in the neighborhood, and he is not afraid when his children are going to school or play outside. “Sweden is a very safe country, and my children are lucky to grow up here. The police in Stockholm are not corrupt like they can be in other countries”.

R5

Summary of interview number five: Woman living in Rinkeby

This woman is living with her husband and three children and does not wish to live in Rinkeby but feels like she has no other place to go. She blames the housing policy as the reason for them to live in Rinkeby. She wants her children to have non-immigrant friends and go to school in districts where they do not speak “Rinkebysvenska” (immigrant Swedish). She says she has been in a queue to get another apartment for over five years, but every time they get a suggestion on a new place, it is one one-room apartment at double the price. She states that the municipality works like this to make sure immigrants do not move in to the nicer and richer places of the city. She claims this is because the rich people living there will move away if they get them as neighbors and the municipality does not want this to happen. The reason they will move is because they are afraid of immigrants because they do not know any immigrants. She is angry with the way immigrants are treated and she does not like to live in an immigrant district anymore. She hopes that her children will move out of Rinkeby when they get older. Rinkeby is another name for dangerous and suburb when Swedish people are talking with each other, and she think it is stupid that they think people get randomly shot in Rinkeby.

She thinks the safest neighborhoods are the ones with houses with gardens, many children and that you can see that people care about their properties. She thinks Rinkeby is everything else than a good neighborhood, she thinks it is too many people that does not care. But she does not think it is as unsafe as media write. She wishes to save enough money to buy a house one day, but she thinks that will be hard. “So, my main goal is to make sure my children have the education they need to earn enough to buy a house”.

“We all have different dreams; my dream is not to live in Rinkeby or any other immigrant dense suburb. I want to live in a house with a garden and families with the same value around me. I want my children to have the best possibilities”

R6

Summary of interview number six: Man living in Märsta

This 22-year-old man immigrated to Sweden alone when he was 16-year-old from Somalia. “In my journey it is only me” He did not know anyone in Sweden from before and went right into the integration system and got placed in an asylum reception in Märsta. Since he did not know anyone, his only option was to go straight to the immigration office in Stockholm when he arrived. The reception in Märsta functioned as a home care for people under the age of 18. He was living with other immigrants that he did not know at all at the first places. He was relocated from Märsta to Åkersberga to live in another reception there. He does not know why he had to move. He lived in Åkersberga for 3 years before he was moved to Spånga. It was not his choice, but the immigration office who was transferring him. He brought his five siblings to Sweden as well, and the immigration office then gave them a bigger apartment so they could live together. He had signed up for housing queue very early in the integration process, when he lived in Märsta. So, from Spånga, he moved back to Märsta where he lives now in his own rental apartment that he finally reached after being on the housing lists for years. He was very happy when it was his time to get his own rental.

He thinks Sweden is a very hard country to integrate in, and that the Swedish society is very hard to be included in. The Swedish people have not been open to him, and he has felt that only a few Swedish people care. The people will not show you how they want you to be, you need to figure it all out yourself. It is hard to integrate into Sweden.

“Swedish people in general do not like immigrants. It is only a few people who are helping out. Most of the Swedish people, especially the old people, do not understand why we are here. They think that we are taking advantage of the system. We immigrants normally have to work harder to get the same as a Swedish person would. And then people will still think we are lazy and do nothing but crimes.”

He thinks there is a lot of hate around the topic of immigrants, he gets the feeling that Swedish people think that immigrants just do not belong in Sweden, no matter what kind of immigrants it is. Many people have told him that he should go back to Somalia and that he is not welcome in Sweden. He got the impression that more people are negative than positive to immigrants in Sweden.

“I think Swedish people who have bad perceptions about immigrants do not understand the purpose of why we are here.”

He thinks that the more media are writing about the immigrants that are bad for society, the criminal and lazy ones, the longer it will take for Swedish people to accept that so many immigrants are not like that. And the stigma will not go away. Media is only talking about the

bad things and never about the ones that are only good and do their best. “The perception people have is wrong, it is twisted from media”

He thinks it is good to talk about Rinkeby. He has some friends who live in Rinkeby and he thinks it is dangerous to live there. He says he would never live there, no matter what. He does not want to be associated with that place, and if he is hanging with his friends from there, they have to meet him somewhere else than Rinkeby. He does not think that media is exaggerating in the news or on social media. He says a lot of people in Rinkeby are Somali or Arab and that he knows that a lot of them are criminals. He thinks it is easier for them to be criminals in Rinkeby than any other suburb. Since there are so many vandals there, it is likely that the police there are busy with someone else. He blames that people in Rinkeby do not have the same quality of life as other people in Stockholm. He argues that the majority of the people living there are from other countries, and that that itself is a reason for him to know the quality of life is poorer. He thinks that when many immigrants are living in the same place as they do in Rinkeby, the whole place will automatically get poorer and more exposed for crimes and vandalism. He would never live in a place where his neighbors are not Swedish born people and says that a safe neighborhood for him is a place where a lot of white people live. When he lived in Åkersberga and Märsta he felt safe, and he was never afraid, even though he has not always felt included in the neighborhood. “It took me a while to understand that being cold does not equal being mean. It is simply just the Swedish way of being normal. When I figured that out, I was never afraid when walking around in white neighborhoods”. He thinks that when too many immigrants are moving to one area, the non-immigrant people living there are getting afraid of the change, and they move out of that neighborhood, which makes space for more immigrants to move in. He thinks this is how the immigrant neighborhoods are occurring, and that new and strange things are equal with danger and unsafety for many, and that that is where the stigma and perceptions are coming from. He says he is like that himself also.

