

ARBETSRAPPORT

Skriftserie B

Nr 19 • maj 2000

YOUTH HOUSING AND EXCLUSION IN SWEDEN

All reports

by

Mats Lieberg



YOUTH HOUSING AND EXCLUSION IN SWEDEN

All reports

by

Mats Lieberg

Table of Contents:

Preface

1. **Youth Housing and Exclusion in Sweden.** Final report. Mats Lieberg, Mats Forsberg and Sine McDonald
2. **Youth Housing in Sweden. A Descriptive Overview based on a Literature Review.** Report 1. Mats Lieberg
3. **On Probation from Home. Young Peoples Housing Preferences in Sweden.** Results from the Quantitative Survey. Report 2. Mats Lieberg
4. **Bostäder och boende bland unga socialbidragstagare – en kvalitativ studie.** Rapport 3. Mats Lieberg

Welfare Research Centre

Preface

This report presents the results of a research study on housing issues facing young people in Sweden. The study is part of a European project entitled "Youth Housing and Exclusion", chaired and co-ordinated by the Fédération Relais in Paris. In order to provide comparable results, the survey has been designed to correspond with parallel projects in six other countries in the European Union - Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal, Scotland and Spain.

For each country, the project includes the following three studies:

- A state-of- art report on the housing situation for young people.
- A survey carried out among a representative sample of young people in each country.
- One or more qualitative surveys among specific groups of young people.

The Swedish national project focuses on the effects of housing on the lives of young Swedish people 18-27 years old. The three separate studies, agreed on in the international group, were carried out during 1996-1998. The results from these studies, together with a final report have earlier been published in four separate reports from the W.R.C.

1. Lieberg, M. (1997a). Youth Housing in Sweden. A descriptive overview based on a literature review. Report 1.
2. Lieberg, M. (1997b). On Probation from Home. Young people's housing and housing preferences in Sweden. Report 2.
3. Lieberg, M. (1998). Bostäder och boende bland unga socialbidragstagare – en kvalitativ studie (Housing for young people with social benefits – a qualitative study). Only in Swedish. Report 3.
4. Lieberg, M, Forsberg, M. and McDonald, S. (1999). Youth Housing and Exclusion in Sweden. Final report.

Except for a few minor corrections these four reports are published together in this volume. The final report is a specification and statement determined by the European Commission, where special questions about the general assessment of the results and the development, progress and achievement of the project are discussed. The final report should therefore not be regarded as complete summary report. Due to limited financial resources there have been difficulties to fulfill a more comprehensive analysis of the material, as well as the translation of report 3. Such an analysis, together with a comparative analysis between the European countries involved, will be presented in further reports.

Welfare Research Centre

The Swedish project was funded by the European Commission, DG XII and DG XXII through an agreement between the Welfare Research Centre (W. R. C.), Mälardalen University, in Eskilstuna and the European Commission, which was signed on 30th December 1996. Financial support has also been given by the National Council of Building Research (BFR) and the Office of Regional Planning and Urban Transportation, Stockholm County Council.

The Welfare Research Centre, Eskilstuna, in cooperation with the YouthInfo Services, Eskilstuna Public and County Library, are by administrative means responsible for the Swedish part of the project. The W.R.C has entered an agreement with the Dept. of Building Functions Analysis, Lund University, whereby associate professor Mats Lieberg, in co-operation with professor Anna-Lisa Lindén, Dept. of Sociology, Lund University, have been responsible for the scientific research.

During the drafting of this study I have had the pleasure of working together with Mats Forsberg, former Chairman of W.R.C and Sine McDonald, librarian at the YouthInfo Services, Eskilstuna Public and County Library. I am very grateful to both of you for your instructive comments on the manuscript and the stimulating intellectual discussions we had during our teamwork. Sven Bergenstråhle at the Institute of Housing Studies in Stockholm, who carried out a similar interview survey, provided me with valuable data and several critical comments on the material. Birgitta Hultsåker, SKOP, made a special study of the response rate of specific questions common to both studies. Rolf Svensson, chairman of the Student Housing Company in Lund, has provided us with valuable material concerning student accommodation. The points of view presented at the meeting of the Swedish national expert group were very important and have been taken into consideration. The expert group consisted of representatives from different national housing boards and tenant organisations; The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the National Board for Youth Affairs, the National Tenants Savings and Building Societies, the National Council of Building Research, the Institute of Housing Studies.

I would also like to thank Göran Sidebäck, Mälardalen University and Anna-Lisa Lindén, Lund University for critical remarks and valuable comments during the drafting of this report. Special thanks also to Ann-Britt Johansson and Mats Vuorinen, Mälardalen University for the layout work as well as Sine McDonald for helping with the translation.

Lund, May 2000

Mats Lieberg

European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion
Welfare Research Centre, University of Mälardalen
YouthInfo Services at Eskilstuna Public and County Library
Department of Building Functions Analysis, Lund University

YOUTH HOUSING AND EXCLUSION IN SWEDEN

Final report

Agreement Nr 96-10-EET-0220-00/SOE2CT963015
COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
Directorate-General XXII: Education, Training and Youth
Directorate-General XII: Science, Research and Development

by

Mats Lieberg, Mats Forsberg and Sine McDonald

Lund and Eskilstuna, July 1999

Contents

Introduction	5
Assessment of the results compared with the initial objectives	5
The Swedish project	5
Development, progress and achievements of the project	7
Summary of the main results	9
Housing Conditions for young people in Sweden	9
Housing and the Swedish Welfare State	10
The process of leaving the parental home	11
How do young people in Sweden live today ?	12
Mobility aspirations	14
Role of unemployment and other economic factors	14
Future housing	15
Conclusion	15
Literature	18

Welfare Research Centre

Introduction

This report presents a summary of the results from the Swedish national study on youth housing and exclusion. The study is part of the European project entitled "European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion", chaired and coordinated by the Fédération Relais in Paris. National studies were designed and conducted in seven participating countries - Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal, Scotland, Spain and Sweden. According to the agreement with the Commission (article 5) the report also includes an overall assessment of the results of the project compared with the initial objectives and information on the development and progress of the project.

Assessment of the results compared with the initial objectives

According to the initial objectives the "European survey on youth housing and exclusion" should aim for better understanding of exclusion mechanisms and the way in which young people themselves handle the situation. The project should also aim for a better understanding of young people's needs and expectations in terms of housing. It should enable decisionmakers to assess young people's access to information and to identify the obstacles that they face when looking for suitable housing. It should aim to provide an insight into certain situations and particular sectors of the population. Finally it should help to come up with new solutions which could be implemented and bring these up for discussion.

For each country, the project should include the following three studies:

- A state-of- art report on the housing situation for young people
- A survey carried out among a representative sample of young people in each country.
- One or more qualitative surveys among specific groups of young people.

National reports should be produced for each study and a final report should be drawn up for each partner. A European scientific committee should prepare a summary of the national reports, carry out a comparative analyses, draw some conclusions and submit its recommendations. In some countries there should be a national forum on youth housing and exclusion organised on the basis of the results and proposals.

The Swedish project

The Welfare Research Centre (W.R.C.), Mälardalen University, Eskilstuna, in cooperation with the YouthInfo Services, Eskilstuna Public and County Library, are responsible for the Swedish part of the project. The W.R.C has entered an

agreement with the Dept. of Building Functions Analysis, Lund University, whereby Associate professor Mats Lieberg, in cooperation with professor Anna-Lisa Lindén, Dept. of Sociology, Lund University, have been responsible for the scientific research.

The Swedish project has been funded by the European Commission, DG XII and DG XXII through an agreement between the W.R.C. (Welfare Research Centre) and the European Commission which was signed on 30th December 1996. Financial support has also been given by the National Council of Building Research (BFR) and the Office of Regional Planning and Urban Transportation, Stockholm County Council (see enclosed financial report).

The Swedish national project focuses on the effects of housing on the lives of young Swedish people 18-27 years old. The three separate studies, agreed on in the international group, were carried out during 1996-1998. The results from these studies have been published in three different reports from the W.R.C.

1. Lieberg, M. 1997a. Youth Housing in Sweden. A descriptive overview based on a literature review.
2. Lieberg, M. 1997b. On probation from home. Young people's housing and housing preferences in Sweden.
3. Lieberg, M. 1998. Bostäder och boende bland unga socialbidragstagare – en kvalitativ studie (Housing for young people with social benefits – a qualitative study).

The results from the three studies are summarized and concluded under point 3 in this report.

With reference to what is accounted for under point 2 and 3 in this report, it could be stated that the Swedish national study has resulted in a better understanding in young people's needs and expectations in terms of housing. The project has also provided decisionmakers and actors in the Swedish housing market with more knowledge and better understanding of different kind of exclusion mechanisms and the way in which young people handle the situation. In this way the project has fulfilled its objectives.

On the other hand, it must also be stated that there have been great difficulties to fulfill the objectives concerning the comparative analysis between the European countries involved. This was one of the main objectives with the international study and serious critics must be directed towards the way this project has been coordinated by the french partner, Federation Relais.

As agreed upon by the participating countries the summaries of the national reports were meant to deliver the interface between the national and the European level. To

make a comparative analysis possible, all national reports would have to apply the same table of contents to their summaries. This would have called for a more generous time schedule and a more adapted and appropriate coordination of the project. Already at an early stage of the project, the difficulties with comparative analyses were pointed out by some of the partners, among them Sweden. The design and work out of common scientific instruments, questionnaires etc is a complicated process. The difficulties to come to an agreement and a common understanding of the main concepts within the housing sector in seven different countries, was also something that could be postulated.

The original idea was that an independant international scientific committee with researchers from the participating countries should prepare a summary of the national reports and carry out the comparative analyses. Since the writing on the national reports took up more time than expected, it was decided that the comparative analyses should be conducted by the participating researchers. As the comparative analyses was not part of the original agreement between Sweden and the Commission, it was not possible to fulfill this task within the agreement. However, this required a new financial situation and a special coordination of the project that was discussed with the coordinator of the project. On our last meeting in Brussels in June 1998 we agreed on a proposition that each country should participate in the comparative analyses on condition that the financial situation and the time schedule could be solved. The coordinating partner at the Fédération Relais had the responsibility to contact representatives for the Commission and discuss the situation. In spite of several letters and telephone contacts with Fédération Relais, it has not been possible to get any further information about the prospects and expires planned for the continuation of the project.

Development, progress and achievements of the project

The Swedish national project started in april 1996. The scientific work with the state-of-art report had to be interrupted because of problems with the financial situation from the Commission. Meetings, discussions and collaborations with representatives for the Commission and the partners took a lot of time. The work started again in early 1997 and the results were published in a report dated August 1997 (Lieberg 1997a).

The second study was carried out during october/november 1996. The study was preceded by a meeting with representatives of the other participating countries in order to design comparable definitions and research questions. The study began with the design of a questionnaire appropriate for telephone interviews with young people 18-27 years old. Skandinavisk Opinions ab, SKOP, was commissioned to interview a sample of 2000 young people in Swden about their present housing situation, their history of housing and their preferences for future housing. The

study also included questions about young people's economic situation, their education, their work and their family situation. The results are representative of all Swedish young people both Swedish and non-Swedish citizens aged between 18 and 27 years old.

In total 1 988 young people have been interviewed by phone or have filled out a questionnaire they have received by post. The results were published in a second report from W.R.C. (Lieberg 1997b).

The design and planning of the third study started in late 1997. Data was collected through personal interviews with a small number of young people at risk and a number of social workers within this field, during February and March 1998. The transcription, work up and analysis of this material was carried out during the summer 1998 and presented in a preliminar report in December 1998.

Sweden has participated in *five meetings with the partners* in the international group in Molina, Brussels (2 times), Edingburg and Paris.

Two *national conferences/seminars* directed to actors within the housing sector have been carried through:

- In February 1997, at the National Council of Building Research, with representatives from ten different national housing boards and tenant organisations; The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the National Board for Youth Affairs, the National Tenants Savings and Building Societies, the National Council of Building Research, the Institute of Housing Studies.
- In August 1997 at the National Housing Fair in Staffanstorp, with representatives from different local and regional organisations within communities and housing companies.

Results and critical aspects of the project have been discussed during two *scientific seminars* at Lund University and Mälardalen University, during 1998.

