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Chapter 27 - Fear of crime and overall anxieties in rural areas: The case of Sweden

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People fear crime less in rural areas than they do in urban areas. This fact represents a partial picture of perceived safety in rural areas. Instead of reducing the issue of fear of crime to the risk of victimization, fear of crime is placed in a broader context using Swedish rural areas as case study. The chapter develops a critical analysis of three examples of expression of fear by the farmers, the Sami young adults and the local residents' fear of newcomers, the 'berry pickers'. The chapter closes with suggestions for further research on fear of crime in rural contexts.

1. 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 offense crime to be committed before any action can be taken. Another problem is that fear (of crime) may be triggered by the trauma of victimization, 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, Hale, & Andrews, 1988; Ceccato, 2012; Ferraro, 1995; Gray, Jackson, & Farrall, 2008; Hale, 1996; Hummelsheim, Hirtenlehner, Jackson, & Oberwittler, 2010; J Jackson & Gouseti, 2012; Jonathan Jackson & Gray, 2010; Lagrange & Ferraro, 1989; Murray, (2007/2011)), relatively little focus has been given to the nuances of fear in rural contexts (but see e.g. Scott, Carrington, and McIntosh, 2012; Panelli, Little, and Kraack, 2004; Ceccato (2016)).

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 victimization surveys. Then, beyond the statistics of perceived safety, the chapter sheds light on the nature of fear by focusing on three 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 challenges; 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 (B.-. BRÅ, 2013; B. BRÅ, 2016; Ceccato, 2015, 2016; Ceccato & Dolmen, 2011; S. S.-. 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 three particular groups, and finally the conclusion and suggestions for future research are presented.

2. 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 & Laub, 1979; Pain & 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 victimization 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, p. 458). However, anxieties may also be fed by an individual's uncertainties of everyday life, such as being unemployed. As Hope and Sparks (2000, p. 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, p. 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 & 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 emphasized 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 (L. Jackson, Harris, & Valentine, 2016, p. 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 & Simonsen, 2011). Later, Koefoed and Simonsen (2011, p. 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, associated with immigration or inflow of labor force, 'reifying the binary position of inside and outside' (L. Jackson et al., 2016, p. 7). Thus, fear may also result from the overall sense of change that a place is undergoing, especially in rural areas. Because of their nature, even a relatively small population inflow has the potential to affect the dynamics of a village (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2011). What often happens according to Scott and 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. As discussed in section 7, fear can be an expression of similar expressions of discrimination reported against the young Sami population, an ethnic minority, or the berry pickers, who symbolize the inflow of temporary labor into the country.

3. Study area

The population of Sweden was estimated to be 9.85 million people in 2015 (S. S. 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 percent of the Swedish population was born in another country; the 10 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 are, 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 (B. BRÅ, 2016; Ceccato & 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 (B. 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 percent of Sweden's municipalities currently have some form of local crime prevention council that handles crime prevention issues (B. 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 & Dolmen, 2013).

4. Data and methods

We combined data from multiple sources: (1) the Swedish Crime Victimization 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) (*Lantbrukarnas Riskförbund*), which is a postal questionnaire sent to 1,000 farmers who operate agricultural properties with more than 10 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 utilized in this study. This methodological framework combines various research methods (Teddlie & 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 the Swedish Crime Victimization survey. 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.

5. 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 victimization, 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 victimization (oneself or a family member) strongly correlates with declared fear, different measures of fear, and the experience of witnessing violence was also indicated by B.-. BRÅ (2014). This is also true for rural areas, where a strong correlation was found between those who were victimized (or someone from the family was victimized or witnessed violence) and those who feel unsafe where they live or often avoid activities outdoors because of fear of being victimized ($r = 0.90\text{--}0.97$, $p < 0.01$, 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 Victimization survey) to 2015, the proportion of Swedes feeling unsafe when going out alone late at night in one's own neighborhood decreased from 21 to 15 percent, but in 2016 the share increased again to 19 percent (B. BRÅ, 2016). This increase is highly fed by concerns of being victimized 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 percent. Concerns about being victimized by residential burglary were rather stable, around 15 percent, until 2011, after which it has increased slightly and was close to 20 percent in the most recent Crime victimization survey. This increase has been triggered by fear among especially those residing in rural areas. The overall pattern is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – about here.

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., B. 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 feelings of worry is surprisingly similar between places (Figure 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 2(b)). More interestingly was when Ceccato (2016) compared the way respondents answered regarding fear of crime and found that the chances of choosing an individual who declared avoiding going out in the neighborhood because of a fear of becoming a victim of crime is at least four times greater in Stockholm than in the rest of the country. This illustrates that where one lives seems to impact one's fear of crime (Figure 2c and 2d) but not one's feeling of overall worry.

