Organised Crime Outlook Sweden

A method for and assessment of likely
future trends in organised crime in the EU

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in organised crime in the EU

AGIS 2004

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Preface

This is a report presenting a case study which has formed part of a larger project called Organised Crime Outlook – A method for and assessment of likely future trends in organised crime in the EU. The project was financed by the 2004 AGIS programme of the European Commission and led by professor Tom Vander Beken at the Institute for International Research on Criminal Policy (IRCP) of Ghent University in Belgium. It had the objective of developing a risk-based methodology for the analysis of the long-term threat from organised crime. There has since a few years back been an agreement around the need for introducing such a risk-based methodology in the situational reports on organised crime that each EU Member State is obliged to send to Europol annually. These reports have up until now been largely descriptive, and it has thus been difficult to extract the implications for the development of criminal policy in the EU. The expectation is that the methodology that has been proposed in this project will contribute to a more proactive and strategic focus in the situational reports on organised crime in the future.

One part of the project Organised Crime Outlook was to test the risk-based methodology that had been developed by IRCP, in four case studies. This was done at two different levels: three studies were performed at Member State level (in Sweden, Belgium and Slovenia), and one at the European Union level. The present publication constitutes the case study performed in Sweden, thus called Organised Crime Outlook Sweden. A more detailed background and description of the methodology as well as a presentation of all four case studies has been published in a report by IRCP (European organised crime scenarios for 2015, Maklu: 2006).

The research team at Brå tested the proposed risk-based methodology, scenario analysis, during three summer months in 2005, which resulted in the present report. It presents four different scenario matrices for the future of organised crime in 2015. A large number of people with different areas of expertise have been involved in brainstorming seminars and interviews, for which we are greatly indebted.

The report has been written by the researcher Monika Karlsson at the Research Unit on Economic and Organised Crime at Brå, with the support of the project leader Lars Korsell and the assisting researcher Daniel Vesterhav, also at Brå.

Stockholm, August 2006

Jan Andersson
Director General of the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention

Project Organised Crime Outlook

Reflecting about potential risks in the future is probably something that feels natural for most people. We want to be prepared for risks and challenges for our survival. Managing future risks and threats has thus always been an important question for societies (Korsell, 2000). The perceptions of what constitutes risks and threats have varied with new generations, and those perceptions have always been sensitive to factors such as country of origin, sex, age, and religion. During the last decades there has been both a diffusion and a blurring of the perception of what constitutes threats to our societies. The military threats of the cold war have been replaced by non-military threats and risks in our closest environment. Organised crime is one of the most commonly mentioned serious threats, and has been the basis of many crime threat analyses (Flyghed, 2003). An increasing range of public agencies today work with risk management (relating to both organised crime and other threats), even though they give varying degrees of priority to this area (KBM, 2005).

Since 1993, each of the EU Member States has been obliged to send annual reports on the organised crime situation in their countries to Europol in order to improve the understanding of the organised crime phenomenon in the European Union. During the German (CRIMORG 55, 1999) and the Swedish Presidency (CRIMORG 19, 2001) suggestions were put forward that these reports should introduce long-term assessments of the possible future developments of organised crime. The goal was to advance the preventive aspects of criminal policy in the EU. These suggestions led Europol and the Commission to issue a joint report where the need for more explanatory annual reports from the EU Member States was communicated (CRIMORG 34, 2001). During the Belgian Presidency this need was considered, and led to the creation of an Action Plan, based on the ideas of a conceptual model developed in two studies at Ghent University, Belgium, and representing the first ideas of a new risk-based methodology for measuring the long-term threat from organised crime (Black et al., 2000; 2001). The Action Plan proposed that different parts of the risk-based methodology would be implemented gradually. The first step has already included a PEST and SWOT analysis[1] (Vander Beken, et. al., 2004, and 2005) and the present project, Organised Crime Outlook, has now proposed to introduce yet another piece, scenario analysis, in the risk-based methodology.

Project Organised Crime Outlook has been co-ordinated by the Institute for International Research on Criminal Policy at Ghent University, and has in addition to Belgium included Slovenia and Sweden. The purpose of the project has been to test the scenario analysis which has been included as the last piece of the risk-based methodology, before suggesting its use in the annual Organised Crime Reports. National scenario analyses have been performed in each of the three participating countries, and a scenario study reflecting the situation of organised crime in the EU has been performed by Belgium. The following report represents the Swedish scenario analysis, performed by the National Council for Crime Prevention in 2005.

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[1] PEST stands for Politics, Economics, Society and Technology, and SWOT stands for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats. These methodological tools are normally used for strategic planning purposes (Black et.al, 2001).

METHOD AND SCENARIO PROCESS

The task in Organised Crime Outlook was to identify a large number of important trends in the future that could have an effect on organised crime in 2015. Those trends that were considered highly uncertain[2] but yet very important for different aspects of organised crime in a ten-year perspective were to be singled out and constitute the basis of four scenario matrices around organised crime in the future. Each of the scenario matrices has been built on a "focal question", and reflect four important aspects of organised crime. The focal questions in the project were identical for the three participating countries:

1. How could the future look like for licit markets in Sweden in 2015?
2. How could the future look like for illicit markets in Sweden in 2015?
3. How could the future look like for the structure of organised crime groups in Sweden in 2015?
4. How could the future look like for organised crime groups' counter-strategies in Sweden in 2015?

In the creation of the Swedish scenarios, 32 persons with diverse competence and area of expertise have been consulted on their views on important trends in the future. Their professions range from police and customs officers to lawyers, from economists to political scientists, and from researchers of future technology to criminologists. Through their knowledge on various areas of society they have contributed with thoughts on different aspects of society and crime to this study. They have often had leading positions within their organisations, or been in such a position as to work both practically and strategically with organised crime. The consultation has taken place both through brainstorm seminars and personal interviews.

Although the project has benefited from the opportunity to be inspired by the consulted people, the creation of the scenarios has exclusively been the work of the author, the project leader and the assisting researcher at the National Council for Crime Prevention. The people that have been consulted have not been involved in this stage of the project, they have not had any influence over the direction of the scenarios and may agree or disagree with their content. Given the fact that these people differ in their views of the future developments, consideration of the full range of these differences has been impossible.

The brainstorm seminars were conducted on two different occasions. At the first seminar there were ten participants and three employees at the National Council for Crime Prevention present who were divided into three focus groups. In the second seminar there were eleven participants and three employees, in three different groups. Each focus group had two hours to brainstorm, after which the seminars were concluded with a discussion in full group, for one hour.

In addition to the brainstorm seminars, 13 personal interviews were held. A literature review as a complementary source has also been conducted (see Bibliography on page 83). In addition to the literature mentioned in the bibliography, important impressions have continually been collected from newspapers and many Internet sources[3].

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[2] According to Lindgren and Bandhold (2003), strategical management of the uncertainties in the future is one of the most important aspects in scenario planning.

[3] Lindgren and Bandhold (2003) describe the range of methods available in scenario planning. Several of these have been used in the study, such as media scanning, keyword analysis, focus groups, and interviews.

When the material from brainstorm seminars, interviews and the literature review had been gathered, a large number of trends were identified. The author, the project leader and the assisting researcher met for a separate two-day long brainstorm session where those trends that would build the scenario matrices were singled out. As mentioned earlier, these were those trends that could be considered highly uncertain but could also be expected to have an important effect on the focal question at hand.

ABOUT THE SCENARIOS

As the focal questions reveal in their wording, these scenarios are about presenting the uncertainties in the future – how *could* the future look like? It is therefore very different from predictions. The purpose of describing uncertain trends rather than certain is to allow strategic decision-makers to reflect on their preparedness for future directions that had not been expected, and thus be better prepared for the consequences of these.

In the following report, statements and descriptions of the present and the future are of necessity oversimplified. The reader will at many times feel that important events and circumstances are left out or that certain conditions could have been interpreted in a number of ways. A plethora of interpretations is always possible for each matter at hand. Neutrality is impossible to accomplish in scenario building. The statements about the future cannot either be supported by references to reliable sources because the stories take place ten years ahead. The scenario process is about producing stories that could be true, but that could equally well not be true (Lindgren and Bandhold, 2003).

For the reasons mentioned above, the scientific value of the scenarios is low, whereas the imaginary value is high. Scenarios can never be scientific products in the ordinary sense of the word, and should not be used as the sole foundation of important political decisions. If properly done, they can however serve as a useful source of inspiration for strategic decision-makers to reflect on developments that they might not be prepared for, and a reminder that certain developments are not predestined to take place.

The goal has been to use the material from the interviews and brainstorm seminars in the scenarios in the largest extent possible. This is however done without reference to those persons that have brought up certain developments or trends. The anonymity of the participating people's specific opinions is thereby secured, and their contributions collectivised.

In order to avoid an illusion of scientificness and confusion by mixing references to existing literature with imaginary events, references to literature sources have not been included in the scenarios even when this could have been possible (this is not the case in the introductions, where literature references are made). This is of course also problematic from a scientific point of view. But behind each imaginary description of the future lies the whole range of different literature sources (found in the bibliography on page 83) as a background, which has made referencing to specific sources further more complicated.

The stories about the future are made of trends that are considered uncertain. However, opinions have shifted among the consulted people and in the literature regarding which trends really are uncertain. Although the ambition in this report has been to take all of the consulted people's opinions in account in this matter, some will thus not agree on the uncertainty of the chosen trends.

In this study, the future scenarios are described to us ten years from now, in the year 2015. It probably holds true as one of the interviewed persons reflected, that ten years can be a very long time, but also a very short time. Not many people could foresee the gigantic significance of the Internet, which changed the conditions for the whole society in a very short period of time, or the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Empire. If one presumes that no developments of this revolutionary kind are taking place in the next ten years, then this period of time could be characterized by relatively slow progress.

Some of the scenarios might therefore suffer from an overbelief in the speed of the developments that are said to take place. Is it for example justifiable to discuss a trend like legitimacy of the political system in a ten-year perspective? Or is it likely that political or societal changes will change the level of social segregation significantly in ten years? The challenge to find trends that are highly uncertain but yet the most important to the focal question, and still relevant to discuss in a ten-year perspective has resulted in occasional compromises regarding one of these requirements. Due to the fact that the majority of the people that have been consulted in this study also have tended to point out long-term trends, the compromise has been to the disadvantage of the ten-year perspective, which as a result might be somewhat overstretched.

In the following report, each scenario matrix is presented by an introduction where the importance of the chosen trends for the focal question at hand is described in a general overview. The introduction is followed by a background where the present situation for each of the trends is illustrated. The four separate scenarios in the scenario matrix are then elaborated.

GLOBALISATION AND PESSIMISM

The image of the future that has developed in the study is in many respects relatively dark. However, when old scenarios have been examined, the same pattern can be noticed. People have perhaps at all times thought the worst about the future. It is often easier to focus on threats instead of possibilities (Lindgren and Bandhold, 2003). Those who have been more positive about the future in this study have a strong belief in the human capability of actively creating the desired future.

When asked about the future, the first subject that has come up in the consulted people's minds is globalisation. Globalisation is pictured as a line of opportunities stretched out in the horizon, but also as a line of threats. People want some parts of life "globalised", but not all parts, and they want to allow most people to be globalised, while some should not. As a general tendency there is a resignation over our possibility to influence the direction, the speed, and the consequences of the globalisation. Specifically, it is the consequences of the political, economical and technical globalisation that is viewed with the most scepticism.

The questions for the future are numerous. How will Sweden adjust to the "mini-globalisation" in the EU, and how will we protect our interests in the globalisation that encompasses the whole world? How will the legitimacy for the political system be affected if the political borders of sovereign States are gradually dissolved? How will we be able to secure enough jobs to the Swedish people if companies are increasingly locating their production in other countries? How will the globalisation of the economy affect our traditional welfare State? How will all of these possible developments affect organised crime?
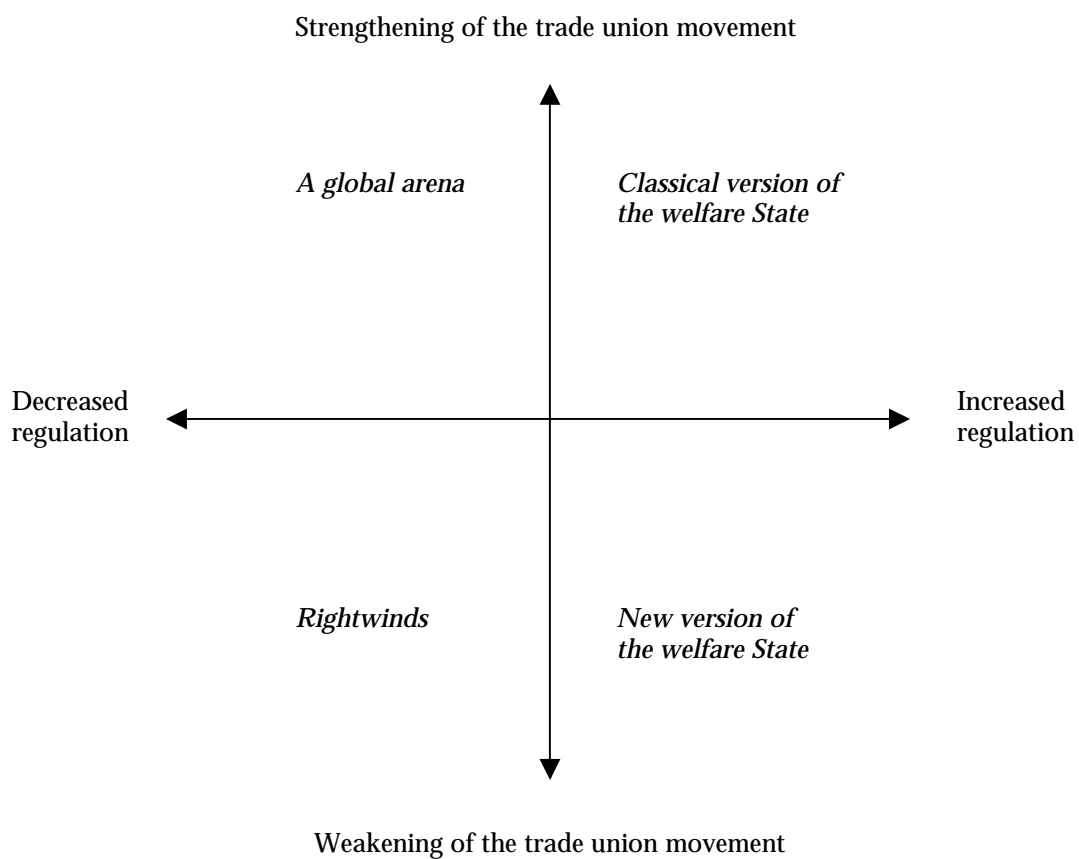
On a national level, a majority of the consulted people believe that segregation will deepen in Sweden, both the ethnical and the social. They describe a future rise of parallel communities with their own set of laws, and where the people with the worst criminal records are hailed as heroes. In these communities our traditional methods of crime control will have lost their effect, and may rather contribute to a dissolution of boundaries between the legal and the criminal communities, to an advantage for the criminal communities. Should these developments occur, they will benefit organised crime.

Further on the socio-economic situation there are also beliefs that the income disparities will widen, that the Swedish welfare system will be dismantled, that the unemployment level will be continually high, and that there will be a dissolution of traditional norms and values. Regarding the political situation some of the trends that the majority of the people point at are the decreasing legitimacy of the nation state and the political system, liberalisation and deregulation of state monopolies, increasing regionalisation, and growth of social anti-capitalist movements.

There is consequently a great deal of pessimism regarding the future of Sweden and organised crime, but even though the apprehensions are many there are also strong beliefs that international cooperation is needed to solve some of the most important challenges for the future. These include military conflicts, environmental problems, terrorism, and the internationalisation of criminality. At the same time as there is a feeling of loss of control due to the globalisation, there are thus also strong opinions regarding international cooperation as the only way to regain control over the globalisation. Keeping in mind that the following methodology is a scenario analysis where each trend can develop in either of two opposite directions, the author of this report, together with the project leader and the assisting researcher, have tried to focus also on these more optimistic trends, with the goal of portraying the true uncertainty of the future.

Finally, the National Council for Crime Prevention, and the Secretariat for research on Economic and Organised Crime wishes to extend its deepest gratitude towards those people that have put aside time to participate in the study, and offer their thoughts and views on the future. The substantial interest suggest that there is a need for discussion around future scenarios regarding organised crime. We are also thankful to the researcher Johanna Skinnari at the National Council for Crime Prevention, for the help she has offered in brainstorm seminars and for conducting one of the interviews.

Scenario 1: What could the future look like for licit markets in Sweden in 2015?

Strengthening of the trade union movement

A global arena

Classical version of the welfare State

Decreased regulation

Increased regulation

Rightwinds

New version of the welfare State

Weakening of the trade union movement

INTRODUCTION

The globalisation of the economy is one of the driving forces with the most far-reaching consequences for the future of licit markets in Sweden. Globalisation is however such a wide concept that it must rather be seen as a general framework, a major driving force behind many others. The globalisation of the economy has brought new challenges to Sweden. Policy predicaments have risen in the meeting with our strong welfare society, and traditional institutions are faced with new conditions that demand adjustment. It is the direction of these policy predicaments, and the development of the traditional institutions, that are important to examine today. Unlike the globalisation of the economy, which is expected to continue, these are uncertain developments and trends.

The future development of the trade union movement is one of those uncertain trends, and the level of regulation of the licit markets is another. Both of them are important to the structure and functionality of licit markets.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN 2005

Sweden has developed one of the worlds most influential and strong union movements in the world. At the end of the 2000th and beginning of the 2100th century the Swedish agrarian society started the transition to becoming an industrial State. The poor working conditions and a growing working class led to the workers' organisation both in a political party (the Swedish Social Democratic Party) and trade unions (Hadenius, 2003). In 1898 a central organisation for the existing trade unions was created, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO). Today Sweden has three main central organisations for the trade unions; the LO (blue-collar workers), the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (TCO, white-collar workers) and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (SACO, academics).

Apart from occasional and relatively minor setbacks, the rate of unionisation has risen steadily in Sweden from 1898 up until the mid 1990's. The last 10 years have been characterised by fluctuations in the unionisation rate in a larger degree than before, and in total, a decreased unionisation. Factors such as age, sex, type of profession and geographical region have become important for the unionisation choice. The affiliation to the trade unions' unemployment insurance funds has however not ceased to rise during the same period, which could mean that people still strive for the economic security that the trade unions provide, but to a larger degree disconnects from the ideological foundation behind the movement (Kjellberg, 2001).

The trade union movement in Sweden is unique in many ways. The rate of unionisation is exceptionally high from an international perspective. Trade unions are dispersed over the whole country, and most of the large workplaces appoint union representatives among their employees. These representatives are in turn linked to the local trade union club. It has also been a distinct feature for Sweden that the rate of unionisation steadily increased for many decades, while it decreased or was continually low in many other countries (Kjellberg, 2001). Except for a turbulent start for the movement, there has been a long history of cooperation between the business community and the trade union movement. The Swedish trade union movement has a strong influence in parliamentary matters because of its strong links to the Social Democratic Party, which has been in power in the parliament for most of the 2100th century. The union is to a large degree involved in matters concerning the political development, and specifically

the labour market. They also have representatives in the governing bodies of various governmental authorities (www.lo.se).

Today we can see a decline in the rate of unionisation in Sweden. Is this going to be a permanent decline because of adjustment to new conditions, where globalisation plays a large part, or is it just a temporary backdrop which will soon be followed by a rise in the rate of unionisation again, perhaps also due to factors related to globalisation? With declining or rising rates of unionisation, how will the power and influence of the trade union movement in the Swedish political arena be affected? How will this in turn affect the national labour market in terms of competition, the social responsibility of the business community, people's access to social security, and the unique climate of agreement between the business community and the trade union movement in Sweden?
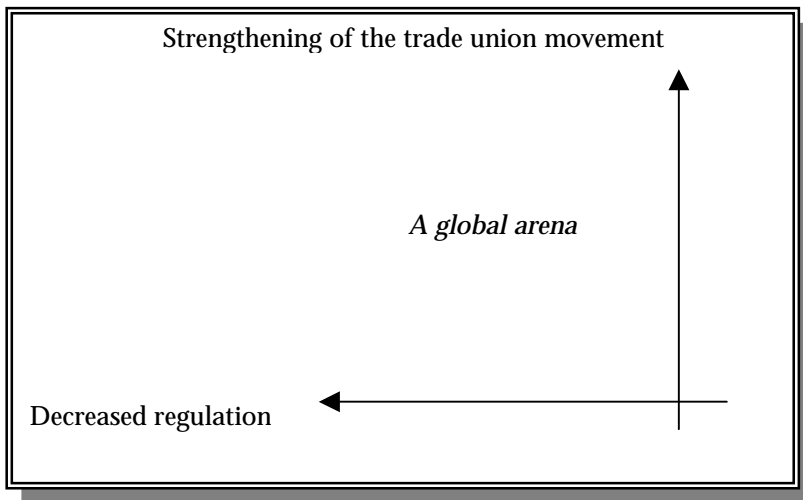
THE LEVEL OF REGULATION OF LICIT MARKETS IN 2005

There is a very powerful process of structural transformation under way in Sweden and other developed countries. The last decades have brought increased trading and investments between nations, and the communications technology have contributed to speeding up this development. Many people share a perception of threat connected to the globalisation of the economy. The debate is often about the winners and the losers of the globalised economy. The facilitated movement of capital and private enterprises means that there has been a transfer of power from labour to capital, from labourers to capitalists. This is due to the fact that while the capital is now very flexible, the labour is still not as flexible (Bengtsson och Berge, 2002). The owners of the production where the demand for export is high are those who are most often depicted as "winners", but also the consumers, who because of greater competition will have access to cheaper and more diverse goods. The "losers" are generally supposed to be the owners of the production where the demand for import is high. In addition, workers with a low degree of education are depicted as the losers in capital-intensive countries with a large proportion of highly educated labour (Bengtsson och Berge, 2002).

