24

Fear of crime and overall anxieties in rural areas

The case of Sweden

Vania Ceccato

Introduction

Fear of crime is not typically considered a conventional policing matter and seems to be even less of an issue in rural communities, where crime rates are generally lower than in urban areas. One reason for this is that the police, as well as those who devote their time to crime prevention and policing, often work reactively, requiring an offense to be committed before any action can be taken. Another problem is that fear (of crime) may be triggered by the trauma of victimisation, though that is not its only source. Anxieties are fed by multi-scale factors, which make fear a difficult issue to be tackled as a policing matter. Despite a vast literature on fear (Box *et al.* 1988; Ceccato 2012; Ferraro 1995; Gray *et al.* 2008; Hale 1996; Hummelsheim *et al.* 2010; Jackson and Gouseti 2012; Jonathan Jackson and Gray 2010; Lagrange and Ferraro 1989; Murray 2007, 2011), relatively little focus has been given to the nuances of fear in rural contexts (but see e.g. Scott *et al.* 2012; Panelli *et al.* 2004; Ceccato 2016; Lee 2007).

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the nature of fear of crime by placing it in a broader context using Swedish rural areas as a case study. This goal is achieved by first portraying "the big picture" of fear of crime in rural areas, namely by discussing fear of crime and other overall anxieties as captured by official fear of crime indicators from living conditions and crime vic-timisation surveys. Then, beyond the statistics of perceived safety, the chapter sheds light on the nature of fear by focusing on particular groups in Swedish rural areas: the farmers, the Sami young adults and local residents in relation to temporary newcomers, the 'berry pickers'.

Far from being a homogeneous entity, rural is considered in this chapter as a diverse set of communities with different characteristics and needs but sharing a number of qualities and chal-lenges; for details, see Ceccato and Dolmen (2011). We adopt a loose definition of 'rurality' to be able to refer to multiple sources that use different types of classifications of urban–rural areas (BRÅ 2013; BRÅ 2016; Ceccato 2015, 2016; Ceccato and Dolmen 2011; SCB 2009).

The next section reviews the international research literature on fear of crime with particular attention to the process of othering as a trigger of fear. Then data, methodology and the Swedish case study are presented. The latter sections report temporal and spatial patterns of fear in Sweden as well as discuss how fear and anxieties take shape by looking at particular groups, and finally the conclusion and suggestions for future research are presented.

Theory: fear and overall anxieties in rural areas

While individual factors play an important role in defining perceptions of risk and safety, they are far from the only ones. Previous research has shown that an individual's fears depend on his/her individual characteristics, such as physical abilities, age, gender, socioeconomic status, and ethnic background (Box *et al.* 1988; Garofalo and Laub 1979; Pain and Smith 2008). Some additional factors that determine perceived safety are local and tangible (e.g. being a victim of a crime, the seriousness of the offence), while others may be more difficult to assess but still might be expressed as some sort of anxiety.

Previous victimisation is an important fear generator, especially because it is often unequal across society. Yet, an offense must be perceived as both serious and likely to occur to generate fear according to Warr (2000: 458). Anxieties may also be fed by an individual's uncertainties of everyday life, such as being unemployed. As Hope and Sparks (2000: 5) suggest, fear of crime may '[. . .] intersect with the larger consequences of modernity', some taking form by demographic changes (e.g. intense population inflow) in local communities and their consequences in the social fabric (e.g., othering). Thus, as suggested by Hummelsheim *et al.* (2010: 5), 'if fear of crime can be both a specific concern about crime and a more general projection of a range of connected social anxieties, then fear of crime should be closely connected with feelings of social insecurity'. Fear of crime sometimes seems to incorporate what people regard as cultural threats to their dominant constructions of community, which sometimes reveals hidden layers of intolerance and racism (Garland and Chakraborti 2006; Hubbard 2005; Palmer 1996) while in others, just a step that has to be overcome in the process of learning 'the new' (Valkare 2009). Below we discuss these processes more in detail.

• *The "other", "othering", the "stranger"*

On a daily basis, differences between residents and incomers can be emphasised by both groups, giving expression to *us-them* feelings, as part of *othering* or the process of transforming a difference into *otherness*, and a fear of *the stranger*. "Who, or what, is strange, or indeed stranger" has changed over time (Jackson *et al.* 2016: 5), and the authors indicate numerous examples in the literature in which strangers have been associated with danger and threat. These negative portrayals of the stranger are identified on a range of scales, from individual perceptions of the body or self, to the nation. An analysis on the individual scale is the study of Lupton (1999) who assessed fear of crime among a group of Australians that shows that fear was defined in relation to the figure of the *unpredictable stranger* – an individual who does not share one's own approach to life, one's principles and sensibilities. Her representation of the 'stranger' departs from the figure of the stranger introduced by the seminar work of Simmel ([1908] 1950b); a person 'who comes today and stays tomorrow'. In this way, Simmel introduces the stranger as a figure living within what we will call a spatial ambivalence of *proximity* and *distance* (Koefoed and Simonsen 2011). Later, Koefoed and Simonsen (2011: 1) go against this perspective and argue that "it is not possible to simply 'be' a stranger; you become a stranger through specific, embodied encounters"; the stranger is instead "a relational figure".

It is on the scale of the nation, however, where 'strangers' have received the most attention in the literature, associated with immigration or inflow of labour force, 'reifying the binary position of inside and outside' (Jackson *et al.* 2016: 7). Thus, fear may also result from the overall sense of change that a place is undergoing, especially in rural areas (see for instance, Farrall *et al.* 2009). Because of their nature, even a relatively small population inflow has the potential to affect the dynamics of a village (Ceccato and Dolmen 2011). What often happens according to Scott and

355

Hogg (2015) is that blaming the outsider helps promote internal social order; a call back to 'how the place used to be'. In Sweden, Jensen (2012) illustrates how economic change in rural areas, dissatisfaction and anxieties create fertile ground for the proliferation of xenophobic ideas, expressed by the advance of extreme right-wing political parties in recent elections. Fear at local scale is expected to be an expression of discrimination, which in this study, will be exemplified by the relationship of particular groups, for instance, between local residents and newcomers.

