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Safety in Östra Göinge

A qualitative study of safety and fear of crime in the small urban municipality of Östra Göinge

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ABSTRACT

In Östra Göinge, it appears that during the past five years, a recurring problem exists where residents feel unsafe. This, while the number of reported crimes is still remarkably low, according to results from the National Safety Survey which is a survey formed by the police and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention. This research started off by conducting a pilot study consisting of studying the municipality itself. For the pilot study, a background research was conducted, where results from the National Safety Survey were studied. Dialogues were held with randomly selected residents. Furthermore, photo elicitation was also applied as a research method for this study where photographs were used during interviews with the aim of stimulating the participant's thoughts and opinions.

This study shows that there seems to be a certain disconnection between low reported crime rates and a decrease in feelings of security. This underlines that public perceptions of safety are not solely determined by objective crime statistics. Societal factors such as media coverage, which in fact has been mentioned a multiple of times during both the pilot study and the main interviews, as well as personal experiences, and social interactions play a significant role in shaping how residents of Östra Göinge are to perceive safety. The discrepancy between reported crime rates and feelings of security indicates that some groups within the municipality tend to be more vulnerable than others, even though Östra Göinge is in a low-crime context.

PREFACE

I would like to extend a big thank you to my supervisor Matthias Baier. This semester has been the most challenging period of my five school years, and my life in general. It was incredibly difficult for me to get started with this research. However, Matthias was there and inspired me and made me widen my glasses. I am grateful for the tutorial and the supervision, but also incredibly grateful for all the knowledge and experiences I have gained from this research.

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INTRODUCTION

Citizens in Sweden, and their vulnerability towards crime, perceiving and feeling of insecurity, and experience with the justice system, have long been the center of interest within criminal policy, where the two main criminal policy aims are reducing people's exposure to crime as well as their feeling of insecurity (BRÅ 2015, p. 14). Insecurity is often related to the fear of crime, which are two complex phenomena, nevertheless when being measured.

In the year of 2015, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) asserted that there has been a positive development concerning insecurity and vulnerability to crime, and accordingly that the feeling of safety increased and that the experienced vulnerability decreased in the population (BRÅ 2015). Further, it is generally declared that insecurity is mainly higher in areas characterized by high unemployment, low-income and low-educated residents, as well as a high number of residents with a foreign background (BRÅ 2009).

For the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, it is of great importance and relevance to be able to identify and gain knowledge regarding the groups which are most vulnerable and highly exposed to various types of crime, the groups which are most negatively influenced by fear of crime, as well as the groups which have the least confidence towards the judicial system (BRÅ 2015, p. 14).

In Sweden, the perceived security of the population is surveyed annually through the National Safety Survey, i.e. Nationella Trygghetsundersökningen (NTU), which is carried out each year by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention since the year of 2006, and that is based on a representative sample of the population in Sweden (BRÅ 2015, p. 14, Ivert, Torstensson & Mellgren 2015, p. 215).

Criminality may cause severe consequences, and not only for the victims who are directly affected, but also for the rest of the residents in forms of feelings of anxiety as well as insecurity. Therefore, the produced knowledge and awareness that is accumulated through the National Safety Survey provides greater opportunities and possibilities for the society itself, as well as the judicial system for them to invest in contributions and measures in the areas which are most vulnerable.

Perceived insecurity may be explained or described by who people are, how they live and their experiences in terms of crimes and criminality. In addition to the exposure to crime, indirect experiences of crime such as close relatives being victimized of different crimes, may also have an imperative impact on an individuals' feeling of security and insecurity.

BACKGROUND

The term security is broadly defined as protection against infringements of peace, freedom and health, as well as the certainty that society will react and act against people who commit crimes (BRÅ 2009, p. 10, prop. 2007/08:1). In the year of 2018, Statistics Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån, SCB), argued that 15 percent of the Swedish population from the age of 16 and higher, have at some point during the past year refrained from going out during nighttime due to their fear of crime, or more precisely due to their fear of being assaulted or threatened (SCB 2018, p. 5). In an international comparison, it also appears that Sweden has the highest number of population in Scandinavia who feel unsafe when it is dark outside, such as during evenings and nights. Further, connections have been found between the feeling and perceiving of safety and security, with circumstances such as age, whether one is foreign-born versus inland-born and employment as well as unemployment (SCB 2018, p. 5). Additionally, it appears that refraining from going out during the night due to the fear of being threatened or victim of violence is much more common now in comparison to the 1980s (SCB 2018, p. 5).

In a general sense, reducing the occurrence of crime and increasing people's feelings of security is the fundamental aim of crime policy in Sweden. Further, a knowledge gap is found in this area. Hence, as mentioned before, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention has since the year of 2006 annually carried out the National Safety Survey, i.e. Nationella Trygghetsundersökningen (NTU), in accordance with assignments and instructions given by the government. Therefore, the National Safety Survey is an important source and can be utilized as a base for the justice system's attempt to reduce crime as well as insecurity in the Swedish society.

The main purpose of the National Safety Survey is on one hand to over time, study the development of the public's exposure to crime, unsafety as well as their fear of crime, and on the other hand to explore and analyze the public's trust in the legal system as well as victims of crime and their contacts with the judiciary (Sveriges officiella statistik 2022, p. 3). By annually sending out the survey in the shape of a questionnaire to a sample of 200 000 unspecified, random individuals in the population between the ages of 16 to 84, the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) aims to highlight the public's experiences and perceptions about their security (Sveriges officiella statistik 2022, p. 3). The survey itself starts with fixed background questions regarding types of housing, living conditions, highest level of education and main occupation, whilst other information such as gender, year of birth as well as income and marital status are obtained from various registers (BRÅ 2023, p. 2).

The data collection for the National Safety Survey consists of two different segments, where the first is carried out through the questionnaire including for instance exposure to crime and insecurity, and where the second involves a variety of follow-up interviews with a selection of respondents who had stated in the survey that they had been exposed to crime (BRÅ 2022, p. 6). Both segments of the National Safety Survey are carried out by Statistics Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån, SCB), at the request of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention.

In a small municipality in Skåne, named Östra Göinge, significant differences in terms of perceived security in its various villages are found. According to results from the National Safety Survey, residents in the small village of Broby are characterized by a strong sense of insecurity, particularly in comparison to surrounding villages within the municipality itself. This qualitative study seeks to investigate what actually contributes to the residents' perceived security in the small municipality of Östra Göinge, where the causes of insecurity are not so apparent. This research study is also to be presented to the police when completed fully.

AIM AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The insecurity in a small urban municipality called Östra Göinge, has been very high for the past five years, according to results from the National Safety Survey. While studying the National Safety Survey, several clauses appear to be inadequate with several deficiencies. As the police and the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention aim to carry out the National Safety Survey annually and to appraise the safety in Östra Göinge, the results indicate that the safety within the municipality is decreasing simultaneously as the number of reported crimes is not increasing.

Further, when reviewing and analyzing the clauses within the National Safety Survey, it is observed that the questionnaire is broadly based on concrete feelings of insecurity, fear of being exposed to crime as well as the police's measures against the problems, and not so much concerning resident's true feelings of safety. Thus, the National Safety Survey has in some ways become a measurement of unsafety, and not safety, which it is initially intended for.

The main aim of this thesis is to qualitatively study and reach an understanding of why people feel unsafe when they themselves are not exposed to crimes, and as a result of that carry out a true safety evaluation and assessment according to the residents themselves in Östra Göinge. The objective of this study is thus that of analyzing the contributing factors to the safety for residents of Östra Göinge.

The concluding goal of this research is to make use of available results from the National Safety Survey provided by the police as well as the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, in order to provide an answer to the question at issue regarding the experienced unsafety. The main research question, which have been touched upon earlier, and will be developed throughout this study are;

- I. According to residents, which factors contribute to residents' safety when, according to results from the National Safety Survey, the exposure to crime in Östra Göinge is remarkably low?
- II. According to residents, which are the contributing factors to their feelings of unsafety in Östra Göinge?
- III. How is this question at issue relevant to the sociology of law discipline?

LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

For this study, objective-oriented limitations are to be applied concerning the extent of the research, as there is limited time available. Considering that there is a shortage on time, limitations are therefore to be made, in order to clearly define the scope of the study.

Further, the concerned areas to be studied have been delineated, meaning that the involved municipalities are the small urban municipality of Östra Göinge. The project intends to focus on safety, where the main aim is to carry on the research concerning the question at issue regarding resident's unsafety in a society where the occurrence and presence of crime does not increase. Therefore, the study is delimited by carrying out a qualitative research and analysis with the aim to identify what it is that makes residents feel secure in Östra Göinge, rather than insecure.

Limitations are to be applied concerning theoretical starting points, with the aim of not involving numerous explanatory models or complexities. Hence, the study will mainly be focusing on the concept and theory of fear of crime as a theoretical starting point.

Lastly, as it is mainly the National Safety Survey that portrays that residents in Östra Göinge feel unsafe, its results over the past five years are to be used. Supplementary and or concluding data and statistics are to be obtained from the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention.

DISPOSITION

The study is divided into different chapters. The initial part of the study involves a description of the background to the research's starting points in the form of aims, questions and limitations. Various previous studies are later on presented under the section previous research. Further, a chapter on methodological approaches is presented, followed by a presentation of the conducted pilot study. Finally, the results of the review are presented in a section, after which an analysis of this is included.

RELEVANCE TO SOCIOLOGY OF LAW

The police themselves have reached the conclusion in the results from the annual safety measurements, that the perceived increase in the feeling of insecurity within Östra Göinge creates a growing difficulty and issue. Uniting with the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention who composes a central and leading role within the crime prevention work, with the police as a legal actor, have chosen to invest in to a research regarding this problem, in order to deeply comprehend it as well as counteracting it.

The socio-legal link between safety and fear of crime is a complex question, involving the relationship between society's legal and social structures, as well as citizens' perceptions and experiences of crime and safety. For instance, safety and fear of crime may be linked to society's norms and values. If citizens in a society emphasize the importance of matters such as justice and equality, citizens' senses of safety may increase, as they believe that the legal system and the society itself as a whole will protect them. On the other hand, if there is a certain perception or belief that the justice system is corrupt, or even biased, citizens may feel an increased fear of crime, as they do not believe that they are being treated fairly.

Furthermore, security and fear of crime may be strongly linked to citizens' trust in the legal system as well as the authorities. If citizens believe that the police and the justice system act effectively, and fairly to fight crime, it may reduce the fear of crime, and accordingly increase the sense of security. On the other hand, a lack of trust in the authorities may lead to increased fear of crime. What is also an important aspect is the perception of the crime itself. Individuals' perception of the extent or the nature of crime may affect their feeling of security. If the media and the public newspapers choose to focus on reporting crime and violence, it may reinforce the fear of crime. However, if the media invests in creating a more balanced view of

crime, as well as society's contributions to deal with it, it may reduce the fear and increase the sense of safety.

These are all different aspects of how this question at issue involves the building blocks of the sociology of law discipline, and which in turn entails complex relationships between security and fear of crime in different societies and contexts. This study is considered to be relevant to the sociology of law discipline, as references are to be made to socio-legal theories, terms and perspectives, such as the theory on fear of crime, as well as concepts of safety, unsafety, and victim of crime. The question at issue creates a complex yet relevant research question about safety, which is an interesting issue for the sociology of law discipline.

THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

In this chapter, previous research and central themes are presented. For this study, the discovered sources and literature that may be relevant and applicable were primarily Swedish references. This because the search for relevant literature was mainly focusing on available references that touches upon security and insecurity in different cities and municipalities in Sweden, and not so much on foreign and external areas.

Considering that results and content from, among other references the National Safety Survey, are to be used for this study, mainly related references and literature are to be discovered and applied for this research, such as reports published by the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, as well as the police's internal access to results from the National Safety Survey.

Further, it is of great relevance to look into and analyze publications in the form of quality declarations and other reports published by Statistics Sweden (SCB), but also to utilize different social science journals, articles and publications. Lastly, relevant and applicable doctoral dissertations and articles are to be presented. The central themes formed for this study are therefore security and (in)security as well as the worry about being exposed to crime.

THE THEORY OF FEAR OF CRIME

In her doctoral dissertation *The Emergence, Establishment and Expansion of Fear of Crime Research in Sweden* (2021), the author Hanna Sahlin Lilja forms a historical narrative and description of fear of crime coming into being, as well as its establishment and expansion.

Lilja's dissertation aspire to present answers to questions regarding the role and expansion of a so-called institutional engagement of fear of crime research by looking into and exploring the literature available on this subject, as well as analyzing the "...methodological, theoretical, and epistemological origins of fear of crime research..." (Lilja 2021, p. 7). Further, Lilja portrays how the concept on fear of crime was converted into the word "otrygghet", which has a formerly established definition in Swedish.

The author Lilja developed her analysis on the concept of fear of crime in Sweden coming into being, established from various documents, articles, surveys of Swedish cities and municipalities, as well as interviews with informants of relevance. The dissertation takes off from various theoretical starting points, such as Michel Foucault's appeal to the intersection of power and knowledge, Stuart Hall's attentiveness in historicizing both the sociological and criminological growth, but also Reinhart Koselleck's examination of the so-called conceptual change (Lilja 2021, p. 19-20).

The dissertation presents how a fast development of fear of crime calculations during the 2000s took place. Lilja highlights that during only four years, from the year of 2003 to the year of 2007, the amount of national investigations involving fear of crime, increased from one to six (Lilja 2021, p. 17). Further on, Lilja describes how the concept of "otrygghet" underwent changes of great importance and consequence. Lilja declared that the term "otrygghet" went from being applied as an illustrative and expressive term, often indicating uncertainties concerning for instance economy, to overt time being applied merely in the frame of crime (Lilja 2021, p. 19). In fine, Lilja presents how the concept on fear of crime and "otrygghet" is merely being used to proclaim police's possibilities within their control and measures.

"...the development and expansion of fear of crime research can be understood by examining the function that fear of crime research fulfils in legitimizing an increased level of state control, which makes it a good fit for the penal politics of late modernity" (Lilja 2021, p. 7).