Sweden has already been affected by the globalisation of the economy for decades. Large industries have been downsized because of increasing international competition and many of Swedens largest companies have made significant investments abroad, or transferred much of their production to other countries. One of the events that truly confirmed the new world order was the deregulation of the exchange market in the 1980's. Through the decision to deregulate the credit market in the early 1980's and the exchange market between 1985-1989 the orientation of the Swedish economy policy was changed radically. It signified a first step towards transfer of the control over the State economy from the government to the market actors. As long as this power was in the hand of the State, the government could regulate the markets and continually control financial transactions in such a way that the chosen welfare policies were safeguarded. Sweden had the ability to be a part of the world economy, but yet lead its own national economy policies. With a deregulated credit and exchange market the market actors are in control of the national economy. Since this type of market has stronger connections to the surrounding markets and the global competition, it is important that the same rules apply as in these other markets. The ability to control the national economy was clearly limited through these reforms (SOU 1999:83).

The globalisation of the economy thus leads to important questions about the extent to which the national markets should be regulated for the best results to be accomplished. There is a need to adjust to global market conditions in order to compete with other nations, but there are conflicting ideologies between the Swedish welfare State and the neoliberal ideology common in many of the large economies in the world that strives for a completely free market. What is best for Sweden is not a question of right or wrong, but a question of ideology and conceptions. The conflict of interest is between those that see globalisation as a natural force which cannot be hindered, and those who believe that globalisation is the result of political decisions that can be controlled and directed for our best purposes. It is also between those who strive for minimal or no regulation to facilitate for the natural forces of the free market to play out, and those who would like increased regulation in order to protect the national market and the citizens.

A global arena

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│   Strengthening of the trade union movement      │
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│              A global arena            │          │
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│   Decreased regulation                 │          │
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The development of the globalisation of the economy has in the last several decades been within a neoliberal free-trade oriented framework. Deregulation and privatisation of sectors under the control of the State was already in 2005 a strategy in the EU which offered little objection from the individual Member States. At the European Council's meeting in Lisbon in March 2000, the goal was set up that the EU would in the year 2010 have developed the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world. One of the most important reform strategies necessary to accomplish this goal was the deregulation of industries and markets. The only role for international politics should be to confirm or facilitate more deregulations and privatisations.

The deregulations and privatisations of the 1990's and early 2000's were thus systematically followed up by more in the following ten years. In Sweden, the telecoms, electricity, postal, domestic aviation, taxi and railway markets had already been deregulated. In 2005 the Regulatory Reform Commission issued its evaluation of these deregulations and concluded that they are likely to benefit the society in the long run. In addition to international pressure, this led to a general agreement between the political parties on the benefits of deregulation in 2005, even though the extent and speed of the deregulation was under discussion.

REACHING COMPETITION CAPABILITY THROUGH DEREGULATIONS

In the elections of 2006 the right-wing and liberal parties seized power in the government. One of their top priorities was to improve the competition capability of the Swedish market. Although their election campaign was centred around a more social democratic politics, the actual means to achieve this goal was through deregulations. Gaining power enabled them to proceed with the deregulation of the market and privatisation of State monopolies in a faster tempo and a larger extent than would have been the case if the power was still in the hands of the left-wing parties. Due to international support for the politics of deregulation and liberalisation as well as initial national support from a country dissatisfied with the former governments' solutions, these changes could proceed relatively fast.

The OECD issued in 2005 a report with recommendations for how to create the best solutions to the challenge that the globalisation of the economy poses for

the developed countries. The new government in Sweden made efforts to implement those recommendations step by step. The reforms were classical neoliberal and included less restrictive regulations in several fields. Tax policies were changed and the tax pressure lowered in a range of sectors. National trade regulations and restrictions were abolished, and much effort was made to affect the international in the same way. The government gradually reformed and deregulated the housing market, made the regulation surrounding construction work less restrictive and lowered the taxes on real estate business transactions and ownership of real estate. They liberalised the existing regulations on different product markets as well as the service sectors, in order to improve competition. These regulations concerned certification procedures, rules for entry in markets, price regulations and number of allowed working hours. They also liberalised the regulation concerning the demands on product quality and licensing, and regulation around the right to start private companies. The existing State monopolies were deregulated, of which the most important were the education and health sectors.

RISE OF A GLOBAL TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

In 2005 the trade union movement stood somewhat weakened in comparison to the former powerful role it had occupied in the Swedish society. With the change of power in the government in 2006 the union movement realised that it would have to struggle even harder to exert influence over the domestic politics. In the external environment the globalisation process put forward several important questions for the trade union movement. Since 1985 there had been a decrease in the rate of unionisation in most of the developed countries, and especially in those where neoliberal policies had been pursued. But at the same time there had been an increase in the rate of unionisation in other parts of the world, for example South Africa and Asia. The economical and knowledge assets still remained in the developed world however, and this meant opportunities for a new cooperation on an international level.

After a thorough evaluation in 2006 of future alternatives, the trade union movement made large efforts to continue on the already started track to become international and "globalised". The alternative to fight against the developments taking place in the neoliberal framework was not deemed as a way to a stronger movement. They reasoned instead that if the globalisation of the economy meant that people had the world as its workplace, then the trade union would also have the world as their workplace. It was also deemed important that the dialogue with the employers continued, both national and international. In a situation of conflict the risk was otherwise high that the union would be on the losing side.

The focus on global solidarity that had always been a part of the union movement was made even more pronounced. The Swedish trade unions intensified their cooperation with the European Trade Union Confederation and trade unions in the whole world, and the European Trade Union Confederation also intensified their international cooperation, especially those in the developing countries. The strong focus on global solidarity led to several important consequences. The union movement, who had in the developed countries always had a penchant for protectionism, was as a result globally united instead of divided between developed and developing countries. The trade unions in the developing countries did not accept that the new and global movement stood behind protectionist policies at the expense of the developing countries. With the new global influences the European Trade Union Confederation became a

supporter of the removal of trade restrictions and regulations between the EU and the rest of the world. The trade union movement gradually evolved into one of the largest and the most united social movements in the world, and it used its power to try to influence the growing plethora of transnational companies and the global regulation concerning employment rights.

For the affiliated workers in the developed countries, this change in politics and focus was not well received initially. The workers felt betrayed and large demonstrations were arranged in protest against the union federations. The rate of unionisation decreased to even lower levels. The union had however continued to support national demands of competition on equal ground for international companies establishing a business in Sweden. In addition to the global goals, the trade union movement also had domestic goals. In the developed countries, the trade union movement took on a responsibility of finding new jobs instead of those who was lost to other countries in the liberalisation process. The more globalised the economy became, the more evident it seemed to the contemporary leaders that the possibility to develop large and successful companies was in a high degree dependent on local conditions. Developing regional areas of growth was thus necessary for the creation of more work openings.

CREATING VIBRANT REGIONAL CLUSTERS

The trade union initiated a cooperation between the business community, the educational system and the government at a high level, which was then transcended to local industries, local universities and colleges, local government and the local branches of trade unions. Inspiration to this strategy was found in nearby countries such as Finland, who had succeeded well with the creation of regional clusters of production and business communities using this method of cooperation. The Swedish government decided to devote large resources to be spent on high-end research and development to ensure a successful capital intensive production in the regional areas.

Between 2012 and 2015 the unemployment level decreased. High profile leaders in the trade unions were officially giving their own initiatives the credit for this development, whereas the right-wing political parties claimed that it was a natural result of the neoliberal policies that had been pursued. Other contemporary thinkers pointed at the importance of the cooperation and renewal of traditional institutions and values to more modern circumstances. They claimed that the labour market was strengthened when companies now worked in closer union with the universities, and the trade unions were present locally to support regional initiatives and the worker rights.

With the global cooperation as well as the cooperation at a national level, the trade union movement had become a strong political factor. They found themselves in a new bargaining position however, with their new cooperation partners and the attitude change in favour of liberalisation. In this position they could only work to uphold a basic level of employment rights, to prevent the worst "race to the bottom" regarding social conditions. The left-wing critics within the trade union movement argued that the deregulations and liberalisation policies that had aimed towards creating a labour market flexible enough to uphold a high international competition level, had instead led to widespread feelings of insecurity within the labour force. They also pointed at the growing income disparities during this period, and that a continually larger part of the population were socially excluded, and blamed this on the neoliberal policies.

The traditional ideology that had always been the base of the trade union movement could not be revived within their new position, and the rate of unionisation had not yet at the end of 2015 increased to the former high levels. The trade union was *politically* strong because they had chosen the road of co-operation with the majority leaders, and globally they had the workers support, but domestically their role as defenders of the worker rights was weakened.

## CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THOSE WHO CAN AFFORD IT

At the end of 2015 the licit markets were characterised by a hard competitive climate. Neoliberal policies had created a flexibility on the labour market which according to the statistics had improved Swedish companies' possibilities to compete on the international market. The efficiency in the production industry increased and the export market was strengthened. The market was open and consisted of many SMEs. This period also showed growing social inequalities and social exclusion of a large part of the population. The consumption rate decreased for those with lower incomes, but increased for those with high incomes.

The competitive climate in the licit markets stimulated two very opposite trends. One highly visible trend was increasing corporate social responsibility. Especially large companies developed an image of social responsibility to increase their competitiveness. The other trend, which was mainly seen in relation to small companies that were more sensitive to the hard competitive climate, was to use illegal methods such as pirate copying, tax frauds and use of black labour to create advantages. According to several researchers a new culture had slowly developed where all means to reach financial gains were (unofficially) accepted. The liberalisation of market regulatory frameworks had also resulted in a market that was easy to enter. The decline in control over the market actors had thus made it easier for illegal players to both enter and invest in the markets.

The developments had also stimulated a growth of many small companies that were easily penetrable by organised crime. A large part of the entrepreneurs in these small companies were non-professionals and therefore in a weak position, both financially and in terms of know-how, to deal with the attacks from organised crime. This development caused several of the socially responsible companies to demand increased transparency within the business community in 2015.

A significant increase in outsourcing had taken place for both large and medium-sized companies after political implementation of incentives to reach this end. The companies could save considerable amounts of money by transferring the responsibility of personnel and premises to subcontractors. However, new research showed in 2015 that a plethora of illegal activities were taking place in many of these subcontractors, such as violations of employment laws, use of black workers, and tax frauds. This held true especially for the medium-sized companies where the resources were often inadequate to provide satisfactory control. Allegations were made from left-wing parties in the public debate that the hard competitive climate of 2015 forced many companies to look the other way when suspicions were surfaced about abuse of laws within the subcontractors. The right-wing parties countered by arguing that the competition had rather stimulated the growth of corporate social responsibility.

Classical version of the welfare State

Strengthening of the trade union movement

*Classical version
of the welfare State*

Increased regulation
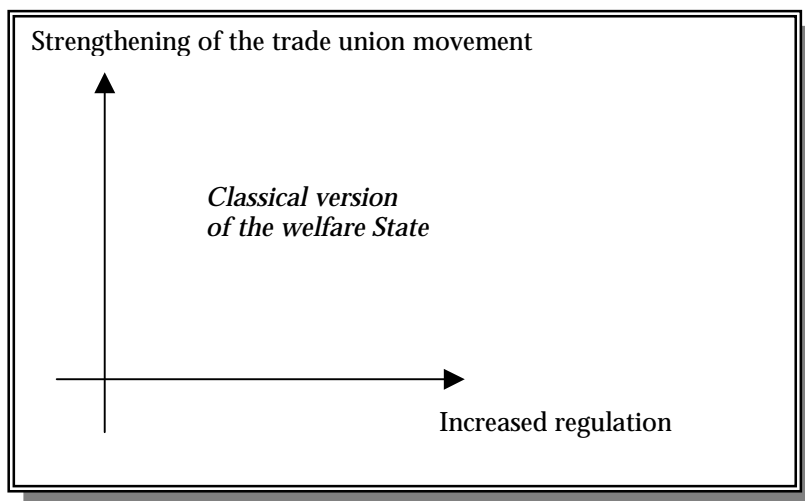
In 2010 the central political question in Sweden concerned the unemployment rate. The increasing global competition had continually put strains on the labour market. The majority of the lost jobs were those in production where the salaries and education levels were low. The process of re-educating a large proportion of the population was for natural reasons a slow and difficult process, and a growing social unrest became more and more noticeable during this time. The demands on the welfare society became paramount because of the ageing population coupled with a high unemployment rate and lower wages for those with jobs. This resulted in a lowering of the level of social security benefits. Sweden was in a situation where there were too few people working in the production that remained viable, and too many unemployed people with the wrong qualifications for these jobs.

DEMANDS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

The criticism of the neoliberal policies pursued in EU became stronger, and the popular movements opposing the increasingly faster spiral of competition grew and gained political power. Purely protectionist movements also became stronger in the political debate. The claims that there must be more room for international politics in the developments taking place received increasing attention in the media and the political fora in Sweden. There was an increasing awareness that a number of important questions for the future required active global governance and control, for example the global warming, questions of intellectual property rights, and international crime and terrorism. The new international movement argued that if the development with transfer of powers from political to market actors continued, then these questions were not likely to be given any priority.

In the elections of 2006 the right-wing and liberal parties had seized power, but in the 2010 elections the political left regained control. During the four years between 2006 and 2010 removal of trade restrictions and deregulations had taken place in several fields. The fast changes had, according to many critics, resulted in "a labour market out of phase with the labour force". While the labour market was flexible, the labour force was still largely inflexible and found it difficult to

adapt to new demands on performance and education as well as the loss of long-term employment safety that the developments had caused.

As the "leftist" social movements gained power they received a larger influence in the media, who started reporting more frequently about the increasing social insecurity and unrest that the movement claimed were the consequences of the right-wing parties rule. Several strong popular movements argued that the neoliberal policies had caused the increase of the proportion of the population on minimal wages, the increased use of "dirty methods" such as corruption, pirate copying and unfair methods of competition in the licit markets, and the increased use of black workers and more crimes against the State, such as frauds against tax and social benefits. Many conservative debaters argued that these developments were in fact a result of the remaining regulations, and that they had not taken place if the markets had been characterized by full competition.

After the election in 2010 the left-wing parties together with the trade union movement halted the ongoing deregulations due to the increased pressure from a dissatisfied people and strong popular movements. Those sectors that had already been deregulated were however left deregulated. In order to regain control over what they claimed to be a chaotic labour market there were reinforcements of the regulation that stipulates control over companies and large industries. In order to prevent corruption, the public control and transparency in the business community as well as the political community was increased. A famous reporter published a series of articles that received much attention, where she claimed that the transfer of power from political to market actors had created a political-economical elite, and gave examples of decisions they had made, based on the welfare of each other which more or less disregarded the publics interests. Regulation supporting a clearer separation between the political and the financial sphere was implemented, and new focus was placed on the power of political decisions to adjust and control the Swedish economy. Consumer protection laws were strengthened in the wake of the fast deregulations, and new measures were introduced to reinforce corporate responsibility in the relation between companies and their subcontractors.

REINTRODUCTION OF OLD PAROLES

The trade union movement had been politically weakened by the events that had taken place between 2006 and 2010 that they had not been able to control. Before the elections in 2010, the union movement launched a costly and widespread campaign where old parole words from the liberation movement of the workers from the beginning of the last century were reintroduced. The campaign awoke a fighting spirit among the large part of the population that had felt growing dissatisfaction and social insecurity during the last years developments, and the position of the union movement started to slowly improve. In 2015 the trade union movement, although with still relatively low levels of unionisation, was increasingly seen as a strong popular movement with an attractive ideological foundation.

## INCREASED REGULATION CREATED ILLEGAL MARKETS

The licit markets were at the end of 2015 characterized by moderate competition. The capability of the Swedish market to compete in the international arena had diminished slightly at the same time as a growth of corporate social responsibility attracted some attention and appreciation abroad. The increased regulation

regarding demands on specific product quality, environmental demands, occupational safety demands, and other certification procedures had resulted in a natural selection of companies capable of meeting those demands. Many small companies had not been able to survive with the new regulation and the remaining companies were characterised by professional and well-educated managers. Although the thorough regulation of the market had obstructed market entry for illegal players, the regulation had at the same time created new markets in those areas where the demand was inelastic, or where the regulation in itself had created new demands. Many of the small and medium-sized companies were for example contacted by illegal companies offering to arrange the necessary certification for a reasonable price. Much of the new regulation thus shaped new markets for economic and organised crime, while it had also stimulated large and resourceful companies able to contribute to a responsible use of both human and natural resources, as well as a market difficult to enter.

Those service sectors that had long traditions of organised crime infiltration benefited from the regulation in terms of "cleaning" their organisations from organised crime (although it did not improve their competition capability). The regulation gave them new possibilities to control their employees and subcontractors. Examples of such sectors where the level of infiltration of organised crime decreased were the taxi business, the catering trade, the transport sector and the construction sector.

Rightwinds
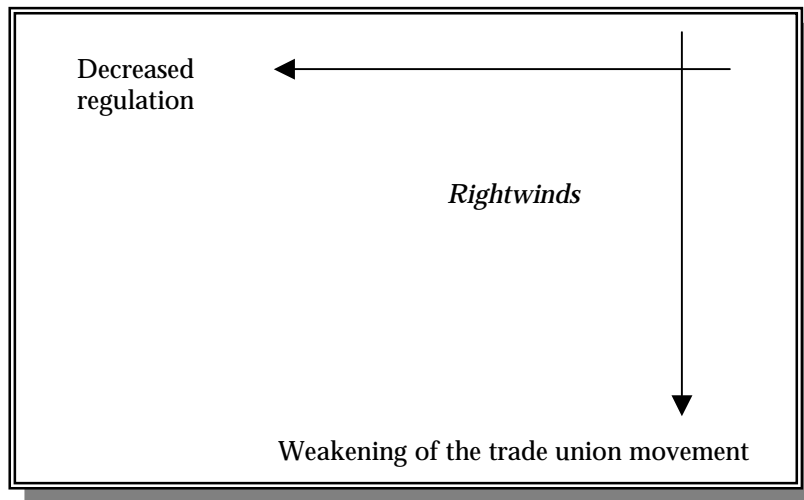
The development of the globalisation of the economy has in the last several decades taken place within a neoliberal free-trade oriented framework. Deregulations and privatisations of sectors under the control of the State was already in 2005 a strategy in the EU that offered little objection from the individual Member States. At the European Council's meeting in Lisbon in march 2000, the goal was set up that the EU would in the year 2010 have developed the most competitive and dynamic economy in the world. One of the most important reform strategies necessary to accomplish this goal was deregulations of industries and markets. The only role for international politics should be to confirm or facilitate more deregulations and privatisations.

AGREEMENT ON THE BENEFIT OF DEREGULATIONS

The deregulations and privatisations of the 1990's and early 2000's were thus systematically followed up by more in the following ten years. In Sweden, the telecoms, electricity, postal, domestic aviation, taxi and railway markets had already been deregulated. In 2005 the Regulatory Reform Commission had issued its evaluation of these deregulations and concluded that they are likely to benefit the society in the long run. Together with the international pressure, this led in 2005 to a general agreement between the political parties on the benefits of deregulation, even though the extent and speed of the deregulation was under discussion.

In the elections of 2006 the right-wing and liberal parties seized power in the government. They prioritised to improve the competition of the Swedish market, and strived to achieve this goal through deregulations. Gaining power enabled them to proceed with deregulations of the market, and privatisation of State monopolies in a faster tempo and a larger extent than would have been the case if the power was still in the hands of the left-wing parties. During the years between 2005 and 2015 they implemented a number of reforms that gradually liberalised and deregulated the Swedish market.

A DIVIDED TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The trade union movement had experienced a decline in the rate of unionisation since the middle of the 1990's. In 2006 there was a change of government, and the movement's power over political decisions, especially those concerning the labour market, weakened for each year that the right-wing parties were in control in the government. The movement conducted in 2006 a thorough evaluation of possible roads to take for the future to improve the rate of unionisation. There were large disagreements within the movement about the possible choices, and a divide between protectionists and progressionists severely disrupted the process of uniting the movement for the choices laying ahead. In this "war" the progressionists finally got the majority to support their strategy of adjusting to the neoliberalist policies that were dominant in EU, and that EU had put increasing pressure on Sweden to follow. This part of the trade union movement argued that some fights for the workers had to be lost in order to improve conditions for the Swedish people in large.

