



“PRAISE WON’T TAKE US FAR WITHOUT GOVERNMENT SUPPORT”

A QUALITATIVE STUDY ABOUT ENHANCED
COLLECTIVE EFFICACY, COLLECTIVE CRIME
PREVENTION, AND THE NIGHT-WANDERING
MOTHERS OF RINKEBY.

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Abstract: While research has been conducted on how to strengthen collective efficacy, there is a scarcity of knowledge regarding practical solutions. The aim of this study is to investigate how residents in a negatively stigmatized neighborhood engage in practical measures to enhance collective efficacy, while also exploring their perceptions of the measures required to improve the functionality of their neighborhood through collective efficacy. By utilizing participant observations, in depth interviews, and a partly theory-driven thematic analysis, this study sheds light on how neighborhood social structures play an important role in controlling disruptive behavior. The empirical findings of this study revealed that the mothers are utilizing various practical measures to enhance collective efficacy within Rinkeby, including visible presence, expressing solicitude to residents, organizing activities, and partaking in weekly meetings with the police.

This study also concludes that the critical components in facilitating the development of a widespread willingness among resident in Rinkeby to partake in collective crime prevention is through establishment of organized meeting places, reduce of negative neighborhood stigma, expressing solicitude towards residents, and stronger cooperation between residents and the police. These components are also vital to overcome perceived barriers, improve the functionality of Rinkeby through collective efficacy, but also to ensure the sustainability to maintain and drive residents' attitudes toward direct intervention. It is essential to ensure that personal cost, and time- and language barriers of participating in collective crime prevention initiatives are not solely borne by residents, but rather shared by the government.

Keywords: Collective efficacy, Collective crime prevention, Neighborhood, Night wandering Mothers, Rinkeby, Stigmatization

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I would like to express my greatest gratitude to the night-wandering mothers in Rinkeby who took their time to participate in this study. Thank you for allowing me to take part in night-wanderings and basketball games in your neighborhood.

To my family, I hope to inspire you and I look forward to celebrating your achievements in life.

Nora Elaies,
Malmö, May 2023

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1. INTRODUCTION

Crime and disruptive behavior within a neighborhood can provoke a collective response from residents who may feel compelled to act upon it. However, residents with higher perceptions of collective efficacy within their neighborhood are more likely to intervene as they consider themselves and their neighbors as protectors of their neighborhood (Uchida et al., 2013). Collective efficacy refers to citizen-driven actions aimed at facilitating changes within a community, such as voluntary and professional organizations, as well as civil riots (Useem, 1998). Nonetheless, the development of a robust sense of collective efficacy among individuals is contingent upon the identification of a common external threat (Conklin, 1975). While neighborhoods play a crucial role in individuals' everyday lives, the definition on neighborhoods is vague, as it is a collection of spatially based attributes, including demographic, structural, environmental, and social-interactive characteristics (Guo & Bhat, 2007).

Previous research has, among other things, shown that neighborhood social structures play an important role in regulating disruptive behavior by establishing shared expectations and boundaries of acceptable conduct (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). Neighborhoods lacking the ability to establish informal social control have been shown to experience higher crime rates (Sampson & Groves, 1987), and higher crime rates over an extended period, also tend to result in territorial stigmatization (See Wacquant, 2008). This makes it significantly difficult to reduce both crime and the criminal reputation. Media can exacerbate this issue by reinforcing stigmatization, present inaccurate and biased portrayal of neighborhoods, and hinder future investments, thereby hampering crime prevention policies (Carli, 2008).

Rinkeby, a district in Stockholm, Sweden, has been negatively portrayed in the media for the past decade. Rinkeby is also ranked third on the Swedish police authority's list of "particularly vulnerable areas", indicating difficulties in fulfilling the police's mission in the neighborhood (The Swedish Police Authority, 2021). A group of night-wandering mothers in Rinkeby has become local celebrities, demonstrating the potential for community-led initiative to address crime and disruptive behavior in vulnerable neighborhoods. This initiative has gained international attention, and officials in England plan to use their parental patrols as a model for similar efforts in other vulnerable areas (Galli, 2018). However, sustaining such initiatives may require ongoing support to maintain and drive these efforts forward (Gerell, Ivert & Mellgren, 2018).

Numerous complex issues warrant attention, particularly the role of collective efficacy in Swedish residential areas. While research has been conducted on how to strengthen collective efficacy, there is a scarcity of knowledge regarding practical solutions (Gerell, Ivert & Mellgren, 2018). It is safe to say that governments alone cannot develop safe communities without the involvement of citizens as crime control is largely dependent on residents' everyday activities. Hence, it is important to establish practical measures through collective efficacy that can incentivize individuals to cooperate and work more effectively with their neighbors in addressing disruptive behavior in their neighborhoods.

This study not only embraces and acknowledges the importance of residents in regulating disruptive behavior through collective efficacy, but also seeks to foster resident's practical ability to use practical measures to exert informal social control within their neighborhood.

This study thus holds significant criminological relevance, particularly for policymakers and practitioners who aim to foster community engagement through collective efficacy.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The present study seeks to investigate how residents in a negatively stigmatized neighborhood engage in practical measures to enhance collective efficacy, while also exploring their perceptions of the measures required to improve the functionality of their neighborhood through collective efficacy. To achieve these objectives, this study is considered through following questions:

- How are the night wandering Mothers of Rinkeby engaging in practical measures to enhance collective efficacy in their neighborhood?
- What are the perceived barriers that the mothers may encounter when attempting to regulate disruptive behavior in Rinkeby?
- What are the critical components in facilitating a widespread willingness to foster sustainable neighborhood development through collective efficacy in Rinkeby?

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 Maintaining order with collective efficacy and provision of local institutions

Criminological research has established a robust linkage between crime rates and neighborhood characteristics since the seminal work of Shaw and McKay (1942). A significant body of literature has since been devoted to understanding the relationship between deleterious conditions, social functioning, and neighborhood structural conditions, with a particular focus on the study of neighborhood disorganization (see Messner & Tardiff, 1986). Empirical studies have consistently demonstrated that crime is spatially concentrated, with a small percentage of neighborhoods accounting for a large proportion of crimes in many cities (Shaw & McKay, 1942).

Brunton-Smith, Jackson, and Sutherland (2014) study examined whether structural characteristics within neighborhoods could predict individual's perceptions of disruptive behavior, with signs of disorder and collective efficacy as statistical mediators. Findings indicated that residents in neighborhoods with higher perceived levels of collective efficacy felt safer than those living in neighborhoods with lower levels of collective efficacy. The results were obtained from an analysis of a dataset consisting of 61,436 participants who were interviewed over a period of three years, and who lived in 32 distinct neighborhoods in London.

In Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls' (1997) study, findings also showed that neighborhoods with high levels of collective efficacy had crime rates 40% lower than those with lower levels of collective efficacy, suggesting that crime is a function of a neighborhood's organizational and social characteristics. Characteristics such as physical institutions, social cohesion, and trust among residents. This finding was however limited to Chicago, and not a wider region. Moreover, Hipp, Williams and Boessen (2018) study concluded that the link between increased collective efficacy and decreased crime levels is at best indirect and uncertain.

According to the *World Drug Report* (2010), community-based approaches have a greater impact on reducing crime levels in neighborhoods than enforcement alone. The relationship between enforcement and residents can be conflicting or cooperative, and these relationships can affect residents' attitudes towards participating in collective crime prevention efforts (Skogan, 1989). For instance, Garofalo and McLeod's (1988) findings revealed that neighborhood watch organizations were more likely to partake when they received support from the local police. Building trust and relationships between police and residents is considered as fundamental for effective policing and neighborhood development initiatives (The Swedish Police Authority, 2021; Beck, Ohmer & Warner, 2010).

Carbone and McMillin (2019) study concluded that residents' willingness to intervene might not be adequate to spur collective crime prevention action among residents. It is a complex interaction between collective efficacy as a group-level construct and from the lens of residents as merely individuals with perceptions of collective efficacy. Considering this, Slocum et al., (2013) findings suggest that the provision of neighborhood local institutions that facilitate social relationships for informal social control can increase residents' willingness to participate in collective crime prevention. However, research aimed at identifying which institutions that may stimulate collective efficacy among residents remains limited (Hipp & Wo, 2015).

Cozens and Love (2015) found it challenging to detect causal explanations for crime based on physical environmental factors. Therefore, investigating their effectiveness as crime prevention design for financial support is difficult. It is also challenging to investigate the relationship between crime and local institutions since it is an endogenous process due to the presence of different institutions may vary in response to the crime rates within a neighborhood. Cerda et al., (2012) study concluded that building a public transit system, improving school buildings, offering more police patrols, and providing recreational centers for youths led to both a decline in homicide rates (66%), and a significant increase in collective efficacy. Oldenburg's (2007) findings suggested that these "third places" can increase collective efficacy and reduce crime levels because they are characterized by informal and voluntary gatherings beyond the realms of work and home, serving as a locus for social network maintenance within a neighborhood.

2.2 Residents developing a sense of collective efficacy

The development of a robust sense of collective efficacy among individuals is contingent upon the identification of a common external threat and not fear alone (Conklin, 1975). The findings of the five-year LEAA-funded reactions to crime project (Lewis et al., 1980), support the notion that fear of crime alone may not sufficiently motivate individuals to engage in collective crime prevention. Rather, empirical research has demonstrated that heightening levels of fear among individuals can reduce their willingness to work preventively. Nevertheless, the demand for collective efficacy may prompt individuals to become more actively involved in their local community, thus fostering greater social cohesion and informal social control (Bennett & Lavrakas, 1984).

The extent to which neighborhood collective efficacy translates into direct collective action among residents remains an underexplored area of research (see Perkins et al., 1996). Beck, Ohmer and Warners (2010) examined residents' ability to intervene in low-income communities and found a statistically significant result ($p=.017$) in the pre- and post-test

results of residents' attitudes towards direct intervention. The ability to intervene in a non-threatening manner was identified as a key strategy in crime intervention. By acquiring non-threatening strategies, residents developed the skills to tailor their approach to individuals. However, Bursik & Grasmick (1988) have cautioned that residents' capacity to enforce or establish normative levels of prosocial behavior may differ across neighborhoods.

Sampson, Raudenbush and Earls' (1977) study found that mutual trust and cohesion among residents increase the likelihood of residents' willingness to intervene for the common good of the neighborhood. On the other hand, Lavrakas and Herz (1982) study indicated that residents aware of collective crime prevention efforts chose to not participate due to lack of time. Considering this, providing residents with structured meeting places with a given time and place, may increase residents' attitudes towards collective crime prevention. Nonetheless, few studies have explored how to foster resident's ability to exert informal social control within residential areas (Beck, Ohmer & Warner, 2010).

Moreover, Shotland and Goodstein (1984) study concluded that crimes and disruptive behavior can be reduced if there is a widespread willingness among residents to be more observant of youths and strangers' behaviors in their neighborhood. The paradox is that residents may perceive that their efforts come at great personal cost because they are jeopardizing their own safety for the common good of the neighborhood. Shotland and Goldstein (1984) also found that residents perceived that high personal cost may lead to them not intervening at all. However, Wickes (2010) conducted in-depth interviews with residents in two suburbs in Brisbane, Australia, and found that strong social bonds between residents does not necessarily need to exist for the development of informal social control and social cohesion. Rather, symbols of "community" or collective representations can provide individuals with a sense of trust, social cohesion, and a perceived willingness of neighbors to respond to disruptive behavior.

Further, Chavis (2001) discovered that even if individuals possess the willingness to intervene, the collective efficacy among residents might fail due to residents' lack of competence to facilitate desired changes within their neighborhood. Considering this, residents can feel powerless if they do not receive support from different stakeholders (Lewis & Salem, 1986). For instance, residents may be aware of "major players" in neighborhoods because they have lived there for years, which in turn can create conflicts of interest, and limit their capacity to act in an impartial manner, resulting in a reluctance to intervene in situations that require collective action (St. Jean, 2007).

2.3 Preconceived notions and stigmatization

Carli (2008) concluded that media has a democratic role in our society, particularly regarding crime prevention. However, determining whether the media influences public perceptions is challenging to gauge. Hall et al., (1978) stated found that media coverage can contribute to the stigmatization of neighborhoods, moral panic (see Cohen, 2011), but also the installation of false fears, stereotypes, and racism. Similar, Brune (1998) posits that media coverage can contribute to mental segregation, consisting of preconceived notions about specific places and individuals within these neighborhoods. These discourses can in turn marginalize residents and hinder the implementation of prevention strategies.

Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi (2002) study concluded that residents of socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods who express their appreciation for their neighborhoods are

often met with skepticism. Esaiasson's (2020) recent study also showed that a significant proportion of the participants perceived their neighborhood as a "very likable" or "quite good" place to reside, even though the neighborhoods in his research has been identified as vulnerable by the Swedish Police authorities. The participants also expressed a need for more positive narratives about the neighborhoods for individuals who rarely or never visit.