In a study *Segregation and victimization – neighborhood resources, individual risk factors and exposure to property crime* (2008) the authors Felipe Estrada and Anders Nilsson explore and analyze the exposure to property crime and how it correlates with both neighborhood conditions as well as character and household features and attributes. Estrada and Nilsson collected data from individual interview surveys with residents in urban areas and in different neighborhoods and communities regarding the so-called criminal victimization, but also the state of people's living (Estrada & Nilsson 2008, p. 1). The authors Estrada and Nilsson raised that noteworthy

dissimilarities in grades of exposure to crime is found between various social groups, areas and neighborhoods, and imply that by living in for instance rented dwelling and in defectively resourced areas, implicates a considerably higher risk for deliberate deconstruction and vandalism (Estrada & Nilsson 2008, p. 6).

Further, Estrada and Nilsson make use of social disorganization theory within neighborhood conditions and routine activities theory within individual-grade factors, when describing that for instance ownership forms of dwelling is of great relevance, as it implies having resources, but also that it may enable a higher level of control over the instant environment in which one individual lives (Estrada & Nilsson 2008, p. 16-17). This in comparison to those residents who rent their homes, indicating poor resources and a higher risk of exposure to crime.

Anita Heber, in her dissertation *Var rädd om dig! Rädsla för brott enligt forskning, intervjupersoner och dagspress* (2007) aims to present an overview of international and national research of the concept on fear of crime. Heber studies and analyzes how people understand, perceive and relate to the concept on fear by conducting interviews. By doing a content analysis, Heber describes how the Swedish press portrays fear of crime.

In her dissertation, Heber illustrates that all participating interviewees are influenced by the media. It appears that descriptions of crime in newspapers and on national television are frequently brought up during the interviews, as the interviewees believe that the media itself influenced their fear and perceptions of crime (Heber 2007, p. 13).

Further, Heber explains that the media can be of great consequence in reminding people of crime, as well as bringing up some form of agenda. Heber explains that fear of crime is often interpreted as a fear of violent crime, a crime that scares many. However, it is described that people may feel fear and concern about other types of crime. Heber portrays this distinction at a national level, based on Statistics Sweden's results from previous surveys. It appears that people who have been victimized and experienced some sort of violent crimes, become afraid of crime. However, Heber highlights that people in general in Sweden are afraid of crime, even though they have not experienced it themselves (Heber 2007, p. 57).

Heber also makes a distinction between fear of crime between the genders. Rape is the crime that frightens women the most, and is considered to overshadow the fear of all other types of crime, in some cases even murder (Heber 2007, p. 59). For women's fear of crime, are social expectations also an explanation. Heber brings up the fact that even when girls are young, parents and the society in general aims to teach their daughters to be careful, behave properly and to not go off with strangers. Such warnings are more frequently directed towards girls,

rather than boys. Therefore, both young girls and women are warned against crime throughout their whole lives, and are continuously urged to protect and take care of themselves (Heber 2007, p. 60).

Men are generally considered to be fearless and much less afraid of crime in comparison to women. Men's lower fear can trace back to the fact that boys are more frequently raised to be fearless, and to not feel or express feeling such as fear, as it is not socially acceptable. Boys are also traditionally raised to take more risks and to be brave, in comparison to women (Heber 2007, p. 60-61). Men unconsciously do not acknowledge their own fear of crime, in order to not affect their masculine identity, where emotions such as fear do not fit (Heber 2007, p. 62).

In their study *Den ojämlika otryggheten – stabilitet och förändring i bostadsområden över tid* (2016), Anna Karin Ivert, Marie Torstensson Levander and Caroline Mellgren examine the local safety development in Malmö, Sweden. Their study is based on two extensive surveys of safety in Malmö conducted in the year of 1998 and in the year of 2012, and aims to investigate whether the perceived security in different areas increases or decreases, and whether differences between areas tend to increase or decrease over time.

The research shows that in some areas, security levels are unchanged, however in around 15 areas, there appears to have been a negative development during the period with even more people feeling insecure and more people worrying about being exposed to crime (Ivert, Torstensson & Mellgren 2015, p. 221). The study also shows that areas that were perceived as more unsafe in the year of 1998 are still viewed as more unsafe in the year of 2012, and in some areas, insecurity and anxiety are even higher (Ivert, Torstensson & Mellgren 2015, p. 225).

During the studied period between the year of 1998 and the year of 2012, the differences between areas as well as the polarization have increased. It appears that differences in people's experience of safety vary depending on where they live. The authors highlight that in order to eventually increase safety in the areas that have the highest levels of insecurity and in order to reduce polarization between different areas, decision-makers should lean on the research that exists on insecurity, that in fact states that an area's level of problem and the social cohesion of the residents are central to the feeling of safety.

In the book *Rädda Sverige* (2009) Michael Lundh describes how Sweden is paralyzed by fear, which in turn both creates insecurity as well as counteracting social development. Lundh shares his experiences as former police, followed by descriptions of meetings with a diversity of people, such as citizens in general, juvenile delinquents, but also police officers and other representatives from the security industry in Sweden. The book

presents Lundh's own surroundings as well as the fear that pervades large parts of the society, thereon the problematization of the fear itself.

The author argues that all people gets affected by the fear and insecurity prevailing in society (Lundh 2009, p. 10). Lundh depicts how the threat image of the society has changed over time, transitioning from the Soviet Union being the country's largest threat, to organized crime and deviant actors being the biggest threat in modern time (Lundh 2009, p. 24). The distinction that Lundh makes, is of that citizens does not have to feel afraid, as long as knowledge regarding criminality is found as well as groups of people that we rarely or never meet. Thus, Lundh argues that it is the very lack of meeting, that may create the fear itself (Lundh 2009, p. 24).

Lundh further explains that people who feel a certain fear, wish for more surveillance in society. The fear itself and the desire for more surveillance creates a vicious circle, where residents of a certain society will no longer feel urged to be within outdoors environments during evenings, resulting in surveillance cameras being responsible for the safety during these evenings (Lundh 2009, p. 24). Thereon, Lundh describes how particular areas that are exposed to crime have been subjects for various safety measurements. In, for instance, Hammarkullen in Gothenburg, it appears that one third of the residents associated the square with violence, and just as many felt afraid to go out in the evenings (Lundh 2009, p. 32). This is despite major crime prevention efforts made in the area, such as improving street lighting and organizing safety walks.

Accordingly, Lundh discusses in his book whether violence has really increased in society to this extent that we ought to be afraid. Lundh further presents a common perception, namely that the eldest ones in society are the most fearful and unsafe, which is true to some extent as the oldest residents do not go out to the same extent as younger adults and adolescents, due to their fear of being exposed to criminality. The reality is on the contrary, that young adults between the age of 20 to 34, are the ones who most often feel unsafe when being outdoors, according to results from the National Safety Survey (Lundh 2009, p. 36).

The fear of crime theory in *Fear of crime: critical voices in an age of anxiety* according to Farrall and Lee (2009) a sociological and psychological theory that explores why people experience fear of crime and how this fear affects their behavior and the quality of their lives. The theory of fear of crime involves a variety of factors, such as perceived risk, personal experiences, media exposure as well as social interactions. What is interesting is that the theory emphasizes that fear of crime does not really correlate with actual reported crime, but instead, with individuals' perception of their own vulnerability and unsafety in society. This fear may

affect people's everyday lives by restricting their freedom of movements, as well as having an impact on their social interactions, thus creating an overall sense of insecurity.

The "Fear of crime" theory, according to Farall and Lee, highlights the importance of understanding fear of crime as a social construct and emphasizes the need to balance society's crime prevention efforts with awareness of its own impact on citizens' mental and emotional well-being. By analyzing fear of crime from this theoretical framework, society can design more accurate and effective strategies to manage and reduce the perceived fear of crime among citizens.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE CONCEPT OF SAFETY

The concept of safety has a particular heritage, where it formerly correlated with factors such as uncertain economic conditions and had a historical connection to the construction of the welfare state with the aim of reducing inequality as well as poverty through social reforms, leading to creating conditions for contemporary politicians to commonly associate the term insecurity with the occurrence of crime (Hermansson 2018, p. 180). In her research *Den svenska tryggheten: En studie av en kriminalpolitisk symbol*, Klara Hermansson portrays how the concept of security is perceived as a fundamental value for all, and how the concept of insecurity thus poses a severe social issue.

Hermansson explains how the concept of "trygghet" overlaps with two English words, safety and security, and how it is considered to have a stronger negative charge and significance in comparison to these two concepts (Hermansson 2018, p. 183). Safety may also relate to the term trust, and describe an objective condition that entails both a low risk of victimization as well as stable living conditions. Hermansson explains how within Swedish criminal policy the goal has become to both reduce crime as well as to increase people's safety.

In contemporary political debates, issues of crime and punishments are often associated with safety, and where the concept itself has a negative counterpart, insecurity, which relates to anxiety and fear of crime. Accordingly, the concept of safety is twofold. Safety in a negative sense may be related to fear and worry, as well as concern for others in vicinity, and where safety in a positive manner is associated with trust, certainty, being free from danger of any kind, as well as not being exposed to crime (Heber 2008, p. 9).

Heber argues that safety is a concept that is difficult to define. The experience and the sense of safety is found when confidence in other residents prevails, as well as being able

to protect oneself in the event of a crime. Furthermore, safety generally indicates an absence of fear, worry and risk, whilst also implying the occurrence of financial security making it possible for individuals to cope financially, both in everyday life as well as when sudden events occur (Heber 2008, s. 11). The feeling of safety may also be provided when factors such as housing, employment, education, leisure, health, family, social events and upbringing are fulfilled. Therefore, when defining security, it may refer to people's living conditions and how these living conditions are viewed.

Insecurity may be viewed as the opposite of security, where the concern and uncertainty about crime is a part of insecurity. In some way, the feeling of insecurity has converted and is being expressed as a fear of crime. Safety or security is consequently a comprehensive concept, entailing many definitions, explanations and interpretations, as unsafety or insecurity most commonly refer to the fear and worry of crime, as well as other risks (Heber 2008, p. 11). For that reason, security is correlated to insecurity in a way that they are opposites of each other. Security may therefore be assessed in relation to the risk of being exposed to crime, and in this way, the feelings and experiences of security are based on insecurity, and vice versa (Heber 2008, p. 11).

Both fear and risk are graded as a judgement concerning one's own security, as worry and concern may be viewed as a principle or an attitude kept in association to crime. Thus, fear of crime may be viewed as an emotional fright that composes a reaction to the daily perceived environment, as well as an eloquent fear which in turn constitutes a wider attitude towards crime (Heber 2011, p. 6-7).

With residents of a society experiencing a stronger sense of belonging, comes a greater feeling of security (Mallén 2005, p. 58). Safety does not only imply financial security, but also accessibility in forms of electronic devices such as phones, implicating easier and faster communication with the outside world. Perceived safety prevails as a resident feel secure to the extent that he or she have the opportunity to move as desired (Mallén 2005, p. 95).

MAIN FINDINGS

This research is to be focusing on Hermansson's concept of safety which describes safety as an objective condition that entails both a low risk of victimization as well as stable living conditions. Furthermore, the theory of fear of crime involves a variety of factors, such as perceived risk, personal experiences, media exposure as well as social interactions, emphasizing that fear of crime does not really correlate with actual reported crime, but instead,

with individuals' perception of their own vulnerability and unsafety in society. This fear may affect people's everyday lives by restricting their freedom of movements, as well as having an impact on their social interactions, thus creating an overall sense of insecurity. These two main findings will form the basis of the analysis of this research.

PHOTO ELICITATION AS RESEARCH METHOD

The aim for the present study is to combine semi-structured interviews with photo elicitation as methods. Photo elicitation signifies doing research while using photographs or other visual means of communication in order to create verbal discussions as well as producing data and new knowledge (Glaw, Inder, Kable & Hazelton 2017, p. 1). With photo elicitation as method, further rationality, justifiability, depth, richness and broader understandings are added and accomplished. Photo elicitation accumulates a different type of information, as it induces and develops emotions, evocations and information for the informant (Glaw, Inder, Kable & Hazelton 2017, p. 2).

With photo elicitation as a method, the researcher gains participants' response to symbolic representations in the images. The visual photographs can be created by the researcher herself, or by the informant. Photo elicitation as a method for research is generally used by using one or a variety of visual photographs in an interview, and further on asking the respondent to express a reaction, an opinion or to reflect (Glaw, Inder, Kable & Hazelton 2017, p. 3). The goal with this methodology is to use visual photographs in order to produce verbal discussions. By using photo elicitation as a method for this research, new layers can be discovered and the interviews that come with will generate reliable information for the study.

In his article *Framing the Social World With Photo-Elicitation Interviews* (2004), Marisol Clark-Ibañez shares his approach towards photo elicitation as a research method. Primarily, it is of great relevance and importance for the researcher to determine whether the researcher should take or show the photographs, or the interviewee. By the researcher herself producing and presenting photographs, a more theory-steered research is conducted (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1509). The researcher who has produced her own photographs may apprehend features and details of the participant's society that are taken for granted, and in that way give rise to discussions. In order to make the research even more empirical, the participants may be inquired to produce their own photographs which is significant and stimulating during the interviews later on (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1509-1510).

With photo elicitation as a research method, photographs are applied as perceivable descriptions and statements of objects and individuals. Moreover, photographs portray experiences and events that constitutes a piece of collective courses and routes, for instance of experiences and occasions that had taken place earlier in the course of life of the participant on (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1511). Photographs also constitute personal facets and elements of the social, for instance images of one's family and friends, and which relates one's self to the rest of the community and culture.

When doing research with photo elicitation as research method, photographs constitute a means of communication between the researcher and the interviewee. For the researcher, the photographs can function as a system to broaden and diversify questions, at the same time as the participants have the opportunity to share and provide an unusual yet distinctive way to be connected to concerning different aspects of their lives (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1512). Photographs can give rise to questions, for both the researcher as the participant. In addition to this, photographs can reduce some of the tension of the interviews, as there is something to focus on, particularly when the material is produced by the participant and they are for that reason acquainted with the photographs (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1512). Photographs may also prompt data that gives insight into a subject that is imperceptible and unfamiliar to the researcher, but that is perceptible and obvious to the participant (Clark-Ibañez 2004, p. 1516).