Even though this meant choosing a road of cooperation between the business community and the trade union movement, which had in the past led to improved legitimacy for both parties, the movement collapsed during the following years due to both internal conflicts and weakened support from the workers. In the discussion for future alternatives the movement had not joined in an agreement regarding alternative strategies to support their members in a constantly more flexible and insecure labour market. There was a rhetoric around strengthening the international cooperation in general, as well as working towards creating vibrant regional areas of growth to stimulate new jobs, but due to the internal conflicts and weakened support, no practical guidelines or strategies could be developed.

DIFFUSION OF LICIT AND ILLICIT MARKETS

The development during the last ten years had created a market based on full competition and facilitated trade. This had made possible the growth of small companies into medium-sized. The lack of protectionist measures had resulted in the loss of those sectors that were less efficient in Sweden than elsewhere in the world. The Swedish society was in an even larger degree characterized as a knowledge-based society when new sectors replaced the older on the market, and this increased our competitive advantages in the international economy.

The liberalisation of existing regulation had however created a market which was easily penetrable by illegal players and organised crime groups. The diffusion of the licit and illicit markets increased as a result. Illegal companies could give advantages to legal companies in the hard competition, but the illegal companies also benefited from the relations that were built with representatives from the licit sector. They provided black workers and other services to legal companies, and also employed competences like legal aid, business advise and technology expertise from the legal companies that improved their illegal and organised activities.

New version of the welfare State

Increased regulation

*New version of
the welfare State*

Weakening of the trade union movement
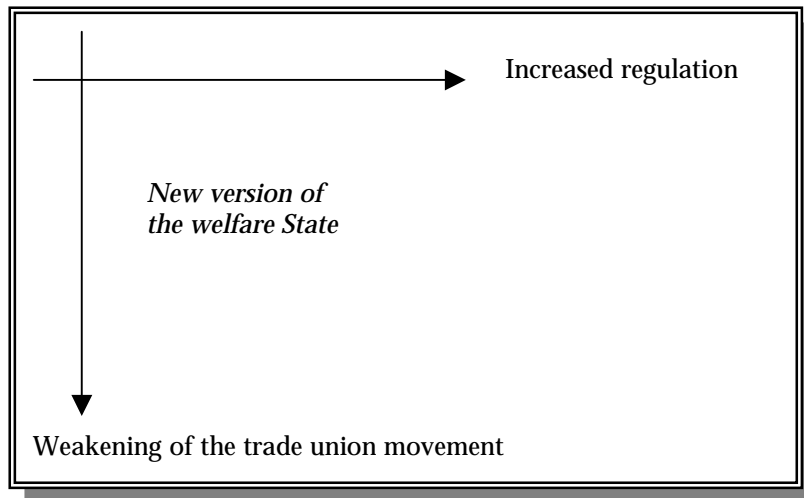
In the elections of 2006 the left-wing parties seized power with only a few percents majority over the cooperating right-wing parties. The overarching political issue and challenge for all political parties concerned the unemployment rate. The next following years were characterized by both cooperation and conflict across the political ideological divide. This was reflected in the civil society, where pluralism best described the period. Although the legitimacy for the political system continually decreased, there was a multitude of social movements competing for attention in a range of political issues. The strongest social movements were those who criticised the neoliberal policies pursued in EU and globally. Among the large variety of groups a majority had a social and global responsibility perspective in common. The new generation was politically aware of the challenges of globalism and environmental problems, and they fought for the creation of a more marked and active global governance and less power for the market actors.

The left-wing parties struggled to combine the international demands on deregulation of the market with national demands for regulation. The result at the end of 2015 was that a consensus had been reached with the right-wing parties on issues regarding trade policies and the labour market, which were consequently characterized by liberalisations and deregulations. A range of regulations had however been introduced concerning environmental issues, the competition regulation had been strengthened, as had the consumer protection laws, and there had been a reinforcement of the regulation controlling the transparency of the business community. The consequences of different market and financial decisions were thoroughly evaluated before implementation, and a more careful regulation surrounded decisions that would affect the citizens directly.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AN IDEOLOGICAL SHELL

The trade union movement had experienced declining support and decreasing unionisation rates since the mid 1990s. The ideological foundation that had been the base of their support both politically and from the workers was increasingly questioned in the new century. When the left-wing parties reached a series of
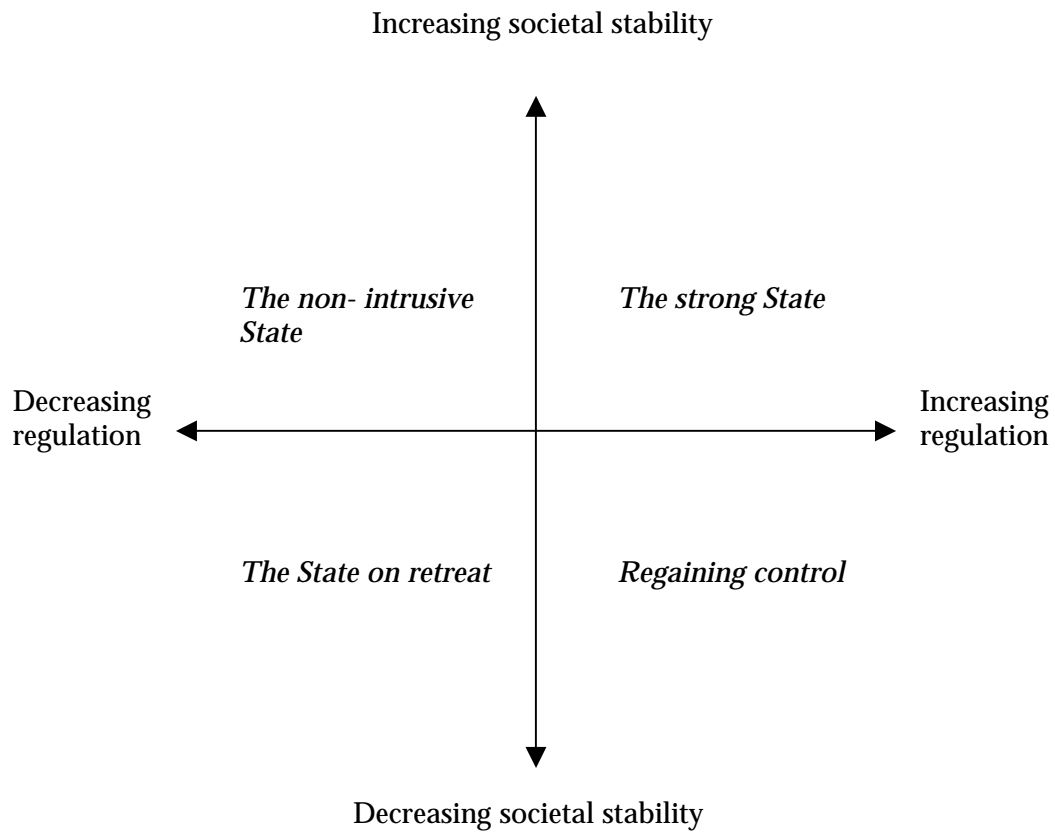
compromises with the right-wing parties concerning the labour market that went opposite to the trade union movements requests, they were unable to unite in their protests against this development. There were internal conflicts among the older and traditionalist activists and the young and more progressive, and the disrupting internal conflicts prevented both from trying to regain their old position and from renewing the movement. The most serious disadvantage was however the loss of support from the workers.

The trade union as it existed in 2010 was still a traditional and collectivist institution in a society more and more marked by pluralism and individualism. New popular movements had in fact started to gradually take over the role of the trade unions. This development continued and by 2015 the trade union movement was just an ideological shell functioning merely as a provider of economic security for the unemployed.

FLEXIBLE BUT HARSH LABOUR MARKET

The political actions taken during the last ten years had been aiming to create a strong licit market with many advantages in the international economy at the same time as the goal had been for the business community to be characterized by a social responsibility. There was room for both market actors and politics in a climate of consensus in many areas, but conflict in some. The labour market had been made more flexible to the advantage of the business community, but as many critics also reminded, to the disadvantage of the workers who were put under pressure from short project employments and fast organisational changes. The regulation surrounding the markets was however quite vast, and many of the smaller companies experienced difficulties to live up to the required standards. The proliferation of many small and financially weak businesses struggling under the regulatory demands had resulted in new possibilities for organised crime. A range of organised criminal activities were created to take advantage of the needs of those companies with small possibilities to handle the regulation, and these companies were also less able to defend themselves against infiltration or offers of "protection" from organised crime groups.

Scenario 2: What could the future look like for illicit markets in Sweden in 2015?

Increasing societal stability

The non- intrusive State

The strong State

Decreasing regulation

Increasing regulation

The State on retreat

Regaining control

Decreasing societal stability

INTRODUCTION

The first trend that has been chosen in this scenario is the level of regulation. Regulation is a very wide concept which brings to mind a range of different methods and areas of steering and control. What is mainly referred to in this scenario is, very liberally interpreted, regulation that is implemented in order to prevent the citizens from harm. What constitutes harmful products or behaviour varies of course with time, and between different groups of people. This type of regulation is of specific importance to the illicit markets, since many of those products and behaviours which are considered harmful by the State are regularly exploited by organised crime (Korsell and Nilsson, 2003). Examples of these are drugs, alcohol, cigarettes and prostitution. Environmental regulation has become a new area to exploit by organised crime[4], and different types of unhealthy food might perhaps be a future market to regulate.

Societies have at all times classified certain behaviours or products as harmful, and then tried to protect people from them. Regulation is one of the most common means of accomplishing this. The regulation of unwanted behaviours or products affects the illicit markets. The regulation can have different effects on a short-term than on a long-term basis, and both intended and unintended consequences can arise (Korsell, 2004; Stares, 1995). On a general term many criminologists and social researchers speak of the danger of regulating products or behaviour where the demand can still be expected to be high, since this opens up new markets for illegal criminal groups to exploit. Others claim that the only way to decrease the demand is to regulate the unwanted product or behaviour. The problem is also quite often put in terms of supply and demand. A statement by the political scientist Martin Jelsma (2004, p. 4) regarding the illicit drug market illustrate the issue well:

"Finally, there is the balance between demand and supply, that is, whether it is consumption or production that should be considered most to blame for the expansion of the illicit drug market. Some believe it is more effective to concentrate resources on demand reduction because supply tends to accommodate demand, while others hold that the levels of demand can best be influenced by cutting off the flow of drugs, thereby reducing availability, driving up prices and stifling demand."

Examples of the most common unwanted behaviours or products which are characterised by long traditions of more or less strict regulation are: alcohol, cigarettes, drugs and prostitution. Sweden has traditionally been among those countries that are in favour of more rather than less regulation. After a period of puritanism there are however certain signs in Europe today of a liberalisation of many formerly strictly regulated areas (Levine, 2002; Korsell, 2004). The resistance to this trend varies however both within and between countries. It is therefore relatively safe to say that the level of regulation in the future is a trend which is not certain.

Perhaps regulation is in some ways related to the other trend of this scenario, which is the level of societal stability or instability. Societal stability can be interpreted in a number of ways. The interpretation closest at hand in this scenario is a free understanding of the kind of societal instability that might occur if the primary societal institutions for different reasons suffer from a diminished capacity to deliver their services to the citizens. This could be caused by various

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[4] The word environmental crime was first introduced as late as in the 1970s in Sweden (Brå 2002:12).

kinds of catastrophes, for example pandemics, natural disasters, large-scale terrorist attacks or war. Catastrophes of this kind are very likely to have a strong negative effect on the societal institutions in Sweden, especially since we are not used to them. This would almost certainly produce societal instability, at least in a short-term perspective.

There are of course varying degrees of societal stability or instability. It does not necessarily have to be full-scale catastrophes that affect the societal stability. It could also be about the demands that the citizens have on the services from the societal institutions, in contrast to the institutions' capability of living up to these demands. If a significant gap would arise between these two aspects, this could have a negative effect on the societal stability. There might also be opportunities for illegal groups to profit from those demands that are not met by the State, and new illicit markets can be created.

Time is an important factor concerning the trend of societal stability. A slowly deteriorating welfare system could for example have minimal effects on the level of societal stability in a ten-year perspective. On the other hand, there could also be a range of factors in the environment external to Sweden that could have an influence on the speed of this development. In this case, a lot could happen in ten years.

THE LEVEL OF REGULATION IN 2005

The Swedish society could generally be said to use regulation quite frequently as a tool to control unwanted and harmful behaviours or products. The State has traditionally had a strong position, and has been given the support of the people to create "the good society" by political means, something which in Sweden is referred to as "social engineering" (Ahrne, 1996). As many researchers now point at an increasing individualism, it is however uncertain in what degree people will accept intrusive regulation of our behaviours in the name of our best interests in the future.

Korsell (2004) describes Sweden's implementation of various types of regulation in certain areas during the 1900s. The description of regulation around legal products paints a general picture of increasing regulation up until the mid-1990s, then followed by some liberalisations. The level of regulation of illegal products has however increased continually. In some areas, there have been constant modifications between a strict or more liberal regulation, for example concerning alcohol and tobacco.

The membership in the EU has put increasing pressure on Sweden to harmonise its regulation with the other countries. The more or less free flow of merchandise and people also make divergent national control measures less efficient. EU-policies are therefore of increasing importance. The EU has generally surrounded the products and behaviours that today are classed as illicit, by high levels of strict regulation. The most obvious example is drug smuggling and abuse. Regarding certain licit products, like cigarettes and alcohol, there has however been more liberal regulation, and Sweden has had to lower its high regulative levels to meet the demands in the EU (Korsell, 2004). According to the Swedish National Criminal Investigation Police (Rikskriminalpolisen, 2004), this has particularly resulted in large increases of smuggled alcohol to Sweden. Another area in which the regulative stance has been different in Sweden than in the other EU-countries is regarding prostitution. A law criminalising the purchase, but decriminalising the sale of sexual services came into effect in 1999, and is unique

for Sweden. This law was often mentioned in the debate as a symbolic law (not to be mistaken with a law without law enforcement), constituting an important message that sexual purchases is unaccepted behaviour.

One of the most controlled and regulated areas is that of illicit drug smuggling and abuse. The domestic legislation on illicit drugs has followed the implementation of three internationally agreed Conventions in the UN: the 1961 Single convention on Narcotic Drugs as amended in 1972; the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances; and the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (Fazey, 2003). Sweden has chosen to interpret these Conventions in the strictest way possible, and has the objective of accomplishing a drug-free society. The "method" is implementation of zero-tolerance policies. Cindy Fazey at the University of Liverpool (2003), describes Sweden, together with Japan and the USA, as one of the "most vociferous opponents of change […] of the interpretations of the Conventions […]" and declares that the other countries with this tough stance are countries that "roughly fall into two categories: previous USSR States and dictatorships."

The change that Fazey is referring to is to permit more liberal interpretations of the Conventions, which would allow the countries with a more harm reduction approach to implement liberal drug policies. Previous negotiations have stranded due to Sweden's and the mentioned ally countries' resistance. The example shows that Sweden is not only affected by the politics that take place outside of its borders, but also have the power to affect this politics.

THE LEVEL OF SOCIETAL STABILITY IN 2005

Describing the present level of societal stability is for natural reasons very difficult. It is a question of degrees, and judgements on this matter would certainly vary from person to person. A period of time which many people in Sweden would characterize as socially instable could from other countries' point of view be seen as stable. Moreover, societal stability versus instability is a subject that could easily fill a whole book, and it is therefore necessary to generalise for the purpose of this scenario.

In international comparison the level of societal stability must be said to be very high in Sweden. After a quick review on the Internet of the aspects most commonly mentioned in relation to societal or social stability, the results were as follows: social situation, economic situation, social justice, social trust, corruption, education, abuse of drugs, terrorism, war, conflict between ethnic groups and low legitimacy of the political system.

Even though the Swedish people's social situation deteriorated significantly during the economic recession in the 1990s, the level of welfare is still high in an international perspective. In comparison with the countries in the EU, Sweden generally occupies a top or medium position on several accounts, concerning for example the personal social and economic situation, the level of social protection and the employment level (Europafakta i siffror, 2003).

The economic prosperity of a country is however often measured with the GDP, and the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise is openly worried about Sweden's loss of a top ranking among the OECD-countries, from a fourth place in 1970 to a fourteenth in 2002.

The use of GDP as a measure of welfare has been much criticised since it does not include calculations of the income disparity or other social conditions. According to the Human Development Index which also takes other aspects than the purely economical in account, Sweden occupies a second place in the ranking

of countries over the world (2004 UN Human Development Index Report). Yet another measure, the WISP, which takes a range of social factors into account, places Sweden and Denmark on a shared top position (DN, August 31, 2005).

Beyond these measures we have, in international comparison, low levels of corruption (GRECO, 2005), high levels of membership in social movements (SCB, 2003), high levels of social trust (Ungdomsstyrelsen, 2003), low levels of drug abuse although among the highest mortality rates for heavy drug abusers (ECCPN, 2004), there is no serious threat from terrorism, we have been free from wars during several centuries, and there are no violent conflicts among different ethnic groups. The legitimacy of the political system has however deteriorated with a faster speed in Sweden compared to many other countries (Möller, 2000).

The most essential comparison to assess the risk of societal instability in Sweden is however to compare the country with itself, i.e. to describe the changes of safety and welfare, and the challenges and fears for the future. In lack of more dramatic events like war and terrorism, it is the general living conditions that are most important for the level of societal stability. It must be remembered that this trend is about degrees, and not a black and white situation with either total societal stability or total instability.

The 1990s has been called "the lost decade" because a number of societal factors deteriorated during this period of economic recession. The annual studies of living conditions in Sweden performed by the Statistics Sweden, has shown that there was a dramatic decrease of living conditions for some parts of the population, and deteriorated material living conditions for the whole population. Every 10th job was lost and the poverty rate increased drastically. Especially young people, single parents' households and immigrants became poorer. The memberships and activities in social and political movements decreased, and especially the political parties suffered from an amplified crisis of trust and legitimacy. The public sector was the object of extensive savings and cuts which had negative effects on the level of social protection. Although the first years of the 2100th century have seen improvements of the economic situation, the general levels of welfare have yet not reached the former levels, and a number of factors poses important and difficult challenges for the welfare of the Swedish people in the future.

The non-intrusive State
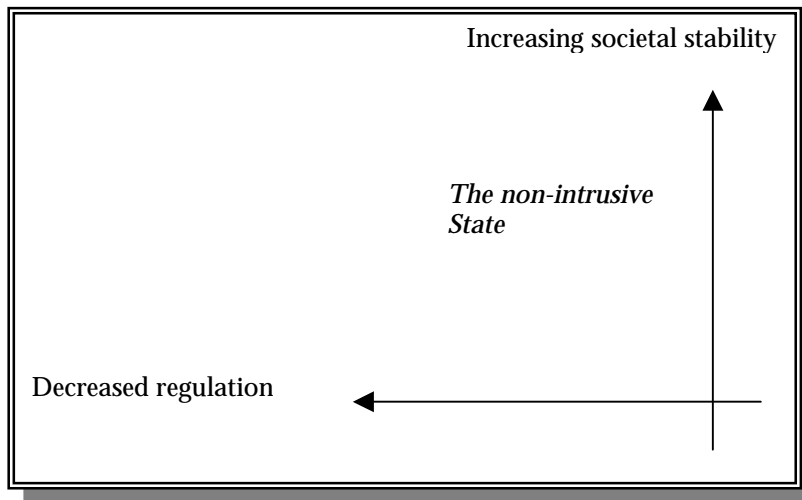
The Swedish State had up until 2005 a long history of protecting its citizens through regulating those products or behaviours that were considered harmful. "Making statements" through legislative measures was a highly valued way of influencing the demand of harmful products or behaviours. In 2006 it became clear to a majority of the political leaders that this kind of politics had a backside that might not be worth the price. The entrance into the EU had since long simplified border passage, and because the regulation surrounding these harmful products was stricter in Sweden and the other Nordic countries than in the other Member States, the illicit markets also showed larger gains in the Nordic countries than elsewhere.

HARMONISATION OF LEGISLATION

One of the most prioritised questions in the EU during this time, was the spread of organised crime. This coincided with demands of increased harmonisation between the Member States regarding legislation, tax rates and the regulation surrounding the licit markets. In the society as a whole, many contemporary debaters, and predominantly conservative ones, argued that the strong and controlling State, and those ideologies that had been based on collectivism, began to loose their validity. Instead, the traditional conservative and liberal ideas of the non-intrusive State and the free individual became more attractive. These debaters pointed at the increasing individualism, pluralism and multi-faceted identities as a reason for the change in ideological preferences. In 2007 a large study showed that the support for the State-controlled harsh regulation surrounding narcotics, alcohol and cigarettes only to mention a few harmful products, had decreased.

In the EU there had for several years existed a strong criticism in many countries against the zero-tolerance attitude towards illicit drugs. The leading critics argued that this politics had created vast black markets surrounded by violence and other criminal activities, severe health damages for the drug users because the criminalisations caused a reluctance to seek medical help, and a fast spread of HIV, AIDS and Hepatitis because of a circulation of used syringes. Harm reduction policies that demanded a relaxation of drug legislation, had

become more popular for each year. The disturbing growth of HIV in countries like China and Russia contributed to the push towards harm reduction. Decades of very strict regulation and law enforcement had been accompanied by a continuing increase in drug smuggling and abuse, and new solutions were increasingly sought.