Study area

The population of Sweden was estimated to be 9.85 million people in 2015 (SCB 2016), with more than 2 million living in rural areas. Most of the people are concentrated in the south, where the most accessible rural areas are located. In 2010, according to Eurostat, 14 per cent of the Swedish population was born in another country; the ten largest groups coming from Finland, Iraq, Poland, the former Yugoslavia countries, Iran, Somalia, Germany, Turkey and Denmark. Although they tend to be concentrated in the three largest cities in Sweden, certain foreign-born groups may be overrepresented in some parts of the country and/or towns. Foreign-born individuals are more often exposed to crime than natives, which has a direct impact on their perceived safety and quality of life, with marginal differences between urban and rural areas. There are 290 municipalities (*kommun*) in Sweden, with an average population size of 31,000 inhabitants (with a range of 2,600 to 766,000 inhabitants).

With regards to crime, rural areas are more criminogenic now than they were a decade ago, but larger urban areas still have higher crime rates for all types of offences (BRÅ 2016; Ceccato and Dolmen 2011). Assault is an offense for which the difference in exposure between urban and rural areas is greatest, while the difference for car theft is smaller between areas. The differences between areas have decreased over the past ten years for assault, robbery and car theft. The differences for sexual crimes have instead increased during the same period, and the clearest increase has been in the big cities. Vulnerability to fraud is highest in large cities, but over time it has increased the most in rural areas (BRÅ 2016). According to Ceccato and Dolmen (2011), differences in crime rates are related to the economic structure of the municipality. Examples are rural, touristic municipalities, which tend to experience seasonal variations in crime rates, often dependent on visitor inflows. Such municipalities also tend to have a number of service sectors that are not found in municipalities with a more traditional economic structure.

In terms of policing and rural crime prevention, the trend is clear over the same time period: there has been a concentration of police officers in large urban areas to the detriment of rural areas (Lindström 2015). At the same time, local commitment to manage crime has increased over the last decade. Between 80 and 90 per cent of Sweden's municipalities currently have some form of local crime prevention council that handles crime prevention issues (BRÅ 2016). These crime prevention councils differ in structure, focus and way of working, as even if the causes of crime in rural areas are the same as those in urban areas, in-depth knowledge is necessary to tackle problems that are expressed differently depending on their location. However, fear of crime and other overall anxieties are rarely considered as priority issues by these local crime prevention councils (Ceccato and Dolmen 2013).

Data and methods

We combined data from multiple sources: (1) the Swedish Crime Victimisation survey (BRÅ), which includes a series of questions about perceived safety and concerns about being exposed to different types of crimes; (2) the Living conditions survey (Statistics Sweden) on fear of crime and

worry about family economy; (3) the Swedish Agricultural Survey (SAS) (*LantbrukarnasRiskför-bund*), which is a postal questionnaire sent to 1,000 farmers who operate agricultural properties with more than ten hectares of field; (4) media coverage of berry pickers from newspaper articles in 2012–2013; and (5) selected interviews with researchers and representatives of Sami organizations as well as available documentation and reports.

A multi-methods approach was utilised in this study. This methodological framework combines various research methods (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009), as when a single method is not enough to shed light on the phenomenon of perceived safety, multiple methods can facilitate a deeper understanding of the issues of safety stemming from different data sources. In the first section of the analysis, we report the test results of contingency tables and Chi-square analyses from BRÅ. This evidence is combined with graphs from other data sources, such as the SAS and the Living conditions survey. Finally, an in-depth analysis is presented that takes a more qualitative approach and makes use of information coming from reports, interviews and media coverage.

Fear of crime in Swedish rural areas: 'the big picture'

Fear – the expression of perceived safety or the lack thereof – is a phenomenon, as previously discussed, affected by multi-scale factors (Day 2009; Los 2002; Wyant 2008), which is why it is important to look for clues behind the temporal and spatial patterns of perceived safety. Following the findings of international research on fear, gender and victimisation, the case of perceived safety in Sweden exemplifies this issue. Females tend to be more fearful than men regardless of where they live, but those living in urban areas in Southern Sweden declare themselves to be more fearful (Ceccato 2016). Also, previous victimisation (oneself or a family member) strongly correlates with declared fear, different measures of fear, and the experience of witnessing violence as also indicated by BRÅ (2014). This is also true for rural areas, where a strong correlation was found between those who were victimised (or someone from the family was victimised or witnessed violence) and those who feel unsafe where they live or often avoid activities outdoors because of fear of being victimised (r = 0.90–0.97, p < 0.01, based on data for 2006–2008). But do overall differences exist in perceived safety between urban and rural areas?

People living in larger municipalities declare feeling less safe than the rest of the country. Fear of crime has generally decreased over time in all groups of municipalities, both urban and rural, but in recent years it has started to increase again. From 2005 (the first Swedish Crime Victimisation survey) to 2015, the proportion of Swedes feeling unsafe when going out alone late at night in one's own neighbourhood decreased from 21 to 15 per cent, but in 2016 the share increased again to 19 per cent (BRÅ 2016). This increase is highly fed by concerns of being victimised by violent crime; this is especially true for urban areas. Concerns about being a victim of car related crime have declined steadily in the whole country from just over 20 to 15 per cent. Concerns about being victimised by residential burglary were rather stable, around 15 per cent, until 2011, after which it has increased slightly and was close to 20 per cent in the most recent BRÅ survey. This increase has been triggered by fear among also those residing in rural areas. The overall pattern is illustrated in Figure 24.1.