In conclusion, the existing body of research suggests that social processes within neighborhoods play a vital role in comprehending the variations in crime and insecurity between areas. Moreover, practical measures to enhance collective efficacy can potentially contribute to reduced levels of crime and improved safety within neighborhoods. However, the influence of social processes in neighborhoods on crime rates and residents' sense of safety is also contingent on other structural conditions (Gerell, 2017).

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Collective efficacy theory

The establishment of social ties among individuals constitutes the bedrock for forming cohesive neighborhoods. In contrast, poorly functioning neighborhoods tend to have fewer social ties (Uchida et al., 2015). The concept of collective efficacy originated from the social disorganization literature (Park, Burgess & McKenzie, 1925) and was first introduced when a robust correlation between collective efficacy and violence was identified (Sampson et al., 1997). The seminal work of Chicago school scholars Shaw and McKay (1942/1946) examined the relationship between social disorganization and delinquency in a community. It was found that social disorganization occurs when institutions that promote cooperation are debilitated, resulting in a decline in traditional norms within a community. Shaw and McKay (1942) identified the structural characteristics of residential areas, such as ethnic heterogeneity, residential instability, and poverty levels, as the underlying causes of weakened institutions. They posited that informal social control, which involves individuals' ability and willingness to address disorderly behavior, could serve as a counterforce to these negative factors. The development of informal social control could be facilitated through the establishment of neighborhood watch programs, patrolling, and other similar initiatives that aim to collectively prevent incivilities in the community (Larakas & Herz, 1982).

Collective efficacy refers to citizen-driven actions aimed at facilitating changes within a community. It involves a link of trust and cohesion with shared expectations of participation and interventions in residential areas to obtain social control (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2001). It is considered as a beneficial tool for empowering residents to create positive changes in their neighborhoods (Carbone & McMillin, 2019). Collective efficacy primarily involves residents' efforts to act preventively by monitoring their neighbors' children, confronting individuals who may disturb or exploit public areas within the neighborhood, and working towards a neighborhood where crimes are less likely to be committed (St. Jean, 2007).

Critiques of collective efficacy theory have questioned whether residents' expectations of each other can result in informal social control within a neighborhood (Wickes et al., 2013). For instance, Steenbeck (2011) has criticized the theory by stating that residents' shared perceptions of responsibility have no association with disorder, and that residents' actions are

what ultimately matter in reducing disruptive behavior. Nevertheless, understanding the process whereby individuals can become involved in collective crime prevention is of great importance. The theory offers potential ways to elucidate why some neighborhoods may differ in terms of levels of disorders and crime rates, as well as descriptions of the impact that it may have on the social dynamics in neighborhoods (Uchida et al., 2015; Gerell, 2017).

4. METHODS

This study adopted a qualitative research design, utilizing three participant observations, two in-depth interviews, and a partly theory-driven thematic analysis. This combination of methods facilitated both accuracy and objectivity, despite the inherent proximity to the research area, and allowed for an exploration of an under-researched area of practical measures to enhance collective efficacy in Sweden. By identifying both taken-for-granted actions and conscious actions through observations, this study provided a comprehensive understanding of the practical measures by the residents and their perceived barriers. The observations were later discussed and extended through in-depth interviews. The methods chapter is structured into five sections, commencing with a presentation of the research setting.

4.1 The setting

The proposition 1997/98:165 Development and justice – a policy for the city Stockholm in the 2000s, sought to address Sweden’s pressing issues of poor housing and sanitary standards, as well as overcrowding, through the prioritization of housing construction as a general welfare policy. Between 1965 and 1974, one million homes were constructed (Ericsson, Molina & Ristilammi, 2000), though these homes were not completed as envisioned, and resulted in unforeseen consequences. The homes within these areas ceased to be a part of the Swedish landscape and were now characterized by a colonialist rhetoric that portrays them as problematic, exotic, enigmatic, dangerous, and different places. Today, Rinkeby-Kista is the northernmost of Stockholm’s districts and has approximately 49,000 inhabitants. The area consists of the districts Rinkeby (16,00 inhabitants), Akalla (8,700 inhabitants), Kista (12,700 inhabitants) and Husby (12,000 inhabitants) (Stockholm City, 2017).

This study centered on Rinkeby as a primary source of empirical evidence to investigate how residents engaged to enhance the collective efficacy in their neighborhood. Rinkeby was selected as research setting due to its status as one of the neighborhoods where homes were constructed, and its classification as a vulnerable neighborhood since 2015 (The Swedish Police Authority, 2021). Additionally, the presence of mothers patrolling within the neighborhood since 2015 was a crucial factor in selecting Rinkeby as a research setting.

The mothers have conducted preventive efforts through patrols, garnering attention both nationally and internationally, and thus inspired commitment and public opinion in other neighborhoods (News Agency Järva, 2021). Access to the mothers’ practical measures has provided insight into the happening of one of Sweden’s most vulnerable neighborhoods after nightfall.



Figure 1. A map over Stockholm's district areas. From the local development program for Rinkeby-Kista district area 2017: 5.

4.2 Data collection

This study utilized two types of data, namely participating observation data and in-depth interview data. Three observations and two interviews were conducted in Rinkeby, Stockholm. The participant observations provided a vivid portrayal of social life and enabled direct access to the social processes occurring within the neighborhood in the natural environment of the participants. This study employed an overt observation approach (See, Daymon & Holloway, 2010), in which the participants were aware of the observations. By being an insider, it was possible to reduce the power imbalance between the author and participants, while also gaining a deeper understanding of the participants' actions. Furthermore, participant observations allowed for both a "wide angle" and "narrowed angle" approach (See Denscombe, 2018), which meant that a systematic collection of the neighborhoods physical setting, but also events and dynamics during the observations was captured. However, this method required continuous evaluation and management of data, as well as a significant amount of self-reflection.

Observation studies are often complemented with interviews to provide clarification of observed events (Denscombe, 2018). The adaptable nature of qualitative research allowed for immersion in collected data and the ability to change direction depending on the research process. Initially, focus groups interviews (See Buonincontro, 2022) were arranged with the participants, but after informal conversations, it was decided that in-depth interviews were more suitable. The in-depth-interviews provided narrative descriptions from key-informants, allowing for a collaborative exploration of the participants' perceptions, and the flexibility to prompt for information about their experiences also took the interviews in surprising directions, leading to valuable insights.