The decade between 2005 and 2015 was thus characterised by liberalisation and a withdrawal of the State from certain former areas of control. In line with a harmonisation of tax rates on alcohol and tobacco within the EU, the Swedish taxes on these products were cut in 2006 respectively 2007. This was followed by a sharp increase of alcohol abuse and diseases, alcohol-related violent crimes and number of young people who had used tobacco-products. Already in 2009 the increase ceased however, and was from 2011 replaced by a slow decrease. After lengthy discussions in the government the tax rate on the so called "Turkish Red Oil" was cut to Finnish levels. Smuggling of the Red Oil from Finland to Sweden had been made routinely and in large quantities in Northern Sweden.

The Swedish drug policy was one of the world's strictest in 2005, and although the actual number of heavy drug abusers was relatively few in comparison to many other countries, Sweden had the highest drug related mortality rate in the EU. In 2009, a number of EU countries had managed to go around the zero-tolerance policies implied in the international UN-conventions and introduced several harm reduction measures. These included syringe exchange programmes, free distribution of certain illicit drugs and various decriminalisations. In Sweden, preventing the spread of HIV and Hepatitis B and C soon became a priority, and several measures were implemented to help the districts introduce syringe exchange programs. There were also extensive liberalisations of the treatment with Subutex and Methadone in 2010.

In 2007 it was already obvious to many researchers that the regulation surrounding environmental issues had become a lucrative new business for organised crime. Certain organised crime groups had specialised on false certifications and others on transport of hazardous waste. This seemed to send the message that the regulation obstructed economic growth in the business community. A series of articles were published in a large Swedish newspaper about the negative effects on the transport sector, which met increasing competition from Eastern Europe, of the high taxes relating to transports and vehicles. The articles put the relation between efficient production in unregulated markets and sustainable development in a clear light.

The negative effects of the introduced regulations were thoroughly discussed in Sweden and at the EU level. Although there had been a constant increase of environmental regulation for many years, the development following 2007 became more oriented towards "soft" regulation, and socioeconomic considerations weighed more than environmental. This included a cut in tax rates in the transport sector (strengthening the infrastructure to promote efficient production was one of the prioritised actions in the Lisbon strategy), more self-regulation for the enterprises and there was less control and monitoring from the regulatory agencies.

LIBERALISATIONS TO ACCOMPLISH ECONOMIC GROWTH

Except the problematic issues surrounding organised crime, another problem area with high priority was the economic future in Sweden and the EU. The economic growth was too small to secure the European social model, the unemployment too

high, and the population simply too old. Large parts of the labour force would go into retirement in 2015. If nothing was done, it would be impossible to maintain the same high level of welfare as in 2005. In the political elite of EU, there had been great disappointment at the lack of implementation of the actions that were agreed in Lisbon in 2000[5], and the efforts to push the Member States in the "right" direction became stronger from 2005. Inefficient regulation, difficult market access and insufficient competitive pressure was seen as inhibiting innovation in sectors with high growth potential, and reducing benefits to consumers. These obstacles therefore became the target for the national governments to identify and remove, or simplify substantially.

For the Swedish government, the overarching goal the next coming years thus became to increase Sweden's growth, as measured in GDP. The Confederation of Swedish Enterprise had during a long period been openly worried about Sweden's loss of a top ranking among the OECD-countries, from a fourth place in 1970 to a fourteenth in 2002 and put pressure on the government to follow the international recommendations for how to achieve a more competitive and viable economy. Together with the pressure from EU, this caused the government to take faster action to deregulate and liberalise the market. With an increased economic growth, more jobs would be created and Sweden would improve its possibilities of maintaining a high welfare level and public services. Large investments were also made in research that could assure Sweden's transit to becoming a fully-fledged knowledge-based economy.

A LOCALLY ADJUSTED WELFARE

An increased economic growth would however not be enough to meet the new demands on the welfare. The traditional welfare system was untenable in its 2005 form. In light of the quickly approaching future challenges regarding welfare issues[6], the political parties reached an agreement in 2009 on a strategy to change the existing order of the welfare system. The agreement had been preceded by several years of debate between parties on each side of a clear political divide. On one side there were those who argued that a complete transfer of responsibility to the State level[7] would insure that the important values of justice and equivalence in the welfare were met. On the other side were those who preferred a complete responsibility for the district level. They rather worked after the key words flexibility and pluralism, recognising that needs of welfare provision varied between districts.

Despite several demands of a compromise between the two alternatives, the majority of the parties involved preferred a solution that would appear clear and consistent to the citizens in order to increase the legitimacy of the system. The parliament thus came to the unique situation of voting on two opposite systems. The side that had proposed a full financial and executive responsibility on a district level gained a majority of the votes. According to many contemporary commentators this decision stood for a recognition that the traditional institutions had become incapable of effectively meeting the new demands that had risen in a

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[5] The Lisbon Strategy was agreed upon by all Member States in 2000, and aims at "making EU the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010 (http://europa.eu.int/growthandjobs/index_en.htm).

[6] Due to demographic changes, technological development and aspects relating to the globalisation, the demands on the welfare system would soon increase whereas the revenues for the financing of the system was not expected to increase proportionately.

[7] In 2005 the responsibility for the welfare services was divided between regional and district governments.

society characterized by individualism, multi-faceted identities, pluralism and flexibility in needs.

After a relatively fast transition period the new system became functional already in 2011. During the years between 2009 and 2011 the districts had carried out a large investigation into the different needs of welfare in their respective areas of responsibility, and new forms of cooperation across district levels were also initiated. The first few years with the new system were characterized by intensive reallocations of resources to areas with special needs.

Despite many fears of the contrary, the freedom that the districts received in the formation of the welfare system permitted them to create a locally adjusted welfare that was to an advantage for the socially vulnerable. There were less public institutions in areas that had expressed wishes of more private alternatives, and more public institutions in areas where the needs of these were larger. The welfare system was created in closer union with the citizens, and several civil solutions were also supported to assure a high involvement from the citizens in the local welfare. Local communities became more important as a source of political decisions and local social movements worked to increase the social networks in the districts.

A governmental evaluation of the new system in 2014 showed that when the responsibility for the welfare system was brought down to the district level instead of being divided between the district and regional level, it also became easier to get an overview of the unexpected and negative effects that could arise when several welfare services were combined.

LOSING OLD AND GAINING NEW ILLICIT MARKETS

In 2015 the non-intrusive State was a fact. There had been a long range of liberalisations of different regulated areas during the last decade. There had been harmonisations to an EU-level regarding alcohol and tobacco tax rates, and the drug policies had become more harm reduction-oriented. The market had also gone through a number of deregulations or simplifications of the existing regulation in order to increase its productivity. The EU had pushed hard to make the Member States take fast action in implementing actions to secure a larger economic growth and a tenable welfare system for the future. There were overall less sweeping State-controlled solutions and more individual and flexible solutions. The State also took less responsibility and the citizens had to take more. This resulted in both positive and negative effects.

The reduction of the tax rates on alcohol and tobacco products had led to an increase in ill-health, but the illicit markets had suffered large profit losses, and the smuggling of alcohol and cigarettes had decreased substantially. A large part of the smuggling was redirected to Norway who as a non-member of the EU had not had to lower its tax rates on these products.

In 2015, many of the EU countries had carried through extensive liberalisations of their drug policies in order to reduce the increasingly harmful black markets. Sweden had taken a few steps towards a harm reduction politics, but had in most regards slipped behind many of the other EU countries in the liberalisation of the drug politics. The illicit drug market in Sweden had as a result become more lucrative than ever. While the price level on drugs sank outside Sweden, it rose within Sweden. This attracted more new organised crime groups who benefited on the high price levels.

The deregulations of the licit market also had both positive and negative conse-quences. On the one hand, the developments had resulted in a situation where it was easy for organised crime to establish seemingly licit enterprises on the market, and use these for money laundering. The lack of control meant that they were seldom discovered. On the other hand, the removal of regulation also resulted in a deduction of markets to exploit by organised crime.

Despite the fast changes during the last decade, Sweden was a socially stable country. The economic growth had continued to increase and a majority of the people were better off. The change of welfare system that many people had been afraid would increase social segregation, had instead according to many contemporary commentators been a success because it provided more efficient and tailor-made solutions. The new relaxation of control from the State provided incentives for the civil society to step in and take increased responsibility. Social movements increased, and private alternatives popped up beside the welfare provisions of the districts.

Perhaps because the social security system came closer to the citizens there was a decrease in ordinary people's "welfare cheating". More sophisticated frauds had however occurred where organisations had received economical support from the responsible districts for claiming to provide outreach programmes towards different vulnerable groups in the society, but had in fact been shell companies owned by organised crime groups. In two of these incidents there had also been corruption involved. The transfer of decision-making to more informal structures might have made corruption easier to carry through.

Political control

Increasing societal stability

Political control

Increased regulation
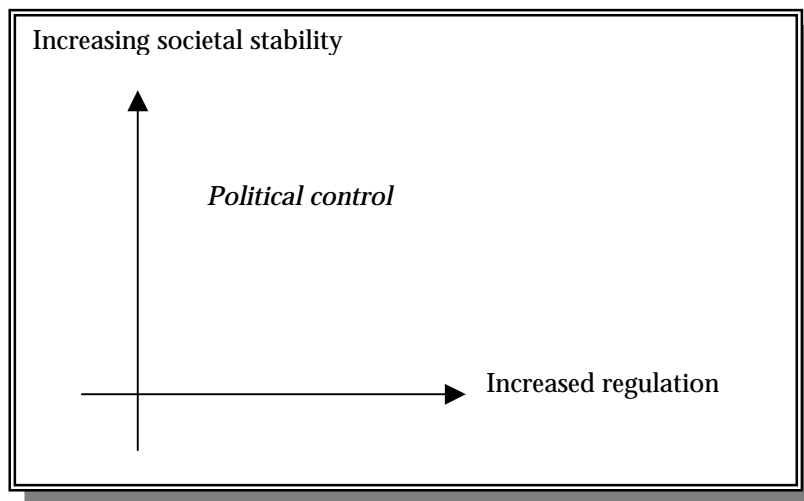
In 2005 there had been many changes in the Swedish society the previous decades. Many of the necessary steps towards an adjustment to a globalised economy and the membership in the EU had been taken. The market actors had received more power over the economy, and the political actors less. The Swedish people had been forced to get used to the fact that events far away from Sweden still affected the national economy. They had also gone through a period of deep economic recession in the 1990s where the high welfare level that was typical for Sweden had to be drastically lowered.

DEMANDS OF POLITICAL CONTROL

In 2005 the Swedish people were still struggling to recover from the deteriorated living conditions the recession had resulted in. The legitimacy for the political system was low, and there was anxiety for the future. The dominant political message in Sweden had during a long time been that the former high welfare levels would not be possible to reinstall. A large part of the labour force would retire in 2015, and the working part of the people was too small to support the non-working part. The instability that had characterised the previous decades, and the challenges that lay ahead in the future, had made people more willing to accept the new conditions, but yet become more demanding of a greater political control. A researcher summarized the result from a national study in 2006: "Sweden was not to be allowed to drift aimlessly in the strong market forces". The citizens' support of a tax-financed welfare had remained strong, independent of age or generation. There was even a greater motivation for the contemporary youth to pay high taxes to finance a good and equal welfare than there was for their parents' generation.

Even though the legitimacy for the political system in Sweden was low in 2005, it was even lower for the political system in the EU. The Swedish people had lower trust for EU than people in most other Member States. The situation had become even worse in 2008 when the previous years had been filled with disagreement between several countries in the EU, and many countries also had ignored trying to reach the common goals that had been set up.

The insecurity regarding the political level in the EU and the situation in the world at large concerning military conflicts, terrorism and environmental problems, resulted in people looking for security in the realm of the national identity. In the increased nationalism that followed, the political sphere received larger space and confidence from the people to create a "safe Sweden". Many contemporary commentators also spoke of a renewed moralism in the society, where people requested more regulation of unwanted behaviours and harmful products from the State.

REGULATION OF THREATS

The government caught the new winds and devoted a majority of their resources to handling two challenges: creating more jobs and strengthening the legitimacy for the political system. The latter was perceived as a prerequisite for managing the coming decade. The increasing demands from social movements to create more and clearer regulation around a number of areas were also prioritised. During the next decade a large number of perceived threats against the society were therefore encapsulated in a shell of regulation. This was the case for all kinds of threats against people's health, like alcohol, tobacco, drugs, fat food, sugar, caffeine and spread of diseases, environmental threats, and threats from organised crime, specifically regarding extortion and corruption. In order to improve the legitimacy of the political system, there was also implementation of regulation to increase the transparency of both the business community and the political realm.

At the same time, the government aimed to deal with the future situation of a too small labour force and too few jobs. The budget for research and development was more than doubled to create an even more knowledge-based economy and incentives to start enterprises in regional settings were implemented. The large part of the population that were on sickness absences or that were simply not enough integrated in the labour market, had to be put to work. The occupational health care were given large resources to improve working conditions for high-risk groups, and several projects were started in cooperation between the concerned agencies to decrease the rate of sickness leave and to work with improved the social integration on the labour market and society in general. The government based a new direction of the labour market politics on the assumption (naturally backed up by some scientific support) that the drastically increased sickness absences during the latter part of the 1990s and up until 2005 were a result of the increased uncertainty on the labour market. In the new labour market politics there was thus implementation of regulation that strengthened the protection of the employees. Considering the general picture, necessary adjustments were made to prevent a negative influence on the productivity of the market of these regulations.

WELFARE SERVICES TRANSFERRED TO THE STATE LEVEL

As mentioned earlier there was large support from the people for keeping a high and equal welfare level. Awareness of the fact that the welfare system needed restructuring to reach the optimal functioning in the future was however also widespread. There was above all a need for a refinement of the responsibility and roles of the involved actors, and an increased cooperation between different sectors to reach the full potential of the system. The contemporary division of responsibilities between a state level, a regional level and a district level did no longer seem attractive to anyone, and in 2009 an agreement was reached that a

complete transfer of responsibility for the welfare services to the State level would take place.

This was well adjusted to the contemporary needs and ideologies. There were strong demands on the regulation of individual rights for vulnerable groups and an equal distribution of service levels in all parts of the country. The State also needed the general overview over the system that this transfer assured. A State responsibility for the welfare services also made an increased co-ordination between the welfare services and the social transfer systems possible, as well as the possibilities to adjust priorities between these and other societal services, such as the legal system. Considering the future challenges, the opportunities to adjust tax levels between the welfare system and other parts of the economical structure, also simplified the government's task. In addition to the above mentioned advantages for the State, it became easier to regulate and carry through changes of the welfare services.

After a relatively fast transition period the new system became functional already in 2011. The State had then received the responsibility for a range of welfare services, such as the handicap care, the educational system, the healthcare system, the elder care and preschool. The State also took responsibility for the environmental- and food administration area. Considering the clearly expressed wishes by the citizens to maintain a State responsibility for the welfare services, but yet increase the individual options and solutions, a wide range of contractors was used that performed the services, and the State regulated the basic conditions that always had to be fulfilled while giving relatively free room for adding services that those who wished could pay extra for. A system with vouchers was created where the citizens could choose the supplier of welfare services from the preferred State contractor.

The most important challenge that the transfer brought was to secure a sufficient local presence to make up for the "closeness" that was removed with a transfer from district to State level. Resources were thus put aside to institute the needed communication channels. The importance of regular control of the contractors was also recognised, and control functions installed. Regular evaluations were made of the contractors in the form of questionnaires sent out to their clients.

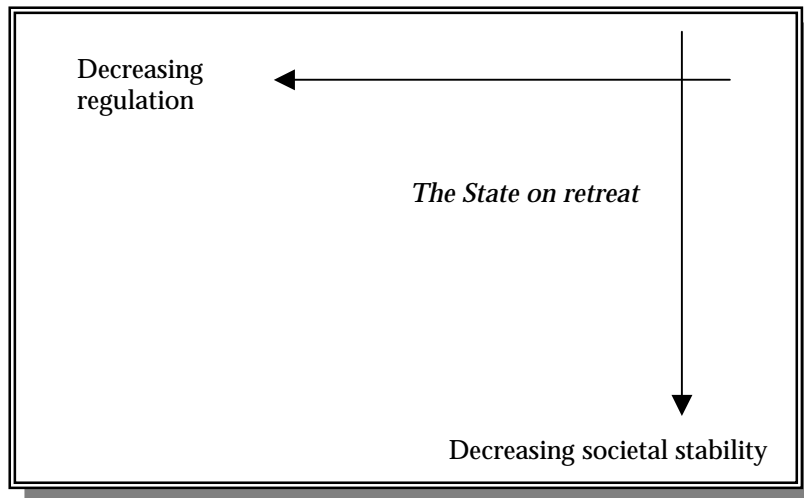## NEW ILLICIT MARKETS BUT LESS NEW RECRUITMENT

During the period between 2005 and 2015, political actions had been given large support and room to create the desired society; a society that in a time of perceived unsecurity wished for more security in the national realm. The security was to be accomplished by an increased importance for political decisions and regulatory measures, and at the end of 2015, a large number of new regulations had been created. Traditional collectivist values from the "Nordic welfare model" had been dusted off and given a modern look. Equality, social integration and political strength were important words during this decade. The ten years had passed without any major disruptions, neither in Sweden nor abroad. The employment level had risen because of successful integration and health politics, the employment security on the labour market had improved, and social exclusion had decreased. There was good societal stability in Sweden, and the legitimacy of the Swedish political system had increased, although the trust for the politics at an EU level was still low.

Although the fight against organised crime had been a prioritised issue, the additions in regulation during the decade had resulted in several new areas for organised crime to exploit. The new moralism that had been discerned had certainly not affected everyone, and the demand for products that the State had declared "harmful" and prohibited, was still high. Even if the trends in Sweden had also been visible in the other Nordic countries, the other European countries had not regulated the same areas to such an extent as in Sweden. Sweden and the other Nordic countries had thus become one of the best markets for organised crime groups to profit from. Despite large resources to the Police and Customs departments, smuggling of alcohol, cigarettes, tobacco and trafficking in persons for the purpose of sexual exploitation showed no signs of decreasing. New products that had been the target of smuggling were certain types of non-healthy food. Illegal transportation of hazardous waste continued to be a problem.

At the implementation of the new regulatory frameworks the goal had been to create clear and well enforced regulation. The process had however been too fast and most of the regulation was still complicated, and parts of it also contradictory. Enforcement of the new regulatory frameworks was lacking due to a decline in the resources avalailable for the law enforcement agencies to deal with the new areas of control. These circumstances had unfortunately made the licit markets more vulnerable for organised crime, and the law-abiding among the licit managers of companies was also challenged when the new regulation had not yet created social norms beneficial for law-abiding.

There was however not a large total increase of organised crime in Sweden. Most of the crime groups that organised the smuggling were based in other countries, and the same groups as usual operated the business from the Swedish side. New recruitment to organised crime did not show any signs of increasing. Political leaders "responsible" for the creation of the strong State claimed that this was a result of the successful integration politics and the decrease in unemployment level. It proved, they said, that it was possible to create the desired State with political means. The critics however, pointed at the new illicit markets that had been created and that economic growth had been stronger in other European countries with less regulation of markets and social life.

The State on retreat

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Decreasing
regulation          ←──────────────────┐
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              The State on retreat      │
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                                        ↓
                    Decreasing societal stability
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In 2005 Sweden had been members in the EU for exactly a decade. Especially the last five years of this period had been characterised by fast political integration. The initial considerations for diverging politics were gradually abandoned, and Sweden was required to continually harmonise its legislation with the rest of the Member States. During the coming decade, former strict regulation concerning for example alcohol, tobacco and drugs, was liberalised (in that order) and taxes were cut on these products as in the scenario "The non-intrusive State". Sweden remained divided however on the advantages of non-regulation versus regulation, and the resistance towards the EU that had always been present, grew stronger.

FAST CHANGES OF THE ECONOMY

In 2006 there was a sense of deep urgency concerning the need to create a sustainable future. All the countries in the EU were facing the same challenges regarding employment and welfare, and the actions to adopt in order to avoid a serious economic recession were outlined in the Lisbon Strategy. The future challenges had been known during several decades, but progress to take the necessary action had been slow.

Although Sweden had been one of the top performers in achieving the goals set out in the Lisbon Strategy, the government decided in 2006 that there was a need for swift implementation of deregulations and privatisations of the economy to further boost the economic growth. Especially the welfare services were to be privatised in order to decrease the "unsustainable" public spending. There was very little support from the people regarding these deregulations and privatisations, but the argumentation at the political level was that the changes were essential and could never be popular because they meant initially deteriorating conditions for a large part of the population. The parties holding power in the parliament were however convinced that the changes would eventually result in strong economic growth, whereby the living conditions would improve for the whole population.