Despite the fact that recent reports show that fear of crime is greater in cities and larger towns and lower in rural areas, with differences between urban and rural are decreasing over time (e.g. BRÅ 2016), this pattern reveals only one facet of reality. In an attempt to untangle different indicators of perceived safety, Ceccato (2016) compared overall worry between people living in rural areas and those residing in big cities. She found that if two individuals, chosen at random answered questions about overall worry, the chance of picking an individual who declared
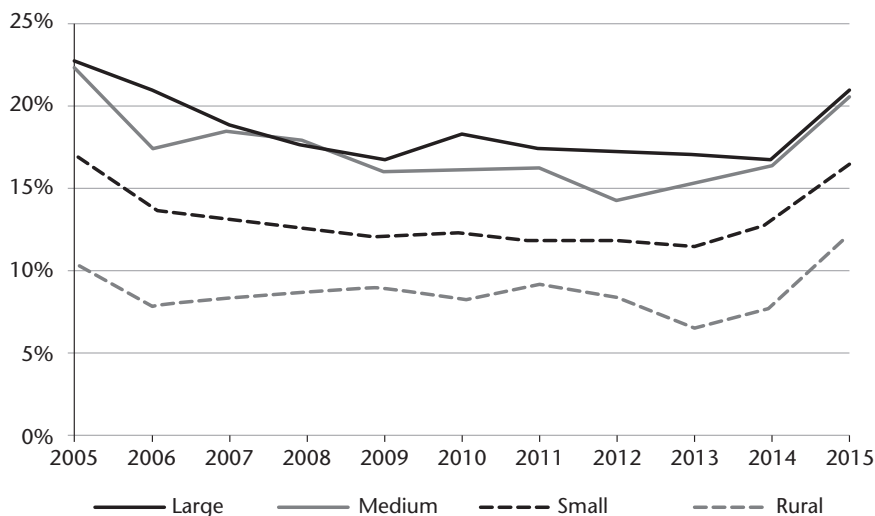
357

Figure 24.1   Percentage of population (16–79 years) who feel unsafe when they go out alone late at night in their neighbourhood, by municipality size, 2005–2015

Source: BRÅ (2016).

feelings of worry is surprisingly similar between places (Figure 24.2(a)). In this case, declared overall anxieties are not place dependent. A similar pattern was found with those who worry about their family's finances (Figure 24.2(b)). More interestingly was when Ceccato (2016) com-pared the way respondents answered regarding fear of crime in Stockholm in comparison with the rest of the country. The author found that four times greater was the number of individuals living in Stockholm who declared avoiding going out in the neighbourhood because of a fear of crime than among those individuals living in the rest of the country. This illustrates that where one lives has some impact upon one's fear of crime (Figure 24.2(c) and 24.2(d)) but this is not clear regarding one's feeling of overall worry.

It is unclear why overall worry does not vary spatially across the country while fear of becom-ing a victim of crime does. Ceccato (2016) suggests that this mismatch between overall fear and fear of crime indicates a number of unanswered questions about perceived safety. Firstly, the pat-tern corroborates that idea that *perceived safety goes beyond a deterministic link between victimisation and fear*. In the Swedish case, overall worry seems to encompass more than a declared fear of crime and a risk of victimisation, as the pattern is quite uniform across the country and shows notably marginal differences between urban and rural areas. This pattern is not unique for Sweden and as suggested by Furstenberg (1971), overall worry is more often associated with resentment and attitudes to social change than anything else. Another factor between these homogenous pat-terns of overall worry can be related to a population's full access to Information Communication Technology (ICT). This makes victimisation space independent, as an individual may run the same risk to be a victim of internet fraud regardless of residential area. Moreover, the homoge-neous pattern of declared overall worry across Sweden may also be associated with the fact that asking individuals about overall worry leads them to express future-oriented anxiety rather than a summary of past episodes or feelings of fear triggered by current events, as suggested by previous research (Sacco 2005; Warr 2000).
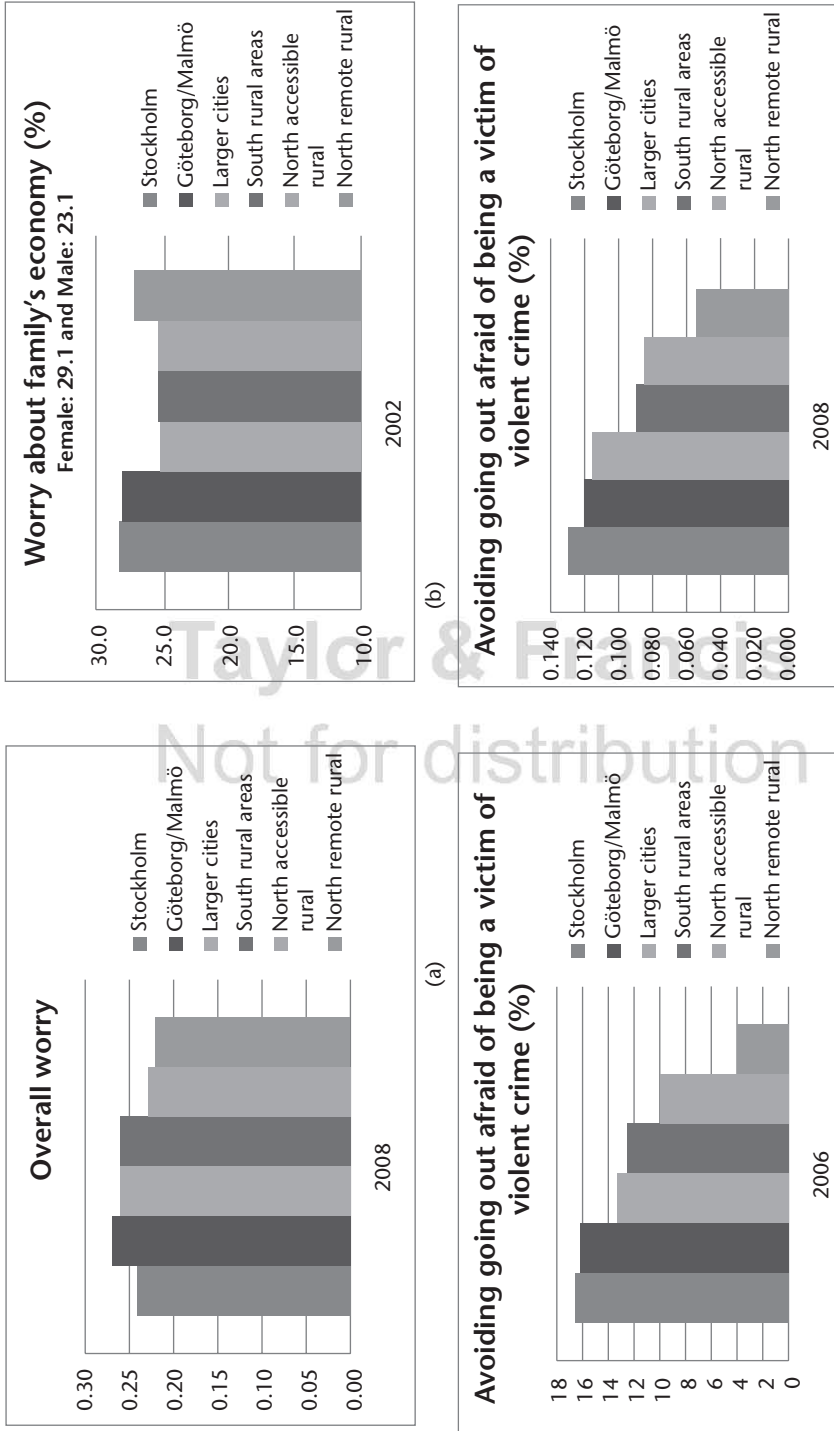
358