4.3 Sample

In this study, two types of samples were utilized. The sample for the three observation occasions consisted of eight mothers who were residents of Rinkeby and part of the night-wandering organization. The two in-depth interview sample consisted of two voluntarily participants from the total eight observation participants. The sample was thus homogeneous/purposive (see, Denscombe, 2018), as participants were selected based on their residency in Rinkeby, involvement in the organization, and perceived knowledge about local conditions. The exclusion criteria were non-residents, non-participants of the organization, and minimal knowledge about local conditions.

4.4 Procedure

Accessing new settings and participants can be a vulnerable source of rich and nuanced data, though with potential challenges in terms of accessibility (Daymon & Holloway, 2010). In this study, a request was made to join a closed Facebook group, which involved obtaining permission from a gatekeeper. Fortunately, the request was granted, and the group consisted of approximately 30 members, with the moderator being the primary contributor. An introductory message was sent to the moderator, including an information letter in a non-academic language (see appendix 1), detailing this study's objectives. Following this, the moderator facilitated contact with the mother responsible for the night wanderings, and a phone number was provided. A similar message was sent to this number and followed up with a phone call, ultimately resulting in the scheduling of three observation occasions and two in-depth interviews.

During the data collection in Rinkeby, three separate occasions were observed. The first occasion was basketball arranged by the mothers, with eight participants. This initiative aimed to strengthen relationships between mothers in Stockholm. No data was collected for the first 15 minutes of warm-up to allow participants to adjust to the authors' presence. The remaining one hour and 45 minutes were observed, with meticulous field notes taken between each game of seven minutes. The other two observation occasions consisted of two night-wanderings, one on a weekday with four participants, and one during the weekend with the remaining four participants. Each of these observations took approximately two hours, and detailed field notes were taken during the walks, and immediately after to avoid memory recall. A total of 5 hours and 45 minutes of events were observed. The field notes primarily focused on the participants practical measures to enhance collective efficacy, as well as the social dynamics occurring in conjunction with the observed events.

Following the observations, two in-depth interviews were conducted to obtain clarification of the observed events. The interviews were held in person, in accordance with the participants' preferences, and lasted approximately 70 to 90 minutes each. One participant gave consent to be recorded, while the other participant exercised their right not to be recorded, stating that recordings made her feel uncomfortable. As per established ethical guidelines, the wishes of the participant were prioritized. An interview guide (see appendix, 2) with open-ended questions was utilized, although the interviews were primarily flexible and not restricted to the rigid list of questions.

The first interview was conducted in Swedish and transcribed the same day. To ensure authenticity, the transcription was carefully translated into English, incorporating repeated words and pauses. The second interview was also conducted in Swedish, and notes were

taken on paper during the interview, with the goal of capturing the participants' most significant phrases as accurately as possible. No personal data was collected, and fictitious names were used in the results to ensure participant anonymity.

4.5 Analytic strategy

Two types of data were analyzed in this study. To ensure credibility, the interview- and observation data were cross-referenced, seeking differences and similarities between them. Braun and Clarke's (2021) six-phase thematic analysis were utilized to develop interpretations of the data. It is important to note that data analyses commence upon undertaking fieldwork (Daymon & Holloway, 2010), which in turn allowed for early developments of concepts and continued interpretations throughout this study.

The first step entailed multiple systematic readings of the data to immerse oneself in the collected data and gain an overall understanding. This process facilitated the identification of potential themes, key words, but also deviant cases, which served to challenge working propositions. The objective was to constantly compare differences and commonalities to create categories of interest, thereby ensuring a comprehensive analysis.

The second step involved generating initial codes of ideas within the data, which necessitated breaking down the data into manageable units through note-taking and highlighting codes in different colors. The coding process was rigorous, which allowed for the identification of patterns in the data. To ensure high-quality codes, the data underwent multiple rounds of refinement. "Brainstorming" sessions were conducted to develop plausible accounts of the observed events. These accounts were later compared with interview data, which resulted in a deeper understanding.

The third step involved creating potential themes. The analysis shifted from micro-level to macro-level by identifying connections and broader patterns of meaning. A mind map was used as a visual thinking tool to organize the data and combine different codes into overarching themes.

In the fourth step, an initial thematic map was prepared, including only related themes in relation to the research questions. Themes unrelated to the study were excluded. This may have limited the adaptability of this study by potentially overlooking interesting aspects of the studied neighborhood outside the research questions.

In the fifth step, the relevant themes were defined and redefined to give them a suitable name and make them more precise based on their core idea. The process involved structuring them into Sub-themes to ensure accuracy. This step was crucial in enhancing the overall integrity of the study as it ensured that the themes were appropriately aligned with the research questions.

In the final step, a valid analysis of the results was conducted, supported by data extracts such as quotes and observations fieldnotes. This approach demonstrated the presence of the selected themes, while also strengthening the validity of the interpretations of the data.

Table 1. Identified themes and sub-themes of the collected data in this study.

Themes	Sub-themes
Developing a sense of order and civility	Visible presence and solicitude Valued interactions with youths and elders
Neighborhood development initiatives	Strengthening social dynamics and develop informal social control Active participation in weekly organized meetings by the police
Demand for collective efficacy	Building trust with the community Help to overcome personal cost, time- and language barriers Stronger collaboration with police and residents, the social mission of the police
Investments in the neighborhood	Effective allocation of funds Reducing neighborhood stigma

4.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were crucial to prioritize when collecting data through human interaction due to the inherent challenges related to the holistic and inductive nature of qualitative research (Daymon & Holloway, 2010). This study did not require approval from the ethical committee at the faculty for Health and Society at Malmö University due to no sensitive or confidential data being collected. Further, this study gives a voice to the mothers' initiative, with them being key informants. Conclusions were thus made that it would not harm the participants' reputation or physical and emotional well-being. All ethical principles were adopted to ensure humane interactions with the participants in a non-exploitative way, and they were provided an information letter about the study's objectives, data usage, confidentiality, and their right to give or withhold consent.

The participants were informed that their participation was voluntary, and consent could be withdrawn without having to explain the reasons for their motive further. All participants gave verbally and written consent to participate, and no one withdrew. One interview participant gave consent to be recorded by a cellphone on flight mode, while the second interviewee exercised their right to not be recorded. The transcription was made directly from the phone to a word document on the computer without Wi-fi, and later saved in an encrypted

USB, only accessible to the author. This document will be deleted when the thesis is approved. A member validation (see Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was conducted for the second interview to verify the data by paraphrasing phrases from the notes immediately after the interview to avoid systematic error.