The project have had valuable cooperation with researchers at the Institute of Housing Studies in Stockholm, who carried out a similar interview survey (Bergensträhle 1997). Scandinavian Opinion AB (SKOP) in Stockholm made a special analysis of the response rate of specific questions common to both studies. A valuable cooperation took place with the Student Housing Company in Lund, who has provided us with valuable material concerning student accommodation. These contacts resulted in another cooperation later on. The points of view presented at the latest meeting of the Swedish national expert group have been taken into consideration

Summary of the main results

The Swedish national project focuses on the effects of housing on the lives of young Swedish people. The aim is to give an overall picture of young people's housing situation in Sweden. It will analyse the current housing situation and future housing expectations of young people, 18 and 27 years old living in Sweden, including a description of the difficulties and obstacles facing young people as well as identifying the mechanisms leading to marginalisation and exclusion from the housing market. The topic of exclusion is dealt with by studying a group of marginalized young people attending social welfare benefits. The study concludes with a discussion on various proposals to possible solutions which could help and improve the situation of young people in the housing market.

The Swedish national project is based on three kinds of scientific material. (1) a survey of literature and secondary data sources available in the field of this study, including research reports, scientific articles, statistical information, national and government reports as well as official documents and reports from practical examples. (2) a quantitative study based on a random sample of 2 000 young people aged between 18 and 27 who were interviewed about their present housing situation, their history of housing and their preferences for future housing. (3) a qualitative study, based on semi-standarized interviews with 15 adolescents and 10 social workers was carried out in order to discuss the housing situation among a group of marginalised young people.

Housing Conditions for young people in Sweden

From an international point of view young people in Sweden have access to a very high standard of housing as regards quality and spaciousness (SOU 1996:156). These standards are similar throughout Sweden, if you live with your parents or independently. Homelessness and temporary accommodation, e.g. young people's hostels or institutions are rare in Sweden. A long and steady Swedish housing policy with high state subsidies have contributed towards this development in housing.

However, recent research indicates that the position of young people in the Swedish housing market is becoming increasingly difficult (Lindén 1990, Bergenstråhle 1997). Many young people would like to have their own home, but a combination of the situation in the housing market and the lack of a steady income has resulted in either being forced to remain at the parental home or having to find a dwelling with a less secure tenure. The cost of living in Sweden has increased heavily over the last ten years, mainly due to lower state subsidies and increased new production costs (Turner 1997). The number of smaller and cheaper flats has decreased drastically (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156). Many landlords are intensifying demands on their tenants, even to insisting on steady incomes, or

"healthy" bank accounts, no record for non-payment of debts, etc. In addition, the current level of youth unemployment in Sweden is the highest ever since the years of the depression in the 30's. According to the Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics, the open rate of unemployment among young people aged between 20-23 in November 1996 reached 20%. One can add a further 5% for those engaged in one or other of the labour market's programmes for the unemployed. Few people anticipate any radical changes within the next few years. Since 1992 there has been an almost complete stagnation in the production of new housing as a consequence of unemployment and decreased state subsidies.

Housing and the Swedish Welfare State

Housing has played an important role in Swedish welfare politics for a long time and has been closely associated with the Swedish welfare state. Housing, as with education - especially as regards young people - has been regarded as one's right, based on one's own needs and preferences. In many respects this ambitious housing policy has not been able to prevent an increasing segregation and in some places extremely impoverished housing environments. A combination of a new tax and financing of housing system and strongly reduced state subsidies has contributed towards increased housing costs, especially as regards new production of housing. This has most certainly had an affect on those young people trying to enter the housing market.

The 90's in Sweden has been described as a period of fundamental change. Sweden's entry into the international community and the integration of the Swedish economy and politics into the European market, has prepared the ground for a new situation in the housing sector. Simultaneously one of the pillars of the "Swedish model", i.e. full employment, has collapsed and Sweden has now joined ranks with other European countries with high unemployment figures. There is every reason to expect that this will seriously effect on the distribution of income, poverty and an increasing tendency towards social marginalisation.

As a direct result of this development, welfare politics - yet another pillar of the Swedish model - has begun to show serious signs of tottering. There have been more books published at the beginning of the 90's on the welfare state than in the whole of the 70's and 80's together. At the same time as full-time employment, a fully developed publicly financed social security system, etc. were now being questioned, defence of the Swedish welfare model was being expressed.

The process of leaving the parental home

Results from the second national study shows that when young people leave the parental home for an independent home, this is a step in their effort to gain independency and qualify for adulthood (Lieberg 1997b). The act of leaving home is decided by several factors: One's own economic resources (income, capital) is a prerequisite. Extended education, thereby, means that it takes longer before a young person can earn an income. This, in turn, delays a young person's possibility to leave the parental home. This applies, in particular, to teenagers (secondary school) and, to a certain extent, young people in their early 20's. Longer periods of study after secondary school has resulted in young people having to move to other parts of Sweden and therefore, leaving home at an earlier age after secondary school.

Table 1. Percentage of young people in Sweden still living in the parental home, 1975-1990.

Age	1975	1980	1985	1990	Rural	Urban	Other
16-17	95	97	98	97	97	96	97
18-19	76	77	80	79	87	81	76
20-24	37	34	35	30	44	33	26
25-29	10	8	8	6	11	6	5

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, Population and Housing Register

Seen over a longer period of time living in the parental home in Sweden has successively diminished. Up to the end of the 60's the vast housing shortage presented an obstacle for young people wanting to leave home. One million new homes in the so-called "million project" were produced between 1965 and 1975. During this ten year period, the number of young people living in the parental home decreased considerably (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996). The reason was the availability of an additional number of larger flats which presumably led to a lengthy chain process of people moving home and that resulted in smaller flats becoming available for young people. Seen over a shorter period of time one can see that there has been an increase in the number of the youngest young people (teenagers) living in the parental home but decreased among the older group of young people. In 1991, 89 percent of the teenagers were still living in the parental home compared to 83 percent in 1975. Even among the 20 to 24 year olds, it appears that living at home has increased during this period, whereas it has decreased among the young people in the age group 25-29.

On the other hand what was earlier not so well-known is that a significant number (20%) of those who have left home for some reason or other, return to the parental home (Lieberg 1997b). This new phenomenon has developed to become quite

common in Sweden. Many young people have started to move between living with their parents to living in somewhat temporary accommodation. Leaving home today is no longer a final process. Many young people return to their parent's home not only once but many times during the period called "extended period of youth". It is, therefore, more relevant to speak about "On probation from home", or "living away from home" than "leaving home" (Lieberg 1997b). The latter, "leaving home", possibly does not happen until the young person is much older. In addition, various contributing factors relating to changes in the modern family structure must be considered, e.g. many young people share their housing between their mother and father who may live in different places and who may have entered a new relationship and started to build a new family. These factors show that the question of leaving home is indeed a much more complex and lengthy process than before.

A considerable number of these young people give economic reason for returning home e.g. lost their job, too expensive or could not afford their independent home. At present a large number of young people living at home are waiting to enter the housing market as soon as it is economically possible. Both Swedish and international research show that the transition to adulthood and leaving home is complicated, largely influenced by the changing family structure and by issues concerning employment, study and independent living (Löfgren 1991, Coles 1995, Jones 1995). Increased knowledge of the longterm effects of remaining at home is, therefore, an important issue for research.

It is unusual in Sweden to remain living in the parental home once one has started to build a family. Neither does one normally leave home to live with a partner, instead one usually begins by firstly living independently for a short period of time. To remain living in the parental home is strongly related to one's position on the labour market. Figures from 1991 show that only 20 percent of those gainfully employed still lived in the parental home. In 1991, 72 percent of young people who were studying lived in the parental home.

How do young people in Sweden live today?

The results from our second national study show that 31 percent of young people in the age group 18-27 still live in the parental home. There are, however, certain differences between the age groups. The majority of young people in the age group 18-19 (86%) still live with their parents. Only a few (8%) have gone as far as finding their own dwelling. Of the age group 20-23, 33 percent live with their parents. Of the age group 24-27, 83 percent have their own home and 6 percent live with their parents (table 2). The majority appear to leave home when they are about 20.

Table 2. Percentage of young people in different types of housing according to age, 1996.

	18-19 years (n=377)	20-23 years (n=797)	24-27 years (n=814)	8-27 years (n=1988)
Living with parents	86	33	6	31
Independent home	8	50	83	56
Student accomodation	2	7	2	4
Sublet	1	6	5	5
Living with friends	1	3	3	3
Other	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: SKOP, National survey, 1996.

If we look closer at how young people actually live and compare this with the preference profile we find that, in spite of everything, the majority have had a fairly good kick off in life. As a rule, young people live in small, modern homes. Of all the young people between 18 and 27 who have left home and are neither married nor cohabiting, just over half (51%) have their own home comprising of one room, kitchen and bathroom or less. 33 percent live in a flat with two rooms, bathroom and kitchen and 16 percent have a larger home. You can also find differences between the individual age groups. Of the few 18-19 year olds who have left home and not yet started to build a family, 63 percent had their own home of one room, bathroom and kitchen or less. 55 percent in the age group 22-23 and 45 percent in the age group 24-27 lived in a flat of one room, bathroom and kitchen or less. It is primarily university or college students who live in one room, with or without a kitchen (41%). Many young people in this group have one room and a kitchenette. Those who are married or cohabiting with no children always live in a larger dwelling than those who are living on their own. It should, however, be noted that 7 percent of the young people live in a flat of one room, bathroom and kitchen or less.

Nearly all young people live in well-equipped accommodation with toilet and bathroom (98%), kitchen or kitchenette (97%), deep freeze (94%). The majority of homes also have a TV (96%) and a stereo (96%). Many even have computers (44%), primarily in the homes of young people attending university/college or secondary school. More men than women have computers and more young people in the lower age groups than in the higher age groups. More young people living at home have computers than those who have left home.

Mobility aspirations

A number of studies show that young people are a mobile group within the housing market. Like a pendulum, they swing between different and, sometimes temporary housing solutions - from living in the parental home to student accommodation, from staying with friends to sublets, etc. In 1996 the number of young people in the age group 20-29 register moving home was three times greater than the national average (Bergenstråhle 1997). It is extremely difficult to come to grips on the period between leaving home and finding an independent dwelling, usually about 20-21 years old. According to the Population and Housing Register 1990, about 66 000 young people of just over 1 000 000 (6.7%) did not belong to a so-called household. These young people were registered as living in a parish or property but did not actually live there, or they were young people with no permanent home or who did not want to divulge where and with whom they were living (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996).

Role of unemployment and other economic factors

A combination of developments in the labour market and access to smaller and cheaper dwellings clearly steer the possibilities for young people to leave home. Where you have a situation of high unemployment and a housing market in recession, as is the case in the 90's, the chances of young people finding an independent dwelling decrease and this, in turn, results in more and more young people being forced to remain living in the parental home. Some have to return to the parental home for financial reasons, after having lived independently for some time. The national surveys show a strong link between one's position on the labour market and living at home. The number of young people living at home increases among the unemployed and decreases among the gainfully employed. Compared to those who have left home, those young people still living at home have, to a great extent, either temporary employment or are unemployed or engaged in a labour market training scheme for young people. In all 13 percent of the young people in the survey regularly received financial support from his/her parents. This was especially common in the youngest age group where 29 percent received support. A large number of those young people receiving regular financial support from their home was found among secondary school pupils (38%), those living with their parents (24%), those doing their national service (23%) or enrolled in some kind of government training scheme for the unemployed (22%).

This indicates that many young people receive financial support and allowances to cover their living costs from different sources. Apart from housing benefits and rental support from his/her parents, a young person can receive help to cover living costs from unemployment benefit or from regular financial support from the parents. A total of 36 percent received some kind of financial assistance to cover

housing costs. Very few received assistance at the same time from more than one of the five different sources of financial assistance we have mentioned in our questionnaire.

Future housing

As regards young people's housing demands, it appears that traditional values steer demands for future housing. Today young people's ideas about their future housing are not especially daring. A clear majority could certainly consider making a personal contribution to reduce housing costs. The interest for special youth housing and ecological housing also appears to attract young people's interest. Otherwise as regards maintaining a high standard of equipment, then it appears that young people of today share the same values as past generations. This was indeed noticeable when it came to attitudes on future housing. A clear majority preferred to have their own house with a garden near the countryside. The question is if we are ever going to afford such a high standard housing again? Young people are not particularly interested in specific housing solutions. The majority said that the best way for young people to enter the housing market would be to reduce youth unemployment and, thereby, enable young people to pay their housing costs.