Worry about family's economy (%)
Female: 29.1 and Male: 23.1

- Stockholm
- Göteborg/Malmö
- Larger cities
- South rural areas
- North accessible rural
- North remote rural

30.0
25.0
20.0
15.0
10.0

2002

(b)

Avoiding going out afraid of being a victim of violent crime (%)

- Stockholm
- Göteborg/Malmö
- Larger cities
- South rural areas
- North accessible rural
- North remote rural

0.140
0.120
0.100
0.080
0.060
0.040
0.020
0.000

2008

(d)

Overall worry

- Stockholm
- Göteborg/Malmö
- Larger cities
- South rural areas
- North accessible rural
- North remote rural

0.30
0.25
0.20
0.15
0.10
0.05
0.00

2008

(a)

Avoiding going out afraid of being a victim of violent crime (%)

- Stockholm
- Göteborg/Malmö
- Larger cities
- South rural areas
- North accessible rural
- North remote rural

18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0

2006

(c)

Figure 24.2 Indicators of overall worry/fear of crime in Sweden

Data source: (a) Living conditions survey, Statistics Sweden. (b) (d) Crime Victimisation survey, Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (BRÅ) and (c) Living conditions survey, Statistics Sweden.

Secondly, patterns of declared overall worry follow the ecology of household/family financial insecurity and, more interestingly, there is no significant difference between individuals living in the most remote rural areas in Sweden and individuals in the Swedish urban areas with regards to worry about their household finances. Note that Figures 24.2(a) and 24.2(b) are similar, providing support to the idea that patterns of overall worry in Sweden have to do with patterns of individuals' concerns about their finances. Yet, this is speculative as this potential association is based on an aggregated cross-sectional data set; thus, does not provide evidence about individual mechanisms linking current economic conditions and worry. One possible explanation for this could be that overall fear is fed to a large extent by fear of crime in large cities, while in rural areas overall fear is mostly determined by concerns about individuals' and households' economic conditions – but both are expressed as "overall worry". Moreover, inequality in victimisation may also explain this pattern. The poor are victims of crime more often and reveal more anxieties than wealthier groups in Sweden (Estrada *et al.* 2010). The poor are overrepresented in some large Swedish cities, such as Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenburg, which could explain the urban–rural pattern in fear of crime illustrated in Figures 24.2(c) and 24.2(d). Educational level and ethnic background are also related to unequal victimisation and thus fear. The 2013 Swedish Crime Victimisation Survey (BRÅ 2014: 92) reports that people born in Sweden with both parents born abroad are somewhat more concerned that relatives will be victimized by crime (28 per cent) than those with at least one native-born parent (23 per cent) and those who are foreign-born respondents (24 per cent). Imposed daily commuting patterns from rural areas to larger cities may also dilute the sources of worry, as the environments to which people are exposed can affect fear. All the same, we cannot discard the possibility that *overall worry* is homogeneously distributed over the country, because that may reflect the a-spatial dynamics of victimisation, such as through cybercrime (Ceccato 2016).

Finally, it is an empirical question why fear of crime follows an urban hierarchy while overall fear does not. What is perhaps more interesting is the impact fear of crime has on residents living in large cities compared to rural areas. For instance, respondents from urban regions indicate that fear has a greater impact on their behaviour and quality of life than do residents in smaller cities or rural areas (Ceccato and Dolmen 2013). Urban areas provide a number of settings that trigger fear, some of which are crime attractors or generators (Brantingham and Brantingham 1995; Ceccato 2013; Ceccato and Hanson 2013). Moreover, larger urban areas concentrate signs of physical deterioration, which is thought to be a more important determinant of fear of crime than is actual crime (Lewis and Maxfield 1980). Fear can also be a product of processes between these areas, such as population movements. Social interactions (or lack of them) may also lead to lack of perceived safety. Previous research indicates that lack of familiarity, assistance and protection may trigger overall anxieties (Hofferth and Iceland 1998; Milgran 1970). Residents moving to a new municipality, for instance, may feel unsafe because the environment offers anonymity that may initially be perceived as a threat. Incomers, on the other hand can be perceived as threats, therefore a source of danger. As previously suggested, fear of the stranger, the unknown or of the 'others' (Harris *et al.* 2016; Lupton 1999; Sandercock 2005) take various forms including a declared fear of crime. Note that, in Sweden, half of the respondents living in urban municipalities or in accessible rural areas that have had a population increase reported more frequent worries about crime than those living in rural municipalities, often with no or low population increase (according to Ceccato (2016); this relationship is significant: χ^2 (4) = 71.86, p < 0.00). This calls for an empirical discussion of the nature of *the other*, the *stranger* as processes which develop different perspectives in rural contexts; something that we look at in more detail in the media discourse and current materials about the young Sami population in northern Sweden who have historically suffered discrimination (the *old others, the natives and therefore the 'old' strangers*), and

360

how local residents perceive the labour force, the 'berry pickers' who come to temporarily work in Sweden in the summer (the *new others, the 'new' strangers*). The Sami and berry pickers were also chosen because they contrast with the current representations of Swedish modernity (Pred 2000; Van Houtum and Van Naerssen 2002) and place them as 'strangers'.