Figure 2- about here.

It is unclear why overall worry does not vary spatially across the country while fear of becoming 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 pattern corroborates that idea that *perceived safety goes beyond a deterministic link between*

victimization and fear. In the Swedish case, overall worry seems to encompass more than a declared fear of crime and a risk of victimization, as the pattern is quite uniform across the country and shows notably marginal differences between ~~metropolitan~~ 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 patterns of overall worry can be related to a population's full access to ICT. This makes victimization space independent, as an individual may run the same risk to be a victim of internet fraud regardless of residential area; see for example the case of internet/telephone fraud victimization among farmers in section 6. Moreover, the homogeneous 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).

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 1(a) and 1(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 victimization may also explain this pattern. The poor are victims of crime more often and reveal more anxieties than wealthier groups in Sweden (Estrada, Nilsson, Jerre, & Wikman, 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 1(c) and 1(d). Educational level and ethnic background are also related to unequal victimization and thus fear. The 2013 Swedish Crime Victimization Survey (B.-. BRÅ, 2014, p. 92) reports that people born in Sweden with both parents born abroad are somewhat more concerned that relatives will be victimized by crime (28 percent) 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 victimization, 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 behavior and quality of life than do residents in smaller cities or rural areas (Ceccato & Dolmen, 2013). Urban areas provide a number of settings that trigger fear, some of which are crime attractors or generators (Brantingham & Brantingham 1995; Ceccato, 2013; Ceccato & 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 & 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 & Iceland, 1998; Milgran, 1974). 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, Jackson, Piekut, & Valentine, 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: $\chi^2(4) = 71.86, p < 0.00$). 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 how local residents perceive the labor 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 & Van Naerssen, 2002) and place them as ‘strangers’.

6. Fear in Swedish rural areas: Beyond ‘the big picture’

– *Victimization and fear among farmers*

As much as 57 percent of farmers in Sweden feel at least a bit worried about becoming a victim of crime and 25 percent are worried about the future (Figure 3(a)), according to the Swedish Agricultural Survey (SAS) (Lantbrukarnas Riskförbund, 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 victimized. As a result of the location of most farmers in Southern Sweden, it is not a surprise that victimization 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 victimized). Note that those in Northern Sweden feel less anxious than the national average about the prospect of being victimized by crime, whether themselves, their family, or their property (Ceccato, 2016).

According to the SAS survey (Lantbrukarnas Riskförbund (2012) thefts tend to dominate the victimization 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 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 3(b)). Despite the fact ICT infrastructure may inevitably have its limitations in the most remote parts of the country, in 2015, 93 percent 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 victimization 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 (Lantbrukarnas Riskförbund, 2012). The relatively 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 survey shows that the same proportion of respondents was worried that their properties or their family would be victimized 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 victimization and finally, perceived safety. For more details of this process, see 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 fishing (Skielta, 2014) but, overall, Sami are currently active in all business areas, with about 10% 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; J. Forrest & Dunn, 2013; Scott, Carrington, & McIntosh, 2012), Canada (Jain, Singh, & Agocs, 2000), and the United States (Hartshorn, Whitbeck, & Hoyt, 2012), to name a few. The case of Sami historic discrimination goes beyond the different forms of territorial organization: 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 protected, the nomadic pastoralism is questioned from an economic perspective (C. 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 feel 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 labor 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 takes different shapes locally. The inflow of the low-wage labor force that characterizes the Swedish summer is good example of this process. The inflow of berry pickers is characterized 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. They have long been associated with images of crime and problems of social order in the media in Sweden (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, p. 124; Mythen, Walklate, & Khan, 2009).

The background is that Sweden and Finland are the largest bilberry exporters among the Nordic countries (Eriksson & Tollefsen, 2013). Since 2010, the number of work permits granted for berry pickers in Sweden has increased. Eriksson & 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 labor.

“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)

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 behaviors 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 & 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.

7. 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 victimization. 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 practice with othering and discrimination as generators of fears and other anxieties among the old and new others.

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.

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Figures

Figure 2 - Percentage of population (16-79 years) who feel unsafe when they go out alone late at night in their neighborhood, by municipality size, 2005-2015. Source: (B. BRÅ, 2016)

Figure 1 - Indicators of overall worry/fear of crime in Sweden.

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

(a)

(b)

Figure 3 – (a) Fear of crime among farmers and (b) Victimization of farmers.

Data source: LantbrukarnasRiskförbund (2012).