In their article *Exploring the Suburban Ideal: Residents' Experiences of Photo Elicitation Interviewing (PEI)* (2016), Warner, Johnson and Andrews portray the studied participants' experiences and encounters when taking part in a research of photo elicitation interviewing. The study concerned experiences of suburbs, where participants were acquired to photograph minimum ten views, features or characteristics of their own suburb, where they ought to distinguish between good and problematical sceneries, and where they at last would share a description and interpretation of their photographs.

As the authors describe, to study and create an understanding of others' lifeworlds, observations and participant observations may be ultimate choice of research method. However, it may not always be applicable. In that case, other sources of data may be more fitting, in order to comprehend lived encounters and experiences, as well as its significance. For this reason, photographs and interviews present themselves as suitable and pertinent (Warner et al. 2016, p. 2).

By using photo elicitation as the research method for this study, the photographs constitute the function that allows me to see and discover the studied area virtually, without

having to arrange tours with all involved interviewees. Photo elicitation as a research method may be viewed as a dialogue or discussion starter, and that contributes to the engagement between the participants within the interviews, as each participant normally depicts what have been captured in the photographs (Warner et al. 2016, p. 4). This research method generates even more comprehensive and elaborate insights as photographs are involved.

By using photo elicitation for this contemporary study, the photographs provides with a deeper understanding and knowledge of the participants' characters, as well as a more detailed interpretations of their personal lives (Warner et al. 2016, p. 4). The authors of this research article share their experiences with photo elicitation as a research method and emphasize that from their perspective as researchers, the comprise of photographs in their study and in their interviews generates conversations, especially among interviewees who felt uncertain and doubtful towards sharing and discussing their personal encounters by doing verbal interviews. This enabled the possibility for the researchers to experience the studied community from an insider perspective, rather than an outsider perspective (Warner et al. 2016, p. 7). Their interviewees shared that the use of photographs constituted a more unchallenging and straightforward interview process, as their significant points and meanings that they were aiming to present and convey was more apparent and conceivable than if they had gone through verbal interviews alone (Warner et al. 2016, p. 7).

In their article *Photo Elicitation Interview (PEI): Using Photos to Elicit Children's Perspectives* (2006), Epstein et al. discuss how visual research methods have conceptually constituted an insignificant role within social research, as sociological studies normally are carried through within a word-based disciplinary manner, as well as the function of photographs to be able to depict reality has been criticized (Epstein et al. 2006, p. 2). The authors further discuss whether the participant should take the photographs, or the researchers themselves, and highlight that participants who get the opportunity to take their own photographs also get the possibility to make their own choices regarding what to cover and what to exclude from their photographic calendars of their lives, hence allowing them to be in charge of the photographs that are presented within the research (Epstein et al. 2006, p. 4).

The authors put an emphasis on a relevant distinction where they themselves took the photographs of the studied area for their research, as they believed it to be more fitting due to their peculiar interest in children's encounters and perspectives on their social environments (Epstein et al. 2006, p. 4). What was further discussed by the authors was ethical issues of who should take the photographs, and where the participants taking the photographs would constitute an ethical issue of potentially capturing other people who are not a part of the

research, and which would require getting and securing consent from everyone involved. This in turn may change the focus and the ideas of the photographs, as they are taken by the researcher themselves and not by the participants who through their perspectives can portray what is significant to them (Epstein et al. 2006, p. 4). By using own photographs, the participants have the opportunity to bring their own photos in order to fill potential gaps.

In his article *Talking about pictures: a case for photo elicitation* (2002), Douglas Harper illustrates how photo elicitation as a research method is established through the idea of adding a photograph into a research. Harper further declares that the main dissimilarity between interviews conducted by using photographs, and interviews conducted by using words, is namely the way the participants within the interview acknowledges and respond to these two different structures of symbolic representation (Harper 2002, p. 13). In consideration to the department of the brain that processes visual details and figures being older than the sections of the brain which processes verbal details and figures, photographs give rise to profound and intense features and components of the human awareness, where the human brain deals with both photographs as well as words (Harper 2002, p. 13).

Harper emphasizes that photo elicitations as a research method is not only viewed as a method of working that evokes more details, but is also viewed as a research method that gives rise to a different type of details. Photo elicitations are relevant and applicable in many types of research, for instance empirical studies, where the photographs themselves may add on both reliability as well as validity (Harper 2002, p. 22). Harper further highlights that many of the photographs applied in such research, categorizes and systematizes factors such as social life, as well as individuals subject to the research itself.

Based on the articles presented in the former paragraph, it has been appointed that for this present study, I will get photographs of the prospects and sceneries to be captured, and thereon present these for the participants during interviews. This due to ethical considerations in relation to the participants. The goal is thus to visit Östra Göinge on as many occasions as necessary, and to photograph a variety of scenes to be presented later on during interviews.

The sceneries that were photographed were a variety of settings and environments in the municipality of Östra Göinge. In conjunction with a presentation of the photographs, an open discussion is followed. I asked leading questions regarding safety, and where the interview was open and semi-structured. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants, and subsequently transcribed. The transcriptions of the interviews and other findings formed the basis for the results of the study, as well as the analysis and conclusions.

Photographs used for this research is presented in a photograph collage and viewed on my personal Samsung Galaxy Tab. The photograph collages consist of photographs of Östra Göinge, as well as articles about the municipality in the newspapers. The idea is that each participant is able to take part of “my image” as a researcher and as an outsider considering my lack of knowledge, experiences and witnesses of Östra Göinge, and also to be able to share their images. What remained unanswered is what contributes to the participants’ safety in Östra Göinge, but also whether their images of the municipality match what is reported in the newspapers, or if the media portrays Östra Göinge in a negative sense.

This research aims to be socio-legally relevant as it aims to study findings about why residents of Östra Göinge feel unsafe even if the number of reported crimes is low. What is of great importance to have in mind while doing this research is that safety and unsafety are complex, and influenced by a variety of factors, both rational and emotional. Society’s actual crime statistics are an important factor however, people’s actual experiences, expectations and perceptions of safety and crime are more.

If you emanate from a municipality like Östra Göinge, vicinity and personal connections are crucial. In a smaller municipality, people may be more aware of each other and have personal relationships. When an event occurs, even if it is a single crime, it may be perceived as more tangible and personal to the people within the community.

Further, the media may play a definitive role in creating perceptions of crime as well as safety. If the media reports on crime in other areas or if there is national news about increasing crime, it can affect people's perception of the safety of their own municipality, regardless of the actual crime statistics. This may even change over time, for instance when there has been a quieter period in the municipality in general, and one single crime occurs, residents may react with great worry and insecurity as it is a change from what they are used to. Accordingly, topics of conversation and rumors spread quickly through social interactions in smaller communities. If someone shares a disturbing story or experience, it may have an impact on other people’s senses of safety.

The lack of exposure to unusual events may also be a contributing factor. In smaller communities, people may have less exposure to different aspects of crime, thus, when something occurs, it may be perceived as more prominent and unusual. Both self-regulation as well as social control may also play a role, as people in smaller communities may have higher expectations of social control and security from neighbors as well as the community itself. When these expectations are not met, it can lead to an increased feeling of unsafety.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

For this research, the interviews were semi-structured. When conducting this type of interview, I as the interviewer have a structure and composition of questions to be processed during the course of the interview. Unlike structured interviews, semi-structured interviews aim for me as the interviewer to be flexible and give the interviewee the opportunity to nuance their answers (Denscombe 2018, p. 269). There prevails a certain openness during semi-structured interviews, and where I have the opportunity to ask new questions based on what the interviewee has shared (Bryman 2011, p. 415). Thus, the emphasis is on the interviewee who develops their opinions and perspectives (Denscombe 2018, p. 269). Furthermore, safety is the main theme of this research, and where the interviews thus constitute focus interviews (Trost 2014, p. 43).

The research questions are studied through the participants' expressions, about what they claim to believe and the opinions they share. When conducting a qualitative research with interviews, viewpoints and aspects as well as experiences and encounters are studied. By enlisting the help of key participants, significant insights and lessons are obtained for the study where complex issues are addressed (Denscombe 2018, p. 268). With semi-structured interviews in particular, the approach becomes increasingly more flexible and it allows the interviewee to develop both views and aspects (Denscombe 2018, p. 269). Another advantage is that interviews are above all intended to produce comprehensive and detailed information.

A potential weakness, difficulty or limitation when conducting interviews concerns the validity of the data that is being produced. In consideration of the fact that interviews are based on what participants express, arises the question as to what is the truth and what is the untruth (Denscombe 2018, p. 293). However, due to the fact that the interviews are conducted with key individuals who are relevant actors to the research, and who have both knowledge and experience in the studied field, this weakness is deemed not to be relevant in the present study.

By assessing potential ethical problems, it has been determined that to minimize the risk of restriction of identity and privacy, the photographs to be used during the interviews are to be taken by me, so that the participants do not feel compelled to show me, a stranger, photos of something private. This might also have an effect on the number of participants.

THE SAMPLING OF THE INTERVIEWEES

When conducting qualitative studies involving interviews, it is of great interest and relevance to create a varied and composite sample of interviewees within a particular sample framework (Troost 2014, p. 137). For this present research, an exploratory sample was conducted.

The aim for this present study was to develop and produce new insights and data within the studied area (Denscombe 2018, p. 58), which in this case implies safety. By assessing which interviewees are of importance to the study, the sample has been defined and established purposefully, hence, the sample is appointed with regard to the aim of this research (Bryman 2011, p. 434). The sample of interviewees for this research included residents of Östra Göinge, where both men and women are allowed to participate, and between the ages of 16 to 65. This due to the fact that the National Safety Survey has this target group, where the residents of Östra Göinge originally have expressed their senses of unsafety.

The aim of raising the thoughts and opinions of residents in Östra Göinge on perceived safety is mainly to give emphasis to what makes the residents actually feel safe within the municipality. It is also of great relevance to raise the residents' beliefs, views and perceptions, and not an outlanders'.

The participating interviewees for this research are found by me in the municipality of Östra Göinge. The aim with the research questions is that they provide this study with an indication of what components and measurements to be sampled, as well as bringing forth regulations and directions regarding what categories of people is to be the central point of the research and which thereon constitutes the sampling itself (Bryman 2011, p. 416).

Bryman explains that it may be demanding to portray the population, therefore a random sample may be applicable in order to create a sampling frame. As a researcher who builds their studies on qualitative interviewing, in this case, photo elicitation, the aim is to establish and secure the ability to examine and obtain to a great assortment of individuals relevant to the research itself as well as its questions. This in turn, enables for me the possibility to gain access to a larger range of angles constituting the research's main focus (Bryman 2011, p. 416).

For this research, purposive sampling is applied. The idea of conducting purposive sampling is to examine participants in a planned manner, in order to obtain relevant participants to the presented research questions (Bryman 2011, p. 418). Further, Bryman emphasizes the significance of sampling a variety of participants, in order to intercept a diversity of characteristics and insights applicable to the research questions. An important and

relevant component is namely the sample size within qualitative research, where the sample size ought not to be too small as it gets problematic to gain data, whereas the sample size should not be too large as it gets inconvenient to conduct a profound analysis (Bryman 2011, p. 425).

For this present study, it is settled that a minimum of one and a maximum of two interviews was to be conducted within a particular village in Östra Göinge. As Östra Göinge is divided into two segments, the northern part where Sibbhult, Glimåkra, Immeln, Broby and Östanå is located, and the southern part including Knislinge, Hanaskog and Hjärsås, it appears to be fitting to carry out a minimum of one interview per village within Östra Göinge, which in turn can reach a number of a minimum of eight interviews in total. This is in consideration of the fact that a larger number of interviews would result in too much data to manage and thereon to analyze, particularly with regard to the interviews being carried out with the support of photographs that additionally are used in the results and the analysis. This is also in view of the size of the municipality as well as the number of residents.

Altogether, the interviewees were approached spontaneously and sporadically by me, by coming towards and making conversation with a probable interviewee. Only when it was confirmed that the participant is a resident of the municipality of Östra Göinge, he or she was asked about participation in this particular research. Once consent was obtained, a presentation of the research itself was conducted, and the interview with photographs followed.

The interviews were recorded with the consent of the participant, and thereon also transcribed. By transcribing the interviews, the implementation of thorough searches and connections between the collected data is simplified (Denscombe 2018, p. 395). By conducting transcriptions of the interviews, I as the researcher, become more familiar with the collected data, and the analysis is facilitated.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

In qualitative terms, the credibility of the study is not easily assessed based on the evaluation basis that are applied within quantitative research (Denscombe 2018, p. 419). Validity refers to the credibility, and in qualitative studies, three components are considered in terms of accuracy in data, namely the validation of the respondent referring to the researcher herself returning to the participant in order to review the validity of the data, grounded data referring to the collected data being based on empirical data and the participants' fieldwork, and lastly triangulation

referring to the use of comparative data sources (Denscombe 2018, p. 420). Principally, validity covers the research's ability to measure what is intended to be measured (Troost 2014, p. 133). The question of validity becomes relevant when there appears to be similarities between the researcher's own remarks and observations, and the theoretical theses of the present research.

In order for the researcher to be able to analyze data, the collected data from the conducted interviews, as well as from the previous literature and articles must be reviewed and analyzed. As validity is associated with measurement, and with the reason that this present research is not focused on measurements, the question of validity becomes less relevant.

Reliability is however categorized into external reliability, referring to the extent to which the research can be replicated, and into internal reliability, referring to that all researchers carrying out a particular study are agreeing on the same interpretation of the data (Bryman 2011, p. 390). Furthermore, the external reliability covers the strength and the extent to which the research may be applied within other social environments and conditions, which in this case is viewed as problematic as the present study and its participants is quite limited in terms of number of interviewees as well as the location. On the contrary, by identifying thematic categories in a comprehensive manner, the reliability of the analysis conducted and conclusions drawn for this present study is increased (Given 2008, p. 122).