Fear in Swedish rural areas: beyond 'the big picture'

• *Victimisation and fear among farmers*

As much as 57 per cent of farmers in Sweden feel at least a bit worried about becoming a victim of crime and 25 per cent are worried about the future (Figure 24.3(a)), according to the Swed–ish Agricultural Survey (SAS) (LantbrukarnasRiskförbund 2012). Although only three out of ten farmers have been victims of crime in the past two years, seven out of ten farmers know at least one other person who has been victimised. As a result of the location of most farmers in Southern Sweden, it is not a surprise that victimisation is more concentrated in that part of the country (eight out of ten), especially among those respondents who own farms larger than 50 hectares (they are often more victimised). Note that those in Northern Sweden feel less anxious than the national average about the prospect of being victimised by crime, whether themselves, their family or their property (Ceccato 2016).
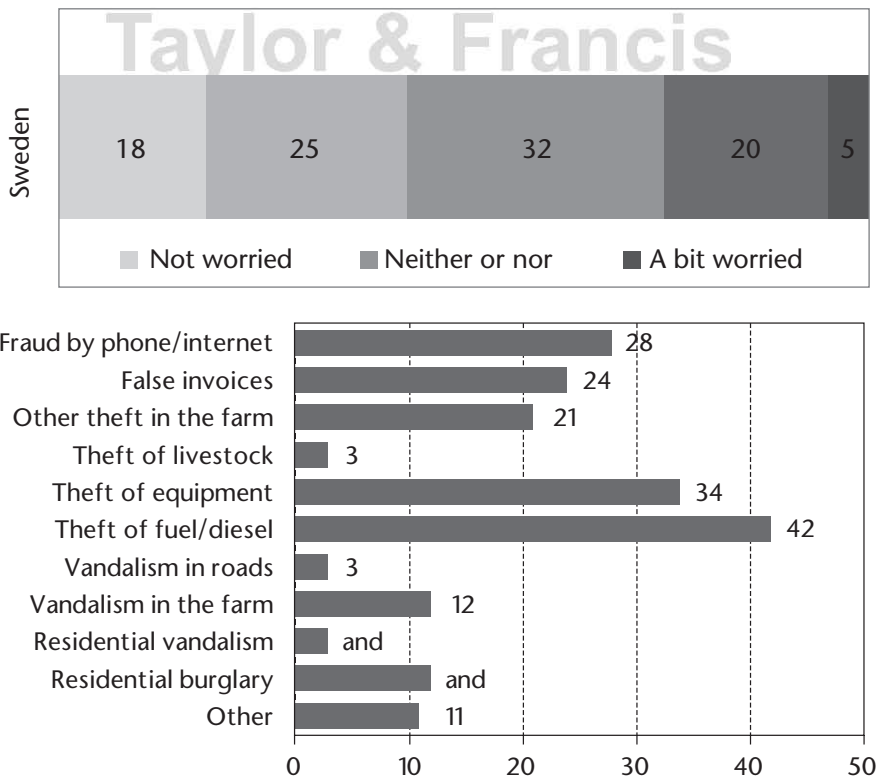

Figure 24.3   (a) Fear of crime among farmers and (b) Victimisation of farmers

Data source: LantbrukarnasRiskförbund (2012)

361

According to the SAS (LantbrukarnasRiskförbund 2012) thefts tend to dominate the victimi-sation statistics for farmers. Thefts of fuel and building equipment are common, but also fraud by telephone and internet as well as payment of false invoices (Figure 23.3(b)). Farmers are also victims of theft of livestock, burglary in the home or other farm property, as well as vandalism against their homes or on the property (e.g., barns, fences), and of roads. Half of those who have been victims of crime were targeted two or more times. More interestingly, among surveyed farmers, 28 of those interviewed declared having been a victim of internet or telephone fraud (Figure 24.3(b)). Despite the fact ICT infrastructure may inevitably have its limitations in the most remote parts of the country, in 2015, 93 per cent of the Swedish population had access to the internet and 91 percent used the internet on a daily basis, and its use is also increasing in all age groups (IIS 2016). Thus, these are indications that social changes are affecting lifestyles through access to information technology, creating opportunities as well as new risks for victimisation across the country.

There is a clear lack of confidence in local police forces to solve these crimes. One in four respondents had had a case dismissed by the police (LantbrukarnasRiskförbund 2012). The rela-tively higher concentration of police in urban areas to the detriment of rural areas (Lindström 2015) has a clear effect on farmers' perception of the police in these rural areas. This lack of trust in the police leads to altruistic fear. The SAS shows that the same proportion of respondents was worried that their properties or their family would be victimised in the future. Moreover, there are indications that farmers in particular have started to find alternatives for protection, such as buying security gadgets and hiring private security where police and policing are not present – clear signs of commodification of security in Swedish rural areas. With the commodification of security, preventing crime implies particular costs for the individual. The problem with this development is that, as with any other commodity, security can no longer be evenly obtained by all (not everybody can pay for it), which inevitably generates inequalities in victimisation and finally, perceived safety. For more details of this process, see Hope (2000), in the Swedish context, Ceccato (2016).

• The 'old other': fear and feelings of discrimination among young adult Sami

The Sami are the indigenous people living in the very north of Europe, in Sápmi, which stretches across the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula. Their rights and general situation differ considerably depending on where they live. Sami in Sweden are traditionally engaged in reindeer husbandry, woodworking, hunting and fish-ing (Skielta 2014) but, overall, Sami are currently active in all business areas, with about 10 per cent working in reindeer husbandry (UN 2011). However, what they have in common is a long history of discrimination and conflict. Discrimination against *old minorities* in rural contexts is not an exclusively Swedish phenomenon – it is well documented in Australia (e.g. Babacan 2012; Cunneen 2007; Forrest and Dunn 2013; Scott *et al.* 2012), Canada (Jain *et al.* 2000) and the United States (Hartshorn *et al.* 2012), to name a few. The case of Sami historic discrimination goes beyond the different forms of territorial organisation: the Sami, flexible and overlapping, versus the modern systems, fixed and exclusive. These differences have been a defining feature of state–Sami relations (Sametinget 2016) which still remain. Viewed as nomadic, the Sami have no ownership of their land in the strict sense (see for details, Carstens (2016). Moreover, the 'modern' forms of land use have long been privileged at the expense of traditional Sami activities (e.g., reindeer herding), and even where the Sami way of life is

362

protected, the nomadic pastoralism is questioned from an economic perspective (Forrest 1996; Sametinget 2016). This composes a background to the challenges this group faces in the most remote areas in Sweden.