Conclusion

Our national study shows that young people in Sweden tend to leave the parental home somewhat later in life than previously. The reasons for this can be found in the prolonged period of studies combined with increased housing costs and changes in the housing market. Nothing points towards this increase of young people remaining living at home is a result of a change in attitudes among the young people. Quite the opposite, our study as well as other studies show that this is rather a result of structural and economic factors (Lindén 1990). When there is high unemployment and insecure economy many choose to remain living at home. At the same time one can point out that an increasing number of young people return home to live with their parents. "On probation from home" therefore appears to be a more adequate expression than "to move away from home". This is a new and important phenomenon which has not been previously discussed in Swedish research. The reason for this is that earlier research has been concerned with the final move from home and not with the first move. It also appears that the process of returning home has been neglected in the field of research because of difficulties of gaining access to this data and because leaving home should be a one-off phenomenon. International research indicates, however, that returning home has become more common over the last few years (Jones, 1995). The significance of these results is that young people's appreciation of the housing market can have been considerably underrated. The increase in the number of young people

returning home can be an indication that the process of leaving home is considerably more complicated and lengthier than we previously thought.

These changes can be of importance even in other aspects. The national housing policy appears to be built on a model of economic rationality which presupposes that young people first leave home when they can afford to do so. Measures aimed at reducing the reasons for leaving home, therefore, automatically lead to prolonging the period young people live in the parental home. The effects of this are, as yet, not especially apparent in Sweden, but international research shows that many young people who leave home while quite young do so because of domestic conflicts, lack of space and difficulties in getting employment or being able to study in their home town (Jones 1995, Coles 1996). In reality these young people are often given no choice about the point of time to leave home. They are almost certainly not prepared to live in an independent home and they do not have the economic means to have one. Even if the situation in Sweden cannot as yet be compared with the international situation, we should be aware of any developments that lead to youth exclusion in the housing market. Jones (1995) means that the "normative" pattern for moving home is, to a large extent, built on economic rationality, while moving home because of marriage, looking for work or beginning studies in another town is largely built on individual choice. The latter is therefore more sensitive for manipulation due to different forms of state regulations and contributions.

This study has pointed out that young people remaining at home and leaving home is a special area for research and has also illustrated some of the definition problems related to this type of study. The study also points out the significance of continued research - not least as regards young people returning to live in the parental home and the increased economic responsibility on the family for young people who have reached the age of majority. Research should focus on studies of ethnic, class and regional differences and on possibilities for subsidies between different groups. Much of the international research has focused on what the process means mainly for marginalised and socially-burdened households. Continued research should, therefore, also include "whole" families i.e. lacking economic and social problems. These questions should even be seen from the parents' viewpoint as well as from the young people's and should lead to increasing the aim to view the young person's situation from both a family point of view and from a broader perspective in society.

Greater emphasis must be placed on regarding leaving home as a lengthy process and not as a one-off action. This means that when carrying out studies about the pattern of young people moving home, it must be made clear if it is the first time, last time or even a mixture of both. The best results are got by longitudinal studies where the same definitions and methods are used on many occasions. Cross-section studies that build on temporary households are therefore greatly limited and one

must define the population very accurately. Comparison with other studies should be avoided if the same definitions and methods of measurement are not used. It is even more significant in times when young people are met with increased difficulties to free themselves from their parental home and develop their own dwelling, that research results are of such a quality that politicians and decision makers can fully use them. There is, therefore, every reason to emphasise the significance of both broad longitudinal studies that can find trends and important changes in development and qualitative studies that aim at making deeper studies on a more individual level.

Literature

- Bergenstråhle, S (1997): *Ungdom och boende. En studie av boendet för ungdomar i åldern 20-27 år.* (Young people and housing. A study of young people's housing in the age groups 20-27.) Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Boinstitutet (The Institute of Housing Studies 1996): *Bostadsmarknadsläge och förväntat bostadsbyggande 1996-97.* (Situation in the housing market and expected housing construction 1996-97.) Municipal assessment. Report 1996:1. Stockholm: Boinstitutet.
- Boverket (1990): *Ungdomars bostadsbehov fram till år 2010.* (Young people's housing requirements to the year 2010.) Karlskrona: The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.
- Coles, B (1995): *Youth and social policy.* London: UCL Press.
- Jones, G (1995): *Leaving home.* Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lieberg, M (1997a): *Youth Housing in Sweden. A descriptive overview based on a literature review.* Mälardalen University: Welfare Research Centre.
- Lieberg, M (1997b): *On Probation from Home. Young peoples housing and housing preferences in Sweden.* Mälardalen University: Welfare Research Centre.
- Lieberg, M (1998): *Bostäder och boende bland unga socialbidragstagare – en kvalitativ studie.* Mälardalen University: Welfare Research Centre.
- Lindén, A-L (1990): *De första åren i boendekarriären. Ungdomar på bostadsmarkaden.* (The first years of a housing career. Young people in the housing market.) Stockholm: The National Council for Building Research
- Löfgren, A (1991): *Att flytta hemifrån. Boendets roll i ungdomars vuxenblivande ur ett situationsanalytiskt perspektiv.* (Leaving home: the role of housing in young people's transition to adulthood from a situation analytical perspective.), Lund University Press.
- SOU 1994:73 *Ungdomars välfärd och värderingar. Rapport till Barn- och ungdomsdelegationen och Generationensutredningen.* (Youth welfare and values. Report to the Children and Youth Delegation and Generation Inquiry). The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- SOU 1996:156 *Bostadspolitik 2000 - från produktions- till boendepolitik. Slutbetänkande av bostadspolitiska utredningen.* (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156 Housing policy 2000 - from production to housing policy. Final committee report from The Housing Policy Report. Stockholm: Fritzes

- Thelander, A L (1984): *Bostad efter behov. Jämlikhet och integration på 80-talets bostadsmarknad.* (Housing according to need. Equality and integration of housing in the in the 1980's housing market.) Report R26.1984. Stockholm. Byggeforskningsrådet.
- Turner, B (1997): *Vad hände med den sociala bostadspolitiken?* (What happened to the social housing policy?) Stockholm: Boinstitutet.
- Ungdomsstyrelsen (1996): *Krokig väg till vuxen. En kartläggning av ungdomars livsvillkor.* (The winding road to adulthood. Mapping young people living conditions.) Youth Report 1996 part 1. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen. (The National Board for Youth Affairs).

European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion
Welfare Research Centre, University of Mälardalen
YouthInfo Services at Eskilstuna Public and County Library
Department of Building Functions Analysis, Lund University

YOUTH HOUSING IN SWEDEN

A Descriptive Overview based on a
Literature Review

by

Mats Lieberg

August 1997

Report 1:
Work in progress

Contents

Introduction	5
Housing and the Swedish Welfare State	5
Young people's position in the housing market	6
The housing market and young people	7
The significance of social, economic and domestic factors in the transition to adulthood	8
The concepts, child, youth and adult	8
Youth as a phase in life, respectively a social category.	8
Increasingly extended period of education	10
The labour market and economy - increased youth unemployment..	10
Partnership and building a family	11
Swedish housing policy and housing market - an overview	12
Housing policy as part of welfare policy.....	12
The structure of the housing stock	13
Actors in the housing market	13
Young people's incomes	14
Development of housing costs	15
Housing allowances to young people	15
Young people's housing economy.....	16
Student accommodation.....	16
Leaving home - a prolonged and complicated process	17
Tendencies.....	18
Housing demands and preferences - two different issues.....	19
Leaving the parental home	21
The housing market and policy from a young person's perspective	22
Literature	23

Welfare Research Centre

Introduction

This report presents the results of an literature review on housing issues facing young people in Sweden. The study is part of the EU project entitled "European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion", chaired and coordinated by the Fédération Relais in Paris. The project is carried out together with six other partners in the European Union - Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal, Scotland and Spain.

The information presented in this report focuses on the effects of housing on the lives of young Swedish people. The aim is primarily to give an overall picture of the young people's housing situation in Sweden. The study principally covers a survey of literature and secondary data sources available in the field of this study. It also includes research reports, scientific articles, statistical information, national and government reports as well as official documents and reports from practical examples. The aim it to present the current state of the art in Sweden and to highlight issues specific for Sweden.

Housing and the Swedish Welfare State

The 90's in Sweden has been described by many as a period of fundamental change. Sweden's entry into the international integration of the Swedish economy and politics. Simultaneously one of the pillars of the "Swedish model", i.e. full employment, has collapsed and Sweden has now joined ranks with other European countries with high unemployment figures. There is every reason to expect that this will seriously effect on the distribution of income, poverty and an increasing tendency towards social marginalisation.

As a direct result of this development, welfare politics - yet another pillar of the Swedish model - has begun to show serious signs of tottering. There have been more books published at the beginning of the 90's on the welfare state than in the whole of the 70's and 80's together. (See e.g Zetterberg 1992, Greider 1994, Rothstein 1994, Arvidsson, Berntsson and Dencik 1994, Wetterberg 1995). At the same time as full-time employment, a fully developed publicly financed social security system, etc. were now being questioned, defence of the Swedish welfare model was being expressed.

Housing has played an important role in Swedish welfare politics for a long time and has been closely associated with the Swedish welfare state. Housing, as with education - especially as regards young people - has been regarded as one's right, based on one's own needs and preferences. In many respects this ambitious housing policy has not been able to prevent an increasing segregation and in some places extremely impoverished housing environments. A combination of a new tax and financing of housing system and strongly reduced state subsidies has contributed

towards increased housing costs, especially as regards new production of housing. This has most certainly had an affect on those young people trying to enter the housing market.

Young people's position in the housing market

Many factors, e.g. income, availability of smaller flats and housing costs, have to be taken into consideration before a young person can gain access to an independent home. The possibilities are further influenced by other actors in the housing market. Young people in contemporary Sweden face difficulties in finding affordable housing. Parallel with a drastic increase in the cost of living over the last few years, unemployment has reached an all-time peak level. In 1995, the open unemployment figure for young people aged between 18 and 27 was on the average 16 percent. An additional 5 percent participate in government training programmes for the unemployed.

Generally speaking, the Swedish housing stock is of a very high standard both as regards size and quality. Gaining access to a cheap and good home is made even more difficult by the low rate of flexibility in the market. This situation is not expected to change in the near future. The generation belonging to young people's parents and retired citizens remain in their own homes because it is economically cheaper to do so. Many households are even "locked in" in private houses which were built between 1988 and 1993. All in all this development results in lessening the number of links in the chain called "moving home". This means that the rate of houses available in the market do not meet up with the demands of the young people.

The diminishing possibility for young people to find an independent home tends to lead to an increase in the number of young people living in the parental home. An estimation made by The National Board for Youth Affairs in Sweden shows that 36 percent of all the young people in the age group 20-24 were still living at home in 1994, compared to 30 percent according to the Census 1990 (Ungdomsstyrelsen 1996) [The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996]. A considerable number of young people are about to enter the housing market as soon as it is economically feasible. Both Swedish and international research show that the transition to adulthood and leaving home is a complex process. It is, to a great extent, influenced by new family structures, access to employment, studies and having an independent home. (Löfgren 1991, Coles 1995, Jones 1995). The longterm effects on an increasing number of young people living in the parental home is, therefore, an important issue for research.

The housing market and young people

From the post war period until the 60's, there was a recognised housing shortage in Sweden. This shortage meant that young people were, to a greater extent, forced to remain living in the parental home than is the case today and this also resulted in a high degree of overcrowding in the homes. One important aim of the Swedish housing policy was to reduce the housing shortage and overcrowded households. The aim was to build one million new homes per ten years, the so-called "million project". The project was put into effect during the period 1965-75 and resulted in the completion of about 600 000 new households, the majority of which were single person homes for young people. The increase in the number of homes allowed young people to leave home for an independent dwelling. This also meant that those who were already established in the housing market could now move to a larger home.

There was almost no housing shortage at all in Sweden by the mid-70's. Instead, many municipalities had a housing surplus, flats lay empty and were not rented out for longer periods of time. From this time until the beginning of the 80's it was possible, no matter where you lived in Sweden, to find a flat without having to put your name on a waiting list. It was only in the large metropolitan areas that a housing shortage existed. The situation was very much in favour of those young people making their debut in the market. The number of single person households continued to increase during the period, 1975-80, and reached a figure of almost one third of the total number of households in Sweden (Thelander 1984).

During the early 80's, the production of new flats decreased in Sweden. Instead state building subsidies stimulated modernisation of flats in older buildings. Many small flats were converted into larger flats and the number of small flats and flats lacking modern conveniences decreased drastically. At the same time the number of single person households increased. This development led yet again to a housing shortage and young people began to have difficulties in finding an independent home.