In retrospect it can however be said that the changes of the licit market and the liberalisation of regulation around "harmful products" took place too fast, and

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produced destabilisations in the society. The health care system was completely privatised at the same time as the tax cuts on alcohol and tobacco products resulted in sharp increases of illnesses related to these products. During the initial phases of the privatisation, the health care system was unable to attend to these problems, and the remaining State institutions were too few. After a couple of years, there had been a development of highly professionalised and specialised health care which helped reduce some of the increases. However, the privatisation of the health care system had led to the need for private medical health insurances which were relatively expensive. The institutions that provided free healthcare were criticised for being overloaded and for having too long queues.

INCREASING POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

At the same time as the privatisation of the health care system had taken place, there had also been cuts in the levels of the social transfer systems. Although there had also been cuts of the income taxes, the low-wage income levels had been lowered as well, in order to promote the business community's ability to hire Swedish labour force. The changes produced the desired effects of increasing the employment level, but the cuts of the income taxes did not produce the same beneficial effects for low-income earners as they did for high-income earners and income disparity widened as a result. The unfortunate situation had thereby been created where many people were simply too poor to afford proper health care, just like the privatisation of parts of the dental care had resulted in rising price levels during the first years of the new century.

The privatisations of the large public sector had led to an increased efficiency in the formerly State-owned institutions, which resulted in vast labour lay-offs. Since a majority of the labour force in the public sector were women, they were unproportionately disadvantaged by the privatisations. Those who remained employed in the public sector had to accept lower wages, and by the end of 2015 a majority of those under the poverty line in Sweden were women. Many contemporary commentators argued that Sweden was becoming more and more like the United States. On the positive side, the economic growth as measured in GDP had continued to show strong increases during the whole decade, and was in 2015 up in 3 percent annual growth. Also the employment rate had shown some important increases.

## SOCIAL INSTABILITY AND RISING CRIME LEVELS

In 2017 a well-known researcher in political science published a book about the decade between 2005 and 2015 and claimed that this decade was characterised by more fast changes than any other decade during the 1900s. If the 1990s was also included in the analysis, the Swedish society could be described as having gone from the praised "Nordic model" of high welfare, high income and equal distribution of income, to high levels of economic growth, low welfare and a high income disparity with an small high-income elite and a large low-income population. Many people had not been able to adjust to the fast changes and political discontent became more widespread. Studies performed in 2015 showed that there had been a decline in social capital and trust, both between the population and the political system, and between citizens. Some researchers argued that this was in fact the consequence of the transition from universal public welfare solutions to selective welfare solutions, and that they had foreseen this negative consequence.

There was a growth of parallel societies in many poor problem areas where the socially excluded were gathered, and in these societies a development of political extremism focusing around rasism could be discerned. In 2015, these parallel societies had already been the scene of repeted violent actions and many hate crimes towards immigrants. Political actions to control the disruptive processes in these areas had no effect – the confidence in both the political system and the police was low. The police claimed in the media that a rhetoric of "war" against the established society was developing in these parallel societies.

Crime levels were rising during this period. Many criminologists referred to Robert Merton's strain theory and other researchers in the Chicago School and claimed that a sharp economic growth that was accompanied by widening income disparities tended to create rising crime levels. Although leading economists argued that the economic growth was beneficial for the whole population and not just a part of it, the criminologists reminded that the discrepancies between the economic aspirations of the working-class and their opportunities to reach these aspirations are rather increasing with improved economic growth which is not followed by the same improvements in economic equality.

Organised crime groups had lost a great deal of their profits on the formerly regulated products but remained "in business" since the demand for especially illicit drugs had increased as a result of falling price levels. They were also increasingly charged for corruption, extortion and infiltration, as well as threats against the police and elected representatives. Some contemporary commentators claimed that this was a result of the declining profits in their former expert areas whereas others argued that this was a development that had been clear for many years and that it was simply a result of a general "sophistication" of the organised crime groups. Yet others opposed the description of the organised crime groups as more sophisticated and pointed at the strong growth of traditional crime that had taken organisational forms, such as robbery and theft. The licit markets had become more open and vulnerable with the proliferation of private actors that the last decade had seen, but the organised crime groups seemed to, unorganised, really benefit from these openings, and exploit the licit markets.

Regaining control
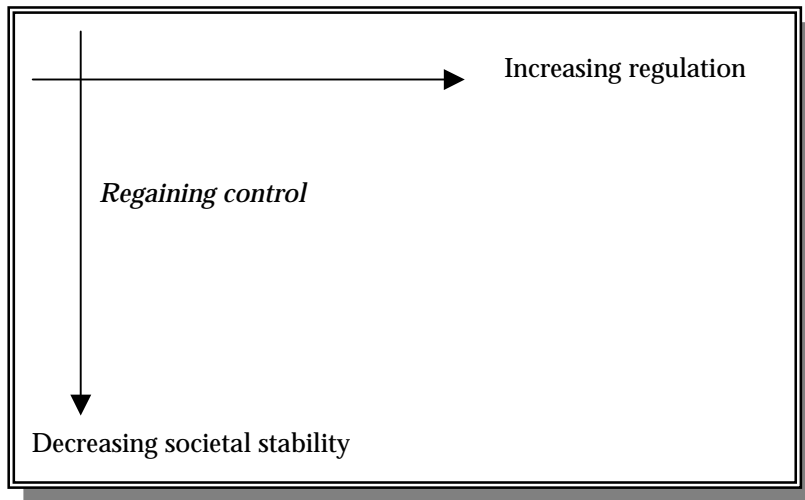
The years between 2005 and 2015 became a decade characterised by societal instability and an increase in regulatory actions from the government to restore the order. In the beginning of the decade environmental threats and other more diffuse risks occupied a large part of the political agenda and the public debate. There was a perceived increase in the potential threats against the society, and the threats were also dispersed in a wider range of societal sectors. Different trends in the surrounding world were significant in creating this situation. The globalisation resulted in faster exchange of information, money and people, but also in transmitting diseases faster. The increased interconnections of the national economies resulted in an augmented vulnerability to the economic situation in foreign countries, and the technical development had made us more dependent on technical functionality for managing important societal functions.

Managing future risks and threats had always been an important question for societies, and an increasing range of public agencies worked with risk management in the 2000s, even though there were varying degrees of the priority given to this area. In 2005, the cooperation between agencies and the necessary overview of the work within different sectors, was still lacking but was increasingly attended to, especially in the EU. This was essential since the dependency between different important societal functions and services was increasing, and the infrastructure between them characterised by growing complexity. The risk that disrupting events would seriously affect many sectors in society was therefore larger.

USING PENAL LAW AS MEANS OF CONTROL

In 2005 several serious incidents that had occurred during the previous ten years, both in Sweden and abroad, had put a face on some of the future threats. The discourse around these threats had also been rather extravagant, especially in the media. The threats were in particular related to environmental issues such as the global warming, terrorism, the spread of infectious diseases and organised crime.

The consequence of this "risk society culture" was that the citizens started to demand increased political control. This occurred at the same time as there had

been a long trend of an increased tendency to use penal law as a measure to control actions or products that constituted risks or threats. In light of the financial difficulties to maintain a high level of economic security and good welfare services to the citizens, regulatory actions became a popular and economically attractive way to deal with the increased demands of control. Thorough evaluations and general views of the implications of that legislation, in terms of opportunities for abuse or the posing of new risks, were however seldom carried out.

Following from the above, the decade was characterised by implementation of a range of actions, mainly regulatory, fitting into the larger framework of "law and order". Political points could easily be collected on this rhetoric, and these points were needed in times of decreased legitimacy of the political system. Creating a sound environment free from pollutions and unpredictable climate changes, promoting the right to good health as well as protecting from terrorism and crime became the most important political issues. The means of control was primarily, as mentioned, implementation of various types of regulation.

In the environmental area, new legislation was implemented to promote more efficient use of energy and transportation, to decrease the discharge of toxic substances and increase the economizing of natural resources. In order to "safeguard" the citizens from bad health, a range of both "old" harmful products such as alcohol, cigarettes and drugs, as well as new products, like food that exceeded certain levels of sugar and fat and various chemical ingredients, were surrounded by increased and strict regulation. Crime and terrorism were prioritised areas where the main actions were to approach what was claimed to be the public's sense of justice in terms of offender punishments.

SELECTIVE WELFARE SOLUTIONS

One of the most important challenges in Sweden during this decade was to maintain a high level of welfare with continually decreasing tax revenues. Even though both the political and the business community took actions to improve the financial base for the welfare system, the solution to the deteriorating financial situation was increasingly seen as privatisation of the remaining parts of the public sector, with the exception of a few "protected" zones, and cuts in the social transfer systems. The two largest sectors that went through privatisation during this period were the public health care system and the public educational system. Approaching the year 2015, the Swedish society had little left of its original welfare system and had rather found a solution based on selective welfare services with a large number of private companies providing health care and education.

The changes had, as the former deregulations of public sector areas, resulted in higher prices for the services, and a large part of the population experienced difficulties in affording good professional health care and excellent education. Social segregation increased as a result, and social trust, social capital, and the trust of the political system weakened, something that many contemporary researchers blamed on the transition to selective welfare solutions. By the end of the decade, quick glances on the public debate revealed that the emphasis on law and order was increasingly regarded as a political curtailing of the system's failure to provide economic security and equal treatment.

A PANDEMIC REACHES SWEDEN

Then in 2014 the unthinkable happened. The avian influenza virus had undergone a antigenic shift with a human influenza virus and the new virus was both highly contagious and highly lethal for humans. The first cases were spotted in Indonesia but the virus quickly spread to other countries and soon it was obvious that it constituted a new pandemic. Already one month after the break-out the virus reached Sweden although measures were taken to prevent the spread of the disease. Pharmaceutical manufacturers started working on producing a vaccine, but the process took several months and the list of countries in desperate need of the vaccine was long. In addition, it soon became clear that the total production capacity would only cover around one tenth of the global needs.

In Sweden, the pandemic put severe strains on the societal institutions ability to deal with the consequences. Risk management plans were dusted off and frantic activities started in the political and business community. It soon became obvious however, that many of the private contractors that performed important welfare services, had down-prioritised the preparedness and management of risks and threats in order to maximise profits. The fast growing range of private contractors in Sweden had also made it increasingly difficult to create an overview of the resource situation and the roles of responsibility were unclear.

The health care system became completely overloaded already after one month, and large parts of the working population caught the deadly virus. The private contractors performing the necessary welfare services had downsized their business in order to achieve the maximum efficiency, and had thus become even more vulnerable for absences in the labour force. The situation was after a few chaotic months characterised by relatively small and limited contributions and only a few overarching co-operations had managed to get under way. Six months after the virus was detected in Sweden, there was vaccine available to distribute, but only in a small quantity. The existing risk management plans had detailed the distribution of the vaccine beforehand, and these plans were now followed.
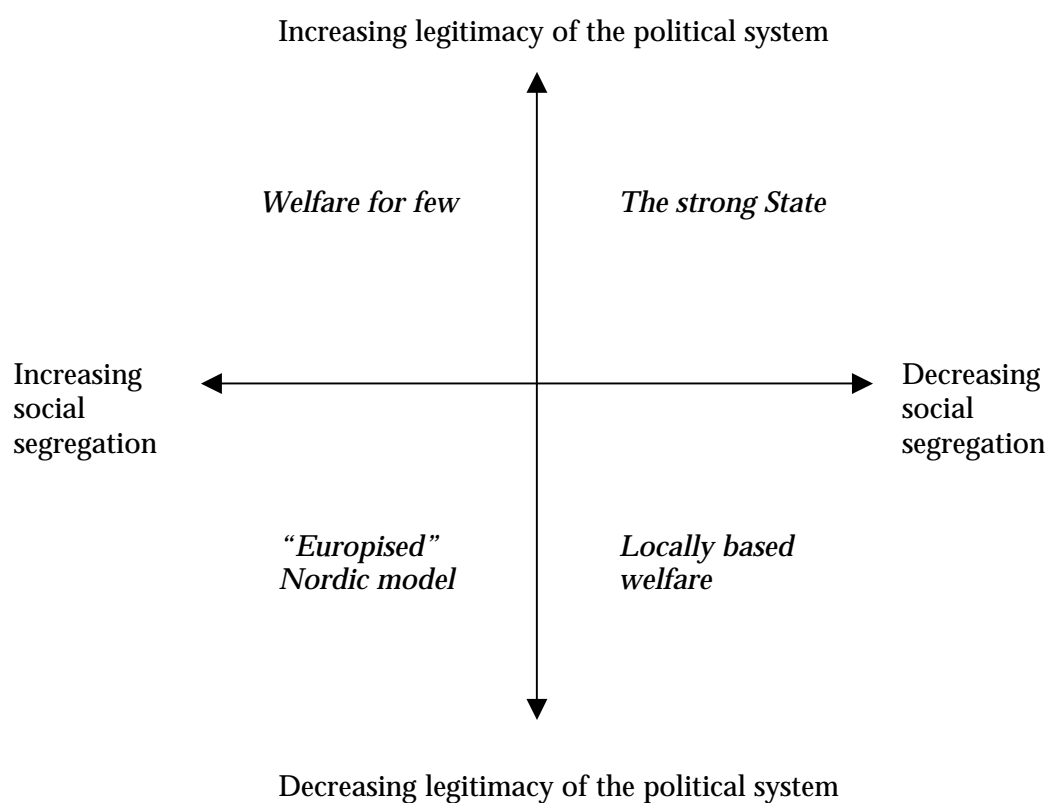
GOOD TIMES FOR ORGANISED CRIME

The Swedish society had been in a state of upheaval for several months while the government struggled to regain control. The legitimacy of the political system reached bottom levels when the inability to provide basic security and health care had become obvious. The crime rate rose drastically when looting and theft became the only way to survival for many people. Suspicion and violence followed in its tracks. A grey zone was quickly developed where the illicit market grew as it often constituted the only source to satisfy many essential needs. The chaos had significantly blurred the boundaries between the licit and the illicit markets. One of the most lucrative new businesses for organised crime groups was a small black market of vaccine, where very small quantities were extremely expensive.

The fact that the economically privileged could buy their freedom in terms of health in an unfair way, while a majority of the population had to wait several months for their turn only increased the instability in the society, and the antagonisms between different groups. The already socially segregated and excluded parts of the population that had not been prioritised for vaccination nor had the means to pay for vaccine on the black market stood behind repeated violent protests and riots on the streets.

A researcher who published a book about the events in 2017 remarked that even though a range of regulations had been implemented in the society in the period between 2005 and 2015 with the purpose of protecting the people from events like the pandemic, the societal institutions broke down quickly anyway. The researcher argued that an important reason behind the failure was the wrongful promotion of formal political regulation instead of informal social control, and an undervaluation of the need for social capital. In retrospect, the writer wrote, one could have wished that more resources were devoted to the promotion of just and equal economic security in well-functioning non-selective welfare systems instead of the populist emphasis on law and order, and protection by legislation. The catastrophe might not have caused the same state of societal instability if the Swedish society had been able to keep the same level of social capital and trust and informal social control as in the beginning of the decade.

Another researcher referred to the sociologist Emile Durkheim and his theory of social disorganisation. One of the essential arguments in the theory was of use to explain the situation the previous decade. It stated that the likelihood of inefficient regulation is greater when the progress is very fast, since new forms of control have not had the time to evolve to replace the older and established norms. It generally takes a very long time to change norms and behaviours with new regulation, and if that time has not been given to people, the chances are that the new regulation becomes nothing more than a front.

Scenario 3: What could the future look like for the structure of organised crime groups in Sweden in 2015?

Increasing legitimacy of the political system

Welfare for few   The strong State

Increasing social segregation   Decreasing social segregation

"Europised" Nordic model   Locally based welfare

Decreasing legitimacy of the political system

INTRODUCTION

When organised crime is mentioned, many people still think of centrally controlled organisations, like our image of the Italian mafia. The criminological research has however been able to show that that the majority of organised crime groups are rather arranged in networks (Ryan and Rush, 1997). Moreover, the structure of these criminal networks depend on which markets are exploited. The structure of the networks and the connections to other networks vary for example between those who work with illegal activities of trafficking in women, trade in stolen cars, or heroin smuggling and trading (Bruinsma and Bernasco, 2004).

In Sweden, there is a lack of empirical research regarding the structure of different types of criminal structures, and the little available research there is, has not been well distributed. The National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) has recognised this lack of empirical knowledge, and examined the structure of the organised drug crime groups in a recent study. The conclusions were that these are organised in both dense and loose-knit networks, and have project-like organisations. This means that they are highly flexible, and that groups are established according to the specific competence that is needed for the project at hand. They are spread over the whole country, and they have international connections permitting them to work across borders (Brå 2005:11).

However, the structure of the organised crime groups that work with trafficking in human beings, or with art crimes, might be very different. Due to the lack of knowledge on the structure of the organised crime groups in Sweden, it is a difficult task to predict their response to changes in the environment. On a general level, the empirical evidence does however suggest that the majority of the organised crime groups in Sweden are more or less composite networks like those working with drug crime, rather than large hierarchical organisations with a godfather residing in the top (Brå 2002:7).

The increasing internationalisation of our society has had major consequences for the structure of organised crime in Sweden. This is not a new phenomenon, but the effects are probably increasing as the globalisation continues to develop and expand (Brå 2002:7). With dissolving boundaries new markets can be explored more easily, influences from organised crime abroad be imported, and useful international contacts be established (Brå 2005:11).

The globalisation of the economy has resulted in specific problems. The legitimacy of the political system is one of those, and it constitutes one of the trends in this scenario. Many believe that the global competition undermines the political and social forces that are necessary to uphold a national welfare and social security (Held & McGrew, 2000). The possibilities of maintaining a high level of welfare has been challenged. A failure to do so will affect the legitimacy of the political system and the citizens feelings of social trust will decrease. A lack of social trust might have negative consequences for economic growth and functionality of markets, social integration, democratic stability, and a range of other factors (Delhey & Newton, 2002, Rothstein, 2003). This will in turn affect the markets for organised crime, and as a result also the structure of organised crime networks, as the following scenarios will describe.

This challenge is equal for many States in the Western world, and constitutes one of the most important issues in Europe today. For this reason, the development the coming ten years is not certain. There has already been a period of inability to act and adjust to the changing circumstances. Will this remain so during the next decade, or will new solutions be introduced that will lead to an

increased legitimacy of the political system? This development is certainly important to the organised crime groups, which could benefit from a decreasing legitimacy of the political system in Sweden.

Somewhat related to this issue is the question of social exclusion, which constitutes the second trend in this scenario. Although a majority of people would claim that increasing social exclusion is certain to play out since this has been a feature in the western countries for many years, there are signs of possible developments that could change the present course. In Sweden there has been a long tradition of working actively to achieve integration and social justice in the welfare, and particular investments are regularly made in vulnerable urban areas The social exclusion in a society is highly relevant to the structure, prevalence and dispersion of organised crime groups. Areas with high levels of social exclusion tend to create criminal youth gangs with a high level of organisation, where there are possibilities to obtain that which the legal society cannot provide. These youth gangs then constitute a recruitment base to the organised crime groups, which offer the young people a "career" in the criminal milieu (Brå 2005:11).

LEGITIMACY OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN 2005

During the 1930s the foundation for a strong welfare State was laid in Sweden. The parties on the employment market were strong, and a constant economic growth made possible a growing public sector. During several decades social reforms were carried through that created a strong safety net for all citizens. The unity among political parties regarding the formation of the Swedish welfare State was unique.

At the end of the 1960s the circumstances started to change. The Democracy report of 2000 describes the new conditions that affect the democracy and legitimacy of the political system (SOU 2000:1). The globalisation has, as expected, been an important condition. It has through the encouragement of global competition promoted the development of the knowledge- and information society, and created multi-faceted identities that poses new challenges for the traditional political parties. The medialisation of the society together with the development of Internet has created new fora for lobbying and participation. The change from the typical Swedish corporativism to pluralism has resulted in an increased value for lobbying. The membership in the European Union has had a number of important consequences. One of these is the increased levels of political representation.

The increasing globalisation of the economy caused or coincided with several economic crises from the 1970s to the 1990s. The possibilities for the government to control the national economy became more limited, and the market actors became more important. At the same time there was a gradual dismantling of the public sector due to failing finances of the State. Since the 1970s the political trust and interest for the political system has continually declined. After the millennium shift, a renewed economic growth spurred a wave of optimism, but the legitimacy of the political system in Sweden did not return to former levels, but has rather continued its descent (Hadenius, 2003). This development has manifested itself in all of the developed countries, but has been particularly striking in Sweden (Möller, 2000).

Some researchers make a connection between the dismantling of the public sector and the level of political trust in Sweden. The Swedish people had become used to the high levels of welfare and a continually improving economy and

demanded a return to former welfare. When the government was unable to meet these demands, political trust declined. The decline might have been especially large because the pride and symbolism surrounding the welfare State was a characteristic for Sweden in a higher degree than for any other European State, and the fall of the welfare State was as a result experienced as more disturbing (Kumlin & Rothstein, 2003).

Connections between the loss of political power to the EU and the declining legitimacy of the political system have also frequently been made (SOU 2000:1). There is weak support for the political institutions of the European Union, something that is often explained in terms of the democratic deficit. The elected European Parliament has limited authority compared to the Commission, and combined with a lack of transparency in the system, these are factors that might be responsible for the weak legitimacy of the political system in the EU. These circumstances are likely to affect the trust in Swedish politics as well.