Despite improvements, the situation is far from ideal. The Sami experience ten times more discrimination than ethnic natives (in Norway) and their language is severely threatened (UN 2016). According to Omma (2013), who studied a group of Sami youth, discrimination has had a significant impact on their health, especially mental health and safety. The author suggests that perceived unfair treatment was declared to be frequent among young adult Sami. Safety is an important factor in young people's sense of identification with their local area. Omma (2013) reports that a majority of young adult Sami have declared themselves proud to be Sami and expressed a wish to preserve their culture. However, the lack of knowledge about them in mainstream society makes the Sami feels they must constantly explain and defend the Sami way of life. In this sense, this group feels that they are still 'the other', 'the inside stranger' as a relational figure, as framed by Koefoed and Simonsen (2011). This is most certainly expressed by the way they feel about their inclusion in society. Note that among people interviewed in Omma's sample, about half of all respondents reported being discriminated because of their ethnic background, and among reindeer herders, the percentage was higher; 70 per cent.

• *The 'new other': the perception of local residents of berry pickers*

In times of intense mobility (Urry 2002), the movement of temporary labour in European countries is still regarded as problematic. As suggested by Harris *et al.* (2016), individuals are more often than ever likely to encounter 'strangers' and are, therefore, required to negotiate discontinuities and contradictions between the values that take different shapes locally. The inflow of the low-wage labour force that characterises the Swedish summer is a good example of this process. The inflow of berry pickers is characterised by a number of fears. From berry pickers' perspective, they may fear unsafe working conditions and racism in a high-profit industry. From mainstream society, local residents fear the temporary incomers. Berry pickers have long been associated with images of crime and problems of social order in the Swedish media (e g Jansson 2011). This phenomenon is not particular to Sweden or Scandinavia. Researchers have pointed out how nomadic groups often undeservedly 'get the blame' and how in the United Kingdom these groups are routinely construed as a key public order problem (Halfacree 2011: 124; Mythen *et al.* 2009).

The background is that Sweden and Finland are the largest bilberry exporters among the Nordic countries (Eriksson and Tollefsen 2013). Since 2010, the number of work permits granted for berry pickers in Sweden has increased. Eriksson and Tollefsen (2013) report that these workers came voluntarily from Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries, or organized in groups from Thailand, for example. After accusations of abusive working conditions emerged, rules for employing berry pickers were recently tightened (Axelsson 2014), reducing their inflow in 2014. Yet, this leads to issues of whom are the offenders and triggers of fears, and in this case against whom. On one hand, Ceccato (2016) reports that some residents in these communities hosting these temporary workers are not always tolerant towards nomadic labour.

> "They must be removed. We cannot have 600–700 people here (. . .) many thefts have been committed since they arrived here (. . . .) They go into the plots and look for food in the garbage" (a local).

9/20/2017   8:50:07 PM

The police feel local pressure 'to keep an extra eye' on the temporary workers living in the forests. However, Leander (2012) reports the mismatch between villagers' perceptions of temporary workers and actual lack of signs of crime and disorder associated with the group as indicated by the local police chief.

> "The fear among the residents (of the village) is high, but we have not seen any major increase in crime" (the police officer).

The text above is indicative of how the narrative of locals informs an order in which some behaviours are perceived as extreme threats to the social order of the community and others are ignored or dismissed, as in the case that there were no signs of crime and disorder (Hollway and Jefferson 1997). As suggested by Scott *et al.* (2012), concerns are rarely a reflection of any objective risk that *the new* impose, but are bound up in a wider context of meaning and significance, involving the use of metaphors and narratives about change. Fear of the stranger is often a cause of the animosity between incomers and locals, previously identified by Sandercock (2005) as an expression of the *fear of the unknown*, and she suggests that expressions of fear are actually expressions of fear of difference.

Conclusions and looking ahead

Despite the overall big picture that people living in urban areas are more fearful than those residing in rural areas, this chapter has attempted to illustrate a more multifaceted nature of fear in rural areas. This chapter provided three examples (farmers, Sami young adults and local residents in relation to berry pickers) of how declared fear might be associated with anxieties other than risk of victimisation. Note that the generating processes of fear and worry may not be the same, but may overlap. Further research that explores the concept of the 'stranger' is needed that highlights who is a stranger in the Swedish national historical contexts. In this chapter we discussed fear or anxiety among the new others in a limited way, mostly among people exposed to the new others, such as the local residents and the berry pickers. Equally important is to better understand the mechanisms linking everyday practices with othering and discrimination as generators of fears and other anxieties.

Not all people would agree that the problem of fear among these groups in rural communities is worthy of attention, and most may disagree that particular action is needed, but the process of bringing people together can itself make the involved parties talk through their concerns. Berry pickers constitute a good example. Ceccato (2016) suggests that a better understanding of the role and the impact of these temporary workers on the rural community is needed; also associated with a more extensive debate on the need to improve the temporary workers' living and working conditions in the countryside up to the level that a modern society, such as Sweden, is expected to have. In practice, the approach requires communicative skills among those who take part in the process; a process that, in the best of worlds, should be sensitive to a gendered as well as a cross-cultural understanding of the fears. Thus, the main task for those working to improve perceived safety is perhaps to identify the sources of anxiety and mediate possible alternatives for action that can make those involved feel informed and, finally, safer.

References

Axelsson, C. (2014) 'Färre åker till Sverige för att plocka bär' [Fewer Come to Sweden to Pick Berries], *Dagens Nyheter*. Retrieved from www.dn.se/ekonomi/farre-aker-till-sverige-for-att-plocka-bar/ (accessed 12 June 2016).

Babacan, H. (2012) 'Racism Denial in Australia: The Power of Silence', *Australian Mosaic*, 32, 1–3.

Box, S., Hale, C., and Andrews, G. (1988) 'Explaining Fear of Crime', *British Journal of Criminology*, 28, 340–356.

BRÅ, Brottsförebyggande rådet [Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention] (2013) *Swedish Crime Victimisation Survey* [*Nationella Trygghetsundersökning*]. Stockholm: BRÅ.

BRÅ, Brottsförebyggande rådet [Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention] (2014) *NTU 2013: Om utsatthet, otrygghet och förtroende.* Stockholm: BRÅ.

BRÅ, Brottsförebyggande rådet [Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention] (2016) *Brottsutvecklingen i Sverige* [*Crime Trends in Sweden*]. Stockholm: BRÅ.