By the end of the 80's, there was a housing shortage in just over 80 percent of all the Swedish municipalities. During this period, demand was a contributing factor in housing construction, but it was soon the reverse due to the recession. In the 90's, housing construction diminished and now reached an extremely low level. Even if housing construction was reduced, adjustment to the new situation has been slow and as late as 1992, 57 000 new houses were built (Boverket 1990) [The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning]. Young people and established households alike find it difficult to move home. This is mostly as a result of increased housing costs. There is less circulation within the housing market which makes the situation even more difficult for young people.

The significance of social, economic and domestic factors in the transition to adulthood

When one discusses issues facing young people in the housing market a number of factors relating to their lives should be considered. Jones (1995) names three key dimensions considered necessary to understand young people's lives:

1. Long-term process involved in transition to adulthood
2. Youth context, social and economic inequalities between different groups of young people
3. Interrelation between various aspects in young people's lives

Coles (1995) suggests three ways or "careers" to adulthood:

- Education /labour market career (transition from school to work)
- Domestic career (from original family to new family building)
- Housing career (from parental home to independent home)

The significance of these three factors in relation to the situation of young people in the housing market is discussed as follows.

The concepts, child, youth and adult

The significance of the concepts, child, youth and adult, have varied historically between different periods of time and between different social classes. They have also been influenced by cultural social, economic and family law conditions. It is, therefore, difficult to give an exact or precise definition. The concepts are often used without any specific age limit. At the same time a rational decision has been taken. What is considered to be youth depends on what is considered to be childhood respectively adulthood. Childhood is usually defined as that period in one's life preceding sexual maturity. For a long time, adulthood was seen as the period when one was considered "ready" as a person and there were no more changes to take place. This approach appears to be disappearing (Bjurström & Fornäs 1988). Of all three concepts, that of youth and all its many synonyms is more complex and difficult to define.

Youth as a phase in life, respectively a social category.

Youth can be seen as a phase in life respectively a social category. As a phase in life, the period of youth presents a transitional period between childhood and adulthood. During this period, young people have to take the step from being under-age and dependent on their parents to being of-age and independent. In past

times, the various transition and ritual ceremonies played an important role in indicating transition from one age group to another or from youth to adulthood. Today, however, these periods of transition are not quite so clearly indicated. The period of youth is much longer and the boundaries between childhood, youth and adulthood have become more diffuse.

Over the last decade, youth, as a social category, has come to be recognised as a special group within society with its own needs and interests (Lieberg 1994a). At the same time there is quite an ambivalence and uncertainty about how the category youth should be defined in relation to the categories child and adult. This ambivalence is reflected in both legislation and in the debate on youth.

The generation concept has become currently topical in the field of youth research and welfare research since the German researcher Ronald Inglehart (1977) introduced his theory on the "German revolution". Briefly, the theory is that different generations establish values and approaches specific to that generation because the people are influenced by the conditions of where they live and grow up. A generation which lives during a time of reduced means or poverty is going to place emphasis on material security and assurance. A generation which grows up in a welfare society and materialistic affluence is going to place emphasis on other values e.g. values relating to self-development, self-realisation, etc. According to Joachim Vogel (1994), this theory can scarcely be supported by Swedish studies in changes in values, etc. within different generations. These studies are made within the framework of the annual surveys on Living Conditions in Sweden (ULF) carried out by The Swedish Central Bureau of Statistics. As to social morals, religion and bio-ethnic values, the younger generation certainly show a more "individualistic value for freedom than the older generations. In other cases, however, it is the opposite e.g. as regards the question of sex morals respectively the policy regarding income distribution. According to Vogel, one can conclude that the generation differences found in Sweden are altogether too varied to be able to organise in a general theory on shifts towards post-materialism.

The difference between seeing youth as a phase in life respectively as a social category is clearly reflected in Swedish youth research. It can be said that during the post war period there has been a shift in perspective from studying the significance of the period of youth on one's future life, to studying living conditions during the actual period of youth. This is related to the fact that youth stretches over a longer period of time which, in turn, results in it taking longer before reaching adulthood. For a long time, youth has been mainly regarded from adult dimensions and expectations. It was not only seen as a natural period of both transition and change but above all, perhaps, as a period of social problems. Consequently, youth research has, chiefly been, problem and measurement -orientated (Lieberg 1994b). During the 80's and 90's youth research has mainly been concerned in studies starting from a critical attitude towards youth as a problem and victim of social progress.

Emphasis was placed, instead, on the efforts of young people to develop their own approach to social progress and how to live in an ever-changing world. Youth research developed during this period towards a broad interdisciplinary field and received financial support from Swedish research funding (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996).

Increasingly extended period of education

The increasing extended period of education influences the period of youth. The expanded secondary school education combined with an increasingly difficulties to enter the youth labour market and has had a distinct effect on education intensity. The number of teenagers who solely studied during the period 1980-1985 increased from 34 percent to 65 percent. During this same period, the number of young people studying in the age group 20-24 increased from 8 percent to 22 percent. The increase has been greatest in the 90's (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996).

90 percent of all young people in Sweden aged between 16 and 18 were involved in some form or other of education. After 18 years old, the number of young people studying decreases by 50 percent and continues to do so successively by age. Approximately every fifth young person aged between 20 and 23 attends a course at university or college and about 10 percent on those who are 29 year old. Young women tend to study somewhat more than young men.

Secondary school reform and extension of the universities and college have taken place when the possibilities for young people to enter the labour market have diminished considerably. During the 80's there were enormous opportunities to start work directly after completing compulsory school education, instead of continuing to secondary school, and to work for a few years before returning to studies. This possibility no longer exists today. Instead, an attempt has been made to extend secondary school education to admit more pupils. In practice, this means that we now have an obligatory secondary school education a consequence, of which, is that traditional attitudes about secondary school education, that it would lead to a relatively secure position in the labour market, is totally lost. Instead the curriculum aims at supporting the pupil's needs to understand his/her position in the world and allow them to consider the structures which reduce human potential (Börjesson 1996).

The labour market and economy – increased youth unemployment

One of the most important steps in the transition to adulthood is establishment on the labour market. As a rule, this is a necessity for a young person to be able to achieve economic independence. Employment is not only a means of earning an income but also allows access to other forms of welfare security related to employ-

ment. Development over the last decades has, however, meant that young people are older before they enter the labour market. The reasons for this are increased unemployment, extended period of education and many young people are placed in some form of temporary employment. In the 90's, unemployment figures for young people increased dramatically. In 1995, 16 percent of young people in the age group 20-24 were unemployed. To this figure you can add those 5 percent taking part in a state training scheme.

Partnership and building a family

It is very unusual for young people in Sweden to remain living in the parental home once they have started to build their own family. Similarly, it is not usual for a young person to leave home directly to live with a partner. On the other hand, it is more common for young people to first live on their own or with a friend for a period of time. Development in Sweden shows that it is becoming more common to live on one's own. Single person households have, according to ULF surveys, increased in the age group 22-24 years old from 24 percent to 29 percent during the period 1975-1991 and from 14 percent to 27 percent in the age group 25 to 29 (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996, p.145). This tendency is especially noticeable among young men. Berger (1996) notes that between 1989 and 1991 more and more young people in the age group 18-24 were starting independent households. This pattern has changed and development now goes in the opposite direction especially for young people under 21 years of age. There are various factors which contribute towards family building, e.g. being brought up in a working class home, coming from a large family or not being brought up by your own parents (The Central Statistical Office, *The lives of women and men*).

In Sweden, the majority of young people complete a secondary school education. True adult life begins with a new family and children, generally after 25 . Even if cohabiting has become an accepted way of living it does not "replace" marriage. According to The National Board for Youth Affairs, only a small percent marry their first partner: at the same time very few marry without first having cohabited. In 1994, the median age for a first marriage was 30 for men and 28 for women. This shows an increase of five compared with the situation in the 60's. The median age for having a first child is, at present, 26 years old, and can be compared to 24 in 1975.

We thus observe that young people leave the parental home and start families later in life than in the 70's. In the age group 20-24, the number of young people included in complete families (cohabiting, married or unmarried, with children) has decreased by 50 percent since 1975. This is an effect of young people becoming established later in life and is especially noticeable among young women. The reason is said to be a result of shifting values in issues concerning profession and

starting a family (more conscious planning, better contraceptives, abortion legislation, etc).

Increased gainful employment for women combined with expanded nursery school care has made it possible to consciously plan both partnership and size of family according to the principle, first education and establishment on the labour market, afterwards start a family (SOU 1994:73) [The Swedish Government Official reports].

However, women still leave home earlier than men. The reason because they enter partnerships more often earlier than young men. Fewer men have to do their national service today and the period is shorter. This means that young men require an independent home earlier than before.

Swedish housing policy and housing market - an overview

This section will present an overview survey of the Swedish housing policy, housing market, housing stock's organisation and structure, choice and demand over recent years, costs, etc. The following section will present an overview of the situation of young people in the housing market focussing on necessary requirements to gain access to an independent dwelling.

Housing policy as part of welfare policy

In Sweden, housing policies are seen as an important part of the welfare policy. In the final report it states that housing policy must create such conditions that allow people to live in good affordable housing in a stimulating and secure environment. The housing environment should contribute to equal and worthy living conditions and, in particular, permit children and young children to have a good upbringing (SOU 1996:156) [The Swedish Government Official reports].

Previously, housing policies have been strongly aimed at increasing the number of houses in the country and at producing and financing affordable homes. The aim was to reduce the housing shortage and to increase housing standards. On average people in Sweden today have access to very high standard housing. There is no housing shortage to speak of even if there is an increasing demand in certain areas for housing. This is most noticeable in large metropolitan areas and where there are universities and colleges. At present the problems are found in the exterior environment in built-up areas, housing segregation, lack of service and accessibility, high housing costs in new houses. In spite of an ambitious housing policy it has not been possible to prevent an increasing housing segregation.

The structure of the housing stock

Of the total number of almost 4 000 000 homes in Sweden, almost 75 percent have been built after the Second World War. The joint housing stock has shifted towards a substantial decrease in the number of smaller flats. Demolition and renovation has resulted in diminishing the number of single room flats and other small flats lacking kitchen facilities since 1960. The number of two room flats with kitchen and bathroom has decreased from 59 percent to 34 percent during the period 1960-1990. In addition, structural changes in households and family building has resulted in the number of single person or two person households increasing from just over 47 percent to 71 percent during the same period. As a result competition to gain access to a flat is very high.

Flexibility in the housing market is currently relatively low. This especially effects young people and, in particular, those under 25 years old who are not searching for newly built flats to live in. These young people depend on the already established households moving on, up the "housing ladder", thereby releasing cheaper flats in the housing market.

Almost half (54%) of Sweden's households live in blocks of flats. The remaining live in small houses. When it comes to forms of tenure, 41 percent of Swedish households own their own homes, 40 percent rent and 16 percent live in owner-occupation property. The typical Swedish characteristic is that a small house is owned by an individual, whereas blocks of flats are owned by public associations or housing co-operatives. Large flats are found in small house stock and small flats are found in blocks of flats. There are obvious regional differences in the housing stock. In the sparsely populated areas, 95 percent of the housing stock consists of small houses whereas in the metropolitan areas this figure is 30 percent and in other urban areas it is 45 percent.

Actors in the housing market

In recent years, there have been a number of changes in the Swedish housing market and its actors. The aim has been to deregulate the market and to successively transfer the responsibility for building and housing to the landlords and households. The consequence of this is that government and municipal responsibility for housing has changed and diminished.

The earlier role of *the state* as regards norms, standards and levels of ambition has disappeared or, rather, moved on into the hands of other actors in the field. Building legislation has been rewritten. Rules and regulations previously demanded in order to receive state grants have become more general in character. This has opened the door to new possibilities to build houses with different forms, standards

and quality. And not least of all this can allow young people to gain access to cheaper and somewhat less traditional housing.

Housing benefits have been the responsibility of the state since 1994. The state has also decided to cut interest allowances. This has led to increasing the costs of new production and renovated houses over the last few years.

The municipalities have also experienced changes in housing policies. Since 1993, they no longer have to show a housing programme and there are no longer any housing departments. The individual landlord now has to advertise vacancies. In principle, this means that housing goes to that household which best suits the owner of the property. The municipalities are only responsible for the weakest groups in society i.e. those on social assistance, in need of special support or care as regards housing.

The landlords have been given a freer hand in finding their tenants. By shifting the security of tenure, landlords can more easily give notice to troublesome tenants. On the other hand the tenant has been given longer time to pay his rental debts before being turned out of his home.