To overcome ethical issues, it was important to be self-reflexive throughout the research process. It is possible to make observations of any matter in almost any public setting, with either a scientific objective or no objective at all. However, it is essential that the observations do not inflict any reputational, physical, or emotional harm to the participants (Denscombe, 2018). A self-critical stance was adopted, and minimal personal interactions were made since the observations in this study consisted of people and places. The minimal interaction was especially with outsiders (spontaneous interactions with residents) during the night-wanderings due to such consent not being applicable for this study, but also because of their vulnerable position with rights that needed to be protected. Moreover, the interactions with outsiders did not enable any insight into their or the participants private lives.

Further, no recording was made during the observations to avoid potential suspicion or lack of trust regarding both participants, and outsiders potentially being uncomfortable with the idea that their interactions are being transferred to a “permanent record”. Another ground is that recordings can be intimidating and could have caused participants to change behavior. The visible field notetaking was conducted with cautiousness during suitable pauses of the night-wanderings to show respect by participating actively, but also to pay close attention to the context of the events.

Finally, this study may reproduce the perception of Rinkeby as a negatively stigmatized neighborhood. However, these perceptions can only be changed when we become aware of them, and by problematizing and highlighting them. This study can potentially contribute to altering individuals' preconceived notions about Rinkeby and its residents.

5. RESULTS

In this chapter the main findings will be brought up, divided into four themes with subthemes. The first and second theme (5.1 and 5.2) will cover the first research question, thus only presenting the observational data. The third and fourth theme (5.3 and 5.4) will cover the second- and third research question, thus only presenting the interview data. Field notes extracts and interview quotes are presented to clarify, exemplify, and strengthen the validity of the interpretations of the data. Note that the data can be difficult to interpret as they are not presented in their full context and needs to be understood within the limitations of the methods adopted.

5.1 Developing a sense of order and civility

-Visible presence, solicitude, and interactions with residents

The nocturnal activities of the mothers provide a platform for community members to engage in collective action by participating in biweekly neighborhood walks. These walks are held at the same time and location, providing a consistent and reliable opportunity for residents to enhance the collective efficacy in Rinkeby. The presence of the mothers is crucial, as it

serves to increase awareness of their voluntary efforts and foster a sense of community involvement. Through their visible presence, the mothers facilitate positive change and alleviate any concerns of neglect or lack of representation among community members.

FIELD NOTE: *“It’s 6.15 PM, and it took me approximately 18 minutes to get from central Stockholm to Rinkeby by subway. Four mothers have gathered at the meeting point, and several youths and elders are walking past from all kinds of corners. It is a crowded public place, but it is easy to identify the mothers as they lit up their presence with screaming red jackets with “night walkers” written in Swedish on their backs”.*

The mothers are widely recognized in the neighborhood as vigilant protectors of their community, regardless of weather conditions. Their recognition and thoughtfulness are of utmost importance to them. The presence of the mothers is particularly reassuring to the youth, as evidenced by traditional and respected hand gestures and phrases in Arabic. “*Salam Alekom*” translates to “may peace be upon you”, while “*Hadjie*” refers to an individual who has completed the pilgrimage to Islam’s holy city of Mecca.

FIELD NOTE: *“Together with the mothers, I am walking towards the police station for the weekly meeting. It’s snow on the ground and my shoes are really wet..should have gone for boots. We pass by several youths, and I notice that everyone is greeting the mothers by putting their right hand on their chest as a way of showing respect. The mothers are well known. “Salam Alekom Hadjie” is used by several youths”.*

The mothers’ practical measures to enhance collective efficacy within Rinkeby includes engaging with residents. They have established and honed skills that are essential for building and strengthening bonds with community members. This includes learning residents’ full names, acknowledging their absence, and recognizing their accomplishments. All of which are crucial for fostering mutual cohesion and trust, but also the social functioning of the neighborhood. This is illustrated through the following field note:

FIELD NOTE: *“Their smiles are met with smiles from the residents in the neighborhood, and the mothers are greeting the youths and elders by their full names. It is like they are reassuring them that they know them personally. Phrases like “where have you been, we’ve missed you” and “how is the sprinting going, you are the next Usain Bolt” makes the youths blush”.*

The mothers also counteract negative media coverage that may adversely affect the neighborhood’s reputation and its residents. This involves promoting positive news and reducing the emphasis on negative media reports. Additionally, the mothers try to ensure that youths are involved with youth creation centers to foster a sense of agency and positive development. Interacting with youths is thus fundamental for the mothers’ visible presence and for their impact on the social dynamics within the neighborhood.

FIELD NOTE: *“We step into a youth creation center, and the door is held up by one of the visiting youths. In a large room, several youths are gathered around a table. The mothers start joking with the youths about going into the recording studio in the next room to create an album. The Mothers steps into the room, approach the microphone, and I hear a loud “yee DJ *name of the mother*. The youths start laughing unabruptably”.*

5.2 Neighborhood development initiatives

-Strengthening social dynamics, informal social control, and active participation in weekly meetings

In addition to organized night wanderings, the mothers have implemented an initiative that offers basketball practices twice a week for mothers in Stockholm. Practices are voluntary, informal, and open to any mother who wishes to participate. The initiative aims to facilitate the formation of acquaintanceships, strengthen social dynamics, and provide mothers with much-needed opportunity to recharge their energy and distance themselves from responsibilities. This initiative thus supports the mothers' ongoing preventive work in the neighborhood.

FIELD NOTE: *"It's 8.30 PM. Eight mothers have gathered for a basketball session this casual Wednesday in an old school gymnasium. The mothers informed me that everyone usually has their Hijabs on, but for this evening (with ladies only), the doors are locked, and it is allowed to train without them. The mothers seem relaxed as if they have looked forward to this session all day. My attempt as a basketball player is not impressive, but the mothers are well trained. They push and cheer for each other, and great laughs are shared amongst them".*

The basketball initiative also serves as an opportunity to cultivate relationships between individuals who rarely or never visit the neighborhoods. This initiative plays a role in addressing preconceived notions about the neighborhood and its residents, as the mothers seek to challenge outsiders' preconceived notions about the neighborhood and the mother's role within it. By providing a space for interaction and engagement, the mothers aim to foster a more inclusive and integrated community.

FIELD NOTE: *"While I'm catching my breath next to one of the mothers, I asked about the reasoning behind having all mothers invited, and not solely the mothers within Rinkeby? She instantly smiled and explained that it is open for everyone to come and socialize, it allows people outside Rinkeby to come and get to know the mothers in Rinkeby. She wants people to see Rinkeby as a safe place, with caring mothers, just like mothers in any other neighborhood".*

Participation in weekly meetings organized by the police in Rinkeby is another vital component of the mothers' practical measures to enhance the collective efficacy. These meetings are open to all residents every Friday, providing a platform for community members to raise awareness of identified issues within the neighborhood. The information provided at the meetings is essential for their work on the streets, but also for the police authorities and other organizations within the neighborhood. This collaborative approach and commitment from different organizations foster social cohesion and promote community safety in Rinkeby.