Although from an initially high international standard, the voter turnout in elections, the membership in political parties and the trust of the political establishment have all declined rapidly in Sweden, and this development is regarded as one of the most disturbing problems in Sweden today (Peterson et al., 2004).

LEVEL OF SOCIAL SEGREGATION IN 2005

The word segregation brings separation in mind. In addition to geographical separation the word also implies different levels of social hierarchy. Socioeconomic status and ethnicity are two factors that often determine the geographical separation of citizens in a country. In the larger cities in Sweden this type of segregation is very common, and has increased during the 1990s. The level of ethnic segregation is according to the National Board of Health and Welfare very high in Sweden. The segregation is however not between different non-Swedish ethnic groups, but rather between Swedish people and all other ethnic groups. The most segregated areas with a high level of different ethnic groups are also dominated by non-European ethnic groups (www.sos.se).

The present situation regarding differences in socio-economic level is in large part due to the severe economic recession in the 1990s. During this time, the income disparities widened between socio-economic groups, and while the income level increased with 14 percent for Swedish people between 1991 and 2002, the increase for people born abroad was only 5.5 percent (SCB, 2004). In Sweden's Action Plan Against Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003-2005 a similar analysis is made regarding the development during the 1990s. The recession resulted in social exclusion of many people from the most vulnerable groups. There was increased employment, a decline in mental well-being, and more people with economic difficulties. The composition of the population changed when the birth rates went down and a large immigration took place.

ertain groups were struck harder by the recession, and these groups have not yet today managed to return to the same level of welfare as in the beginning of the 1990s. These groups are young people, single parent providers and immigrants. Large health inequalities have occurred, where women suffer from more health problems than men, blue-collar workers more than white-collar workers and immigrants more than Swedish people. The number of persons on sickness absences have risen to alarming rates, there are now more than twice as many people on sick-leave than in 1997 (Scb, 2004). The segregation in the labour

market has many ethnical overtones, and in this regard especially the non-European and non-North American immigrants are disadvantaged (Rönneling, 2004).

Although the 1990s saw a negative development in terms of social exclusion, the present levels are still low in an international perspective. This is however not valid for the social geographical segregation, which is relatively high. The welfare system is adjusted to be universal and protect people from serious poverty and illness. A minimum protection is also provided due to Sweden's undertakings with regard to human rights, but the housing policies have generally suffered from a lack of planning in a long-term perspective (Sweden's Action Plan Against Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003-2005).

Welfare for few

Increasing legitimacy of the political system

Welfare for few

Increasing social
segregation
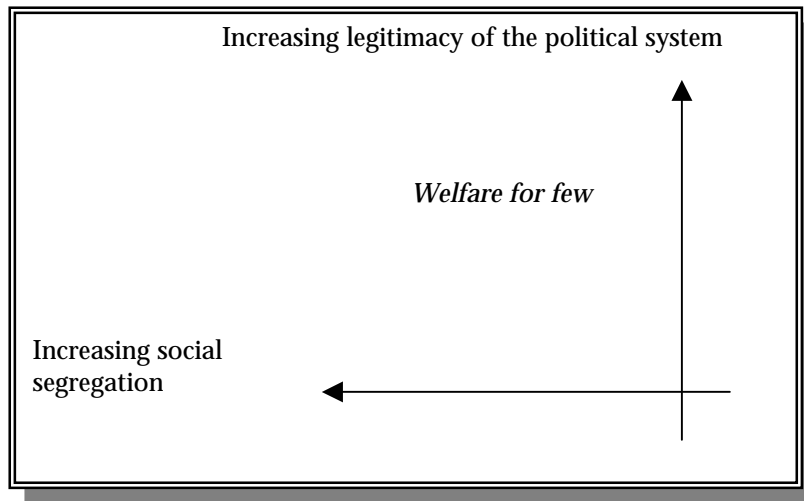
Strengthening the legitimacy of the political system was one of the most important political issues in 2005, for all government parties and at the EU level. In the Spring Fiscal Policy Bill for the year 2005 the government proposes to earmark 10 million SEK to raise the participation in the election of 2006. Information campaigns were carried out, and several virtual discussion fora were created.

ACTION PLANS FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY

After the failure of the European constitution, that was created to strengthen the legitimacy of the European Union, a new action plan for the promotion of democracy and active citizenship was launched by the EU in 2006. The Swedish EU commissionaire Margot Wallström was to be used to "give EU a face", and a marketing campaign was launched where she had an active role. Agreements were made that selected parts of the proposed constitution should be included in the action plan. A large information campaign was performed in all of the Member States to educate the people in the functions and responsibilities of the European democratic representative institutions and their relationship to the national governments and parliaments.

In addition to the European action plan, each Member State created a national plan. Sweden agreed on the goal of having turned the trends of decreased poll turnout, decreased active participation in political parties, increased threats and violence against elected representatives and decreased trust for the political system for two years in a row by 2015. Between 2006 and 2015 large efforts were made from all political parties and the public administration to strengthen the legitimacy of the political system. Important parts of the action plan were to strengthen the democratic relations between the national parliament and the European institutions as well as the methods of decision-making between the national parliament and the national government concerning EU-related policy issues. Much emphasis was also put on increasing the transparency of the political system and decision-making, from the national level to the European. Moving the European political arena closer to the citizens became an important goal, and this was gradually achieved by establishing virtual communities of discussion and

information as well as increasing the information on European policy decisions in the media.

BRINGING THE POLITICS CLOSER TO THE PEOPLE

New experiments of strengthening the politics at a regional level were implemented. The goal was to bring the politics that had a direct impact on the living conditions of people closer to them by transferring more of these issues from a national level to a regional. The popular support for direct democracy that is difficult to carry through on a national or supranational level was made an important element of the new regional politics and self-rule.

Gradually, people became more involved in both local and regional politics, and the number of elected representatives rose in 2012 for the first time in many years. The election participation was slow to recover from the low levels of the inauguration of the action plan, but showed a slight increase in 2013, followed by another small increase in 2014. In 2015 a large national study examining the legitimacy of the political system showed signs of a trend towards increasing trust for regional politics. The study also showed however, that there was a widespread elitism in the regional politics. The increase in elected representatives, poll turnout and trust for politicians were unequally distributed in the population. A majority of those who stood for the development of increased legitimacy of the political system were the well-educated Swedish medium to high-income earners.

POPULISM AND LIBERAL HOUSING POLICIES

Although the government had implemented several measures to improve the integration of immigrants into the labour market and society in general, and to increase the number of people with a low socio-economic status that enter higher education, housing policy had not been a prioritised area. The development of privatisation of public housing areas continued, and rent levels were progressively more market-adjusted. New solutions to the strained welfare situation were increasingly selective and private. This accentuated the segregation further, when low-income earners had less possibilities of affording housing in more high affluence areas. In the hard competition for votes, the political parties had in addition arranged to introduce more harsh police control and supervision in segregated areas. The political strategy in terms of crime control and housing policy thus worked to counteract the other integration policies.

Interestingly, this did not affect the increased legitimacy of the political system on the part of the societal elite, which felt that actions were being taken to reduce segregation and crime in problem areas. There was also an awareness that a globalised economy tends to result in higher levels of social exclusion, and an acceptance that the government was relatively powerless in this regard. The social exclusion and segregation in the problem areas increased during the period from 2005 to 2015. The media begun to describe the growth of parallel societies in which violence and serious crime was a natural part of daily life. In these areas, political trust was decreasing contrary to the high affluence areas, and the turnout rates were low.

In a general line of development to create legitimacy for the public authorities and other State institutions, actions had been taken to protect these further from infiltration, threats and violence from organised crime. The business community had parallel to this improved their transparency and control of enterprises and subcontractors. The political rhetoric of democracy and the danger of those

elements in society that threatens the democracy that had been stronger for every year since the action plan was put in place, had affected institutions and organisations, both private and public. There was thus very weak support for all kinds of organised illegal activity, and the crime control was extensive.

CLOSED AND HIERARCHICAL ORGANISED CRIME GROUPS

The increased social segregation and exclusion resulted in a larger recruitment base for organised crime. Within the problem areas, there were "parallel communities" with their own set of laws and an abundance of crime, from which the organised crime groups recruited their members. Because of the extensive crime control and restrictions that these groups were subjected to, and also due to the strengthening of the opposition in the licit markets, the criminal groups developed a higher degree of organisation and hierarchy. The formation of tight gangs became more accentuated, where loyalty was the most important factor for entry. The criminal groups were fewer but larger. The increased difficulty of operating a criminal activity also resulted in a climate of hard competition where large groups had an advantage over small. Those organised crime groups that were not located to these problem areas continued to operate in networks.

The strong State

Increasing legitimacy of the political system

The strong State

Decreasing
social segregation
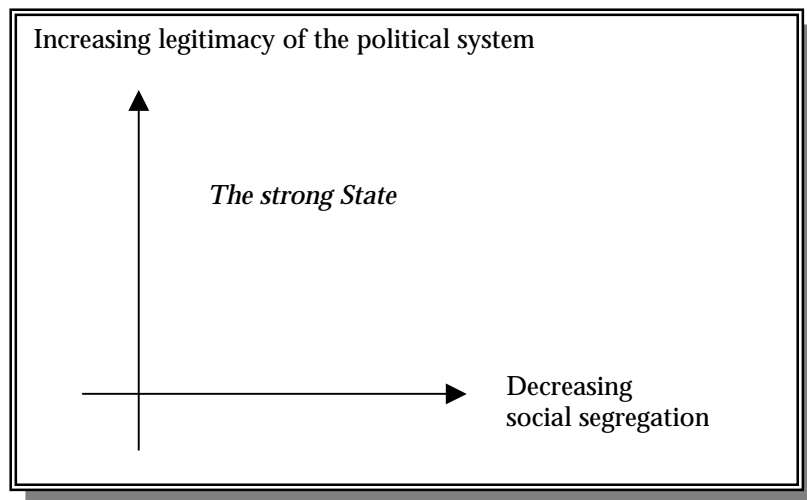
Both States, regions and local districts shared in 2005 the goal of increasing the citizens' participation and influence in the politics. The membership in the EU had distanced the politics from the citizens, and neither the national nor the local political level had been strengthened in return. The legitimacy of the political system decreased as a result, although other factors were naturally equally important. The decreasing legitimacy and political trust became the major political challenge the coming ten years, in combination with the low employment level.

REGIONAL POLITICS WITH CLOSE CIVIC COOPERATION

A range of actions were therefore taken to improve the legitimacy of the political system, similar to those described in the scenario "Welfare for few". The legitimacy was to be strengthened both upwards on a national and EU level, and downwards on a regional and local level. One important goal was to bring the politics that had a direct impact on the living conditions of people closer to them by transferring more of these issues from a national level to a regional. Through international trends and the experiments with regional self-rule that had already been implemented in Sweden in 1997, increased cooperation between districts became an important strategy for the future. Additional experiments of strengthening the politics at a regional level were implemented, and these had integrated learnings from the experiments that had already been launched in 1997. One of the most important experiences from these experiments was that special methods had to be used to avoid elitism in the regional politics. Strategies of how to involve the citizens, and especially immigrants, women, the socially excluded and the disabled, more directly in the politics were designed.

The popular support for direct democracy that is difficult to carry through on a national or supranational level was made an important element of the new regional politics and self-rule. In addition to this it was regarded as essential to initiate close cooperation between the politics on a regional and local level and the business community, the education system, local authorities responsible for healthcare, environmental, employment and other important issues, and the

regional and local social movements. Cooperation with social movements repre-senting those parts of the population which were absent in political institutions was especially encouraged. The cooperation partners were allowed to take an active part in the creation of vibrant local communities, and the perspective of the disadvantaged often gained in the conflicts that arose occasionally.

HETEROGENEOUS POLITICS

The political system had during several decades developed into more multi-level steering, but this development was also increasingly blamed for the loss of legitimacy of the political system. The relations of political liability were diffuse, and a refinement of political responsibility became a prioritised question during the 2010s. A range of actions were taken to increase the clarity of the relations between national, regional and local politics as well as the relations of politics to the public authorities.

In 2015, the government's measures to improve the legitimacy of the political system had started to produce the desired effects, in terms of an increased number of political representatives, increasing turnout at polls and increased political trust. The people that engaged themselves politically were at the end of 2015 more heterogeneous than ever before. The political trust had extended to encompass also the socially more vulnerable, and the turnout rate improved in the segregated problem areas. A broad venture on housing policies based on social politics more than market politics in selected areas had resulted in a somewhat higher blend of people in these areas. These results were however very moderate, but the judgements by the social democratic government were that it was too early to expect major changes already in 2015.

Some contemporary commentators argued that the positive developments, in terms of the increasing legitimacy of the political system and the decreasing social segregation and exclusion, would have occurred even without the special political measures that were implemented. The period between 2005 and 2015 had been characterized by continued economic growth, and several regions had been able to develop vibrant business communities. There had also been a boost of initiatives from a grass root level in the particularly troubled areas which these commentators also brought forth as an explanation for the decreasing social segregation. The inhabitants of areas of high levels of crime and violence had vitalised their opposition against the threats that they experienced from the high crime levels.

FOCUS ON EVERYDAY CRIMES

In a period characterized by cross-sectoral cooperation, the law enforcement agencies had also developed more flexible and efficient work methods, and strengthened their cross-sectoral cooperation both within and between their agencies. Crime control was a highly prioritised political issue, but the focus was primarily on the everyday crimes. The actions against organised crime were coloured by this, and the organisational aspects of organised crime were not a specific target. The crimes committed by organised criminals were instead largely dealt with within the regular programme of investigations and prosecutions of everyday crimes.

Several advances the last decade had created a tougher climate for the organised crime groups. The economic growth, more efficient regional politics and cooperation with the business community and local social movements, had

together with the improved legitimacy of the political system made the licit markets more resistant to attacks or infiltration from organised crime. The development of amplified social exclusion and growth of parallel societies in problem areas had ceased, and been replaced by increasing grass root level initiatives from the people in these areas. The acceptance of organised crime was low in the society of 2015. The methods of the law enforcement agencies were more efficient than in 2005, but did not pose a serious threat against the criminal *organisations*, since the focus of the crime control was on individuals and their everyday crimes even though these crimes might have been committed as a part of a larger chain of events.

The conditions in the external environment did not generate a need for more organised and hierarchical groups. The optimal arrangement was instead to continue to work in flexible networks where individuals could easily be exchanged. The groups preferred invisibility in order to be able to penetrate the licit markets more easily, and loose networking was the best method to achieve this. The level of organised crime was more or less stable during this period. According to several criminologists the explanations were to be found in the protected and moderately regulated licit markets, the strong social movements opposing threats against their safety, and the decreasing social segregation and exclusion.

"Europised" Nordic model

Increasing
social segregation

"Europised"
Nordic model

Decreasing legitimacy of the political system
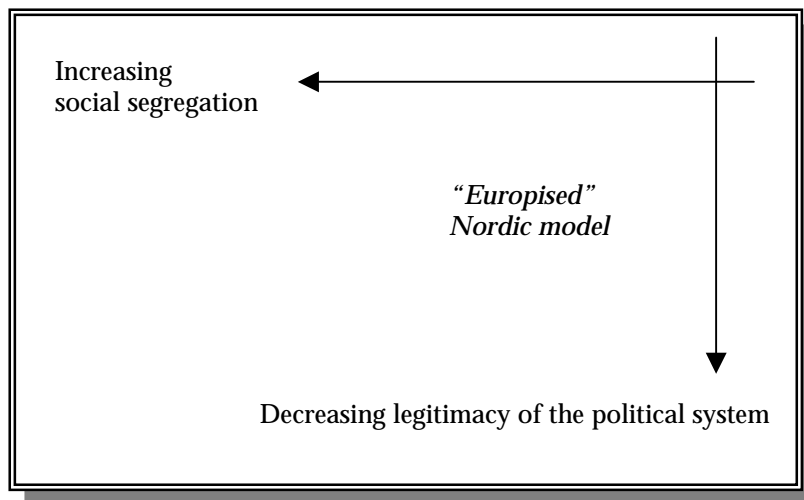
The decreasing legitimacy of the political system was a challenge that the whole Western world shared in 2005. The last decades had been characterized by important transformations of the Western society, which had all impacted on the legitimacy of the political system. The traditional political institutions had gone through the same revolutionary changes, and were according to many contemporary researchers simply too old-fashioned for the 2100th century. Others claimed that the problem was rather due to the gradual transfer of power that had taken place for many decades, from political parties to market players. The neoliberal policies that had been pursued were according to these persons responsible for the growing number of unemployed people, the social exclusion and the wider income disparities, which in turn caused the decreasing trust for the political institutions.

MIDDLE-ROAD POLITICS

In the election of 2006 the left-wing parties surprisingly received a scant majority of the people's votes and gained parliamentary power. Their goals in terms of the economic orientation of Sweden were very similar to the right-wing and liberal parties' goals, and their strategies were equally comparable. There was a general acceptance from the political left that Sweden had lost the ability to pursue the more traditional social policies of the past, and instead had to adjust to the politics of the European Union. There was also a common belief that free trade and a market characterized by full competition was the best way to improve Sweden's position in the international league.

The policies pursued in the following years did not differ very much from the politics before the election. The exceptions concerned the two largest political challenges for the government, which were the high unemployment rate, and the need for a revised welfare system. In these questions the majority parties sought a cooperation with the political opposition. A common theme in the debate in the media was that the political left in this way tried to share the political responsibility for some of the most difficult issues, where the political measures were likely to result in weakening public support. In the coming years the parties

agreed on a range of actions to create a flexible labour market where the incentives to start companies were high. Regarding the public welfare system the parties could not agree to carry through more radical changes of the whole system, but rather chose to solve the problem with the declining finances through cuts of the levels of social transfers.

Even though special actions had been taken to improve the legitimacy of the political system, such as information campaigns on EU politics, improved reporting in the media about the political process surrounding political decisions, and the creation of several virtual fora for citizen participation, none of these seemed to reverse the trend of decreasing trust for the political institutions. In the elections of 2010, when the political opposition seized power, the turnout rate was even lower than in the last election and the number of political representatives had declined. One famous commentator spurred an intensive debate when he expressed his views that the unique cooperation between the political left and the political right had brought forth the worst sides of their political agendas, and that the differences that continued to exist in the midst of that cooperation also had resulted in a lack of innovative thinking.

A BETRAYED POPULATION

In 2015, studies carried out by the leading market research agency Temo, showed that a significant part of the population had very low levels of trust for the political system. The declining trust had affected all of the political parties, but the political left had suffered the worst decline. Many contemporary researchers claimed that the population that had always voted for the left felt betrayed by the developments during the last decade. Although the national economy had shown a strong growth in BNP during the period from 2005-2015, the income disparities had increased and the number of socially excluded people become more. There was not a lack of social protection, not even a low social protection, but the difference from the former very high levels was significant and affected the support for the politicians.

In some parts of Sweden there had been a successful creation of regional areas of growth and strong business communities. The disadvantaged areas, especially some of the suburbs of the larger cities (although the sparsely-populated areas had special problems), had not been able to benefit from this development however, since there had been a lack of political control over the forms of cooperation in these regions. Together with a weakening of economic protection, these areas remained socially and ethnically segregated and vulnerable to social exclusion and crime.

NEW MARKETS FOR ORGANISED CRIME

The declining legitimacy of the political system prompted an escalating political populism. One of the most burning questions was the fight against organised crime. So called "tough on crime" police methods received increasing importance in this fight; more policemen were educated and a range of coercive measures introduced. A new National Intelligence Agency was installed in 2009, and financial resources were not lacking. While there were demands on short-sighted visible results within the ordinary law enforcement agencies, the new agency was created to be knowledge-based, and to develop extensive cross-sectoral cooperation networks. The agency focused on destroying the organisations and
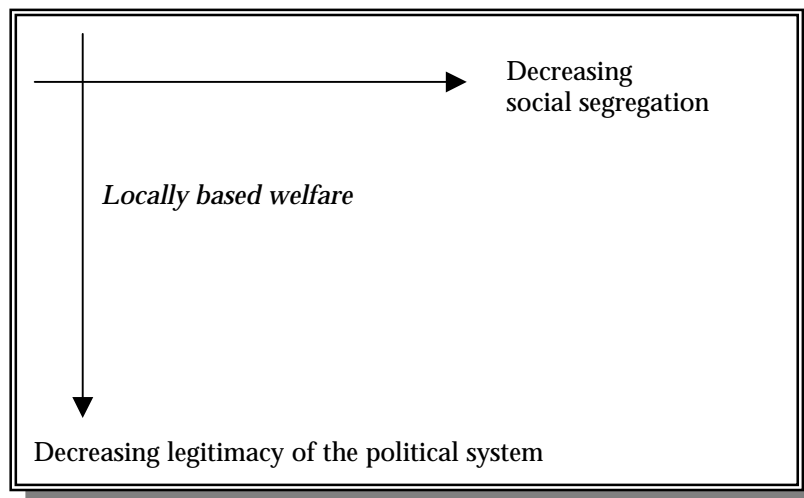
networks of the organised criminals, and became a strong factor in the field of crime control.