He says that his friends in Rinkeby do not speak Swedish, they just speak with each other, and since they are first generation immigrants they did not go to school in Sweden. He says that they do not have any jobs because they do not know the language, and that they have a lot of time to do nothing. He thinks it would be better for them to not be with each other all the time, so that they would be forced to learn Swedish. For the immigrants it is easier to live in Rinkeby, it is cheaper, they do not have to speak Swedish when asking for something at the hairdresser or at the store or the grocery store. They can survive without having to

integrate at all. And since they are not working, they will never have the money to get out of Rinkeby, and this is where the evil circle begins.

He wants to be clear on the fact that the only reason for why he is afraid of Rinkeby is the crimes, and not the immigrants. Only that so many of the criminal immigrants are living in Rinkeby. “Well, it is simple, more immigrants are criminals than non-immigrants, I know many of them”.

He says it is very hard to get friends in Sweden and that almost all the friends he got here since he came here as a 16-year-old, are Arabs and Somali people. He says it is easier to get friends with them because they talk together in the same language, and that they are more open for being friends with them. He says Swedish people do not normally want to be friends with him, that they are not open for it.

The most important thing for him in a neighborhood is that it is safe, that he does not have to think about any safety issues before going out or when he sleeps at night. He feels safe today. He does not care if it looks pretty or not, but normally the safest place in Stockholm looks very nice, he thinks. He thinks it is a connection. It is often rich people who want to live in nice places, and rich people do not want to rob you. They do not use their time to ruin other people’s car or green areas.

“It is good that you are talking with us immigrants that has the experiences with everything and not the police, they think they know, but they don’t”. -R6 date 28th of May

Interview guides

IG1 – Interview with integration and housing worker

Introduction

1. Thank you for participating in this interview!
2. Present the interviewer and the reason for the interviews
3. Explain the problem statement and research questions
4. Give written explanation about participants rights, that needs to be signed

Interview questions

Why the participant is relevant for the interview

1. How is your job relevant to my thesis topic?
2. For how long have you worked with this topic?

Safety in neighborhoods

1. In which neighborhood do you work?
2. What are the issues in this neighborhood?
3. What makes this neighborhood safe or unsafe?
4. Why do you think outsiders tend to have a perception about immigrant neighborhoods to be unsafe?

Housing in this neighborhood

1. Which type of housing is it in this neighborhood?
2. How do you think the housing type is having an impact on the neighborhood safety?

Neighborhood community

1. Is it an inclusive neighborhood community? Why?
2. Why do you think there is a stigma around immigrant communities/immigrant neighborhoods?
3. Why do you think so many immigrants have ended up living in the same neighborhood?
4. How do you think a neighborhood community can affect the safety of a neighborhood?

Conclusion

1. Do you want to add anything else?
2. Do you want to change or delete anything from this interview?
3. Do you know anybody else with interesting facts or opinions about the topic that could be interested in doing an interview?
4. Do you have any questions?
5. Can I contact you again if I need more information or to clarify information you have given?

6. Thank you for your time!

IG2 – Interview with immigrants living outside of Rinkeby

Introduction

5. Thank you for participating in this interview!
6. Present the interviewer and the reason for the interview
7. Explain the problem statement and research questions
8. Give written explanation about participants rights, that needs to be signed

Interview questions

1. Can you tell me about yourself? Who are you and your living situation?
2. What do you think about the thesis topics?
3. What do you think are impacting the perceptions about Rinkeby or other immigrant neighborhoods?
4. Can you talk about your integration process in Sweden; Housing policy, inclusion/exclusion, stigma and perceptions?
5. What do you think can change people's perception?
6. Which factors do you think make a safe neighborhood?

Conclusion

7. Do you want to add anything else?
8. Do you want to change or delete anything from this interview?
9. Do you know anybody with interesting facts or opinions about the topic that could be interested in doing an interview for this thesis?
10. Do you have any questions?
11. Thank you for your time!

IG3 – Walk and talk Rinkeby + semi structured interviews

Introduction

9. Thank you for participating in this interview/walk and talk!
10. Present the interviewer and the reason for the interviews/conversations
11. Explain the problem statement and research questions/the topic of the thesis
12. Give written explanation about participants rights, that needs to be signed

Walk and talk questions

3. Do you live here or are you visiting?
4. What do you think about the thesis topics?
5. What do you think are impacting the perceptions about Rinkeby?
6. Which factors do you think make a safe neighborhood?

Interview questions

7. Can you tell me about yourself? Who are you and your living situation?
8. What do you think about the thesis topics?
9. What do you think are impacting the perceptions about Rinkeby or other immigrant neighborhoods?
10. Can you talk about your integration process in Sweden; Housing policy, inclusion/exclusion, stigma and perceptions?
11. Which factors do you think make a safe neighborhood?

Conclusion

12. Do you want to add anything else?
13. Do you want to change or delete anything from this interview?
14. Do you know anybody with interesting facts or opinions about the topic that could be interested in doing an interview for this thesis?
15. Do you have any questions?
16. Thank you for your time!

IG4 – Walk and talk Sundbyberg

Introduction

13. Thank you for participating in this walk and talk!
14. Present the interviewer and the reason for the conversations in walk and talk
15. Explain the problem statement and research questions
16. Give written explanation about participants rights, that needs to be signed

Walk and talk questions

7. Do you live here or are you visiting?
8. What do you think when I say Rinkeby?
9. What do you think are impacting the perceptions about Rinkeby?
10. Which factors do you think make a safe neighborhood?

Conclusion

17. Do you want to add anything else?
18. Do you want to change or delete anything from this interview?
19. Do you know anybody with interesting facts or opinions about the topic that could be interested in doing an interview for this thesis?
20. Do you have any questions?
21. Thank you for your time!