FIELD NOTE: *"Around a white table, representatives from different organizations have gathered. Ambulance staff, police officers, mothers, field assistants and an imam. The police officer closes the door and declares the meeting open. Everyone around the table introduces themselves and gives updates about potential harm that have or might inflict the neighborhood (youth-trends on TikTok or on-going conflicts), but also their experiences of the atmosphere in the neighborhood".*

The meetings provide a forum for residents to discuss a range of topics, including the identification of issues within the neighborhood and the effectiveness of preventive measures designed to reduce crimes and disruptive behavior. Questioning the efficacy of such measures is a critical component of this collaborative approach to community problem-solving. During the meeting, the imam's display of news media articles to support his argument highlights the importance of community members' involvement in the decision-making process and the need for transparent communication between community members and authorities.

FIELD NOTE: *“The imam has printed out newspapers, puts them on the table for everyone to read, and questions the police about why the police have implemented drones to reduce crimes in the neighborhood. One mother shakes her head to show her frustration towards the implementation. She then comments that this is her children's home, and they are not supposed to be monitored. The mother next to me gave me a gentle push on the arm, smiled a little and said: “it's like we're in Iraq”, knowingly that I'm from Iraq.*”

5.3 Demand for collective efficacy

-Building trust with the community, perceived personal cost, and time- and language barriers

The interview participants regarded their practical measures as significant, providing the mothers with modest sense of having achieved important influence. Initially, fathers within Rinkeby conducted night wanderings, but these efforts did not yield visible results. At the level of the mothers' perceptions, this lack of success may be attributed to the different respect that mothers may receive. Recognizing the diverse perspectives and experiences of community members in developing effective strategies for community engagement is considered important.

Amal: *“The youths respect us. We make a difference. In 2013, fathers in Rinkeby started to night wander, but it felt like it did not work. Maybe it had something to do with them being men...? Mothers have a different influence, youths usually listen to mothers, and here everyone knows every mother, and everyone tells everyone about everyone's sons or daughters. I just wish more mothers had time to help”.*

The interviewees narrated that they felt compelled to act, despite some neighbors expressing skepticism about the effectiveness of their efforts. The mothers are actively working to promote and enforce normative levels of prosocial behavior, but mobilizing residents to engage in collective action for the common good requires significant time and effort. Involving more residents is necessary to demonstrate the shared commitment to community safety. Even though the mothers are respected, they sense that the responsibility should not fall solely on their shoulders.

Jamilah: *“We hope that everything, especially the night wanderings will lead to others joining us. We know where the youths are, we have many conversations, and a lot of experience, but everyone needs to pay attention, not only us. It takes time, parents need to be involved, the government, and well, everyone. When a child you've talked to suddenly dies, you feel something”.*

The mothers recognized the importance of the police in strengthening relationships and collaborations within the neighborhood. However, despite their shared goal of promoting community safety, the collaboration between the mothers and the police was perceived as weak. At the level of the mothers' perceptions, the police must actively work to develop mutual respect and provide practical assistance to residents in fostering informal social control. The mothers also highlighted the potential vulnerability of community safety initiatives if the mothers were to discontinue their efforts.

Amal: *"The relationship can be much better, but luckily, we are working to achieve the same thing. We have contact from time to time, but the police are not so responsive. We give them tips about approaches to the youths, but there is a long way to go. I guess you can say social mission haha... What if we one day don't want this anymore? Who is going to care for the children?"*

One interviewee reported that sometimes it is difficult to work for the common good of the neighborhood. The mothers may witness criminal activity in the neighborhood, and when the police request sensitive information from the mothers in this context, it may lead to feelings of intimidation, potentially resulting in a reduced level of participation. If the initiative comes at great personal cost, it can determine the extent of the mother's participation in preventive initiatives.

Jamilah: *"It becomes serious when the police start collecting witness information. Especially when a crime is committed by someone we know. We want the best for the area, but it should not be on our own and our family's expenses. Sometimes other people associate us talking to the police like... we are snitches. Then it's better to take a step back".*

One mother revealed that they experienced difficulties in overcoming the language barrier within Rinkeby. The presence of different spoken languages among residents poses a challenge in establishing and maintaining common standards. There is a need for organized meeting places where residents can gather, learn languages, and share their common interests. Such places can facilitate the development of a sense of community and enable residents to work collaboratively towards a more cohesive neighborhood.

Amal: *"My neighbor does not understand what I'm talking about when I'm talking about the purpose of the night wanderings, she just smiles and nods. It's nice of her to listen, but if she understood the meaning of the conversation then maybe she would join us. Maybe there should be language courses here as well".*

5.4 Investments in the neighborhood

- Effective allocation of funds and reducing neighborhood stigma

The mothers underscore the significance of addressing the negative stigma associated with the neighborhood, as emphasized by both interviewees. Despite the presence of several youth creation centers staffed with experienced employees, additional investments are necessary to improve Rinkeby and its reputation. The mothers implied that negative perceptions may have implications for the well-being of residents and their willingness to participate in collective crime prevention. One interviewee has gone to the extent of removing her children from the neighborhood for better life opportunities.

Amal: *“This is a safe neighborhood for my children, but they go to school in a different neighborhood, like many other children from here. I want them to see a different world than Rinkeby and give them a better chance at the future. The reputation can sometimes influence our chances, sadly...”*

Critique is aimed towards the “vulnerable list” published by the Swedish police authorities, articulated by the interviewees. The participants assert that the list is superfluous for public knowledge and recommend that the list should be an internal tool for the police to work with behind closed doors. Concerns are raised about the potential stigmatization of neighborhoods on the list, which could further exacerbate social inequalities and undermine community cohesion.

Jamilah: *“What is the point of this vulnerable list? How long are we going to be vulnerable? They should keep it private! Come here and meet the kids, say hello to the kids, I have lived here for 30 years, and I have never felt unsafe. Do I need to become a politician to change things?”.*

The interviewees expressed frustration about the distribution of funds invested in the neighborhood. The investments should not be centered primarily on security guards and a police building. Rather, a more effective allocation of these funds should be directed toward facilities that can improve the quality of the neighborhood, and positively affect the public’s perception of the neighborhood’s reputation. There should be caution against measures that may have counterproductive effects, and the residents should firstly be consulted.