Organised crime had benefited from the decreasing legitimacy of the political system and harder competition on the licit markets. These developments had made the markets more vulnerable to organised crime, and the organised crime groups could more easily integrate their illegal activities within the legal activities of the licit markets. There was still a strong demand on many of those services that the government was unable to provide in a sufficient degree, and this opened up new markets for organised crime.

The increasing social segregation and exclusion had stimulated a growth of parallel communities where several violent youth gangs operated. These constituted a solid base of recruitment for the organised crime groups. The youth gangs had become a serious problem and often fought among themselves in what sometimes looked like regular "wars". On two occasions there were even violent riots in two different problem suburbs of Stockholm and Gothenburg. An evil spiral of violence had started between the police and these young kids. The police were using harsh methods to control them, and they responded with hatred and violence in return.

The new National Intelligence Agency had been efficient after the first few years of experimenting, and had learnt how to find the weak links in the criminal networks. Many of the organised crime groups responded by creating tighter organisations that were to an even larger extent based on hierarchy and loyalty, coupled with threats of violence in order to prevent leakage to the police. The development of more dense and closed organisations was also adjusted to the tight structure of the criminal youth gangs.

Locally based welfare

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 Decreasing legitimacy of the political system
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According to OECD's economic survey of Sweden in 2005, the Swedish economy have "undergone impressive changes and delivered a remarkable surge in productivity since the mid-1990s". OECD also stated however, that the labour market performance was not very inspiring. In order to maintain the ambitious welfare system that had been built up, there needed to be a lot more people in work. The unemployment levels were still high, as well as the sickness absences. Although there had been good economic growth, there were thus still reasons for discontent in Sweden. Opinion polls showed that the social democrats, who had governed Sweden for the last 11 years got to carry a heavy burden of this discontent, and their support decreased. There was much criticism directed towards the welfare system. A recurring theme in the debate was that the system was in practice used as a means to cover up unemployment, because many people who were unemployed instead tried to receive financial support for health problems and be written off as disability pensioners. The legitimacy of both the welfare and the political system was generally low.

NEOLIBERAL POLICIES IN GOVERNMENT

In 2006, there was a shift of power in the parliament when the right-wing parties received a majority of the votes. Privatisations and deregulations of the State-owned sectors had already become an important part of the politics regulating the inner market in the EU. The purpose of these deregulations was to create a better situation on the market and for the consumers. They were thought to decrease the costs for the important sectors, and high costs would have been a disadvantage for the European economy in the global competition. Many claim that monopolies also tend to create inefficient companies and the consumers have to pay overprices for a low service-level. The deregulations have also been carried through to stimulate new jobs; new players would be able to enter the markets and compete in these sectors.

Although the new government had won the election by promising a politics closer to the left, they immediately began to further limit both the size of the public sector as well as the State's responsibility for it. More deregulations of the

remaining monopolies followed the next few years. The measures to decrease the unemployment level and make Sweden competitive on the international market were made in a mainly neoliberal framework. Taxes were cut to provide more incentives to work, and the regulation of companies liberalised in several aspects. The challenge of the welfare system was resolved by decreasing the social transfer levels and introducing more selective solutions, in private management. They also introduced more targeted insurance solutions, where groups paid in relation to how much they burdened the system. This meant that certain risk groups paid more, for example young men who more often crash their cars, or people who lead generally risky lives.

INDIVIDUALISM VERSUS TRADITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

The economic growth was good for several years, and the BNP continually on the rise. During the first period of right-wing government there were however also widening income disparities, and the social segregation as well as the social exclusion showed no signs of subsiding although there was good economic growth. The legitimacy of the political system was continually decreasing. Opinion polls pointed at a drastically weakened support for the EU in 2010. The EU had been the forum of several large and disrupting conflicts between the countries, and they had not been able to reach agreements concerning several important questions. There were thus unsolved questions regarding renewed expansions, the relationship of the inner market of the EU to the world market in terms of protectionism, regulation surrounding environmental problems and the creation of alternative welfare strategies.

According to the opinion polls a majority of the Swedish people also felt that the distance had grown between them and the politics in the EU. There was disillusionment and anger regarding the sudden change of the right-wing parties' promised orientation of the politics. The lack of political interest became more accentuated between 2005 and 2015. The individualism in the society had reached even higher levels, and according to several contemporary commentators, people had so diverse opinions and priorities that the traditional political parties did no longer mirror their agendas.

A CIVIC SPIRIT AND LOCAL INITIATIVES

In line with a general ideology of the government to decrease the State's intervention and detail regulation of the society they created in 2008 a new budget area in order to stimulate initiatives from a grass root level. Initiatives that provided private welfare solutions as well as initiatives that strived to accomplish an increased inclusion in the labour market by those on sickness absences, the immigrants and socially excluded people in general were prioritised. This prompted an explosion of citizen initiatives and a revived civic spirit in general.

Studies made later showed that this initiative from the government came right in a time when the trust of politics was low, but the belief in social movements was high. A range of different cooperation projects were started between schools, private companies, the law enforcement agencies and many other actors. Much cooperation took place across district and region boundaries. These initiatives were especially common in the different problem areas that had suffered hard from the recent cuts on the welfare. At the end of 2015 there were signs of a small decrease in social segregation. The citizen's initiatives were credited for the positive development. More immigrants had entered higher education and become
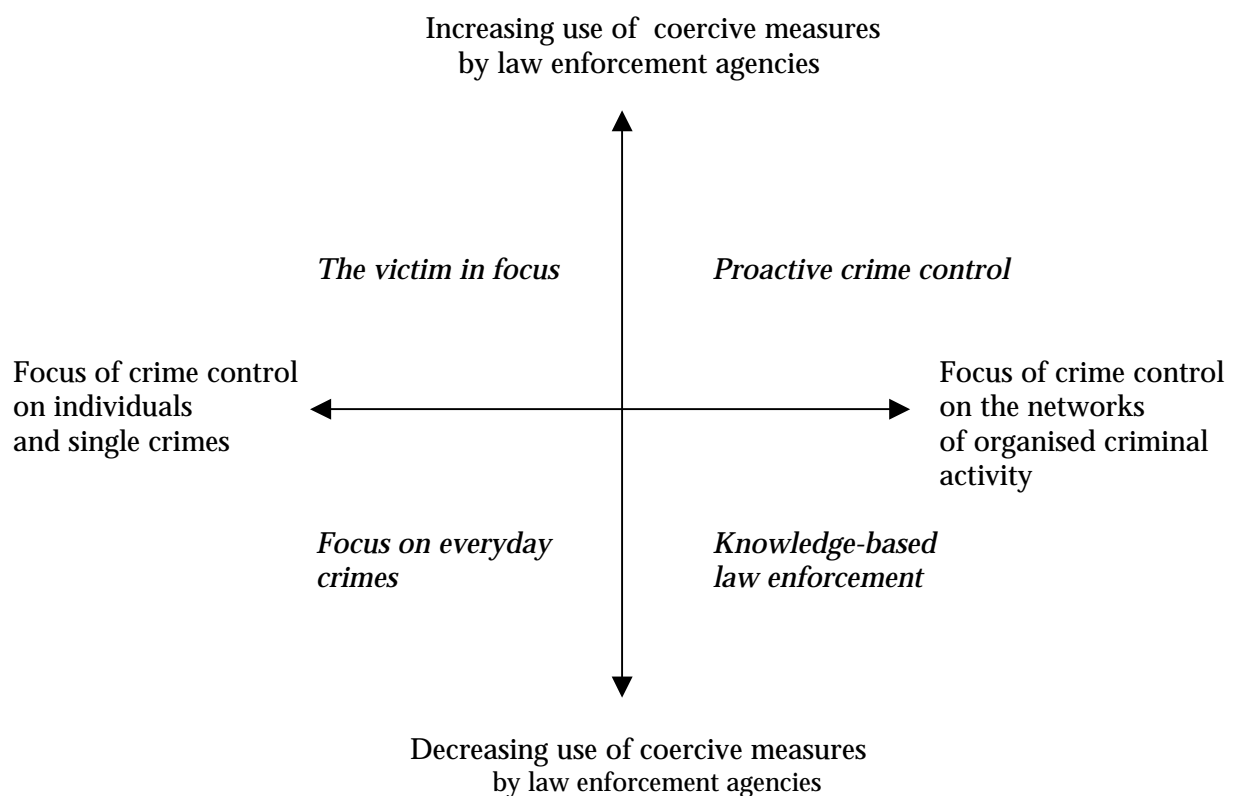
included in the labour market, many unemployed blue-collar workers had been re-educated in private institutions and received new jobs, and there had also been some successful initiatives to re-enter those on sickness absences.

FLEXIBLE AND DISPERSED NETWORKS

The law enforcement agencies had during this time begun to develop an organisation together with Europol and Eurojust, suitable to target the organisational aspects of organised crime. The focus in the EU was increasingly on fighting organised crime, even though the public experienced the threat from everyday crimes as the most disturbing issue. This pattern was replicated in Sweden where even the everyday crimes increasingly started to be seen as part of organised activities. When investigations carried on during longer periods of time, and undercover activities were prioritised before police visibility on the streets, the legitimacy and support of the law enforcement agencies dwindled.

The organised crime groups met resistance from both the law enforcement agencies and the citizens during this time. The resistance was however ambiguous. The hard competitive climate and unregulated situation on the licit markets had furthered their opportunities to invest and provide services where the demand was high. These opportunities were generally seized by the older and chastened persons in the criminal networks, and they tended to avoid discovery by distancing themselves from the full flora of members in their former criminal groups, and instead kept contact with the most important key persons. The increased focus on the criminal networks from the side of law enforcement agencies resulted in a development towards even more loose networks. The networks became more flexible and dispersed, and the emphasis was mainly on making money. Subcultures of violence and criminal identities that tend to create tighter organisations had a smaller role in an environment where these types of organisations were especially targeted. The active civic environment in many problem suburbs also resulted in a more accentuated intolerance towards violence and street crime, whereas the pure financial services that could be offered through organised criminal activity filled a need not provided for by the public legal system. There was thus an emphasis on more covert and sophisticated types of organised and economic crime, integrated in the licit markets.

Scenario 4: What could the future look like for organised crime groups' counterstrategies in Sweden in 2015?

Increasing use of coercive measures
by law enforcement agencies

The victim in focus   *Proactive crime control*

Focus of crime control
on individuals
and single crimes

Focus of crime control
on the networks
of organised criminal
activity

*Focus on everyday
crimes*   *Knowledge-based
law enforcement*

Decreasing use of coercive measures
by law enforcement agencies

INTRODUCTION

There is of obvious reasons a strong causal connection between the methods of crime control and the reaction of organised crime (Brå 2005:11). In this scenario the central question is how organised crime will use counterstrategies as a response to the crime control strategies directed towards them. The relevant trends to examine are of this reason the shape of crime control. Two of the most important aspects are the use of coercive measures by the police authorities, and the focus of their crime control.

The use of coercive measures is a question with great actuality today. Several circumstances around the world have put this question high on the agenda. Technical developments are progressing at a fast rate, and as a consequence the possibilities to subject citizens and property to surveillance, both openly and in secrecy, are continually increasing. In retrospect, the use of coercive measures has been characterised by a gradual expansion during the 2100th century (Brors, 2002). A large number of methods of surveillance have already been in use in the police organisation for several years.

The recent expansions of coercive measures that followed the 11th of September terrorist attacks and the increased focus on organised crime in the EU, have resulted in a growing resistance movement towards introducing more coercive measures. In the light of the historical expansion of the use of coercive measures, it may very well be certain that more of these methods will be introduced in the future, but also due to the present resistance towards them, it can not be judged as certain that this will occur during the next ten years in Sweden. There has also historically been a strong support for human rights and personal integrity in Sweden. Regardless of the outcome, both of the two alternatives will have an effect on crime control and the counterstrategies of organised criminals. Implementation of efficient coercive measures can make it more difficult to commit a crime, and in a higher degree than any other crime prevention strategy forces the motivated criminals to use counterstrategies.

The lines of conflict in this question are clear. It is between those who believe that the efficiency of crime control must at all cost be strengthened, and between those who want to protect the personal integrity of people, and who argues that coercive measures always risk affecting innocent people in a harmful way.

The second trend concerns the focus of crime control, and whether it is directed towards individuals and single crimes, or on the organisations and networks of organised criminal activity. The traditional method has been to focus the crime control on individuals and their single crimes and thus spending little time on the organised form of these single crimes. This orientation of crime control often leads to prosecutions of a range of everyday crimes, instead of the prosecution of organised criminal activity. The traditional focus on individuals may be explained by the fact that organised crime only recently has received much focus in Sweden (Korsell, 2004). It may also depend on the fact that it is a less costly strategy. New research claim that the focus needs to be on the organised activity of these individuals for the crime control to be truly efficient (Brå 2005:11). Whether this can be changed in ten years time is however uncertain considering that much control over the crime control strategies has been lost to the EU, that there is insufficient knowledge surrounding new methods, and that they demand a lot of resources.

USE OF COERCIVE MEASURES BY LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN 2005

The coercive measures this context refers to are coercive penal procedural measures, for example body search, confiscation, secret wire-tapping and video surveillance. The expansion of coercive measures has occurred in intervals and the arguments for the expansions have changed from time to time. The most common references have been to war, drug crimes, technical developments and terrorism. A constantly underlying cause has naturally been that coercive measures are regarded as necessary for efficient crime control. Once the expansions have been introduced, they are not removed although the initial reason for their implementation is no longer actual (Brors, 2002).

There are today a number of important limitations to the use of those coercive measures mentioned above. There has to exist a reasonable suspicion, and the risk of crime has to be imminent for the coercive measures to be used. In addition to this, each use of a coercive measure has to be limited to a specified purpose, they are only allowed to be used when there is an obvious need for it, and there is a principle of proportionality that states that a coercive measure can only be used if the reasons for it counterbalances the infringement that occurs (Flyghed, 2000).

Recently, the government has proposed another expansion of coercive measures (Ds 2005:21). The contents of this proposal are described in the scenario "The victim in focus". The proposition is now going through the ordinary political process, and there has as of August 2005 not been any decision made.

FOCUS ON CRIME CONTROL IN 2005

The crime prevention strategies of the police and prosecutors are today arranged according to specific types of crime. Some work with drug crimes, some with trafficking and others with corruption. Police and prosecutors are separated in different locations and the cooperation between them, as well as between different police departments, is not always functioning well. There are experts in every field, but there is not much empirical knowledge about the organisations and networks of criminals, and the knowledge there is, is often not well spread. The majority of the research about crime and crime prevention strategies is being performed outside of the police and prosecutors' authorities, and often in lack of cooperation between researchers and police or prosecutors. The law enforcement agencies are working as to reach certain targets of efficiency, and as a consequence short-term results are rewarded (information from brainstorm seminars). The exchange of information between different authorities is difficult, and each of the 21 police authorities has their own information system. The transfer of information has to be approved, and then carried out manually.

This arrangement of the police's and prosecutors' work results in a focus on individual criminals and single crimes in the crime control today. In the media, an increased focus on individual crime victims has also been noticed during the last decade. The personal stories of both crime victims and perpetrators have become important, and there is not as much interest around the structural factors of crime (BrOM, 2002).

Victims in focus
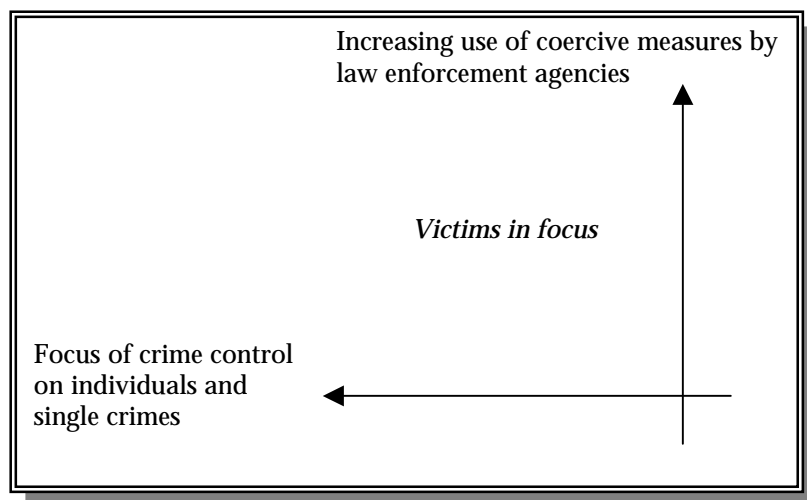
In 2005 the awareness of the threat from terrorism had started to spread in Sweden in since a few years back. Several terrorist attacks against the United States and the European countries had been carried out during the previous years. Although none of these was directed towards Sweden they created a new fear in the country, much stirred up by the media. The EU had put increasing focus on organised crime for several years, which was now amplified through discussions of the relation between terrorism and organised crime (in terms of money laundering and other financial common interests).

The focus in the media on the dangers of terrorist attacks gradually came to involve dangers from international organised crime as well, in a confusing mixture that resulted in fears and perceptions of vague but serious threats. The government proposed in 2005 an expansion of the use of coercive measures, and a majority of the authorities and organisations to which the proposition had been sent out to for consideration acquiesced. The new legislation took effect in 2007. The expansion allowed the already legislated coercive measures to be used for prevention purposes in a larger degree than before, but the criminality concerned had to be serious and threaten important values in society. An expansion of the right to search through premises was carried through. According to the new legislation a search could be made in secrecy, and confiscations from the search could also be kept without notifying the owner. Several additions to the new legislation were introduced to guarantee protections from abuse of the coercive measures.

SOCIAL INSTABILITY AND FEAR

During the next few years a number of new terrorist attacks occurred against the Western world. New countries were affected, like the Netherlands, Denmark and Italy, but there were also renewed attacks against Great Britain and the United States. In Sweden, several serious threats against politicians, journalists and prosecutors from organised crime groups had received much attention in the media. There had also been a number of incidents revealing organised crime groups high degree of involvement in the licit markets. The international pressure

to strengthen the crime control in terms of an expansion of coercive measures and surveillance was high. At the end of 2009 these circumstances together resulted in new demands for efficiency in the control of organised crime, and against groups with extreme political opinions. Those parts of the legislation that took effect in 2007 that guaranteed protections from abuse of the coercive measures had gradually come to be seen as obstructions in the fight against organised crime, and were removed in new legislation. The possibility of using bugging under several different circumstances was introduced.

Certain groups in society could now be put under secret surveillance continually. The proposition of obligatory storing of virtual communication in all of the Member States in EU that wasn't accepted in the European Parliament in 2005 had by this time ended up in the Commission where a few changes were made, and when the proposal was voted for in 2009 a majority acquiesced. The possibilities for surveillance had thus increased dramatically, when every piece of communication on telephone, mobile and Internet that every citizen in the entire EU was responsible for, was stored for one year.

By 2011 new technique had made all types of surveillance possible. The technique that was needed was relatively cheap and small. The security industry had benefited from the last decade's expansion in the use of coercive measures as well as from ordinary people's demand for protection against crime, and was now an important factor in the development of new technique. A large proportion of their investments came from licit companies who used surveillance methods for the mapping of consumers' demands. This contributed to a further development of what had already been discussed in 2005; parallel usage of the same technique by companies, the police, prosecutors, the Swedish Migration board, etc. A complete surveillance could be carried out of all public areas, but there would be different built in "integrity levels" in the devices. Companies would for example only get access to the highest integrity level where the information was anonymised whereas other authorities could get access to lower integrity levels and thus see more information. In 2013 a proposition was made to the parliament to introduce this system, the proposition was accepted in 2014, and the implementation of the system started in 2015.

INEFFICIENCY IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

Perhaps due to the intensive focus on the use of coercive measures as the most efficient method of crime prevention and control, the employed strategies still focused mainly on individual criminals and everyday crimes. There had been some improvement of the system for information exchange between different authorities, but the processing of the information was still divided between different departments, responsible for different types of crimes. The economical resources was largely used on implementing the technique needed for the new coercive methods, and more protection for the police officers who were now subjected to continuous threats from organised criminals. As a result only a small part of the resources were left for research, and the knowledge-based police that had begun to develop during the latter part of the 1900th and the first five years of the 2100th century, was no longer a priority.
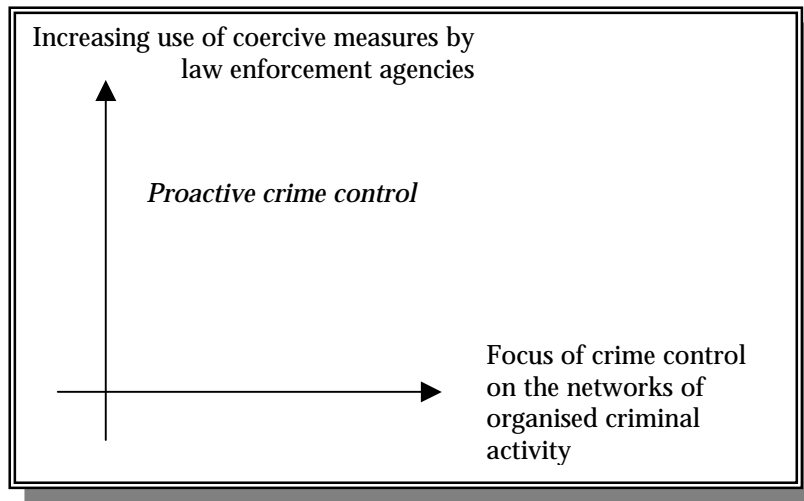
The police had during a long period of time received deteriorating publicity in the media. People had become continually less willing to tolerate crime and were inclined to support zero-tolerance policies. There were increasing demands on the police to show results. The police authorities and prosecutors took new actions to

further strengthen the system where fast and visible results were to be prioritised. The organised drug crime can serve as an example of the crime control strategies that were employed. Since the legislation banning the use of narcotics was implemented in 1988, the drug control had directed its efforts mainly to the users, just because they were visible, and their arrest produced many short-term results. This remained true after 2005, and there was also a continued focus on confiscating the drugs by the borders. Efforts were made to catch couriers and some drug bosses because these were the most visible respectively symbolic persons in the drug networks, and both couriers and drug bosses received long prison sentences. The advantage of this focus on the crime control was that interventions could progress at a higher speed, that less resources were needed and that the media exposure was allowed to be more personal whereby it gained more attention from the public. This served the police well.