A PILOT STUDY

For this research, a pilot study was conducted, which is considered both adequate and applicable as there was no predictions or expectations to the claim of the study. As a researcher, no predictions about what will be found with the study were settled. Research has been reported on the related phenomena that would provide this study some guidance, however the available statistics and reports are based on results from the National Safety Survey where the questions are more focused on insecurity, rather than security, as well as on exposure to crime, issues in one's residential area and fear of being exposed to crime. In accordance with *Doing Research: A New Researcher's Guide* (2023, p. 41), Hiebert et al., conducting a pilot study is relevant when for instance not having a particular hypothesis for the upcoming study.

For this research, the purpose of conducting a pilot study is to evoke and stimulate some initial thoughts and ideas of what might be found within the study. The aim with the pilot study has also been to examine and assess the plans of the research, clarify predictions and

expectations as well as determining potential participants (Hiebert et al. 2023, p. 41). Conducting pilot studies appears fitting when trying out the planned methods for the research.

This pilot study is kept small, both in conditions of time limitations as well as number of participants. Considering that the research needs to be conducted and that the paper needs to be written within a particular time frame, not so much time was secured for the pilot study itself. Further, the sample of participants consisted of participants who were easy to find, and who may represent the larger sample planned for the actual research (Hiebert et al. 2023, p. 99). By conducting a pilot study, the researcher may recognize whether the collected data consists of relevant and applicable features, and if the data will examine possible predictions for the study.

It appears to be both rewarding and productive to conduct a pilot study and to do preparatory work in order to simplify and clarify expectations and predictions, rather than carrying out a complete research having a small amount of ideas and thoughts of what will present itself (Hiebert et al. 2023, p. 100). In that way, a more informative research is conducted. This pilot study which is a preliminary research conducted before taking off and leading on a full-scale study is beneficial as it provides the researcher with refinements and corrections of the design of the research, in preparation for handling a full version (Treiman 2019, p. 2).

The aims of this pilot study were many, however among other things, was to get to know the studied area, the residents as well as creating an understanding of how the full-scale research ought to proceed. Considering that the studied area as well as the research method were unfamiliar and untested, this pilot study was found both relevant and applicable in order to identify the approach and the course of action for the present study, as well as to increase the possibilities of reaching informative conclusions.

This pilot study was initiated by communicating with the field assistant and the police in Östra Göinge who earlier had presented their request for this present research. The intention with these dialogues was mainly to get introduced to the project itself, its purpose, as well as gaining any relevant insights into Östra Göinge as a municipality. Meetings were booked, that took place both digitally and physically, and where the project was discussed, but also where ideas and thoughts were exchanged. An additional meeting was booked where the field assistant from the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention presented the municipality, and where a round-trip was carried out throughout the municipality and its small villages. The field assistant showed which areas were viewed and considered as center or downtown, as well as venues and meeting places to visit during spare time.

This pilot study continued by conducting a background check on the municipality of Östra Göinge, followed by visiting the municipality and being there for a whole day, where general observations were made, but also where dialogues were held with unfamiliar residents in Östra Göinge.

What was initially discovered was that the municipality has approximately 15,000 inhabitants (Östra Göinge 2023), where the conclusion was drawn that the municipality is a rural, small township. The municipality's own website describes the township having rich diversity, cozy villages and wild forests. Östra Göinge as a municipality was formed in the year of 1974 by merging the smaller villages, Broby, Knislinge, Hjärsås and Glimåkra (Östra Göinge 2023). Broby is considered as the capital of the municipality. Östra Göinge is today viewed and described as a municipality characterized by offering attractive living environments, inviting green landscape and culture, but also as Scania's green heart (Östra Göinge 2023).

On their website, various activities are suggested for resident's free time, such as fishing, swimming and horseback riding, but also suggestions to practice sports within a diversity of sports associations (Östra Göinge 2022). During a break, such as during Easter, additional activities have been proposed in a completely separate tab on their website, where for example, cinema, exhibition and opening, play in the library, paddle, bowling and table tennis are offered.

From the information provided by the municipality of Östra Göinge on their website, it is concluded that Östra Göinge is a small township with a variety of places for meetings and community, as well as open landscapes and villages. This constituted a form of guidance and direction when the visit in Östra Göinge was carried out.

For this present study and this pilot research, the results from previous safety surveys were also studied with the aim of searching, identifying and analyzing where the sense of unsafety was the highest. The material was obtained from the police's resources and programs, where a personal login was conveyed, and where factors such as response frequencies, area definitions, problem images, index models and the survey itself were available to be studied.

When using the police's program called Origogroup, various filters can be applied in order to obtain a particular answer, such as the incidence over the last few years, response frequencies based on factors such as gender and age. By using Origogroup, problem indexes are also available and accessible, and additionally where the opportunity presents itself to identify a specific issue or certain problem areas that are higher than others.

In the table below, problem indexes, problem areas, response frequencies and the change or development over the years are presented. The table shows that the problem indices focus on issues concerning outdoor environments, problems with substance abuse and outdoor disturbances. It is also possible to read off that the concrete sense or feeling of unsafety is quite high, particularly after the year of 2019. Furthermore, it appears that even though there are prevailing problem areas in Östra Göinge as well as the feeling of unsafety being remarkably high during the past few years, the exposure to crime is relatively stable, as the numbers during the past few years are coherent.

Organisation	Kolumner	Delgrupp								
Östra Göinge	Över tid	Ingen filtrering	☑ Beräkna							
				2022 n=544	2021 n=348	2020_2 n=387	2019 n=376	2018 n=365	2017 n=352	2016_2 n=394
Problemindex				(3.08)	(2.97)	(3.41)	(2.81)	(3.05)	(2.59)	(2.54)
Utemiljö				(4.50)	(3.50)	(5.00)	(4.00)	(4.50)	(3.50)	(2.00)
Nedskräpning				49 (4)	51 (4)	33 (5)	46 (4)	52 (5)	47 (4)	40 (2)
Skadegörelse				46 (5)	40 (3)	47 (5)	42 (4)	43 (4)	38 (3)	34 (2)
Missbruksproblem				(3.75)	(3.25)	(4.00)	(2.50)	(3.00)	(2.00)	(2.50)
Berusade personer, utomhus				20 (3)	18 (2)	20 (3)	13 (2)	18 (2)	13 (2)	16 (2)
Narkotikapåverkade personer, utomhus				24 (4)	23 (4)	26 (5)	18 (3)	20 (3)	13 (2)	11 (2)
Bostäder, tillhåll för alkoholister				13 (4)	10 (3)	12 (3)	8 (2)	11 (3)	7 (2)	10 (3)
Bostäder, tillhåll för narkotikamissbrukare				17 (4)	16 (4)	19 (5)	11 (3)	15 (4)	7 (2)	11 (3)
Observerat narkotikaförsäljning i området				15 (0)	13 (0)	15 (0)	0	0	0	0
Utomhustörningar				(3.50)	(3.17)	(4.50)	(3.00)	(4.17)	(3.17)	(3.00)
Folk bråkar och slåss, utomhus				20 (4)	16 (3)	26 (5)	14 (3)	16 (3)	9 (2)	11 (2)
Kvinnor anstans				15 (3)	14 (3)	14 (3)	11 (2)	15 (3)	11 (2)	15 (3)
Ungdomsgång bråkar och stör ordningen				35 (4)	28 (3)	38 (5)	28 (3)	36 (5)	27 (3)	23 (2)
Billarna kör för fort				63 (4)	61 (4)	66 (5)	62 (4)	65 (5)	67 (5)	60 (4)
Buskörning med mopeder, mc				31 (3)	34 (4)	36 (4)	33 (3)	40 (5)	35 (4)	36 (4)
Trafikregler respekteras inte				35 (3)	31 (2)	42 (5)	34 (3)	39 (4)	36 (3)	34 (3)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem				(4.00)	(3.00)	(5.00)	(3.00)	(4.00)	(4.00)	(4.00)
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem				83 (4)	79 (3)	87 (5)	79 (3)	83 (4)	83 (4)	82 (4)
Utsatthet för brott				(2.00)	(2.50)	(1.83)	(2.00)	(1.83)	(2.00)	(1.83)
Under sen 12 mån varit utsatt för fysiskt våld				1 (2)	3 (3)	0 (1)	1 (2)	0 (1)	1 (2)	0 (1)
Utsatt för stöld				8 (2)	9 (2)	8 (2)	8 (2)	7 (2)	8 (2)	8 (2)
Utsatts för skadegörelse				7 (2)	8 (2)	8 (2)	10 (2)	7 (2)	10 (2)	8 (2)
Andel utsatts för minst ett mångbrott				13 (2)	14 (2)	13 (2)	16 (2)	12 (2)	16 (2)	13 (2)
Utsatts för bedrägeri				6 (1)	5 (0)	6 (0)	4 (0)	5 (1)	4 (1)	5 (1)
Utsatts för hot				6 (2)	7 (3)	6 (2)	7 (2)	5 (2)	5 (2)	6 (2)
Andel inte varit utsatt för något som helst brott				77 (2)	70 (3)	78 (2)	76 (2)	79 (2)	73 (2)	73 (2)
Anmälningssvår				30 (0)	40 (1)	37 (1)	29 (1)	32 (1)	34 (1)	30 (1)
Oro för att utsättas för brott				(2.80)	(2.40)	(2.80)	(3.00)	(2.80)	(2.40)	(2.00)
Att Du oroad Dig för inbrott i bostaden				59 (3)	59 (3)	61 (4)	63 (4)	60 (3)	59 (3)	58 (3)
Att Du oroad Dig för inbrott i förråd				57 (3)	57 (3)	59 (3)	59 (3)	64 (4)	59 (3)	55 (2)
Oro för att Din bil, mc, moped eller cykel				59 (3)	52 (2)	57 (2)	61 (3)	55 (2)	50 (2)	48 (1)
Oro för överfallen/misshandlad i området				35 (3)	31 (2)	37 (3)	34 (3)	35 (3)	29 (2)	31 (2)
Andel varit orolig för någon typ av brott				73 (2)	71 (2)	73 (2)	75 (2)	74 (2)	72 (2)	70 (2)
Konkret känsla av otrygghet				(3.38)	(3.50)	(3.38)	(3.13)	(2.63)	(2.25)	(2.50)
Trygg ute ensam sen kväll				48 (4)	45 (3)	44 (3)	49 (4)	50 (3)	55 (2)	52 (2)
Otrygg ute ensam sen kväll				39 (4)	43 (5)	42 (5)	39 (4)	37 (4)	33 (3)	35 (3)
Rädd för speciella personer i egna bostadsområdet				21 (5)	18 (4)	15 (3)	18 (4)	14 (3)	14 (3)	17 (4)
Restaurang, bar eller disco				9 (2)	9 (2)	9 (2)	8 (2)	6 (2)	5 (2)	4 (1)
Sportevenemang				9 (2)	4 (2)	4 (2)	3 (2)	4 (2)	2 (1)	3 (2)
Föreningsmöten, kursen och liknande				4 (2)	4 (2)	4 (2)	4 (2)	2 (2)	3 (2)	3 (2)
Åka buss eller tåg				21 (4)	21 (4)	20 (4)	17 (3)	16 (3)	15 (3)	15 (3)
Andel avstätt från någon typ av aktivitet				24 (4)	22 (4)	23 (4)	20 (3)	17 (2)	18 (2)	17 (2)
Polisens agerande mot problem				(2.67)	(3.00)	(3.67)	(3.00)	(4.00)	(4.00)	(4.00)
Polisen bryr sig om de lokala problemen				49 (2)	48 (2)	50 (2)	50 (2)	44 (2)	45 (2)	43 (2)
Polisen bryr sig INTE om de lokala problemen				18 (3)	18 (3)	21 (4)	20 (3)	22 (4)	22 (4)	22 (4)
Relationskvot				37 (3)	38 (4)	42 (5)	40 (4)	36 (3)	48 (5)	51 (5)
Tillit				(2.00)	(2.00)	(2.50)	(2.00)	(2.50)	(2.00)	(0.00)
Boende skulle Ej agera vid slagsmål				18 (2)	20 (2)	25 (3)	18 (2)	24 (3)	21 (2)	0
Svag sammanhållning i bostadsområdet				11 (2)	13 (2)	15 (2)	10 (2)	12 (2)	13 (2)	0

Table 1: result image

The tables below portray the difference in the responses between juveniles and pensioners. It appears that young people express stronger senses of insecurity concerning a variety of problem areas. The adolescents also indicate a stronger concrete feeling of unsafety in comparison to the pensioners. Further, it is revealed that the adolescents have a slightly higher vulnerability or exposure to crime, since the year of 2021, than the pensioners. This while the exposure to crime among pensioners is nearly non-existent. Thus, the concrete feeling of unsafety or insecurity is more prominent among the adolescents than the elderly.