Jamilah: *“Us living in the neighborhood gets affected. People sometimes change addresses to avoid being associated with Rinkeby. This is what you get when you have your own police building in the neighborhood and several security guards at the subway station. People will think that they need bulletproof vests to come here... our Rinkeby is not like that”.*

Amal: *“Drones, police station, security guards for billions of SEK. Imagine having a police station for billions, but not being able to renovate some buildings. Give us something else for this amount of money, it would make a huge impact on the neighborhood’s reputation. It feels like the military is here and it scares the youths. It might even lead to them doing bad things, like throwing stones at drones”.*

The use of drones has been a particularly contentious issue among residents, with some expressing concerns about privacy violations and the potential for abuse by the government. This had led to a sense of mistrust and unease among residents, which has made it more difficult to engage them in community initiatives. Those who are most vulnerable are left behind, while investments in the neighborhood continue to fail in addressing the root causes of the neighborhood's problems. This disappointment has in turn led to residents moving away from the neighborhood.

Jamilah: *“People moved, and some people want to move, but it's not that easy. It's expensive to live somewhere else. If they wanted to raise rents and let others buy homes here, nobody would even want to live here because of the reputation, so why not invest in something we need? maybe then people will stay and help”.*

6. DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to investigate how residents in a negatively stigmatized neighborhood engage in practical measures to enhance collective efficacy, while also exploring their perceptions of the measures required to improve the functionality of their neighborhood through collective efficacy (see 1.1).

The empirical findings of this study demonstrate that the mothers are utilizing various practical measures to enhance collective efficacy within Rinkeby, including visible presence, expressing solicitude towards residents, organizing activities, and participating in weekly meetings with the police. These findings validate the effectiveness of non-threatening and respectful approaches to residents (see Beck, Ohmer & Warner, 2010), whereby the ability to intervene in a non-threatening manner also was recognized important in enhancing the collective efficacy in Rinkeby. By expressing solicitude, the mothers could facilitate positive change and alleviate any concerns of neglect or lack of representation among community members.

The empirical evidence of this study suggests that the visible presence of residents in neighborhoods can have a significant impact on the willingness of neighbors to partake in organized activities, which, in turn, can enrich the social dynamics of the neighborhood. For instance, greeting neighbors by their name and acknowledging their existence can positively influence social bonds and cohesion among residents. As noted by Sampson, Raudenbush & Earl (1977), this could in turn increase the likelihood of residents' willingness to intervene for the common good of the neighborhood. The visible presence is also interesting in relation to Wickes' (2010) assertion that the existence of social bonds among residents is not an essential precondition for the establishment of informal social control. Rather, the visible presence of the mothers can be construed as symbols of collective representations, which can engender a sense of trust among the residents.

The present study also found that the mothers encountered time-and language barriers in their efforts to control disruptive behaviors through collective efficacy in Rinkeby. The question of who bears responsibility for creating organized meeting places to facilitate this process is multifaceted and complex. While the mothers play a vital role in promoting neighborhood development initiatives, the government also has some responsibility to provide structured opportunities for community engagement. Structured opportunities refer to something organized with a given aim, time, and place. The mothers emphasized the need for a collaborative approach that involves all stakeholders in the process of designing and implementing crime prevention measures in the physical environment. These findings underscore the importance that policymakers must adopt an inclusive and holistic approach that accounts for the complex interplay between institutional, social, and individual factors that influence residents' behaviors and attitudes in the context of community development initiatives.

The mothers also perceived that the police play a vital role in effective policing and promoting collective efficacy among residents. This pattern of results is consistent with previous literature (Skogan, 1989; Beck, Ohmer & Warner, 2010; The Swedish Police Authority, 2021), that highlights the importance of collaboration between residents and law enforcement. Further, there are similarities between the attitudes expressed in this study and those described by Garofalo and McLeod (1988). The mothers' willingness to cooperate with

the police suggests a desire for sustainable relationships with law enforcement. Conversely, residents may feel powerless without such support, as demonstrated by Gerell (2017) and Lewis and Salem (1986). It is incumbent upon the government to provide adequate support to the mothers to ensure that their contributions are recognized and valued, thereby enabling them to drive and sustain these endeavors.

The mothers offered several indications that they are protectors of their neighborhood (see Uchida et al., 2013). However, the mothers feared that their involvement in neighborhood initiatives could come at a great personal cost, impacting their level of participation. This study reveals that residents may face barriers in improving their neighborhood through collective efficacy when being witnesses of criminal activities. This is consistent with St. Jean (2007) that concluded that, awareness of the “major players” could create conflict of interest when their relations with neighbors impose on their capacity to intervene. As a result, residents’ participation in collective crime prevention may be contingent upon the degree of personal sacrifice required, as noted by Shotland and Goldstein (1984).

Like previously mentioned, this study found that residents may abstain from participating in collective crime prevention due to perceiving it as time-consuming. These results tie well with previous studies wherein time is a major barrier to residents’ involvement in community crime prevention efforts (Lavrakas & Herz, 1982). Addressing residents’ needs in relation to the time-barrier can thus encourage interaction with neighbors and increase collective efficacy (Slocum et al., 2013; Cerda et al., 2012; Beck, Ohmer & Warner, 2010). Moreover, the mothers’ basketball initiative serves as a third place (see Olddenburg, 1999) for mothers to disengage from responsibilities, while also contributing to enhanced levels of collective efficacy within the neighborhood.

The interviewees’ critique of the “vulnerable list” underscores broader debates about the role of police in society, and the balance between public safety and individual rights. Some may argue that such lists are necessary to prevent crime and protect citizens, while others contend that they are discriminatory and reinforce stigmatization and existing power structures. This study’s finding suggests that the “vulnerable list” may have unintended consequences and that alternative approaches to community policing should be explored. A balance needs to be struck, and community commitment and dialogue with residents are crucial in achieving this balance.

This study has contributed to the limited research that emphasizes the importance of establishing practical measures to encourage individuals to work collaboratively with their neighbors to address problems within their neighborhood (see Bursik & Grasmick, 1988). As noted by Gerell, Ivert and Mellgren (2018), such strategies are critical in promoting community engagement and achieving sustainable outcomes. The present study’s findings have further broadened this literature by highlighting the role of residents in regulating disruptive behavior through collective efficacy, but also the importance of acknowledging and overcoming perceived barriers to increase resident’s willingness to engage in collective crime prevention.