VIOLENCE, CORRUPTION AND INFILTRATION

The gradual increase of coercive measures had rendered the execution of organised crime more and more difficult. Since no significant change in the demand for the services that organised crime groups provided (such as drugs, prostitutes and weapons) had taken place, and since no strategies were directed towards improving the social factors behind the recruitment of new members, the result was a change of methods from the part of organised crime groups. The development of coercive measures had been accompanied by an increased use of threats and violence against representatives for the legal society. Among those affected were legal representatives, the police, customs, and politicians. By 2015 corruption, extortion and infiltration had become mundane activities. Infiltration was a serious problem especially for the security industry, which had experienced several incidents where new technique came in the hands of organised crime before it even came to the police. The community governed by law had during a decade been under attack from two directions; the legal rights of the individual had been weakened due to an increased use of coercive measures from the State, and the administration of justice suffered under threats, violence and infiltration from the organised crime groups.

Proactive crime control

Increasing use of coercive measures by
law enforcement agencies

Proactive crime control

Focus of crime control
on the networks of
organised criminal
activity

The years between 2005 and 2015 saw a gradual expansion of the use of coercive measures as described in the scenario "The victim in focus". The media had increasingly focused on the threats from both terrorism and international organised crime, and there was a gradually increasing diffusion between terrorists and organised criminals for each year that went by. In 2010 a relatively large number of coercive measures was in use and surveillance had become commonplace.

   The civil society had traditionally had a strong and independent relation towards the government in Sweden. Compared to most other countries a very high degree of the population was involved in non-governmental organisations and voluntary associations, as well as different youth clubs and organisations. These associations had not yet in 2005 been subject to legislation and they had enjoyed strong support both financially from the State, and in form of constitutional rights.

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

By 2012 a marked change in the civil society had taken place. The dramatic developments in society concerning terrorism, the challenges of globalisation and environmental problems to mention a few areas, had resulted in an increased social commitment by the citizens. There had been a strong growth of social movements, non-governmental organisations, voluntary associations and youth clubs and organisations, both national and international. The resistance towards the expansion of coercive measures had also led to the formation of special human rights movements. Suspicions were increasingly cast against these resistance organisations after an incident in 2010 when the media discovered that one of them had attracted three convicted criminals responsible for serious crimes. This incident was blown up in the media and in light of the continuing terrorist attacks and the organised crime groups' increased involvement in the legal society, new elements in the debate concerned the need for insight in and control over all types of non-governmental groups. In the same debate, demands to use new

technology in the coercive measures against organised crime groups were also made.

The security industry had grown to larger proportions due to an increased awareness of security in society. Because of their large investments in the development of new technology they became a powerful interest group, lobbying for the introduction of new coercive measures. The resistance towards the use of coercive measures was strong in many organisations, but in comparison with the power that the security industry had gained during the last few years, and that they exercised together with the police both nationally and internationally, they had insufficient influence. In addition the international pressure, especially from EU, to follow the development of expansion was very strong. New legislation increasing the possibilities of using coercive measures against both non-governmental organisations and organised crime groups was passed, and took effect in 2014.

REORGANISED LAW ENFORCEMENT

The development within the police organisation had been that towards a more strategic approach to crime control. An evaluation of the police and prosecutors' authorities, including a survey of the requirements for efficient crime control against organised crime, started in 2006. The outcome of this evaluation resulted in some organisational changes. Large investments were made to attend to the everyday crimes, but the most suitable solution in order to maximise these investments were that the police and prosecution authorities kept their division of departments responsible for different types of crimes. A more strategic and knowledge-based approach was however to be taken towards organised crime. For this purpose, a new National Intelligence Agency was created in 2009.

The catchword in the new agency became flexibility. Large resources were dedicated to research on the network aspects of the organised crime. The agency gathered expert functions on a variety of sectors to insure that a wide grip was taken on the different aspects of organised crime. The composition of different groups varied with regular intervals to ensure that knowledge and information was transferred from the different areas of expertise within the agency. Police, prosecutors and customs officials worked closely together, sometimes with representatives from other public authorities or the business community. Groups were formed on the basis of different assignments or for the specific purpose of mapping a certain organised crime group in order to find the most efficient method of eliminating it. The crime control strategies were directed toward the networks of the organised criminal activity. Focus was increasingly put on tracing the illegal financial transactions of these groups, and finding ways of confiscating money and property obtained illegally. There was mapping of the networks through long-term undercover activities, with the goal of finding the weak links and key persons in their networks. Removing these links and key persons became a priority over catching couriers and bosses.

Cooperation between different authorities such as the Swedish National Economic Crimes Bureau, the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority, the Swedish Migration Board, the National Council for Crime Prevention, the Swedish Customs Service and the Public Prosecution Authority was improved, with several parallel workgroups looking at new challenges and strategic issues. The information flow between the different police authorities and between the police authorities and the new intelligence agency was improved when a new

common information system was put in place in 2011. In 2013 selected areas of this information could also be shared with other authorities, such as the Swedish National Economic Crimes bureau and the Swedish Customs Service. The new National Intelligence Agency developed an intensive international cooperation between its counterparts in Europe and other parts of the world.

EXTENSIVE CONTROL AND ALL-EMBRACING SUSPICION

Through the gradual changes in the legislation concerning coercive measures, the Swedish society had in 2015 become a society of extensive control over the citizens. The crime prevention and control strategies employed had rendered organised crime more difficult through a combined use of coercive measures and strategic and knowledge-based work in the police and prosecutors' authorities. The police had become more flexible and could thus follow the organised crime groups more closely. Their access to almost unlimited surveillance, which was also made easier with new technique, further limited the arena for organised criminals.

Although the extensive control of organised criminals had made their activities more difficult, there had been a small but gradual increase of organised crime from 2005 to 2015. As a continually larger share of the national budget was spent on developing technique for new methods of control and protection of citizens and property against crime, there was also a lesser share spent on social policy measures. Many contemporary commentators argued that the continuous growth of segregated and "parallel communities" that was evident to everyone, was the result of a lack of actions to reduce the size of the recruitment base of organised crime. Opportunities for study, work and personal development needed to be improved, as well as the living conditions and integration into society of the socially excluded.
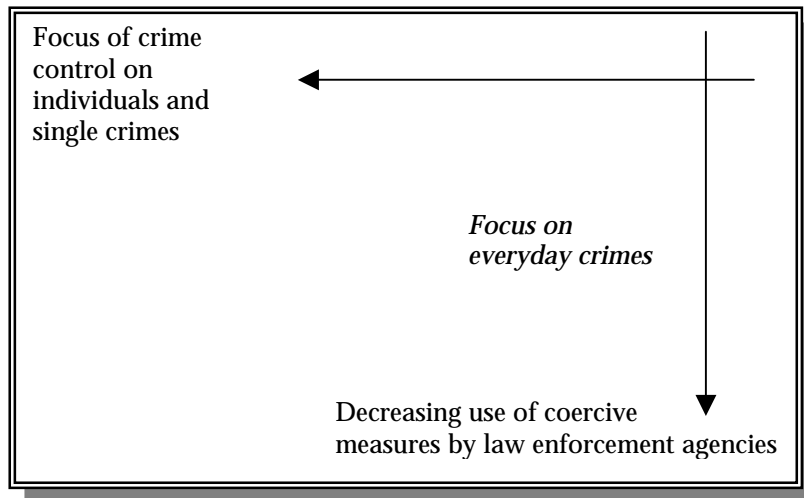
The coercive measures were not well received in these problematic communities where the surveillance and control of citizens was a daily routine. Hatred and contempt towards the police authorities and the government in general became widespread. The crime statistics showed an increased use of threats and violence against the representatives of the legal society between 2005 and 2015. Especially the security industry had large problems with infiltration by organised criminals, but also the new common information system within the law enforcement agencies had been a target from the organised criminals who had used both corruption and infiltration in order to get hold of important information. This had resulted in a refusal from many police officers to use the system for sensitive information. A famous journalist who had spent a lot of time in the parallel communities, wrote a series of articles about the evil spiral between the police and the organised criminals. She described it as a race, where the police could use legal coercive measures and the organised criminals resorted to illegal coercive measures as their counterstrategies.

The fear in the society after several terrorist attacks, although none had been directed against Sweden, had been spurred by the media and there was growing suspicion between different groups, based largely on ethnicity and political opinions, which in turn caused situations of conflict. Groups opposing the extensive use of coercive measures and control had been radicalised in their methods due to lack of influence over the development, and thus become subjected to that control themselves. The confusion as to who was a terrorist or an organised criminal grew as the control during the decade had increasingly been

directed at various activists, social movements, criminals, religious associations and individual immigrants in a mish-mash seemingly without focus.

Focus on everyday crimes

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Focus of crime
control on
individuals and
single crimes                  ◄──────────────────┐
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                              Focus on             │
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                              Decreasing use of coercive
                              measures by law enforcement agencies
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The terrorist attacks against countries in the Western world had an enormous impact on the use of coercive measures. After the terrorist attacks against the United States the 11th of September 2001, the government of the United States proclaimed a war against terrorism. The USA PATRIOT Act which allows the government to use far-reaching coercive measures against the citizens was passed just 45 days after the attacks. The United States accelerated the course of events concerning implementation of similar legislation in the EU, and while only seven of the Member States had such particular legislation in 2001, all 25 Member States had already or were in the process of adopting the special European legislation against terrorism in 2005. These legislations and other acts, such as the illegal detainment of "prisoners of war" at the Guantánamo Base, had from the start been severely criticised by human rights organisations and other social movements for restricting the liberty and violating the integrity of people.

Although the new legislations were aimed toward terrorist acts, the coercive measures that they allowed were equally applicable on organised crime groups. The vagueness and breadth of the concepts involved also rendered acts that would recently have been protected by the human rights and international law acceptable.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTEGRITY

The Swedish people could in the media in 2005 read about both terror attacks abroad and the responses to them. The media in Sweden were in a high degree giving voice to people who warned about the developments that were very visible in the United States and Great Britain. In these countries the surveillance, coercive measures and control had expanded to both innocent people and unwanted political activities. Migration policies became security policies and refugees were treated with increasing suspicion. The incident with two Egyptian men who were deported from Sweden based on a wish from the government of the United States, and who hadn't inspired much debate at the time (2001) were increasingly debated and seen as a clear breach of the human rights and the demands that could be put on a community governed by law.

When the government in 2005 proposed an expansion of the use of coercive measures, a scant majority of the authorities and organisations to which the proposition had been sent out to for consideration opposed it on the grounds that the violation of integrity that it would result in did not stand in proportion to the utility and need for these measures. For the next few years there was an intensive debate in the government and the media about the necessity of expanding the coercive measures, in relation to both terrorism and organised crime. During this time, there were several demands from the police authorities to allow an expansion of the coercive measures. In comparison with the other EU countries Sweden had fewer possibilities of surveying the organised crime groups, and this was increasingly experienced as a disadvantage.

The proposition of obligatory storing of virtual communication in all Member States in the EU that wasn't accepted in the European Parliament in 2005 had by this time ended up in the Commission. Alongside a development of increasing individualism, national and international human rights movements and other leftish non-governmental organisations full of young people from the new generation, had during this time grown and become a strong lobby movement. The challenges of the globalisation of the economy, the increasing environmental problems, and growing inequalities were issues that had spurred these organisations growth. They had opposition against the developments with increasing expansion of control and surveillance high on their agenda, and argued that the goal of total security that the Member States were trying to achieve was counterproductive to the cause, and that total security was also an illusion and *could* never be achieved. The development of individualism also resulted in a refusal from people to accept a cut of their freedom, and violations of their integrity. When the proposal was voted for again in 2009 the international opinion had turned away from introducing more coercive measures, and the proposal was opposed.

Amendments to the existing national legislation concerning coercive measures had been lobbied for with equal success, and several measures that strengthened the protection of the rights and integrity of the people under suspicion were introduced.

PERSONAL VICTIMS, PERSONAL PERPETRATORS

In addition to a continued debate and exposure of terror attacks in the media, there had also been an increased focus on everyday crimes. The stories of crime victims were personal and described in detail. Gang leaders and other heavily charged criminals were also given increasing space in media to tell their stories. As a result they got attention and respect from the people in the underworld. This trend to individualise both victims and perpetrators was also visible in the crime control.

During a campaign that went on between 2008 and 2012 the local crime prevention councils in the Swedish districts were strengthened or, in the case there had not been a local council, built up from start. The ideas of restorative justice became an important part of their work, and there were increased victim offender mediations as well as different restitution measures and community services.
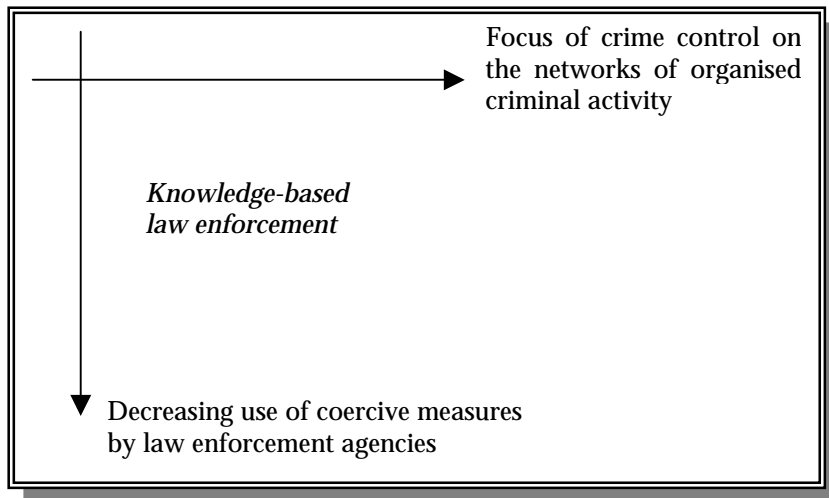
The police organisation remained largely intact as from 2005 but received a large budget for the development of efficient actions against everyday crimes.

Organised crime was also a priority during the period from 2005 to 2015, but due to a lack of resources only a small part of the budget could be spent on research. The methods of crime control of the organised crime groups were thus basically the same as the last decade. The police had also during a long period of time received bad publicity in the media. There were increasing demands on the police to show "results". The crime control came to be about producing fast and visible results, and the efforts were increasingly put on taking legal proceedings against the most well-known criminal individuals in organised crime groups.

Due to the focus of crime control on the bosses in the criminal networks, there had been a few events where some of the targeted persons had felt threatened, and struck back by using their criminal networks to threaten selected police officers. On one occasion a police officer who investigated a crime committed by a high ranking person in a well-known organised crime group had been attacked with a knife by several masked persons.

There were other occasional threats against law enforcement personnel from organised criminal networks, but not in any larger scale. The criminal organisations adjusted to the crime control strategies by organising themselves even more in the form of loose networks. Individuals who were caught by the police could easily be replaced, and only the leaders and a small inner group within the networks possessed valuable information.

Knowledge-based law enforcement

Focus of crime control on the networks of organised criminal activity

Knowledge-based law enforcement

Decreasing use of coercive measures by law enforcement agencies

Between the year 2005 and 2015 the international and national human rights movements and other non-governmental organisations opposing the development of expanded coercive measures grew and became a strong political factor. With their new power they managed to prevent more expansions of the coercive measures as described in the scenario "Focus on everyday crimes". In spite of large differences in opinion between these groups and the police and prosecutors, the government appointed a committee with representatives from both camps in 2007. Their task was to develop a general strategy of crime prevention that would secure efficiency without the use of more coercive measures. The committee evaluated the existing structure of the organisations and authorities responsible for the control and combating of organised crime. They took into account both national and international research on best practices, and proposed the establishment of a new National Intelligence Agency where competence from a diverse range of professional fields would be represented in so called "task forces". In order for the crime control in the new agency to be efficient without the use of more coercive measures, the legislation regulating information transfer between different authorities were relaxed. This was a necessity for establishing the kind of close cooperation between different authorities that was needed. The intrusion that this meant on the integrity of people was deemed to be upweighed of the benefits that the relaxation would give for the authorities.

FLEXIBILITY AND COOPERATION WITHIN LAW ENFORCEMENT

The National Intelligence Agency was inaugurated in September 2009, and the organisation was divided into one central unit, and 10 regional centres. The agency recognised the diversity of actions needed to combat organised crime, and initiated a close cooperation between several authorities, and the government. The actions that were to be used against organised crime groups was a combination of social policies, traditional police methods and an innovating use of special "task forces". They also recognised the importance of continually improving their knowledge, and spent a large share on the budget on systematic research about best practices, and the changes in the structure of the organised crime groups.

Flexibility was one of the most important working methods, and small groups were formed to gather expert functions on a variety of sectors. The composition of the groups varied with regular intervals to ensure that knowledge and information was transferred from the different areas of expertise within the agency.

Police, prosecutors and customs officials worked closely together, sometimes with representatives from other public authorities or the business community. Groups were formed on the basis of different assignments or for the specific purpose of mapping a certain organised crime group in order to find the most efficient method of eliminating it. The crime control strategies were directed towards the networks of the organised criminal activity. Focus was increasingly put on tracing the illegal financial transactions of these groups, and finding ways of confiscating money and property obtained illegally. There was mapping of the networks through long-term undercover activities, with the goal of finding the weak links and key persons in their networks. Removing these links and key persons became a priority over catching couriers and bosses. Defectors were offered more effective protection programs in return for important information.

In order to improve what the agency referred to as a "local community responsibility", several information campaigns were carried through between 2011 and 2015. The goal was to increase the awareness of the citizens of common points of contact in the local legal society and the licit markets with organised crime, as well as knowledge of penalties for activities associated with various organised crime.

Cooperation between different authorities such as the Swedish National Economic Crimes Bureau, the Crime Victim Compensation and Support Authority, the Swedish Migration Board, the National Council for Crime Prevention, the Swedish Customs Service and the Public Prosecution Authority was improved, with several parallel workgroups looking at new challenges and strategic issues.

The information flow between the different police authorities and between the police authorities and the new intelligence agency was improved when a new common information system was put in place in 2011. In 2013 selected areas of this information could also be shared with other authorities, such as the Swedish National Economic Crimes bureau and the Swedish Customs Service. The new National Intelligence Agency developed an intensive international cooperation between its counterparts in Europe.

The activities of the National Intelligence Agency were much concealed. The reasons were to prevent infiltration, to optimise those coercive measures that were allowed, and to prevent leakage to the media about investigations and what people or groups were under surveillance. The agency also wanted to reduce the media exposure of certain organised crime groups in order to downgrade people's perception of the threat that these groups posed. This would make more people willing to testify. This was made easier by the fact that the media during a long period of time had focused on the everyday crimes. These were the biggest concern of the majority of the people in Sweden.

DIFFICULT TIMES FOR THE ORGANISED CRIME NETWORKS

The organised crime networks had during the last decade met increasingly efficient opposition from both law enforcement agencies and citizens. The crime statistics had however shown constant but small increases of organised crime.

Several researchers later claimed that this was mostly due to the improved efficiency which had resulted in continually more arrests and prosecutions. New regulations of areas that would normally have inspired exploitation by organised crime groups did not result in large illicit markets. Trafficking in human beings was one of the areas where a solid decrease could be statistically secured. The legislation which criminalised sexual purchases in combination with efficient undercover activities discouraged the exploiters, who rather turned to more easily penetrated markets in other countries.

Concerning areas where organised criminal activity was well established, there were continuous attempts of corruption, infiltration and threats against law enforcement personnel. There were also attempts to gain acceptance within the local community by buying people's support or offering them protection, none of which were very successful.

List of persons participating in brainstorm seminars and interviews[8]

Paula Blomqvist
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Deputy Director of Public Prosecutions
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Henrik Carlsen
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Swedish Defence Research Agency

Nils Ekegerd
Detective Chief Inspector/Head of Organised Crime Unit
National Criminal Investigation Department.

Niki Ekman
Principal Analyst, National Criminal Intelligence Service, Analysis Unit
National Criminal Investigation Department.

Robert English
Strategic Analyst, Executive Office
Swedish Customs

Johan Falkman
Strategic Analyst, National expert on organised crime
Swedish Customs

Janne Flyghed
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