Organisation	Kolumner	Delgrupp	Beräkna						
Östra Göinge	Över tid	1 valid							
	2022* n=27	2021* n=11	2020_2 n=24	2019* n=8	2018* n=9	2017* n=8	2016_2 n=16		
Problemindex	(3.84)	(3.16)	(4.00)	(1.49)	(2.19)	(2.41)	(2.26)		
Utemiljö	(5.00)	(4.50)	(5.00)	(3.00)	(5.50)	(5.00)	(3.00)		
Nedskräpning	47 (4)	44 (3)	48 (4)	80 (1)	54 (5)	50 (4)	39 (2)		
Skadegörelse	55 (6)	52 (6)	51 (6)	47 (5)	66 (6)	61 (6)	46 (4)		
Missbruksproblem	(6.00)	(6.00)	(5.00)	(1.75)	(4.50)	(0.75)	(2.50)		
Berusade personer, utomhus	15 (4)	48 (6)	27 (3)	0 (0)	23 (4)	11 (1)	27 (5)		
Marknadsplanerade personer, utomhus	35 (6)	27 (6)	22 (5)	27 (6)	33 (6)	11 (2)	8 (1)		
Bostäder, tillhåll för alkoholister	10 (4)	22 (4)	22 (6)	0 (0)	8 (2)	0 (0)	8 (2)		
Bostäder, tillhåll för markotikamisbrukare	15 (6)	26 (6)	14 (3)	16 (2)	27 (6)	0 (0)	8 (2)		
Observerat narkotikaförslinjning i området	36 (1)	23 (1)	15 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)		
Utombuströtningar	(3.33)	(3.83)	(4.50)	(1.83)	(2.33)	(2.83)	(4.17)		
Folk bråkar och slåss, utomhus	19 (4)	26 (5)	41 (6)	10 (2)	23 (5)	11 (2)	23 (5)		
Kvinnor anställas	57 (6)	37 (5)	44 (6)	0 (0)	37 (5)	23 (2)	41 (6)		
Ungdomsgång bråkar och stör ordningen	33 (6)	39 (6)	51 (4)	30 (6)	31 (6)	61 (4)	53 (2)		
Bilarna kör för fort	10 (4)	44 (6)	33 (3)	30 (3)	15 (1)	34 (6)	45 (5)		
Buskörning med mopeder, mc	26 (2)	23 (1)	36 (3)	10 (2)	23 (1)	34 (3)	17 (1)		
Trafikregler respekteras inte									
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	(4.00)	(4.00)	(2.00)	(1.00)	(2.00)	(6.00)	(3.00)		
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	84 (4)	81 (4)	76 (2)	87 (1)	77 (2)	86 (4)	80 (3)		
Utsatthet för brott	(2.47)	(2.17)	(2.83)	(1.50)	(0.50)	(3.33)	(1.17)		
Under sen 12 mån varit utsatt för fysiskt våld	4 (2)	7 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (2)	0 (0)		
Utsatt för stöld	3 (1)	7 (2)	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	23 (4)	0 (0)		
Utsatts för skadegörelse	3 (1)	0 (0)	17 (4)	10 (2)	8 (2)	11 (3)	8 (2)		
Andel utsatts för minst ett mångbrott	18 (1)	7 (1)	17 (2)	10 (1)	8 (1)	23 (4)	8 (1)		
Utsatts för bedrägeri	7 (2)	0 (0)	12 (1)	20 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)		
Utsatts för hot	12 (6)	0 (0)	27 (4)	10 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (3)		
Andel inte varit utsatt för något som helst brott	68 (3)	63 (4)	67 (4)	80 (6)	100 (6)	61 (3)	86 (1)		
Anmälningsgrad	22 (1)	39 (1)	10 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	71 (1)	0 (0)		
Oro för att utsättas för brott	(2.20)	(1.20)	(2.60)	(0.00)	(2.40)	(2.20)	(1.00)		
Att Du orot Dig för inbrott i bostaden	41 (1)	26 (0)	48 (2)	30 (0)	37 (1)	61 (4)	30 (0)		
Att Du orot Dig för inbrott i förådd	33 (6)	18 (0)	42 (1)	21 (0)	30 (0)	23 (4)	0 (0)		
Oro för att Din bil, mc, moped eller cykel	58 (2)	52 (2)	56 (2)	37 (6)	46 (1)	50 (2)	28 (0)		
Oro för överfallen/misshandlad i området	54 (6)	37 (3)	48 (6)	10 (6)	8 (0)	27 (2)	41 (4)		
Andel varit orolig för någon typ av brott	73 (2)	59 (1)	64 (2)	47 (6)	63 (5)	61 (1)	58 (1)		
Konkret känsla av otrygghet	(4.88)	(2.50)	(4.38)	(1.00)	(1.88)	(0.75)	(2.88)		
Trygg ute ensam sen kväll	14 (4)	63 (2)	37 (6)	80 (6)	46 (4)	77 (6)	51 (3)		
Ötrygg ute ensam sen kväll	57 (6)	37 (4)	54 (6)	16 (6)	30 (6)	23 (1)	44 (5)		
Rädd för speciella personer i egna bostadsområdet	50 (6)	19 (4)	36 (6)	10 (2)	8 (2)	11 (2)	36 (6)		
Restaurang, bar eller disco	10 (3)	7 (2)	10 (3)	10 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (2)		
Sportevenemang	3 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (2)		
Föreningsmöten, kurser och liknande	7 (4)	0 (0)	3 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)		
Aka buss eller tåg	35 (6)	19 (4)	41 (6)	10 (2)	23 (5)	11 (2)	17 (3)		
Andel avstått från någon typ av aktivitet	39 (6)	26 (4)	40 (6)	18 (1)	24 (6)	11 (1)	17 (2)		
Polisens agerande mot problem	(4.67)	(4.00)	(4.33)	(0.67)	(1.33)	(2.33)	(0.00)		
Polisen bryr sig om de lokala problemen	47 (2)	66 (0)	46 (2)	80 (6)	31 (4)	31 (6)	64 (0)		
Polisen bryr sig INTE om de lokala problemen	14 (2)	24 (0)	25 (1)	10 (2)	30 (0)	23 (4)	0 (0)		
Relationskvet	68 (6)	51 (6)	60 (6)	11 (6)	0 (0)	37 (3)	0 (0)		
Tillit	(2.00)	(3.00)	(5.50)	(5.50)	(1.00)	(4.50)	(0.00)		
Boende skulle tj agera vid slagsmål	17 (2)	26 (2)	31 (2)	30 (2)	8 (1)	28 (2)	0 (0)		
Svag sammanhållning i bostadsområdet	10 (2)	7 (1)	34 (6)	40 (6)	8 (1)	23 (4)	0 (0)		

Organisation	Kolumner	Delgrupp	Beräkna						
Östra Göinge	Över tid	1 valid							
	2022 n=191	2021 n=126	2020_2 n=138	2019 n=126	2018 n=121	2017 n=130	2016_2 n=135		
Problemindex	(1.95)	(1.59)	(2.68)	(1.70)	(2.41)	(1.89)	(2.06)		
Utemiljö	(2.00)	(1.50)	(3.00)	(2.00)	(2.50)	(1.50)	(2.00)		
Nedskräpning	38 (2)	40 (2)	42 (3)	49 (2)	43 (3)	40 (2)	36 (2)		
Skadegörelse	32 (2)	28 (3)	37 (3)	37 (3)	28 (2)	38 (3)	31 (2)		
Missbruksproblem	(2.00)	(0.50)	(2.25)	(0.75)	(1.75)	(1.00)	(1.25)		
Berusade personer, utomhus	12 (2)	4 (0)	13 (2)	3 (0)	13 (2)	9 (1)	10 (1)		
Marknadsplanerade personer, utomhus	14 (2)	1 (1)	14 (2)	6 (1)	11 (2)	7 (1)	0 (1)		
Bostäder, tillhåll för alkoholister	8 (2)	1 (0)	7 (2)	2 (1)	4 (1)	3 (1)	5 (1)		
Bostäder, tillhåll för markotikamisbrukare	9 (2)	5 (1)	11 (3)	3 (1)	6 (2)	2 (1)	6 (2)		
Observerat narkotikaförslinjning i området	4 (0)	3 (1)	7 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)		
Utombuströtningar	(2.50)	(2.33)	(3.47)	(2.00)	(3.67)	(3.00)	(3.00)		
Folk bråkar och slåss, utomhus	9 (2)	4 (1)	17 (3)	4 (1)	5 (1)	6 (1)	6 (1)		
Kvinnor anställas	8 (2)	8 (1)	8 (2)	6 (1)	8 (2)	7 (2)	6 (2)		
Ungdomsgång bråkar och stör ordningen	18 (2)	17 (2)	23 (2)	18 (2)	25 (3)	18 (2)	16 (1)		
Bilarna kör för fort	67 (4)	64 (3)	79 (6)	62 (4)	73 (6)	70 (6)	63 (4)		
Buskörning med mopeder, mc	27 (2)	31 (3)	35 (4)	22 (2)	33 (2)	38 (3)	31 (2)		
Trafikregler respekteras inte	35 (3)	32 (2)	46 (5)	28 (2)	45 (5)	39 (4)	46 (4)		
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	(2.00)	(2.00)	(6.00)	(2.00)	(4.00)	(3.00)	(2.00)		
Andel uppfattat minst ett problem	77 (2)	75 (2)	86 (6)	71 (2)	83 (6)	81 (3)	77 (2)		
Utsatthet för brott	(1.17)	(0.67)	(1.00)	(0.67)	(1.00)	(1.33)	(1.17)		
Under sen 12 mån varit utsatt för fysiskt våld	0 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)		
Utsatt för stöld	6 (1)	4 (1)	4 (1)	6 (1)	5 (1)	6 (1)	5 (1)		
Utsatts för skadegörelse	5 (2)	3 (1)	6 (2)	4 (1)	6 (2)	6 (2)	5 (2)		
Andel utsatts för minst ett mångbrott	9 (3)	3 (0)	7 (3)	9 (1)	8 (1)	11 (1)	8 (3)		
Utsatts för bedrägeri	4 (1)	0 (0)	2 (0)	1 (1)	3 (1)	3 (1)	2 (1)		
Utsatts för hot	2 (1)	0 (0)	3 (1)	1 (0)	1 (1)	3 (2)	2 (1)		
Andel inte varit utsatt för något som helst brott	81 (1)	79 (2)	85 (1)	83 (1)	81 (1)	78 (2)	75 (2)		
Anmälningsgrad	20 (1)	29 (1)	23 (1)	27 (1)	26 (1)	28 (1)	38 (1)		
Oro för att utsättas för brott	(1.20)	(1.40)	(2.80)	(1.80)	(1.80)	(1.40)	(1.20)		
Att Du orot Dig för inbrott i bostaden	46 (2)	33 (2)	60 (4)	56 (3)	63 (2)	51 (2)	49 (2)		
Att Du orot Dig för inbrott i förådd	48 (1)	49 (2)	65 (4)	53 (2)	56 (3)	51 (2)	46 (2)		
Oro för att Din bil, mc, moped eller cykel	46 (1)	41 (1)	54 (2)	48 (1)	49 (2)	46 (1)	38 (0)		
Oro för överfallen/misshandlad i området	21 (1)	22 (1)	32 (2)	26 (2)	23 (1)	20 (1)	20 (1)		
Andel varit orolig för någon typ av brott	98 (1)	84 (1)	74 (2)	65 (1)	66 (1)	64 (1)	58 (1)		
Konkret känsla av otrygghet	(2.25)	(2.25)	(2.63)	(2.50)	(2.13)	(2.13)	(2.25)		
Trygg ute ensam sen kväll	50 (4)	42 (3)	39 (6)	46 (4)	40 (3)	51 (3)	47 (4)		
Ötrygg ute ensam sen kväll	33 (1)	42 (5)	42 (5)	37 (4)	40 (4)	30 (2)	34 (3)		
Rädd för speciella personer i egna bostadsområdet	6 (2)	7 (1)	8 (1)	6 (2)	8 (2)	8 (2)	10 (2)		
Restaurang, bar eller disco	4 (1)	2 (1)	5 (2)	6 (2)	4 (1)	5 (2)	4 (1)		
Sportevenemang	3 (2)	1 (1)	3 (2)	3 (2)	2 (2)	1 (1)	3 (2)		
Föreningsmöten, kurser och liknande	3 (2)	2 (1)	3 (2)	3 (2)	1 (0)	3 (3)	4 (2)		
Aka buss eller tåg	11 (2)	14 (2)	9 (2)	12 (2)	7 (1)	10 (2)	10 (2)		
Andel avstått från någon typ av aktivitet	13 (2)	15 (2)	11 (1)	15 (2)	8 (1)	15 (2)	13 (2)		
Polisens agerande mot problem	(2.67)	(2.00)	(3.33)	(2.33)	(4.33)	(2.33)	(4.00)		
Polisen bryr sig om de lokala problemen	39 (4)	45 (2)	42 (2)	43 (2)	36 (4)	45 (2)	40 (4)		
Polisen bryr sig INTE om de lokala problemen	10 (2)	11 (2)	18 (3)	15 (2)	20 (3)	16 (2)	18 (3)		
Relationskvet	26 (2)	25 (2)	26 (2)	36 (3)	35 (3)	35 (3)	46 (3)		
Tillit	(2.00)	(1.50)	(2.50)	(1.00)	(3.00)	(1.50)	(0.00)		
Boende skulle tj agera vid slagsmål	19 (2)	19 (2)	25 (3)	19 (1)	26 (4)	19 (2)	0 (0)		
Svag sammanhållning i bostadsområdet	13 (2)	8 (1)	19 (2)	7 (1)	11 (2)	9 (1)	0 (0)		

Table 2: result image based on the ages between 16-19, table 3: result image based on the age 65 and above

Coming from a larger city like Malmö, with 357,377 inhabitants (Malmö stad 2022), the first impression of Östra Göinge was that the municipality is an agriculture with farm management.

Much was observed, distinguishing was namely that there was not a great deal of people outside, regardless of the fact that it was daytime, nor a variety of stores or clothing stores, but mainly grocery stores such as ICA Supermarket and Coop. The bus stops in Östra Göinge appeared as the center of the municipality. Not many restaurants were discovered, on the other hand, many outdoor places were found, such as forests, outdoor gyms, soccer fields and courts.

There were a few hairdressers and barbers spotted, as well as a few postal agents. Accordingly, the first impression of Östra Göinge was that there was not so much more to see, as residents of the municipality appeared to be staying at home on their yards.

Shortly after carrying out the visit where general perceptions, observations and discoveries were made, a full day where meetings and interactions with residents of Östra Göinge was the goal. What was intended to be reached was physical contacts with residents who wanted to share their experiences, impressions and insights of their lives in Östra Göinge. The aim was to form an understanding of the general safety in Östra Göinge, the community and what contributes to it, but also where residents spend their days.

The day started early in the morning, standing outside an ICA Supermarket in Glimåkra, where the goal was to engage with strangers who wanted to take some time to share something about Östra Göinge, the safety within the municipality and the community. Quite early on, it was observed that it was mainly elderly residents and pensioners who were out grocery shopping at ICA Supermarket. A few residents in their middle age arrived later on. Standing outside a grocery store to interact and talk to strangers was both anxious and stressful, but also challenging, as some of those I approached wanted to participate, and some did not. In Glimåkra, the meetings and interactions were carried out with a 77-year old woman and with a 72-year old woman.