Young people's incomes

The recession during the 1990's has led to a substantial fall in young people's incomes, mainly as a result of increased unemployment among young people. This has hit young people aged between 20 and 24 especially hard. Unemployment in this age group in 1995 was 17 percent for young men and 15 percent for young women. This is twice Sweden's national average (SOU 1996:156) [The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156]. The Central Statistical Office manpower surveys indicate that the number of young people unemployed or with temporary work is higher among young people aged between 20 and 24 than in the other age groups.

Yet another way to describe the young people's economic position is to show how many are living on the margin of society or on extremely low incomes. Statistics from The National Board of Health and Welfare show that in 1995, 15 percent of young people in the age group 18-24 received social benefits one or more times. The number of young people receiving social assistance at one time or another during the year has doubled between 1990 and 1995. Five percent of all young people between 20 and 29 have, according to the same source, problems finding a place in the labour market. The greatest problems are experienced among those young people with an immigrant background, or from working class families and single parents.

According to The National Board of Health and Welfare, young people, single parents and immigrants have been hit hardest of all by the economic crisis. At the same time, social differences have sprung up between different groups of young people.

Development of housing costs

The Institution for Housing Research has reckoned that between 1989 and 1995, the youngest of young householders i.e. those under 20 years of age, have had to bear the increase in housing costs of 27 percent on average. This is based on 1993 prices. The largest increase was felt by young people in the age group 20-24. Their housing costs had increased by 36 percent. This development has forced many young people to use a considerable amount of their liquid assets on housing. The statistics show that teenagers in particular spend a large percentage of their liquid assets on housing: this tendency is similar for all young people under 25 years of age. On average, rent for a flat comprising of two rooms, kitchen and bathroom during the period 1990-97 increased by 72 percent. One can compare this with prices during the same period which increased by 24 percent (Bergensträhle 1997).

Housing allowances to young people

Young people, aged between 18 and 27, and with no children can receive a housing allowance of 75 percent of their housing costs between 1 800 SEK and 2 600 SEK, and 50 percent between 2 600 SEK and 3 600 SEK. The benefit is differential and decreases by one third if one's income exceeds 41 000 SEK for a single person and 59 000 SEK for partnerships. In May 1996, 67 000 young households received benefits (The National Social Insurance Board). A noticeable difference from previous years is that the number of student households has increased substantially and in 1996 represented 65 percent of young people receiving housing benefits. Students usually receive full benefits because only the educational grants are considered as income. Other young people, as a rule, receive lower benefits because of income. Young single person households constitute a clear majority of those receiving benefits. In 1994, 89 percent of all the young households received housing benefits.

Salonen (1993) shows that one Swede in five received social benefit during the 1980s. Many of them were young people. This means that social benefit is scarcely a marginal phenomenon. But how are we to understand it? Salonen argues that modern poverty must be seen as a result of the position of the welfare state between the market and the individual household.

A concrete proposal from the government concerns rules for housing benefits. The committee suggests that the rules should be altered in favour of those young people

who are gainfully employed but on low income. This is an important group to give priority but the committee should also include, those young people who are actively involved in their housing. One should possibly consider lowering the upper age limit to allow younger households - those with the weakest domestic economy - a chance to receive benefits.

Young people's housing economy

By relating housing costs to disposable income we can obtain a comprehensive picture of young people's housing economy. Information shows that young people under the age of 25 have a lower disposable income than those in the age group 25-29. For single person households with no children the difference is 2 200 SEK per month. The younger groups of young people also have less scope for consumption, after paying rental costs. This group spends a large amount of their disposable income on their dwelling. Young single person households, under the age of 25, have a disposable income which can be compared with that of a senior citizen i.e. 7 300 SEK. Nevertheless, young people tend to spend a large part income on their home, 33 percent compared with 27 percent by the senior citizen (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156)

Student accommodation

There are at present some 41 000 student flats and rooms in Sweden. These dwellings are owned by student organisations, municipal housing companies or student "nations" (a type of student's club). Living costs for a single room with a small kitchenette and bathroom varies depending on where you live in Sweden. According to SCB the average annual rent for a student room is 22 500 SEK, but can vary from 11 000 SEK to 36 600 SEK per year. Nine of 31 university towns in Sweden have housing queues of up to one university term (Boverket 1997) [The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning]. In two of the university towns, students have to wait for more than two years for housing. The present university expansion is almost certainly going to influence the future housing situation for students. According to The National Statistical Office there were 231 000 students enrolled in universities in Sweden in autumn 1994. The state plans to increase university intake with a further 30 000 new admissions by the year 2 000 (Bill 1995/96:25). The expansion of higher education increases the pressure in the housing market in the university towns and is most certainly going to create a substantial demand for student accommodation.

Leaving home - a prolonged and complicated process

Leaving home to build a new household is often a milestone and crucial step in a young person's life. It is also that part in the process of transition to adulthood which is most relevant as far as the housing market is concerned. This process has nevertheless changed over the last few years and taken on a new form.

At present society tends to regard this process as less important and as something which might just as well occur later in life (Compare the case where a young woman is denied social benefit to pay her rent because it was considered that she could live with her mother whom she could not come to terms with).

The reasons for young people leaving home are strongly age-related. Four main groups can be identified.

1. Those who leave home because of various kinds of domestic conflicts (refugees)
2. Those who leave home to become independent, to have an independent home (pilgrims)
3. Those who leave home to live with a partner or to build a family (family builders)
4. Those who leave to start studying or working (students/employees)

When one leaves home, the reasons can vary according to sex and class.

Women leave home earlier than men, even if the gender differences have diminished over the last few years. Studies of the pattern for leaving home 1990-91 carried out in Sweden, show that the average age for leaving home for a young woman was 18.7 years old and for a young man 20.0 years old (The Central Statistical Office. Public census statistic 1992:4). Similar studies carried out ten years earlier showed a difference of two years between the sexes. The reasons for women leaving home earlier than men are they enter a relationship or marry earlier than men or they start to find their way into the labour market or start to study earlier than men who very often complete their national service first.

Previously there were also distinct differences in the pattern for leaving home between young people from different social classes or backgrounds. Young people from the working class usually left home earlier than those from the middle class who rather lived away from home for different stages in their lives but who also returned to the parental home. These differences are currently becoming less and less noticeable.

There are even important geographical differences in the pattern for leaving home. Generally young people from sparsely populated areas leave home earlier than

young people from cities and towns. The differences between the sexes is somewhat stronger in the rural areas. In 1990, more than half of the young men in the age group 20-24 still lived in the parental home, but not quite one third of the young women (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996. p.143). The reason for this is the local infrastructure which allows greater job possibilities and leisure time activities for men.

Tendencies

Seen over a longer period of time living in the parental home in Sweden has successively diminished. Up to the end of the 60's the vast housing shortage presented an obstacle for young people wanting to leave home. One million new homes in the so-called "million project" were produced between 1965 and 1975. During this ten year period, the number of young people living in the parental home decreased considerably (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996) The reason was the availability of an additional number of larger flats which presumably led to a lengthy chain process of people moving home and which resulted in smaller flats becoming available for young people. Seen over a shorter period of time one can see that there has been an increase in the number of the youngest young people (teenagers) living in the parental home but decreased among the older group of young people. In 1991, 89 percent of the teenagers were still living in the parental home compared to 83 percent in 1975. Even among the 20 to 24 year olds, it appears that living at home has increased during this period, whereas it has decreased among the young people in the age group 25-29.

More and more young people choose to remain living in the parental home because they cannot afford to leave home or because they are unable to find a suitable dwelling. Results of various studies carried out over the last few years, have shown that 30 percent of young people in the age group 18-27 still live in the parental home. (The Tenants National Association, Scandinavian opinion AB) The number of young people living in the parental home is highest in the youngest age group and this figure decreases successively by age. 76 percent of the young people in the age group 18 to 20 still live in the parental home whereas the figure for 21-24 year olds is 25 percent and for 24-27 is 6 percent. More young people from smaller towns and those with low incomes remain living in the parental home than young people from large metropolitan areas and those with high incomes. The results conform with what has been shown in other surveys of a similar character (See e.g. The Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies, 1959).

On the other hand what is not so well-known is that a significant number (20%) of those who have left home for some reason or other, return to the parental home. A

considerable number of these young people give economic reason for returning home e.g. lost their job, too expensive or could not afford their independent home.

It is unusual in Sweden to remain living in the parental home once one has started to build a family. Neither does one normally leave home to live with a partner, instead one usually begins by firstly living independently for a short period of time.

To remain living in the parental home is strongly related to one's position on the labour market. Figures from 1991 show that only 20 percent of those gainfully employed still lived in the parental home. In 1991, 72 percent of young people who were studying lived in the parental home.

Another important factor to take into consideration is that when many young leave home, they do not do it definitely. It is not particularly unusual for young Swedish people to return to the parental home not only once but many times after leaving home. According to the so-called ULF surveys every fourth young person in the age group 25-30 with an independent home has returned to the parental home at least once since first leaving home.

The survey also shows that unemployment with its related problems is one of the main obstacles facing young people who wish to establish themselves in the housing market. 15 percent of young people said they were unemployed and a further 5 percent were taking part in a state training scheme for the unemployed. When it comes to the question of what young people consider to be the most important reason for the difficulties they face in accessing the housing market, nearly 40 percent gave unemployment as the reason. Almost the same percentage considered the most important question facing society was the measure to be taken to reduce unemployment and thereby allowing young people the economic means to have an independent dwelling. Accordingly, a reasonable conclusion is that one of society's most important measurements to allow young people to enter the housing market would be to reduce youth employment.

Housing demands and preferences - two different issues

Before I begin a description of young people's housing pattern and housing plans, I should like to make an important distinction between, on the one hand, young people's demands and, on the other hand, their housing preferences. Demands and preferences are not the same, a fact which is not always recognised. The two concepts are confused when surveys are presented about how young people want to live in the future.. The young people interviewed are expected to be able to give a true picture of how they would like to live in the future without being given a fair chance of understanding what is realistic based on their requirements. The results often give a misleading picture of the younger generations demands on having an independent home and can led misunderstandings in future planning, etc. Demand

to have an independent home is often steered by a combination of different factors. The most important of these factors are connected with:

- work and education
- domestic situation
- way of living

The factors which steer the desires of young people to have an independent dwelling naturally vary between different individuals but usually are related to one or other of the following factors:

- work/education
- recreational interests
- distinctive feature of the environment where one grew up
- one's domestic situation
- parent's domestic situation

It is a matter of personal preferences created during the period when one grew up combined with the obstacles and possibilities society can offer. Löfgren (1990) means that these demands and preferences together form different types of "social timetables" for young people. According to Löfgren, the average young person is the young person who after leaving secondary school begins to think about leaving home to study or to find temporary employment. After this there is a period of experience e.g. national service, temporary employment, travelling abroad, etc. before a young person is able to find gainful employment, build a family, etc. and thereby, leave the period of youth behind.

Another category of young people is the one Löfgren calls "the premature adult". They are in a great hurry to build a family and start work. Directly after leaving school they leave the parental home and before getting any kind of experience, enter a nuclear family. Löfgren names a third category that he calls "the secure young people". These are young people, who before leaving home, have managed to find a job. They start to build a new family after leaving the parental home.

The age when young people leave home varies. I shall discuss this in the next section. It is, however, important in this connection to point out that, the period of youth can be seen as a means of preparation to comply with society's demands for build a family and, thereby, becoming adult. It appears to be difficult to be able to clearly say what factors steer this process. Is it having responsibility over one's own household that helps a young person's transition to adulthood or is it increasing social maturity that makes a young person want an independent home? It is most

likely both factors at different times combined with practicalities such as private economy, domestic situation and access to employment and housing.

Leaving the parental home

When young people leave the parental home for an independent home, this is a step in their effort to gain independency and qualify for adulthood. The act of leaving home is decided by several factors (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73, 212 ff) as previously suggested. One's own economic resources (income, capital) is a prerequisite. Extended education, thereby, means that it takes longer before a young person can earn an income. This, in turn, delays a young person's possibility to leave the parental home. This applies, in particular, to teenagers (secondary school) and, to a certain extent, young people in their early 20's. Longer periods of study after secondary school has resulted in young people having to move to other parts of Sweden and, therefore, leaving home at an earlier age after secondary school.

Table 1. Percentage of young people in Sweden still living in the parental home, 1975-1990.