Brantingham, P., and Brantingham, P. (1995) 'Criminality of Place: Crime Generators and Crime Attractors', *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research*, 3, 1–26.

Carstens, M. (2016) 'Sami Land Rights: The Anaya Report and the Nordic Sami Convention', *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 15, 75–116.

Ceccato, V. (2012) *The Urban Fabric of Crime and Fear.* Dordrecht, Netherlands; New York and London: Springer.

Ceccato, V. (2013) *Moving Safely: Crime and Perceived Safety in Stockholm's Subway Stations.* Plymouth: Lexington.

Ceccato, V. (2015) 'Rural Crime and Community Safety – Guest Editorial', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 39, 157–159.

Ceccato, V. (2016) *Rural Crime and Community Safety.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Ceccato, V., and Dolmen, L. (2011) 'Crime in Rural Sweden', *Applied Geography*, 31, 119–135.

Ceccato, V., and Dolmen, L. (2013) 'Crime Prevention in Rural Sweden', *European Journal of Criminology*, 10, 89–112.

Ceccato, V., and Hanson, M. (2013) 'Experiences From Assessing Safety in Vingis Park, Vilnius, Lithuania', *Review of European Studies*, 5, 1–16.

Cunneen, C. (2007) 'Crime, Justice and Indigenous People', in E. Barclay, J. Donnermeyer, J. Scott and R. Hogg (Eds.), *Crime in Rural Australia.* Sydney: The Confederation Press.

Day, K. (2009) 'Being Feared: Masculinity and Race in Public Space', in M. L. S. Farrall (Ed.), *Fear of Crime: Critical Voices in an Age of Anxiety.* New York: Routledge-Cavendish.

Eriksson, E., and Tollefsen, A. (2013) 'Of Berries and Seasonal Work', in M. Geiger and A. Pécoud (Eds.), *Disciplining the Transnational Mobility of People.* Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.

Estrada, F., Nilsson, A., Jerre, K., and Wikman, S. (2010) 'Violence at Work – The Emergence of a Social Problem', *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*, 11, 46–65.

Farrall, S., Jackson, J. and Gray, E. (2009) *Social Order and the Fear of Crime in Contemporary Times.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ferraro, K. F. (1995) *Fear of Crime: Interpreting Victimisation Risk.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Forrest, C. (1996) *Territoriality and State-Sami Relations*, Retrieved from http://arcticcircle.uconn.edu/HistoryCulture/Sami/samisf.html (accessed 10 November 2016).

Forrest, J., and Dunn, K. (2013) 'Cultural Diversity, Racialisation and the Experience of Racism in Rural Australia: The South Australian Case', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 30, 1–9.

Furstenberg, J. F. F. (1971) 'Public Reaction to Crime in the Streets', *The American Scholar*, 40, 601–610.

Garland, J., and Chakraborti, N. (2006) '"Race", Space and Place: Examining Identity and Cultures of Exclusion in Rural England', *Ethnicities*, 6, 159–177.

Garofalo, J., and Laub, J. (1979) 'Fear of Crime – Broadening Our Perspective', *Victomology*, 3, 242–253.

Gray, E., Jackson, J., and Farrall, S. (2008) 'Reassessing the Fear of Crime', *European Journal of Criminology*, 5, 363–380.

Hale, C. (1996) 'Fear of Crime: A Review of the Literature', *International Review of Victimology*, 4, 79–150.

Halfacree, K. (2011) 'Still "Out of Place in the Country"? Travellers and the Post-productivist Rural', in R. I. Mawby and R. Yarwood (Eds.), *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural: A Constable Countryside?* Farnham: Ashgate.

Harris, C., Jackson, L., Piekut, A., and Valentine, G. (2016) 'Attitudes Towards the "stranger": Negotiating Encounters With Difference in the UK and Poland', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18, 16–33.

Hartshorn, K. J. S., Whitbeck, L. B., and Hoyt, D. R. (2012) 'Exploring the Relationships of Perceived Discrimination, Anger, and Aggression Among North American Indigenous Adolescents', *Society and Mental Health*, 2, 53–67.

365

Hofferth, S. L., and Iceland, J. (1998) 'Social Capital in Rural and Urban Communities', *Rural Sociology*, 63, 574–598.

Hollway, W., and Jefferson, T. (1997) 'The Risk Society in an Age of Anxiety: Situating Fear of Crime', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 48, 255–266.

Hope, T. (2000) 'Inequality and the Clubbing of Private Security', in J. B. Armstrong, S. H. Edwards, H. B. Roberson, R. Y. Williams (Eds.), *Teaching the American Civil Rights Movement: Freedom's Bittersweet Song.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Hope, T., and Sparks, R. (2000) *Crime, Risk, and Insecurity: Law and Order in Everyday Life and Political Discourse.* Abingdon: Routledge.

Hubbard, P. (2005) '"Inappropriate and Incongruous": Opposition to Asylum Centres in the English Countryside', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 21, 3–17.

Hummelsheim, D., Hirtenlehner, H., Jackson, J., and Oberwittler, D. (2010) 'Social Insecurities and Fear of Crime: A Cross-National Study on the Impact of Welfare State Policies on Crime-related Anxieties', *European Sociological Review*, 27, 327–345.

IIS, Internetstiftelsen i Sverige [*Swedish Internet Foundation*] (2016) *The Swedes and the Internet 2015 − Summary*. Retrieved from www.soi2015.se/the-swedes-and-the-internet-2015-summary/ (accessed 10 November 2016).

Jackson, J., and Gouseti, I. (Eds.). (2012) *Fear of Crime: An Entry to the Encyclopedia of Theoretical Criminology*. Chichester: Wiley–Blackwell.

Jackson, J., and Gray, E. (2010) 'Functional Fear and Public Insecurities About Crime', *British Journal of Criminology*, 50, 1–22.

Jackson, L., Harris, C., and Valentine, G. (2016) 'Rethinking Concepts of the Strange and the Stranger', *Social & Cultural Geography*, 18, 1–15.

Jain, H. C., Singh, P., and Agocs, C. (2000) 'Recruitment, Selection and Promotion of Visible-minority and Aboriginal Police Officers in Selected Canadian Police Services', *Canadian Public Administration*, 43, 46–74.