The first participant shared that she had been born in Östra Göinge and that she had lived there during larger parts of her life. She views Glimåkra as both a good and calm place to live in. The participant shares that she does not have any troubles or unpleasantness with anyone. She defines the term safety and explains what makes her feel safe:

“Ja, att det är lugnt och bra... Inte någon som är runt och knackar på dörrar och bråkar och sånt. Och så är det inte hos mig i alla fall. Ja, att det är som vanligt och att inga katastrofer inträffar. Att det flyter på...”

Translated; “Yes, that it is calm and nice... Not someone who’s around knocking on doors and making difficulties and stuff like that. And it is not like that for me anyway. Yes, that it’s business as usual and that no disasters happen. That it floats on.”

A place she frequently finds herself most of the time is at her home, and in her yard. She often goes for a walk but most of her time is spent on her tending her garden. The participant mentions that they have closed the car workshops in Glimåkra, meaning that when she needs her car tending to, she goes to the local mechanic in Broby. She speaks about not having much contact with her neighbors, not more than talking over the hedge from time to time. Furthermore, she shares that she is a participant in the pensioners' association, where she has her friends. She and her friends meet outside of the pensioners' association sometimes.

As for the second participant, she is living in a villa in the village of Glimåkra and has been living there for sixty years. She shares her opinion on safety:

“Att kunna gå ute, att kunna gå in i en affär utan att behöva känna mig hotad. Det har jag aldrig upplevt här. För att känna sig trygg går man kanske inte ut en kväll när det är sent. Det gör man inte. Så man väljer såna saker som man vet är trygga. Att vara ute på dagarna, helst när det är ljus, när man vet att man är många.”

Translated: "Being able to go out, being able to go into a store without having to feel threatened. I have never experienced that here. To feel safe, one does not go out during evenings when it's late. You do not do that. So, one has to choose those things that one knows are safe. Being outside during the day, preferably when it is light, when one knows that there are many outside."

This participant shares that in Glimåkra, one is mostly at each other's houses. What makes her feel safe is that everyone knows everyone, maybe not so much as before, approximately for 20-30 years ago. However, everyone is familiar with everyone in small villages. She also mentions that the media increases or contributes to the feeling of insecurity, and that she chooses to not get influenced by the newspaper and its negativity. Further, she declares that she has not seen the police in Glimåkra for a long time, but when they do drive through the village, she does not feel that their presence increases the sense of safety.

Moving on to the village of Sibbhult, the interactions and meetings took place at a school for immigrants aged 15-19 years, who needed to study Swedish as well as improving their grades. The students were perceived as much more talkative than the pensioners in Glimåkra, possibly due to the fact that the researcher uses different approaches when talking to one closer in age than to the pensioners.

The first meeting at this school took place with two young girls, in the age of 17, where one lives in Hässleholm and the other lives in Sibbhult. Safety for them is described as comfort and prosperity. To be well pleased and satisfied is also a part of being safe. Both family and friends, and relationships in general are what makes them both feel safe. These participants shared that if and when they would like to socialize, do something fun or an activity, they

usually go to Kristianstad, since there is nothing to do in Sibbhult. In Kristianstad, they normally go shopping and eat at restaurants and cafés, which cannot be found in Sibbhult. One of the participants mentions that media may interfere in her sense of safety and that it may contribute to her fear of crime.

For the third participant at this school, the dialogue was conducted with a young man in the age of 19, and who has lived in Glimåkra for four years, but has always gone to school in Sibbhult. He tells that what makes him feel safe is his school which he likes very much, and his friends from school. His family is also a contributing factor to his sense of safety. This participant shares that he usually goes to Helsingborg or Malmö on the weekends to socialize and have fun, since there is nothing to do in Sibbhult, except visiting Kristianstad from time to time. He also speaks about the sense of community in Sibbhult, which for him, comes from having good friends, who are loyal to each other.

The fourth participant from this school was a teacher who has been living in Sibbhult for almost fifty years. He shares his thoughts and opinions on Sibbhult as a village but also on safety:

“Att kunna lämna ut mina barn i byn utan att vara rädd. Att jag känner och vet vilka som bor här, och det är just därför jag har valt att bo i en sån här mindre by. Man känner oftast till dem flesta. Jag tycker att det är ett bra ställe för barn att växa upp i. Det är tryggare. Dem kanske blir mer tillbakadragna än andra barn och så, men det är i alla fall tryggare. Mycket hänger på att ungdomar har att göra, för då försvinner problemen. Gemenskapen här skapas av föreningslivet. Där är jag aktiv i föreningslivet och andra vuxna med. Det är ett bra sätt att få gemenskap. Det finns inte mycket i en liten by. Det är nog fotbollen som är det största. När ens barn börjar spela fotboll så får man lite kontakt med föräldrar och så bildas relationerna och gemenskapen.”

Translated: “To be able to let my children go out in the village without me being afraid. That I know who lives here, that is why I have chosen to live in a smaller village like this one. You often know most of the people here. I think that this is a good place for children to grow up in. It is a little safer. They might grow up being a bit more withdrawn than other children, but it is at least safer. A lot depends on adolescents having something to do, because then the problems disappear. The community around here is created by joinder- or union-life. I am active within the union, and other adults as well. It is a good way to create a community. There is not much in a small village. Perhaps it is the football which is the greatest. When one’s children start playing football, then you get a little contact with other parents, and that is how the relations and the community is formed.”

Moreover, he shares that meeting places that belong to the union are where he usually is during his spare time. It is the place where most of the residents usually connects. The elderly residents keep each other company at their houses, or outside with their cars and tractors. There is also a youth recreation center where young people up to the age of 16 connects. This participant

emphasizes that the local newspaper, Kristianstadsbladet, is mostly spreading negativity and bad news. He means to say that the newspaper should also spread positive news. Nevertheless, he personally chooses to not let himself get influenced or affected by the negativity.

The last discussion was conducted with a 17-year old boy, who wanted to participate and answer briefly, in order to return to his lessons. This participant shared that family and friends is mainly what keeps him feeling safe. Both serenity and stability contribute to his sense of safety. He also mentions that the media and the negativity it is spreading is making him and his friends feel reluctant to do disorders or other types of crimes.

In the village of Broby, the meeting was held with two youth workers and pedagogues from the youth recreation center. One of the participants was a 55-year old woman, whilst the other participant was a 40-year old man. They shared their thoughts and opinions on the municipality as a whole, and their experiences as citizens of Östra Göinge, as well as their encounters as pedagogues.

The first participant from the youth recreation center, moved from the capital of Sweden, Stockholm, to the municipality of Östra Göinge, in the year of 2018. He shares his point of view, coming from a big city, and adapting to a municipality consisting of small villages. Primarily, he recognizes the contemporary problem, both as a pedagogue in his profession, as well as a civilian in the municipality.

When speaking about his own experience with the unsafety in general, he mentions that he had, as a civilian and not in his profession, just recently been threatened by a stranger. However, what makes him feel secure is thinking, as long as one does not have any connections to juvenile delinquency or gang crimes, one does not have to worry. As long as one does not move around in certain environments where criminals are found, one can actually feel safe. Regardless of having been exposed to a threat just recently, this participant weighs his whole life against this single event, and means that he at any rate feels safe.

This participant emphasizes that Östra Göinge has always been a homogenous community. In the year of 2015, a wave of immigrants arrived to Sweden, and some landed at Östra Göinge. In his opinion, this wave of immigrants created a disorder to the homogeneity in the municipality. Accordingly, groundless and unjustified prejudices have had a leading role in creating a sense of insecurity. He makes the distinction that unsafety is not based on a particular, insecure place, but more of a feeling originating from adolescents.

Safety to him comes from adults being outside and people in motion, as there would be witnesses if something were to happen, and where he believes that someone out there has the civil courage to interfere in threatening situations. In his opinion, media has a negative

influence on the senses of safety and unsafety. He believes that media sells more numbers if the reported news are negative, in comparison to newspapers reporting positive news. He emphasizes that media could instead report about positive things, since media originally has the assignment to report everything. Furthermore, he feels like there is hardly any media reporting about Östra Göinge, which should be improved.

The woman has lived in the village of Knislinge since the year of 1967. She shares that, as a resident, she has never really felt unsafe and makes the distinction with her encounters and experiences as a pedagogue. This participant informs that she has worked as a teacher at a secondary school since the year 1994. Through her work as a teacher at this school, and her role as a pedagogue at youth recreation center, many residents from Östra Göinge have gotten to know her. She claims that many people know her, and that she knows many people. Realizing and knowing this, she shares that she has never truly felt insecure where she believes that it is based on the fact that she has never experiences any disorders aimed at herself.

This participant shares that many of the adolescents, both at school and at the youth recreation center, have expressed feelings of unsafety. She is referring to bus trips, between Kristianstad and Östra Göinge, but also within the municipality itself. She means that these adolescents may feel unsafe due to passengers jumping on the bus with their hoods on, making others feel insecure about not knowing who is getting on the bus.

She feels that the sense of unsafety has increased even before the pandemic, and that the Covid-19 pandemic accelerated it. This participant also believes that some residents' fear and anxiety may probably come about from being ignorant and unexperienced of other foreign cultures. She states that due to her two jobs, she gets the opportunity to meet a lot of people from different countries and cultures, whilst others, who only sit at home, does not know anything else than their home. Further, she speaks about how the villages in Östra Göinge stick together, and how the municipality and its residents wants to cherish the community.

In her opinion, the municipality itself is highly responsible for the safety in Östra Göinge. In her experience as a pedagogue, she normally meets police officers when something has already occurred. In the matter of the police and their presence, she feels like a lot of improvements can be made, namely that they should be more visible. At the youth recreation center, security guards come and visit from time to time, which creates a sense of safety, well-being and protection, for both them as pedagogues, as the adolescents. When it comes to the police and crime prevention work, she claims a heavy weight of working with those adolescents who actually commit crimes, and not only the core of the problem.

This participant mentions an arrangement done by the municipality, the police as well as local politicians, whom had organized a march, where citizens of Östra Göinge could join and walk through Knislinge, and look at all places that could give a sense of unsafety. In this arrangement, all citizens had the opportunity to share their thoughts and opinions on potential changes that may contribute to their safety.

“Sen hör du, ser du och läser allt i tidningen om allting som sker. Då blir du också otrygg, även om du själv inte har upplevt en viss situation du själv”.

Translated: ”Then you hear, and see, and read in the newspaper about everything that happens. Then you also become insecure, even if you have not encountered a specific situation yourself.”

She expresses that her own sense of safety comes from having good street lightning, seeing people outside, pensioners who feel like they can and want to walk the dog during evenings, people shopping and movement in general.

My summarized, general perception after visiting the municipality several times, is that Östra Göinge is a municipality with residents who are really welded together, in such a way that the residents have a strong cohesion. It is clear from both my own observations as well as conducted interviews that most of the residents who live there have been living there for a very long time, and that most of them know each other. The municipality itself is very small, and the counties within are therefore indeed small. This in turn creates the sense of being in small villages.

Furthermore, it is strongly marked where residents like to go for meetings with other people, whether they are pensioners, middle-aged or adolescents. Moreover, the municipality in general is truly quiet, calm and subdued. The residential areas and the connected streets are almost empty during the days and evenings. Residents of Östra Göinge seem to like spending time at their own homes and tending to their private yards.

RESULTS

The results presented in the contemporary chapter refer to those interviews that were conducted after the entire pilot study was completed. The participants for these interviews were randomly selected, however secured in terms of control questions regarding consent to participate in the

interview as well as whether they live in the municipality or if they are visitors. This because the target group is residents of Östra Göinge.

The results will be presented in different cases. In order to simplify the presentation of the results of this study, anonymity will be ensured by using aliases. Factors such as age and domicile will be featured if consent from the participant to share this particular information is obtained. The results will be featured in the form of an account or report, combined with quotations. Furthermore, the results from the pilot study will also be summarized in this chapter, as an introduction. Subsequently, when all the results have been conveyed, an analysis is followed, where all data obtained for this research is analyzed in the forthcoming chapter.

Given that the pilot study was carried out in different ways, using a variety of instruments, a summary of all collected data follows.

Primarily, the pilot study was initiated by conducting a background check on Östra Göinge as a municipality, with the aim of creating a small image of the location to be studied. The municipality's own website described Östra Göinge as a small township offering beautiful nature and a rich diversity. The municipality was formed in the year of 1974 and has today approximately 15,000 residents. The results of the conducted background check show that the municipality is known for its green landscape and offering attractive living environments. The website shares the many activities found in Östra Göinge.

The municipality seems to invest a lot of their energy, time and money in creating locations and activities for everyone, where you can forgather, perform physical activities or just meet other people. Many of the investments are primarily intended for children and adolescents, so that they have somewhere to go during, for instance, free time, holidays and breaks.

The pilot study continued by visiting the municipality in person, conducting general observations to broaden my own image of Östra Göinge. At this stage of the pilot study, dialogues were also held with unfamiliar residents of Östra Göinge. The participants of the preliminary interviews provided me with informative insights about the life in Östra Göinge as well as their safety. The participants of the different villages of Östra Göinge shared their narratives of the municipality as their home.

The majority of the participants shared the same image of Östra Göinge, namely that the municipality is a pleasant and calm place to live in. The safety for the participants seems to be built upon the fact that nothing unusual happens, that everything flows as usual and that they themselves stay away from any troubles or unpleasantness. The older participants also

shared the same picture regarding their spare time and doing activities. Most of them prefer to spend time in their own yards, and when they want to socialize or meet someone in particular, it is often over the hedge or in specific meeting places such as pensioners associations.

Some of them believe that the safety is secured during the day when it is light outside, in comparison to others who feel that they are safe in general and do not give it a greater thought as long as they stay out of trouble. Most of them share the opinion that safety increases when everyone knows each other. Nowadays it doesn't seem to be that way in comparison to 20 to 30 years ago, but still, it seems that it matters. The impact of the media on their senses of safety and security was also mentioned. One of the participants from the preliminary interviews shared that media may in general spread negativity, however that she herself chooses to not get influenced by it.

The adolescents who participated in these preliminary interviews shared the conception of safety, namely that with both family and friends, as well as prosperity, safety follows. For the adolescents, Östra Göinge is not that entertaining, therefore when wanting to shop, go to the movies or doing other activities, they take the train to Kristianstad, Helsingborg or Malmö. Overall, their senses of safety come from the sense of community, which is strong when having good friends who are loyal to each other.