Age	1975	1980	1985	1990	Rural	Urban	Other
16-17	95	97	98	97	97	96	97
18-19	76	77	80	79	87	81	76
20-24	37	34	35	30	44	33	26
25-29	10	8	8	6	11	6	5

Source: The Central Bureau of Statistics, Population and Housing Register

Young people's homes are influenced by choice when even includes the parental home (still living at home) and the housing available for young people in the market. Important factors to be considered are size of dwelling, equipment and location as well as housing costs. The last twenty years improvement of standards of the Swedish housing stock as regards size and comfort has been to the advantage of the larger flats. This has, first and foremost, been in favour of the older generation, the generation of the young people's parents. This, in turn, has lead to better conditions for young people to remain living in the parental home. At the same time, the housing market for young people has deteriorated because of the lack of older and cheaper small flats in the market (Turner et al, in The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73).

Other important factors influencing the young people's possibilities to gain access to an independent home are changes in the size of households and the family

pattern in general in society. the average size of a household in Sweden has decreased as a result of an increase in the number of older and single people in society. Partner relationships have changed and become somewhat less stable. New types of partner relationships where one no longer fully cohabits but instead uses alternately each other's homes. [There are various popular and slightly names in Swedish describing status of cohabiting, e.g. apart-cohabitor, semi-cohabitor, taking-turns in cohabiting, etc].

The housing market and policy from a young person's perspective

The prolonged period of education combined with high unemployment figures and, thereby, insecure economic conditions have resulted in fewer young people in Sweden leaving home before the age of 18. There has been an increase in all the age groups of young people still living in the parental home in the 90's.

At the same time access to smaller and cheaper housing has decreased. The number of flats of two rooms, kitchen and bathroom has decreased from 58 percent to 34 percent during 1960-1990. During that same period, the number of single person households increased. The choice of housing meeting young people on the way into the housing market does not tally with their preferences and means of paying. Vacant flats found in the market are often new and, therefore, highly expensive. They are located in geographical areas which are not of interest for young people. Currently young people in Sweden move to towns with universities and colleges where the demand for homes is very high. Most of the empty flats are found in small towns and communities.

Literature

- Anderson, B & Lindén, A-L (1990): *Andrahandsboendets villkor. Två fallstudier: Västerås och Uppsala*. (Condition of sublets. Two case studies: Västerås and Uppsala.) Lund University: Research Reports.
- Andersson, Å, Furth, E, Holmberg, T (1993): *70-talister: Omvärderingar förr, nu och i framtiden*. (Those born in the 70's. On values before, now and in the future.) Stockholm: Institutet för Framtidsstudier.
- Arvidsson, H, Berntsson, L, Dencik, L (1994): *Modernisering och välfärd – om stat, individ och civilt samhälle i Sverige* (Modernity and welfare – about the state, the individual and the civil society in Sweden). Stockholm: City University Press
- Bergenstråhle, S (1997a): *Ungdom och boende. En studie av boendet för ungdomar i åldern 20-27 år*. (Young people and housing. A study of young people's housing in the age groups 20-27.) Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Bergenstråhle, S (1997b): *Vägval i bostadspolitiken: Generellt eller selektivt stöd?* (Choice in housing policy: general or selective support?) Boinstitutet (The Institute of Housing Studies.)
- Berger, T (1996): *Ungdomsboende* (Youth housing). Gävle: Institutet för bostadsforskning.
- Bjurström, E & Fornäs, J (1988): *Ungdomskultur i Sverige* (Youth culture in Sweden) i U, Himmelstrand & G, Svensson (red): *Sverige – vardag och struktur* (Sweden – everyday life and structure). Stockholm: Norstedts.
- Boinstitutet (The Institute of Housing Studies.1996): *Bostadsmarknadsläge och förväntat bostadsbyggande 1996-97*. (Situation in the housing market and expected housing construction 1996-97.) Municipal assessment. Report 1996:1. Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Boverket (1990): *Ungdomars bostadsbehov fram till år 2010*. (Young people's housing requirements to the year 2010.) Karlskrona: The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.
- Boverket (1997): *Bostad sökes! En idéskrift om bostäder för unga*. (Home wanted ! An idea brochure on housing for young people.) Report 1997:3. Karlskrona: The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.
- Börjesson, B: *En ungdomsskola i kris* (A school for youth in trouble). I *Krokig väg till ungdom*. Ungdomsrapporten 1996, del 2. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen.
- Coles, B (1995): *Youth and social policy*. London: UCL Press

- Dahlgren, A & Claezon, I (1994). Föräldrar och deras ungdomar i modernitetens berg- och dalbana. (Parents and their children on the roller coaster of modernity), in Miegel & Johansson (ed) *Mardrömmar och Önskedrömmar. Om ungdom och ungdomlighet i nittiotalets Sverige* (Nightmares and pipe-dreams: on young people and being young in the 90's in Sweden.) Stockholm/Stehag: Symposium
- Fornäs, J (1992): Dimensions of modernity, in J.Fornäs & G. Bolin (eds): *Moves in Modernity*. Stockholm: Almquist& Wiksell International.
- Giddens, A (1991): *Modernity and Self-Identity*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A (1995): "Living in Post-Traditional Society" in Beck, U. Giddens, A. & Lash, s. *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge:Polity Press
- Greider, G (1994): *Det levande löftet. Om realismen, demokratin och folkhemmet*. (The living promise. About realism, democracy and public home). Stockholm: Bonniers.
- Hyresgästernas Riksförbund och HSB (1995): *Mambo-ungdomar över 20 som bor hemma hos föräldrarna*. (The Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies Living at home - young people over 20 living in the parental home.) Special report
- Hyresgästernas Riksförbund och HSB (1995): *Ungdom och boende. Sammanfattning av Hyresgästernas Riksförbunds och HSB:s undersökning om ungdom och boende*. (Young people and housing. A summary of the Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies.) The Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies
- Ingelhart, R (1977): *The silent revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Jones, G (1995): *Leaving home*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Lieberg, M (1994a): "Appropriating the City. Teenagers use of Public Space", in F Brown, S Neary, M Symes (eds): *The Urban Experience: A people-environment perspective*, London: E & FN Spon.
- Lieberg, M (1994b): "Att forska om ungdom. Om kunskapssökande och reflexivitet bland deltagande ungdomsforskare", (Making research on youth) i Johan Fornäs m fl (red): *Ungdomskultur i Sverige*. (Youth Culture in Sweden). FUS-rapport nr 6. Stockholm/Steheg: Brutus Östlings Förlag Symposium.
- Lieberg, M (1995): "Teenagers and Public Spaces", *Journal of Communication Research*, Vol. 22, No 6, December 1995, pp.720-744.
- Lieberg, M (1996): *Jugend, Modernität und öffentliche Räume*. Diskurs, no 2/1996, pp.38-48.

- Lindén, A-L (1988): *Bostadsmarknad för andrahandsboende*. (The housing market for subletting.) Lund University. Inst. for Sociology
- Lindén, A-L (1990): *De första åren i boendekarriären. Ungdomar på bostadsmarknaden*. (The first years of a housing career. Young people in the housing market.) Stockholm: The National Council for Building Research
- Lundberg, A & Modig, A (1984): *Ungdomars etablering på bostadsmarknaden* (Young people's establishment in the housing market.) Stockholm: The National Council for Building Research
- Löfgren, A (1990): *Att flytta hemifrån. Boendets roll i ungdomars vuxenblivande ur ett situationsanalytiskt perspektiv*. (Leaving home: the role of housing in young people's transition to adulthood from a situation analytical perspective.) Lund; Lund University Press
- Regionplane- och trafikkontoret. *Nio gånger i livet. Förstudie om flyttning inom Stockholms län*. (Nine times in a lifetime. Part study on moving within the administrative area in Stockholm.) Office of Regional Planning and Urban Transportation, Stockholm's County Council. Report 1.
- Rothstein, B (1994): *Vad bör staten göra? Om välfärdsstatens moraliska och politiska logik*. (What should the state do? About the moral and political logic of the welfare state). Stockholm: SNS Förlag.
- SOU 1994:73 *Ungdomars välfärd och värderingar. Rapport till Barn- och ungdomsdelegationen och Generationensutredningen*. (Youth welfare and values. Report to the Children and Youth Delegation and Generation Inquiry). The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- SOU 1996:156 *Bostadspolitik 2000 - från produktions- till boendepolitik. Slutbetänkande av bostadspolitiska utredningen*. (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156 Housing policy 2000 - from production to housing policy. Final committee report from The Housing Policy Report. Stockholm: Fritzes
- Salonen, T (1993): *Margins of Welfare: A study of modern functions of social assistance*. Lund: Hällestad Press
- Svensson, R (1997): *Boendundersökningen*. (Housing Survey.) Lund: Stiftelsen AF Bostäder(work material)
- Teeland, L & Rummel, E (1996). *Housing for Younger People in a Period of Recession*. Paper for ENHR Housing Conference in Helsingör, August 1996
- Thelander, A L (1984) *Bostad efter behov. Jämlikhet och integration på 80-talets bostadsmarknad*. (Housing according to need. Equality and integration of housing in the in the 1980's housing market.) Report R26.1984. Stockholm: Byggnadsnämnden.

- Turner, B (1997) *Vad hände med den sociala bostadspolitiken?* (What happened to the social housing policy?) Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Ungdomsstyrelsen (1996): *Krokig väg till vuxen. En kartläggning av ungdomars livsvillkor.* (The winding road to adulthood. Mapping young people living conditions.) Youth Report 1996 part 1. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen. (The National Board for Youth Affairs).
- Vogel, J (1994): *Ungdomars välfärd och värderingar.* (Young people's welfare and values). Stockholm: Civildepartementet.
- Wetterberg, G (1995): *Det nya samhället. Om den offentliga sektorns möjligheter.* (The new society. About the possibilities of the public sector). Stockholm: Tiden.
- Zetterberg, H (1992): *Den svenska socialstaten – ett forskningsprojekt.* (The Swedish welfare state – a research project). Stockholm: City University Press.
- Ziehe, T (1986): *Ny ungdom. Om ovanliga läroprocesser.* (New youth. About unusual process of learning). Malmö. Norstedts Press.
- Ziehe, T (1989): *Kulturanalyser. Ungdom, utbildning, modernitet.* (Cultural analysis. Youth education, modernity). Stockholm: Symposium press.

European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion
Welfare Research Centre, University of Mälardalen
YouthInfo Services at Eskilstuna Public and County Library
Department of Building Functions Analysis, Lund University

ON PROBATION FROM HOME

Young Peoples Housing and Housing Preferences in Sweden
Results from the Quantitative Survey

by

Mats Lieberg

October 1997

Report 2:
Work in progress

Contents

Preface	5
The housing situation for young people in Sweden - background and starting point.....	6
The current housing situation for young people.....	7
Description of the interviewees	8
Why 18 to 27 year olds?	9
Young people - a mobile group within the housing market	9
How do young people live today?	10
Your own flat, student accommodation or living with friends?	12
Is living in the parental home on the increase or decrease?.....	12
Who remains living at home?	14
Young men remain at home longer than young women.	15
Living at home is more common in smaller urban and rural areas	16
Domestic liberties	16
What housing preferences and choices do Swedish young people have?	17
How do young people live today?	18
Distance to various service points	18
Rent accommodation is most common among young people with their own home	18
To leave home - a prolonged and complicated process	19
Proximity and contact with parents	22
Is it difficult for young people to find an independent dwelling?	23
Own income	25
What do young people pay for their housing?	27
Housing benefits	30

Rental assistance from parents	30
Unemployment benefits and social allowance.....	30
Regular support from the parents.....	31
How much is left after paying the rent ?	31
Grading housing	32
Reducing housing costs	34
Future housing.....	35
The pattern of moving home among young people in the Mälardal area.....	36
Conclusion.....	37
Literature	39
Appendix 1.....	42
Appendix 2.....	45
Appendix 3.....	47

Preface

This intermediate report presents the results of an interview survey on housing issues facing young people in Sweden. The survey is part of the EU project entitled "European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion", chaired and coordinated by the Fédération Relais in Paris. In order to provide comparable results, the survey has been designed to correspond with parallel project in 6 other countries in the European Union - Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal, Scotland and Spain.

The intention of the Swedish survey is to document and analyse the current housing situation and future housing expectations of young people, 18 and 27 years old living in Sweden. The study will also include a description of the difficulties and obstacles facing young people as well as identifying the mechanisms leading to marginalisation and exclusion from the housing market. The study concludes with a discussion on various proposals to possible solutions which could help and improve the situation of young people in the housing market.