Jansson, L. (2011) *Romerna − Det criminella kollektivt. En diskursanalys av svensk medias skildring av romer och kriminalitet* [*The Colelctive Criminals: A Discourse Analysis of Swedish Media of Roma People and Criminality*], Master degree, Retrieved from www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:440075/FULLTEXT01.pdf (accessed 10 November 2016).

Jensen, M. (2012) *Rasism, missnöje och "Fertile Grounds" Östergötland Sverige jämförs med Birkaland Finland: Sverigedemokraterna vs Sannfinländarna* [*Racism, Discontent and "Fertile Grounds" Östergötland Sweden Compared With the Pirkanmaa Finland: Sweden Democrats vs. True Finns*], Master degree, Retrieved from www.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:479299 (accessed 12 June 2016).

Koefoed, L., and Simonsen, K. (2011) '"The Stranger", the City and the Nation: On the Possibilities of Identification and Belonging', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 18, 343–357.

Lagrange, R. L., and Ferraro, K. F. (1989) 'Assessing Age and Gender Differences in Perceived Risk and Fear of Crime', *Criminology*, 27, 697–720.

Leander, P. (2012) 'Bärplockare lever i misär i Sverige' [Berry Pickers Living in Misery in Sweden], *Expressen*, Retrieved from www.expressen.se/nyheter/barplockare-lever-i-misar-i-sverige/ (accessed 12 June 2016).

Lee, M. (2007) 'Fear, Law and Order and Politics: Tales of Two Rural Towns', in E. Barclay, J. F. Donnermeyer, J. Scott and R. Hogg (Eds.), *Crime in Rural Australia.* Sydney: Federation Press.

Lewis, D. A., and Maxfield, M. G. (1980) 'Fear in the Neighborhoods: An Investigation of the Impact of Crime', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 17, 160–189.

Lindström, P. (2015) 'Police and Crime in Rural and Small Swedish Municipalities', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 39, 271–277.

Los, M. (2002) 'Post-communist Fear of Crime and the Commercialization of Security', *Theoretical Criminology*, 6, 165–188.

LRF, LantbrukarnasRiskförbund [The Federation of Swedish Farmers] (2012) *Brott på landet − En undersökning bland lantbrukare.* Stockholm: LRF.

Lupton, D. (1999) 'Dangerous Places and the Unpredictable Stranger: Constructions of Fear of Crime', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 32, 1–15.

Milgran, S. (1970) 'The Experience of Living in Cities', *Science*, 167, 1461–1468.

Murray, L. (2007/2011) *Inventing Fear of Crime.* Abingdon: Wilan/Routledge.

Mythen, G., Walklate, S., and Khan, F. (2009) '"I'm a Muslim, But I'm Not a Terrorist": Victimisation, Risky Identities and the Performance of Safety', *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, 736–754.

Omma, L. (2013) *Ung same i Sverige: Livsvillkor, självvärdering och hälsa* [*Young Sami in Sweden: Living Conditions, Self-Assessment and Health*]. Umeå: Umeå university.

Pain, R., and Smith, S. J. (2008) 'Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life', in R. Pain and S. J. Smith (Eds.), *Fear: Critical Geopolitics and Everyday Life*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Palmer, D. L. (1996) 'Determinants of Canadian Attitudes Toward Immigration: More Than Just Racism?', *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 28, 180–192.

Panelli, R., Little, J. O., and Kraack, A. (2004). A community issue? Rural women's feelings of safety and fear in New Zealand. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 11(3), 445–467.

Pred, A. (2000) *Even in Sweden: Racisms, Racialized Spaces, and the Popular Geographical Imagination*. Berkley; Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Sacco, V. (2005) *When Crime Waves*. London: Sage.

Sametinget. (2016) *Sami Politik* [*Sami Policy*], Retrieved from www.sametinget.se/politik (accessed 15 August 2016).

Sandercock, R. J. (Ed.). (2005) *Difference, Fear and Habitus, a Political Economy of Urban Fear*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

SCB, Statistics Sweden. (2009) *Living Conditions 2006–07*. Stockholm, Retrieved from www.scb.se/sv_/ (accessed 8 November 2016).

SCB, Statistics Sweden. (2016) *Statistikdatabasen*. Stockholm, Retrieved from www.scb.se/sv_/ (accessed 8 November 2016).

Scott, J., Carrington, K., and McIntosh, A. (2012) 'Established-Outsider Relations and Fear of Crime in Mining Towns', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 52, 147–169.

Scott, J., and Hogg, R. (2015) 'Strange and Stranger Ruralities: Social Constructions of Rural Crime in Australia', *Journal of Rural Studies*, 39, 171–179.

Simmel, G. ([1908] 1950b) 'The Strange', in K. Wolff (Ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: Free Press.

Skielta, A. (2014) *Sapmi* [*Sami*], Retrieved from www.samer.se (accessed 12 June 2016).

Teddlie, C., and Tashakkori, A. (2009) *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioural Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

UN, United Nations. (2011) *The Situation of the Sami People in the Sápmi Region of Norway, Sweden and Finland*, Retrieved from http://unsr.jamesanaya.org/docs/countries/2011-report-sapmi-a-hrc-18-35-add2_en.pdf (accessed 16 November 2016).

UN, United Nations. (2016) *The Sami of Northern Europe – One People, Four Countries*, Retrieved from www.unric.org/en/indigenous-people/27307-the-sami-of-northern-europe – one-people-four-countries (accessed 8 November 2016).

Urry, J. (2002) 'Mobility and Proximity', *Sociology*, 36, 255–274.

Valkare, A. (2009) "*Det är som med allt, man vänjer sig . . .": En studie om kropp, rum och platsanknytning bland latinamerikanska kvinnor i glesbygden* ["*It Is Like Everything Else, We Get Used to It . . .": A Study About Body, Place and Place Relationships Among Latin American Women in Rural Areas in Sweden*], Master degree. Stockholm University, Stockholm.

Van Houtum, H., and Van Naerssen, T. (2002) 'Bordering, Ordering and Othering', *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 93, 125–136.

Warr, M. (2000) 'Fear of Crime in the United States: Avenues for Research and Policy', *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 4, 451–489.

Wyant, B. R. (2008) 'Multilevel Impacts of Perceived Incivilities and Perceptions of Crime Risk on Fear of Crime: Isolating Endogenous Impacts', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45, 39.

367