One of the participants shared that Östra Göinge is a safe place for kids to grow up. He also mentioned the importance of kids and adolescents having something to do, as the problems decrease. Relationships and the community among the older residents are formed by being active within joinder- or union-life, or even when meeting other parents during children's sports. The importance of not letting the media and the newspapers affect you is mentioned during these preliminary interviews several times, by adolescents as well as adults.

Only one of the participants from the preliminary interviews had directly experienced something threatening. Even so, he still feels safe in Östra Göinge. The idea is that if you stay away and avoid areas where criminals find themselves, you secure your safety. The participant who has experienced something threatening mentioned that he weighs his whole life against this single event, and means that he feels safe until today.

Subsequent to conducting these preliminary interviews, results show that Östra Göinge is experienced and portrayed as a homogenous community. What is mentioned as having disturbed this homogeneity is the wave of refugees in the year of 2015. Accordingly, groundless and unjustified prejudices have had a leading role in creating a sense of insecurity.

It is also mentioned that residents have a certain fear and anxiety from being ignorant and unexperienced of other foreign cultures, as they mostly sit at home and do not

expose themselves to the outside world. The results from these preliminary interviews all show that the villages in Östra Göinge stick together, and the municipality as well as its residents wants to cherish the community. Furthermore, factors such as street lightning, seeing other people outside and people moving in general is a contributing factor to the sense of safety in Östra Göinge.

In addition to the results from these preliminary interviews, the results from previous safety surveys are also to be mentioned in this section, but further analyzed in the next chapter. Primarily, in the result images provided by the police through Origogroup, it can be read that overall, the sense of unsafety has increased since the year of 2016, but has really taken off since the year of 2019 (table 1).

It also appears that even though there are prevailing problem areas in Östra Göinge as well as the feeling of unsafety being remarkably high during the past few years, the exposure to crime is relatively stable, as the numbers during the past few years have been coherent. The result images also show that there exists a great dissimilarity between the feeling of unsafety between adolescents and pensioners. It seems that the adolescents have a slightly higher vulnerability or exposure to crime, since the year of 2021, than the pensioners. Moving forward to the interviews conducted subsequent to the preliminary interviews for the pilot study, each participant is to be presented in a separate case and with aliases.

CASE 1 – MOA

My first candidate wanted to be totally anonymous, and did not want to share her name or age, nor did she consent to a recording of the interview itself. Thus, notes were taken on my phone, both key words and quotes. I met Moa in Broby.

This first participant has been living in the municipality of Östra Göinge for fifty years. The interview with her turned in to more of a simple dialogue rather than an interview, which created a sense of comfort. Moa shared her beliefs, thoughts and opinions on the safety in Östra Göinge, but also her own experiences. Primarily, Moa told me that she feels safe, and mainly because of her dog, which she pointed at while telling me. Her dog is two years old but had a great size. The dog was barking at everything and everyone who passed by the park. She told me that she is trying to train her to not bark at everyone and to not bite. It is due to her dog that Moa feels okay with going out any time of the day. Moa shares that she is used to going out for a walk late at night, and it is only because the dog is so protective of her. Today, Moa lives on the outskirts of Broby, and it feels a lot better for her.

After introducing ourselves I told her about my photographs and how my research is to be conducted. Primarily, I showed her the photograph collages of Östra Göinge. When she finished browsing among the pictures of Östra Göinge, I showed her the photograph collages of the articles from the newspapers. She looked at me and smiled.

Moa knows most of the other residents in the village and she says that it is mostly elderly residents who do not feel safe enough to go out, at least not to the same extent as before. The pensioners read the newspapers every day, and what is portrayed in the media is mostly negative. Moa shares that the other day when she was in a florist's shop she overheard pensioners talking and asking each other if there had been a shooting during the night. She tells me that when something unusual occurs in Östra Göinge, it becomes the topic for a long time. Moa herself, who is used to be outside during the evenings and nights with her dog, says that she sees people circulating around here. There is a drug deal going on here, she says.

Moa tells me that the consequences of adolescents dealing with drugs is for her not wanting to even go near a bus station, which in Östra Göinge constitutes their "center". She even shares a story about a pizzeria where the adolescents used to be around. The municipality saw to it that the pizzeria was demolished, so the adolescents would no longer be around there.

Aside from the fact that such factors contribute to a deteriorating image and experience of Östra Göinge, Moa points at the photographs of the Broby's guesthouse called Broby Gästgivaregård and at the café called Systrarnas mat. Moa shares that the guest house is a nice and comfortable place to be, and where most of the residents of Östra Göinge go to socialize with each other. The café is also a place where the social community of Östra Göinge is maintained. Moa thinks that it is enjoyable to go outside and meet other people. She usually goes to Kristianstad, and even there Moa meets people from the village. In her opinion, safety is everyone's responsibility, everyone should take part in it, and everyone should be involved, she says. Moa emphasized that it should not be us against them, but it takes time to build up.

When looking at the photograph collages of the articles from the newspapers, Moa tells me that this may have been caused by the wave of refugees in the years of 2014-2015. She herself saw that refugees were starting to move into the apartments and she thought it would be good as they could learn Swedish faster and thus start working. What Moa believes creates the problem here is when the refugees come with completely different values and a culture clash is created. Moa summarizes by telling me that she has been thinking about moving from here for a very long time, but that she does not really know where else to go, as Östra Göinge has always been her home. She sees for herself that many people leave Östra Göinge, and she gets inspired to do so herself.

In this dialogue in general, Moa talks a lot about elderly people from the municipality who do not dare to leave their homes due to their fear of being threatened, robbed or injured in some way, the fear of crime. This in turn is mainly due to their ignorance of the outside world, society as well as other people. Moa seems to think that the pensioners are sticking to their own residences, in their own small bubbles, and do not really see that people are different, and that Sweden, but mainly Östra Göinge in their case, has in fact become more varied, and with a larger diversity of people. Thus, in Moa's idea, this has created a hostility.

CASE 2 – JÖRGEN

I met the second participant who is called Jörgen in Glimåkra outside the bank Sparbanken. Today, Jörgen is 72 years old and he was born in Östra Göinge in the fifties. He shares that he has had an amazing childhood and growth in the village of Glimåkra.

I showed Jörgen my photograph collages and he instantly looked disappointed when seeing the slides of the photographs of the articles from the newspaper. Jörgen sighed, and then smiled. He says that for a period of time the future of Östra Göinge looked very dark. Jörgen tells me that many years ago, the village seemed to fall entirely as schools, hospitals, railways and shops closed down. Some of these events were repeated in conjunction with the large influx of immigrants in the year of 2015, for instance a hospital closed down. Jörgen himself and his wife started to explore their opportunities of leaving Östra Göinge, and moving to another place. However, Jörgen was not entirely sure about where he may find a way to build a future somewhere else.

Moving forward to the slides of photographs of Östra Göinge, Jörgen pointed at a picture of Broby. Jörgen tells me that when things got hard many years ago, he got a job in Broby, which made it possible for him to buy a house in Glimåkra, his hometown. He had been working as a teacher before becoming a pensioner. In his spare time, he is used to do some musical arrangements in Glimåkra, which he has been doing for at least thirty years. Jörgen looks happy when talking about Broby and what this village has meant for him. Working as a teacher, has made it possible for Jörgen to get to know a lot of people, both kids and adults. He has seen kids grow up and their parents get old, as he has gotten, he says.

When asked about safety, Jörgen tells me that he feels truly safe at his home in Östra Göinge. His safety is ensured by having green landscapes around him, as it reminds him of home. Also, Jörgen expresses his love for having strong relationships and connections with the people living in Östra Göinge. Most of the people he knows have been through the same

historical events before, and it binds them in some way, he says. In Östra Göinge, he gets a sense of freedom, of people letting him be alone. When Jörgen wants to socialize, he knows where to go. He enjoys going to the marina in Immeln, drinking coffee at the guesthouse of Broby as well as taking a walk through the park.

Jörgen's senses of safety is ensured by having his wife beside him when he sleeps at night. His safety is also based on the fact that his parents lived in Östra Göinge, as did their parents, and their parents, and so on. Somehow, it makes him feel a lot closer to his family, especially his passed parents.

CASE 3 – ROLF

I met my third candidate, Rolf, in Broby, but he told me in the beginning of the interview that he is originally from Sibbhult. Rolf was born and raised in Östra Göinge, and today he is fifty years old. I met Rolf in the guesthouse of Broby, Broby Gästgivaregård. He loves to work at the guesthouse as he is a cook, and food is his passion. Rolf has always dreamt about starting a career out of working with food.

Early on during the interview, I presented Rolf my photograph collages and he did not really give me so much facial expressions or reactions. However, he paused for a minute, and wiped his hands on his apron. At first, Rolf tells me that he feels incredibly happy about his home. He thinks that everyone is welcome around here, and anyone who aspires to live a good, healthy life, with beautiful green landscapes around, as well as the sense of community, will flourish here. Rolf tells me that the community in Östra Göinge is truly strong, and when you give someone your word, you keep it. If you shake your hand on something, it is settled.

Rolf liked the picture of the guesthouse of Broby, and he started talking more about his job and his profession. He tells me that he meets a lot of people by working there. His wife is a teacher, and he tells me that she also meets a lot of people in Östra Göinge. By meeting a lot of people, both adolescents and adults, they feel confident and assured about not getting harmed in any way possible. Their strength and safety come from knowing most of Östra Göinge's residents.

Rolf shares that young people do not really see the advantages of a place like Östra Göinge. They tend to spend their time in other cities, such as Kristianstad, Hässleholm or Helsingborg. He thinks that Östra Göinge has a lot to offer, if you are willing to see it. When looking at the slides of the articles from the newspapers, he shakes his head, and looks up at me while saying that this is a political issue. Rolf strongly believes that these adolescents, getting

involved in criminality at such a young age, have not really had a sufficient integration. Societies such as Östra Göinge, which consists of an atmosphere where everyone are alike in some way, and where everyone stick together, do not really approve of external people coming with different assessments and beliefs. That is why crime occurs, Rolf says.

Generally, Rolf feels safe in Östra Göinge. He lives in the middle of the forest with his wife, having a beautiful view from the kitchen window, and where no one can bother them with anything.

CASE 4 – IDA

Ida is my fourth participant who I met outside a pizzeria in Knislinge. She had just ordered two pizzas for her and her boyfriend and told me that she could stay for a quick chat. Ida was born in Kristianstad, but grew up in Östra Göinge. She is 27 years old, and lives in a small house in Knislinge with her 30-year old boyfriend. Ida describes Östra Göinge passionately, and tells me that it is her home, and the best place on earth. Östra Göinge is her pride and joy.

Before showing Ida the photograph collages, she started telling me about how Östra Göinge has not always been her pride and joy, and that in a matter of fact she has moved from here before. There was a time where she longed to get away from here. However, after a couple of years of being away, in a totally larger municipality, she moved back, where she even met her boyfriend. She admits that her main reason moving back is namely the house prices that are truly attractive. But, it did not take long for Ida to feel more at home, as she moved into the small house with her boyfriend, and started to feel like she is living an adult life, with good neighbors and beautiful landscapes. Life in Östra Göinge, and in Knislinge in particular, is not really easier in any way than in other places, however, in Östra Göinge, there is always room for a deep breath, Ida says.

When Ida is looking at the photograph collages of Östra Göinge, she is also talking about what safety means to her. Ida says that there is so much more than beauty in Östra Göinge. The nature speaks for itself, she says. However, people in Östra Göinge are truly humble and down-to-earth, which Ida thinks characterizes this municipality, namely the residents and their liberating simplicity. In Östra Göinge, there is no need for curlicues. In Ida's eyes, you can just be yourself. Ida says that your surrounding will not encourage you, nor will they be impressed by you, they simply do not care.

Ida sees the photographs of the articles from the newspapers and tells me that it is a pity that Östra Göinge is going through those things mentioned in the media. She gives me

a quick summary of how her parents, and grandparents, have always lived here as well as their parents. She feels that it is somehow fate that she found her way back to Östra Göinge. A long line of people from her family have in some way left their mark on Östra Göinge, she thinks. By living in Östra Göinge, Ida is a lot closer to her roots, as it has helped her find herself as well as it has given her a feeling of community and solidarity.

CASE 5 – BJÖRN

Björn is my fifth interviewee and he is 45 years old. He has lived in Östra Göinge for five years, Hjärsås in particular, as he found his loving wife here. He tells me that he will participate in this interview, however that his thoughts and opinions will maybe be formed from an outside perspective. I met Björn outside his home.

Björn is originally from Trelleborg and he has worked in Malmö as long as he can remember. He told me about his profession, however he did not want it to be mentioned in this paper. When he first decided to move to Östra Göinge for his wife, he was truly doubtful and hesitant. He did not know that much of this municipality, and it seemed in some way dull. But when he moved here, and got so see how beautiful it is here, he changed his mind. He says that it does not smell like fish here, it smells like forest and nature.

Björn was presented the photograph collages and he said that he has never really heard anyone discuss who is welcome or who is not welcome to live in Östra Göinge. He has however experienced many people welcoming him with open arms, and asking him if he is enjoying his stay in Östra Göinge, if he has settled in. Björn sensed himself seen and taken care of. To him, he felt that his move to Östra Göinge was about being included quickly, and soon even be trusted and relied on.

Björn tells me that residents of Östra Göinge are easy to trust. It seems like Östra Göinge is a municipality where people get to grow and blossom, by getting involved and taking responsibility. Here, the life is simple, he says. Björn thinks that residents of Östra Göinge look for opportunities, and they do not pay much attention to problems. However, Björn emphasizes that this does not mean that the problems do not exist, on the other hand, there seems to be an attitude in Östra Göinge where people do not get stuck in them, but instead they find quick solutions. For Björn, moving to Östra Göinge has meant discovering and becoming a part of a large network of people who together strive to help and support the people who live here in various ways.