The survey presented in this report has been carried out by SKOP, Skandinavien opinion AB, Stockholm. A random sample of 2 000 young people aged between 18 and 27 were interviewed by telephone after which the collected material was tabulated and presented in a draft report by SKOP. The total non-respons rate of 35 percent of the sample, complicated the analysis of data and more extensive conclusions from the survey therefore should be carried out with great caution.

Lund, October 1997

Mats Lieberg

The housing situation for young people in Sweden - background and starting point

From an international viewpoint young people in Sweden have access to a very high standard of housing as regards quality and spaciousness (SOU 1996:156). These standards are similar throughout Sweden, if you live with your parents or independently. Homelessness and temporary accommodation, e.g. young people's hostels or institutions, which are rather common in other countries are rare in Sweden. A long and steady Swedish housing policy with high state subsidies have contributed towards this development in housing.

However, the results from the survey indicate that the position of young people in the Swedish housing market is becoming increasingly difficult. Many young people would like to have their own home but a combination of the situation in the housing market and the lack of a steady income has resulted in either being forced to remain at home or having to find a dwelling with a less secure tenure. The cost of living in Sweden has increased heavily over the last ten years, mainly due to lower state subsidies and increased new production costs (Turner 1997). The number of smaller and cheaper flats has decreased drastically (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156). Many landlords are intensifying demands on their tenants, even to insisting on steady incomes, or "healthy" bank accounts, no record for non-payment of debts, etc. In addition, the current level of youth employment is the highest ever since the years of the depression in the 30's. According to The (Swedish) Central Bureau of Statistics, the open rate of unemployment among young people aged between 20-23 in November 1996 reached 20%. One can add a further 5% for those engaged in one or other of the labour market's programmes for the unemployed. Few people anticipate any radical changes within the next few years. Since 1992 there has been an almost complete stagnation in the production of new housing as a consequence of unemployment and decreased state subsidies.

It is important to keep this development on mind when discussing the position of young people in the housing market (further description later in this study). At the same time, changes of a more social and cultural character which are of importance in this context, are taking place. This is associated with questions concerning postmodernism and the "reflexive" society. Traditional values and institutions are challenged in a new way (Giddens 1991, Beck 1992). Even if these changes affect most people, it is the young people in particular who have become the sensitive bearers of these trends. Recent developments in the field of youth research show that the concept "youth" is closely associated with questions about modernity (Ziehe 1989, Fornäs 1992, Lieberg 1996).

The question is what do young Swedish people think about their dwelling. Should we expect new innovative solutions in housing issues in the future? Another important aspect concerns the way the young people see their future dwelling.

The current housing situation for young people

Requirements to be met by young people in the process of finding an independent dwelling are many. They include income, access to smaller flats and housing costs. Another factor is the involvement of other households in the market. Currently young people in Sweden have difficulties in finding affordable accommodation. At the same time as housing costs have increased considerably over the last few years, unemployment has reached an all peak level.

Generally speaking, Swedish housing holds a very high standard both when it comes to comfort and spaciousness and this has resulted in increasing the cost of living. It has become increasingly difficult to find good and cheap housing due to a low degree of mobility in the housing market (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156). The age group of the young people's parents and the elderly population tend to remain living in their own homes mainly because of low housing costs. Many households are even "locked in" in those private homes built in the years between 1988-1993. All in all this development has led to decreasing the number of links in the chain concerning the process of moving home. This, in turn, has resulted in a shortage of the smaller types of flats young would like to have.

The decreasing possibility for young people to gain access to their own accommodation means that they have no other option but to remaining at home with their parents. Seen over a longer timespan, less young people remain at home and more establish their own home much earlier (The National Board for Youth Affairs). From 1991 to the end of 1994, the number of young people in all age groups still living at home has increased (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73). A new phenomenon has developed to become quite common in Sweden. Many young people have started to move between living with their parents to living in somewhat temporary accommodation. Leaving home today is no longer a final process. Many young people return to their parent's home not only once but many many times during the period called "extended period of youth". It is , therefore, more relevant to speak about "living away from home" than "leaving home". The latter, "leaving home", possibly does not happen until the young person is much older. In addition, various contributing factors relating to changes in the modern family structure must be considered, e.g. many young people share their housing between their mother and father who may live in different places and who may have entered a new relationship and started to build a new family. These factors show that the question of leaving home is indeed a much more complex and lengthy process than before.

At present a large number of young people living at home are waiting to enter the housing market as soon as it is economically possible. Both Swedish and international research show that the transition to adulthood and leaving home is complicated, largely influenced by the changing family structure and by issues concerning employment, study and independent living (Löfgren 1991, Coles 1995, Jones 1995). Increased knowledge of the longterm effects of remaining at home is, therefore, an important issue for research.

Description of the interviewees

The survey includes a random sample of 2 000 young people, 18 to 27 years old. Distribution between male and female and between each of the age groups is approximately equal. We have chosen to divide the survey population into three groups: a younger group 18-19 years old, a middle group 20.-23 and an older group 24-27 years old. The younger group consists of 18% , the middle group of 40% and the older group of 42% of the sample. This corresponds rather well to the current division of the population of Sweden. 18 percent of the young people were immigrants, i.e. either born abroad (6%) or one of their parents was born abroad (12%).

The majority of the interviewees (64%) were neither married nor cohabiting and only 14 percent had a child. Nowadays, when almost all young people have completed a secondary school education, familybuilding or having children occurs later in life, usually from 25 years old upwards. Of those with children, only 4 percent were under 20 while 76 percent were between 24 and 27 years old. 40 percent of those interviewed had some form of gainful employment. The remaining interviewees were either studying (38%), or unemployed (20%) or carrying out their national military service (2%). Distribution between the different sizes of towns, etc. was equal. A fourth of the young people were from small town areas with populations between 20 000 and 200 000 inhabitants, 14 percent were from areas with less than 5 000 inhabitants and 17 percent from towns with a population of between 5 000 and 20 000. The remaining part (44%) were from metropolitan areas with populations more than 200 000 people.

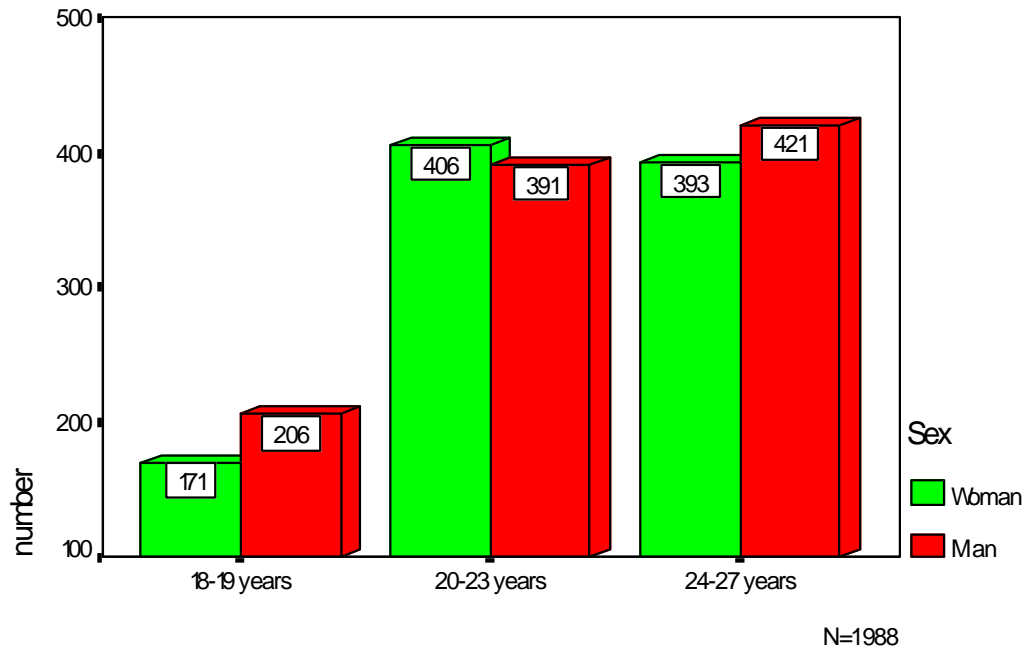


Figure 1. Number of young people interviewed according to age and sex.

Why 18 to 27 year olds?

We chose the age interval 18-27 because an important aim of the study is to assess and analyse the transition between living at home and to living in an independent dwelling. In Sweden, parents have legal economic responsibility for their children until the child is 18 years old or when the young person leaves secondary school or some similar form of basic education. In certain cases this responsibility may be extended until the young person is 21. Slightly more than 90 percent of all Swedish young people complete their secondary education, the majority by the age of 19. Generally speaking, parents no longer have legal economic responsibility once a young person has reached the age of majority which is 18 years old in Sweden. Thereafter, one is economically responsible for oneself. It is the responsibility of society to ensure that each individual is able to afford and to have the possibility to gain access to an independent dwelling.

Young people - a mobile group within the housing market

A number of studies show that young people are a mobile group within the housing market. Like a pendulum, they swing between different and, sometimes temporary housing solutions - from living in the parental home to student accommodation, from staying with friends to sublets, etc. In 1996 the number of young people in the age group 20-29 register moving home was three times greater than the national average (Bergenstråhle 1997). It is extremely difficult to come to grips on the

period between leaving home and finding an independent dwelling, usually about 20-21 years old. According to the Population and Housing Register 1990, about 66 000 young people of just over 1 000 000 (6.7%) did not belong to a so-called household. These young people were registered as living in a parish or property but did not actually live there, or they were young people with no permanent home or who did not want to divulge where and with whom they were living (The National Board for Youth Affairs 1996).

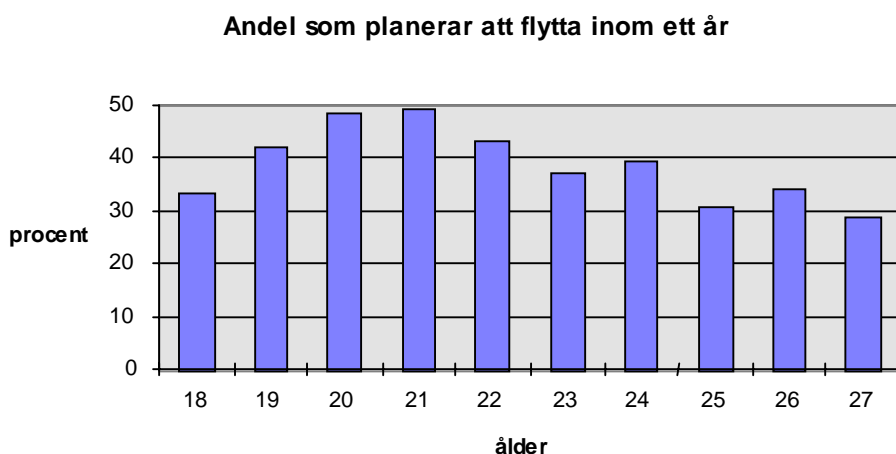


Figure 2 Percentage of young people in different age-groups planning to leave home within the next year.

The following question was put: "Do you plan to leave home within the following year?". A total of 38 percent of the young people, aged 18-27, planned to leave within the following year. The majority of those who planned leaving home were found in the age group 22-23 year, 44 percent. When we study the individual groups, we find that almost half of the 20 and 21 year olds said they planned leaving home within the next year (figure 2). In order to find out the exact frequency of leaving home, we also asked the young person how many times they had moved within the last two years. Naturally this varied according to age. In all 66 percent had leaved home at least once during the last ten years. Of the 66 percent more than one fourth had moved home again three or more times. It would appear that young people are an extremely mobile group in the housing market.

How do young people live today?

The results show that 31 percent of young people in the age group 18-27 still live in the parental home. There are, however, certain differences between the age groups (figure 3). The majority of young people in the age group 18-19 (86%) still live with their parents. Only a few (8%) have gone as far as finding their own dwelling.

If we look at age group 20-23 years old, 33 percent live with their parents and 50 percent have find an independant home. Of the age group 24-27, 83 percent have their own home and 6 percent live with their parents (table 1)

Table 1. Percentage of young people in different types of housing according to age, 1996.