6.1 Methodological limitations and considerations

Participant observation and interviews are two widely accepted methods of gathering data in research, and despite its many benefits, they are not without inherent limitations. The provisional nature of research outcomes derived from the used methods is a direct result of

the difficulty in separating the data from its interpretation (Denscombe, 2018). This type of bias can manifest in many ways, such as interpreting the observed events and interviews in a particular way, or selectively focusing on certain characteristics of the residents in the neighborhood. Consequently, it was vital to scrutinize the interpretations by reading through the collected data multiple times, and cross-reference between the methods to ensure validity. Further, the participants may not be entirely forthcoming or truthful in their responses and actions, which can limit the accuracy and validity of the collected data in this study. Moreover, the vulnerability of observational studies to confounding from unrecognized or unrecorded risk factors represents a disadvantage, as it can undermine the validity of the study's findings.

Relaxify was a critical aspect of the study's process, enabling the author to gain a profound understanding of the collected data's significance and the participant-researcher relationship's intricate dynamics within its contextual framework. Furthermore, given the study's predominantly observational nature, its findings may be subject to the issue of statistical insignificance. However, it is worth to note that qualitative research is inherently subjective, as it is influenced by human experiences and perceptions rather than measurable facts (Denscombe, 2018).

This study adopted a subjective approach to gain a nuanced understanding of practical measures undertaken to enhance collective efficacy, rather than aiming for generalization. Nevertheless, a potential means of enhancing the generalizability of the findings would be to conduct similar research in analogous settings, such as other negatively stigmatized neighborhoods in Stockholm. This would enable a comparative analysis of residents' experiences across diverse contexts and facilitate a deeper understanding of the research setting. Additionally, replicating this study may pose a challenge given that researchers have distinct experiences that could influence their interpretations, but also because contexts are never precisely the same. Nonetheless, the author endeavored to maintain transparency through the entire research process to bolster its validity and reliability.

6.2 Future directions

Future research should endeavor to address the limitations of this study and questions that remain unaddressed. Specifically, research on enhanced levels of collective efficacy within neighborhoods should focus on establishing and testing interventions that are tailored to the characteristics and needs of negatively stigmatized neighborhoods. To accomplish this convincingly, a mixed method is recommended to draw on theories and insights from across several disciplines that may increase our understanding on how, and if strengthening collective efficacy can reduce crime rates within neighborhoods.

7. CONCLUSION

This study holds significant criminological relevance, particularly for policymakers and practitioners who aim to foster community engagement through collective efficacy. This is especially relevant in urban areas characterized by economic and social disadvantage. The empirical findings of this study suggests that establishment of organized meeting places, reduce of negative neighborhood stigma, expressing solicitude towards residents, and stronger cooperation between residents and the police are vital components in facilitating a development of a widespread willingness among residents to partake in collective crime

prevention. This will in turn improve the functionality of neighborhoods and enhance neighborhood-level social dynamics.

It is paramount for the government to provide support to maintain residents' attitudes towards direct intervention and to improve the functionality of negatively stigmatized neighborhood through collective efficacy. This will help cultivate a sense of order and civility, ultimately leading to an improved quality of life for residents living in negatively stigmatized neighborhoods.

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APPENDIX 1. INFORMATION LETTER

Project title: *"Praise won't take us far without government support." - a qualitative study about enhanced collective efficacy, collective crime prevention, and the night wandering mothers of Rinkeby.*

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Master's Programme in Criminology

Hello!

My name is Nora Elaies, and I am currently writing a master's thesis in criminology at the Faculty of Health and Society at Malmö University. The overall purpose of the study is to give a voice to the residents of Rinkeby, especially the night wandering mothers of Rinkeby. Rinkeby has long been overshadowed by negative news reports about the ongoing deadly violence, drug sales and social problems in the area. For this reason, it is important to highlight the perspectives of the residents, other than the perspectives that are most often shown in the media. To create a better understanding of how the residents of Rinkeby are practically working to improve collective efficiency (ability to control the behavior of groups and individuals in a community), participant observations and in-depth interviews will be conducted.

The observations will take place on three occasions (one basketball practice and two-night walks), and the interviews can take place wherever and whenever it suits you. The interview will take approximately an hour and a half. Participation is voluntary and consent can be withdrawn without having to explain the reasons for your motive further. No personal data will be collected, and only authorized persons will have access to the collected material stored in an encrypted USB at the time of writing. When the study is approved, all collected material will be destroyed and the thesis will be uploaded to DIVA (digital publishing system for student theses and publications). The thesis will also be sent to all participants after approval. If you have any further questions or doubts, please contact me or my supervisor.

Do I hereby have your consent to participate in this study?

Participant's signature

Sincerely,

Nora Elaies

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APPENDIX 2. INTERVIEW GUIDE

Background

1. Can you tell me about why and when you started to night-wander in Rinkeby?
 - a. Can you explain how you received information about the night-wandering initiative?
 - b. How is night-wandering structured? Is there a schedule available? Can anyone volunteer in this initiative?
 - c. How could other residents' participation benefit this initiative? Is it advertised?
2. Have you noticed an impact in the neighborhood since the night-wanderings got implemented?
3. Are there any difficulties that the night-wandering mothers may face when meeting individuals in the neighborhood?

Media

4. What are your first thoughts when you hear the word media?
5. Do you experience that residents' voices are being heard in Media?
6. In what ways do you think media coverage can influence your neighborhood and the people who reside in it?
 - a. How do you perceive the role of media in shaping politicians' perceptions of Rinkeby and their evaluation of crime prevention efforts in the area?

Crime prevention and safety work

7. Can you tell me about the crime prevention and safety-creation work politicians and officials have implemented in your neighborhood?
8. Who would you say is responsible for the safety in Rinkeby, and why?
9. What do you believe is the primary thing a neighborhood needs?
 - a. What is the best-, and worst thing that your neighborhood has, and how would you describe a neighborhood that is the best possible?
 - b. Are there any facilities missing in Rinkeby?
 - c. Do you experience that the schools and kindergartens in your neighborhood are of good quality?

Collective efficacy

10. Can you describe your relationship with the individuals in your neighborhood?

- a. Would you intervene if an escalating or harmful situation occurred to your neighbor?
- b. Do you trust the individuals in your neighborhood? If yes, to what extent?
- c. Do you believe that your child/children are safe in your neighborhood?
- d. How would you explain control disruptive behavior? How do you prevent it?
- e. Do you feel that you have a responsibility to monitor the neighborhood, such as residents' behaviors?

11. In concluding this interview, is there anything you would like to add, or do you have any additional questions to discuss?