Björn did not say that much about the articles from the newspapers viewed in the photograph collages. He has experienced the same types of news in Trelleborg and Malmö and it does not scare him. He is safer than ever in Östra Göinge and he never wants to move from here, regardless of whether there are any shootings here from now and then, he says. Björn says that it is obviously sad, and it mainly affects the elderly here, because they get scared by everything they see and hear on the news. It also brings down the "quality" of Östra Göinge somehow. However, he thinks that he and most of the people here love Östra Göinge and will do everything to maintain the community they have here.

CASE 6 – ROGER

My sixth and final participant is named Roger, whom I met in Broby. Roger has lived in Broby for over 35 years. Today, he is a pensioner who lives with his wife in a house near the lake called Immeln, where they have lived for the past ten years. Roger starts off by telling me that his kids left the house many years ago, and bought themselves apartments of their own. Since then, the house has felt incredibly silent and empty. However, Roger and his wife have worked a lot to make their house hospitable, cozy and pleasant.

Roger saw all of the photograph collages and he told me that to live in Östra Göinge, means to live secured, satisfied and humble, as well as where your heart is good and your surrounding trusts you. Roger says that many of Östra Göinge's residents are like that, but it is far from everyone. To him, it is not important where an individual comes from, rather who you are as a person.

In Östra Göinge, there is a certain closeness to all sides of life. However, it was mainly Roger's partner who had this motivation and who inspired Roger. In Roger's eyes, he sees the underlying issues where adolescents commit crimes at a young age. He is used to seeing this, and therefore he does not pay it much attention or energy. His safety is secured in his own home, where his wife is. He feels safe, strong and protected. He thinks that relationships are his greatest safety. Connections and community life as well.

Roger feels confident when talking about Östra Göinge. He says that the strength of this municipality is its community and that everyone knows everyone. He thinks that the media should report more of the positive news about Östra Göinge, and not just focus on the negative articles. The negativity does not get to him, but sometimes, it gets to his wife. Roger also knows that it gets to the elderly of Östra Göinge. That in turn creates a certain fear of going out and meeting new people. It creates a hostility, and he does not like it.

Roger thinks that it is a shame that Östra Göinge has to go through acts of violence, but at the same time, he thinks that it is inevitable. In addition, Roger thinks that it is a part of the development, and that it is more normal than abnormal that things mentioned in the news actually happens.

ANALYSIS

In the following chapter, an analysis will be presented. This analysis is to be involving everything from the research question, to the method, but also results which include both the pilot study as well as the remaining interviews.

In the first instance, from a socio-legal perspective, the fear of crime may affect people's sense of safety in various ways. Fear of crime may shape and affect the overall safety of individuals and society, depending on factors such as trust in the legal system, self-protection and social control, stigmatization, behavioral changes and political influences. Thus, one would need to acknowledge that there is a certain subjective nature of fear of crime, and its impact on people's interactions and attitude, not only based on objective crime statistics, but also on social, psychological and institutional factors. By highlighting these contexts and aspects, I reach a better understanding of how fear of crime and safety are embedded in the broader sociological context of law and how they shape both individuals' and society's perceptions of safety and risk.

Primarily, before defining what the fear of crime theory actually means, the preceding aspects which were also mentioned earlier in this research is to be discussed. First of all, when doing this research and visiting Östra Göinge several times, I had in mind that confidence towards the judiciary and its societal institutions, especially institutions responsible for law enforcement and security, may have a major impact on people's fear of crime. If there is a lack of trust and confidence towards the authorities, and that societal institutions and the government itself cannot protect them, or even if justice is not upheld, it may create a feeling of unsafety and a lack of security.

Further, fear of crime may increase among residents in Östra Göinge when residents' pursuit of self-protection increases and the social control intensifies. This means that residents of Östra Göinge may remedy this in order to reduce their risks of being exposed to crime, by avoiding certain locations or situations, while improving their security at home, or even adopting more skeptical and suspicious attitudes towards strangers. This increased

attention to self-protection and the social control can in turn create an experience of safety affecting on an individual level, but also on an overall social context. Fear of crime may also contribute to stigmatization, suspicion and skepticism towards certain groups of people, such as adolescents for instance, or even immigrants, who are often represented in the news and who may be considered more likely to commit crime, leading to the increase of social tensions.

By not feeling safe and by feeling a fear of crime, behavioral changes may also occur. Residents of Östra Göinge who sense a certain fear of crime may change their behavior and movements pattern due to their lack of safety. This refers to residents feeling the need to avoid certain locations, especially when it is dark or during the night, or even being more careful when moving in public spaces. This is a factor who not only contributes to individuals' senses of safety, but also the general community environment.

By changing behaviors and movement patterns, a social polarization may be established. When the fear of crime spreads itself within a particular community, it may contribute to social polarization as well as increased isolation. The residents of Östra Göinge may become more inclined to stick to their own known groups, and avoid social interactions with those who they perceive as unfamiliar, unacquainted and threatening. In turn, this may have a significant impact on the general social cohesion and the society's safety.

In summary, fear of crime may affect people's sense of safety by influencing their trust in society's authorities and institutions, their behaviors and attitudes, as well as society's overall social dynamics. The socio-legal perspective emphasizes how these factors interact and affect individuals' and society's experience of safety and fear.

As presented in the chapter of previous research and theory, the fear of crime theory refers to a sociological and psychological theory that explores why people feel the fear of crime and how this particular fear influence their behavior and the quality of their lives. Interestingly, the theory emphasizes that fear of crime does not really correlate with actual reported crime, but instead, with individuals' perception of their own vulnerability and unsafety in society. This fear may affect people's everyday lives by restricting their freedom of movements, as well as having an impact on their social interactions, thus creating an overall sense of insecurity.

Security and fear of crime are two concepts that are closely linked, and that play a significant role in both society and people's everyday lives. These concepts are not easy to define nor measure, as they involve complex and subjective experiences and feelings. For that reason, this study was carried out based on interviews with actual residents of Östra Göinge, so that they themselves can tell me what their safety is.

By conducting a pilot study, a numerous of advantages and benefits were gained. As a researcher coming from a big city, I have never really experienced a municipality like Östra Göinge. By conducting a pilot study, I gained insights into the municipality itself, how I should navigate, where I may find interviewees, how residents behave and talk, and how to set up my upcoming interviews. By conducting a pilot study, I as a researcher gained the opportunity to improve and adapt the research design and methodology, before starting the main research. It also helped increase the validity and reliability of this research, and reduced the risk of any potential problems or inaccuracies.

When conducting the pilot study, I had the fear of crime theory in mind constantly, as it is a sociological concept that explores why people feel fear or anxiety related to crime, even if they themselves have not directly been victimized and exposed to any criminal activities. The theory focuses on the emotional and psychological impact of crime, rather than just the objective likelihood of victimization. After conducting the pilot study, and observing how the municipality of Östra Göinge is shaped, as well as doing the main interviews, I have reached a conclusion that the sociological and socio-legal aspect of safety in relation to fear of crime is also based on symbolic interactionism. This because social interactions and communication in general play a significant role in shaping people's experiences. The fear of crime theory draws on symbolic interactionism in order to comprehend how individuals internalize societal messages about crime and safety.

To further present this conclusion, references will be made to certain saying in the interviews, both from the pilot study as well as the main interviews. As the majority of the participant from the pilot study shared the same image of Östra Göinge, namely that the municipality is a pleasant and calm place to live in, what is interesting to mention in this analysis is the fact that the elderly participants prefer to spend their spare time in their own yards, and when they do want to socialize and meet other people, it is usually done over the hedge or in certain meeting places, such as pensioners associations.

Looking forward at the tables presenting the former results from the National Safety Survey, table two and three present the differences in the responses between juveniles and pensioners. It appeared that young people have expressed stronger senses of insecurity concerning a variety of problem areas. The adolescents also indicate a stronger concrete feeling of unsafety in comparison to the pensioners. Further, it is revealed that the adolescents have a slightly higher vulnerability or exposure to crime, since the year of 2021, than the pensioners. This while the exposure to crime among pensioners is nearly non-existent. Thus, the concrete feeling of unsafety or insecurity is more prominent among the adolescents than the elderly.

What is of great interest here is that when conducting my pilot study, as well as my main interviews, I observed that the elderly were mentioned frequently, in the aspect of them being more vulnerable to newspapers and media, as well as social interactions and rumors being spread. Several participants indicated that the elderly, and the pensioners are more likely to for instance stay at home rather than going out, in order to keep themselves safe. This is where the theory of fear of crime is further relevant and applicable as it involves a variety of factors, such as perceived risk, personal experiences, media exposure as well as social interactions, emphasizing that fear of crime itself does not really correlate with actual reported crime, but instead, with individuals' perception of their own vulnerability and unsafety in society. This fear may affect people's everyday lives by restricting their freedom of movements, as well as having an impact on their social interactions, thus creating an overall sense of insecurity.

This, while the adolescents themselves, interviewed in my pilot study, told me that they feel safe as they have their friends and family around. My conclusion here is that this is precisely what creates behavioral changes. Residents of Östra Göinge, who are not exposed to crime themselves tend to develop a certain fear of crime, which changes their movement patterns. By changing behaviors and movement patterns, a social polarization is established. When the fear of crime spreads itself within a particular community and among a certain age of people, it contributes to social polarization as well as increased isolation. Thus, the elderly tends to prefer to stay at home, tending to their own yards and not getting to any trouble by going outside.

The residents of Östra Göinge are more inclined to stick to their own known groups, and avoid social interactions with those who they perceive as unfamiliar, unacquainted and threatening. In turn, this affects the general social cohesion and the society's safety. As the social interactions and communication in general play a significant role in shaping people's experiences, this fear of crime in Östra Göinge draws on symbolic interactionism where individuals internalize societal messages about crime and safety, referring to Moa who shared the scene she saw at the florist's shop where she overheard pensioners talking and asking each other if there had been a shooting during the night, and that when something unusual occurs in Östra Göinge, it becomes the topic for a long time. This is an example which answers the research question on factors which contributes to residents' feelings of unsafety.

Most of the participant from both the pilot study as well as the main interviews share the opinion that safety increases when everyone knows each other. Nowadays it doesn't seem to be that way in comparison to 20 to 30 years ago, but still, it seems that it matters to

most of them. Overall, the participants' senses of safety come from the sense of community, which is strong when having good friends who are loyal to each other. The general idea is that if you stay away and avoid areas where criminals find themselves, you secure your safety.

As the feeling of safety is reported to be decreasing even though the number of reported crimes is incredibly low, there are several socio-legal conclusions that can be drawn and which answers the research question on the socio-legal relevance of this research. These conclusions highlight the complex interplay and relationship between objective crime data and statistics, subjective perceptions as well as societal dynamics. According to the tables presenting the results from former National Safety Surveys, the feelings of safety in Östra Göinge has decreased despite low reported crime rates, where I conclude that this question must be approached holistically, where legal dimensions are just as relevant and significant as sociological dimensions, and where it is emphasized that the community engagement, communication, social interactions, and social support are the central building blocks of safety and security within a society, and within Östra Göinge in particular.

There seems to be a certain disconnection between low reported crime rates and a decrease of feelings of security. This underscores that public perceptions of safety are not solely determined by objective crime statistics. Societal factors such as media coverage, which in fact has been mentioned a multiple of times during both the pilot study and the main interviews, as well as personal experiences, and social interactions play a significant role in shaping how residents of Östra Göinge are to perceive safety. The media in particular has a central role in portraying crime. Even though the actual occurrence of crime is minimal in Östra Göinge, the media can have a profound impact on the residents' perceptions of safety, and contributes to increasing fear among them.

CONCLUSIONS

By conducting a pilot study, its implication produced a summarized image of what Östra Göinge looks like, and how this research was to be fulfilled. My conclusion is also that there seems to exist a certain social inequality. The discrepancy between reported crime rates and feelings of security indicates that some groups within the municipality tend to be more vulnerable than others, even though Östra Göinge is in a low-crime context, leading to issues such as social inequality, marginalization and discrimination. Further, as the feeling of safety is continuing to be disconnected from the objective crime rates, there may be a lack of trust

between the community itself and the law enforcement. There also seems to be a certain disconnection between low reported crime rates and a decrease of feelings of security. This underscores that public perceptions of safety are not solely determined by objective crime statistics.

In Östra Göinge, the adolescents themselves, interviewed in my pilot study, seem to feel safe as they have their friends and family around. Residents of Östra Göinge, who are not exposed to crime themselves tend to develop a certain fear of crime, which changes their movement patterns. By changing behaviors and movement patterns, a social polarization is established. As the fear of crime spreads itself within a particular community and among a certain age of people, it contributes to social polarization as well as increased isolation. Thus, the elderly tends to prefer to stay at home, tending to their own yards and not getting to any trouble by going outside. My conclusion here is that this is precisely what creates behavioral changes.

The conclusion is also that according to previous results from former national safety surveys, young people express stronger senses of insecurity concerning a variety of problem areas. The adolescents also indicate a stronger concrete feeling of unsafety in comparison to the pensioners. Further, it is revealed that the adolescents have a slightly higher vulnerability or exposure to crime, since the year of 2021, than the pensioners. This while the exposure to crime among pensioners is nearly non-existent. Thus, the concrete feeling of unsafety or insecurity is more prominent among the adolescents than the elderly. This is in contrast to my own results which shows that the elderly feels fairly safe, but not necessarily so safe that they are comfortable enough to move at certain directions during their everyday life, rather they limit themselves in order to not be exposed to crime.

I suggest that this whole phenomenon underscores the relevance and importance of taking a comprehensive approach towards an understanding of crime in relationship to safety. Thus, research in these scenarios ought to be considered in both quantitative terms as well as qualitative dimensions when analyzing a complexity of safety perceptions as such.

FURTHER RESEARCH

It would be profitable to study safety in Östra Göinge by using another method, such as participant observation. In this way, new knowledge is reached, for instance, conversations and dialogues as well as behavior. It would also be both interesting and adequate to explore the

authorities' image of Östra Göinge and what they think about safety from their point of view. Further, it may be intriguing to carry out this research in another location in Sweden to compare with Östra Göinge.

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ATTACHMENTS

[Intervjuformulär.pdf](#)

[Result 1.png](#)

[Result 2.png](#)

[Result 3.png](#)

[Enkät Trygghetsmätning.pdf](#)

[Photograph collage](#)

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