	18-19 years (n=377)	20-23 years (n=797)	24-27 years (n=814)	18-27 years (n=1988)
Living with parents	86	33	6	31
Independent home	8	50	83	56
Student accomodation	2	7	2	4
Sublet	1	6	5	5
Living with friends	1	3	3	3
Other	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100

Should we compare the relationship between the individual age groups, we discover that those still living at home vary strongly within the group. Of the 18 year olds, 92 percent lived at home and thereafter the number of those living at home decreased successively by age, 76 percent of the 19 year olds still lived at home and 59 percent of the 20 year olds still lived at home. The majority appear to leave home when they are about 20. Of the 21 year old only 37 percent still lived at home and of the 22 year olds, 23 percent were still living at home. Leaving home continues until young people are 25 years old. After that only a few, about 5 percent, still remain living with their parents.

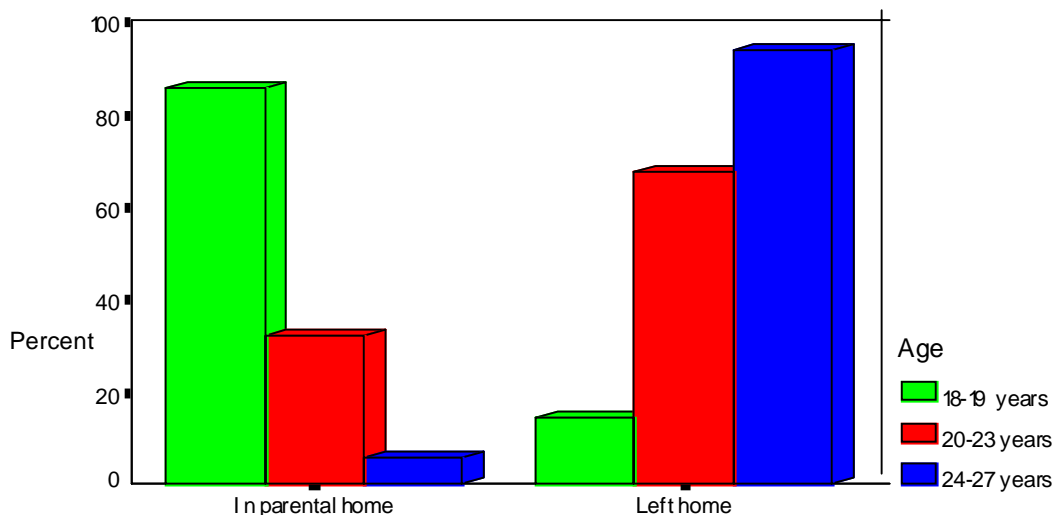


Figure 3. Percentage of young people living respectively having left the parental home according to age.

Your own flat, student accommodation or living with friends?

A closer analysis of the various types of accommodation young people land up in shows that some land up in rather temporary and precarious housing, lacking security of tenure. About 15 percent of the those in the age group 20-23 were living under such circumstances. i.e. either with friends, in student accommodation, in a sublet or some other type of dwelling. This is a somewhat higher figure than found in earlier surveys (Lindén 1988, The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73, p.215). These different forms of accommodation mean that one does not have the same security enjoyed by those in rented accommodation, a tenant-owned flat or living in a single family home. Young people who share accommodation with friends are regarded as lodgers and thus lack security of tenure, if they themselves are not the holder of the housing contract. It is not certain that one can afford to remain living there should friends move out. Living in a student flat or in a flatlet also offers less security of tenure than if you live in an normal rented flat. You can compare this to the rules and regulations applied to living in company owned property. The right to live in student accommodation only applies as long as you are studying. If you take a sabbatical or even quit studying, you are usually given immediate notice or asked to move out within a certain period of time. Even if this varies very much from place to place, the tendency is, nevertheless, that the rules are more stringently applied as the pressure on finding accommodation increases with the expansion of universities.

Thus we can see that many young Swedes find themselves in a dilemma. Even if there are more and more empty flats than ever before on the market, the young people are forced to live at home or to find insecure accommodation lacking security of tenure.

Is living in the parental home on the increase or decrease?

The first analysis of the data collection suggested that the number of young people still living in the parental home had increased somewhat. Immediately difficulties in comparing results from earlier surveys arise and the question of how the phenomenon "remaining living at home" should be defined. This question is developed later in the study. We can, therefore, restrict ourselves to the first interpretation of the responses about if having left home or still living at home.

Should we interpret the first figures about young Swedish people living in the parental home as living in physically crowded conditions? No, that is hardly the case. 90 percent of those living at home live in homes with four rooms, bathroom and kitchen or even in larger dwellings. Many live in privately owned or semi-detached houses, and certainly almost all the respondents have their own bedroom. Well, how about mental overcrowding? Even if we did not ask this question

directly, there is no evidence to suggest that this problem exists. Only one third of those living at home, compared with 80 percent of those who had left home, considered it "very important" to have an independent dwelling. This corresponds well with results from a similar report from Sundsvall 1995 (Teeland & Rummel 1996). Unfortunately we have no information about what parents think.

These young people still living at home were asked what the three most important advantages respectively disadvantages of living at home were. If we begin with the advantages, the majority gave different kinds of *economic reasons*, e.g. cheaper, don't have to pay any rent, save money, etc. Another advantage was that it was more *convenient*. You don't have to clean, launder your clothes and make your own food. Yet another reason for living at home had to do with *social aspects*. Many liked the thought of being able to socialise with their family, that they have company and thereby somebody to speak to. A fourth argument for living at home is that you *do not have any responsibilities*. This touches on the "comfortable" argument but it is rather more comprehensive and is not only concerned with practical household duties. Finally there was a smaller group which considered the advantage of living at home was that there was more space. This is a group of young people who probably live in small houses or in smaller families.

The greatest disadvantage of living at home, according to young people, is the *lack of freedom*. Many felt that they had a problem with their parents who interfered and aired their views about everything. The young people were not able to lead a private life of their own. Another disadvantage is that there are often *conflicts*, arguments and fights. They thought that their parents nagged and made rules that lead to direct confrontation and conflict. A third argument was concerned with *lack of space* (compare above). It was difficult to take friends home and they were unable to move freely about the home. Finally there was a group of young people who gave *social reasons* as a disadvantage: either their parents were in the way or they felt that they were too old to live at home and that they were in their parent's way.

The reasons for young people deciding to live at home vary and are of both an economical and practical nature. Other surveys have shown that living in the parental home is closely related to the state of the labour market. There is also a difference between young men and young women, which we shall discuss later. It is, thus, important to point out that it is not always a question of voluntarily living with one's parents. Today many young people have to remain living at home for social and economic reasons even should they prefer to have an independent dwelling.

According to The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, there are, at present, some 120 000 young people, aged 18-27, living with their parents who would leave home if it were economically possible (Bergensträhle 1997). The question of involuntarily remaining in the parental home is so markedly relevant

and recently has become even more noticeable due to certain legal cases that have been drawn to public attention in Sweden. These cases concern young people who applied for social assistance to leave home, but were denied this assistance¹.

One case concerned a 19 year old young woman who had found a flat with a rental of 1 986 SEK per month. In her appeal she said that she could not live with her mother because they were always quarrelling. This had affected her physical and mental health and she had been forced to seek medical help. The other case concerned a young 21 year old woman who got on well with her mother but was afraid that their relationship would be affected if she did not leave home. Her mother was unemployed and lived with her partner in a 68 square metre flat. The daughter was a children's nurse and wanted financial assistance to pay half the rent (approx. 1 000 SEK per month). This would mean that she could live independently until she found a job. In both cases the young women have left home without having the financial means to do so. They have applied for social assistance in their home towns but their applications have been turned down. They have successfully appealed to the county courts. Thereafter, the social services have appealed to a higher judicial court and won their case. At present, the cases are in the hands of the Supreme Administrative Court in Sweden. According to the Parents Act, parents do not have economic responsibility after a young person has reached the age of maturity or when a young person has left secondary school. The Social Services Act does not, however, give the individual any general right to assistance. Each case is tried separately and assistance is usually granted only when no other solution is possible. The National Board of Health and Welfare states that young people should live with their parents as long as "undue social consequences do not arise". The question is if involuntarily living in the parental home cannot be seen as "undue social consequences".

Who remains living at home?

A combination of developments in the labour market and access to smaller and cheaper dwellings clearly steer the possibilities for young people to leave home. Where you have a situation of high unemployment and a housing market in recession, as is the case in the 90's, the chances of young people finding an independent dwelling decrease and this, in turn, results in more and more young people being forced to remain living in the parental home. Some have to return to the parental home for financial reasons, after having lived independently for some time. The ULF surveys show a strong link between one's position on the labour market and living at home. The number of young people living at home increases among the unemployed and decreases among the gainfully employed (The Swedish

¹ See also Report no 3, page 27.

Government Official reports 1994:73). These figures are further corroborated by the results from this survey (table 2).

Table 2. Form of employment, education and benefits for those living in the parental home and those who have left home.

	Still in parental home	Left home
Gainfully employed	12	30
Temporary employed	28	5
Training scheme	14	3
Studying at university	14	22
Folk high school	8	8
Unemployed	16	14
Social benefit	3	4
Unemployment benefit	5	14

Compared to those who have left home, those young people still living at home have, to a great extent, either temporary employment or are unemployed or engaged in a labour market training scheme for young people.

Young men remain at home longer than young women.

There are clear differences between young men and young women when it comes to remaining at home. Some young women in the age group 18-19 leave home while almost all the young men in this age group still live at home. 78 percent of the young women were living at home and 93 percent of the young men. There is an even more distinct difference in the age group 20-23 where 23 percent of the young women and 41 percent of the young men still lived at home. In other words we see that in the age group 20-23, about one third or 64 percent of the young men still live at home. In the age group 24-27, seven of ten young men still live at home.

Lundberg & Modig (1984) show in their survey that the feeling of freedom and independence among young people living with their parents is stronger among young men than young women. Young women felt that they were being checked up on and they had to do a great deal of the housework. The case was the opposite for young men. Living at home was a question of comfort and a practical solution. As long as the young men remained living at home they were helped with household work, laundry, cleaning, etc. Our results show that the case is still the same even if there is a tendency towards sex equality.

Living at home is more common in smaller urban and rural areas

In the age group 18-27, 45 percent of the young people live in a metropolitan area or in a densely populated area with more than 80 000 inhabitants. 31 percent live in a rural area or in a smaller urban area with a maximum of 20 000 inhabitants. Only a smaller number of those still living with their parents (24%) are from a metropolitan area. The majority of those living at home live in smaller towns and less densely populated areas in the country. Living at home is not a metropolitan area phenomenon. It occurs most frequently in smaller urban areas where there are fewer job opportunities and a shortage of housing for young people.

Domestic liberties

Young people still living at home were asked three questions about what they thought their parents would permit in their home as regards their relationship with the opposite sex. These questions were concerned with liberties in relation to the opposite sex which they thought their parents would accept. The young people were asked how their parents would react if they were to shut themselves in the bedroom with their boyfriend/girlfriend, if they were to spend more than one night together, respectively several nights together in the bedroom.

Nearly all those young people still living in the parental home (94%) said that their parents would not react if they were to shut themselves in the bedroom with their boyfriend/girlfriend. Some (14%) said that they would be allowed but, only after discussion or an argument and only a few (2%) said that it would be out of the question and that their parents would not allow it. This is mainly the opinion of young people from immigrant families

Nine of ten still living at home (88%) said that they would be allowed to spend a night together with their boyfriend/girlfriend. About one of ten said they would be allowed, but first after discussion or an argument with their parents. Only a few (3%) said that it would be out of the question and that their parents would not allow it. Even here young people from immigrant families answered differently from the rest. Parental attitudes are thought to be more liberal among the older group of young people than among the younger age group.

As regards the question of spending several nights in a row together with boyfriend/girlfriend, many thought their parents would have something to say about this. 75 percent thought that they would be allowed while 21 percent thought that they would have to discuss it with their parents and that there would be arguments and objections. 4 percent said that it was totally inconceivable. Again opposition comes from young people from immigrant families and young people from the younger age group.

The above results should be discussed according to theories about reflexivity and individualization (Giddens 1991, 1992). In postmodern society we use self-reflection to reorganise changes in our lives. In a study about parents' relations to their children, Anita Dahlgren and Ingrid Claezon (1994) found that many parents strive after an intimate and "pure relationship" with their children. By "pure relationship" Giddens (1991) means relations that are fundamentally built on satisfaction or reward which derives from the relationship itself. In this process, young people become a kind of agent for their parents. As we have seen, some parents do make more or less "successful" attempts to change their attitudes according to current demand.

Young people from immigrant families present their parents with "unknown" cultural forms (e.g. that a boyfriend/girlfriend is expected to stay overnight). This can perhaps be seen as a threat at their attempt to develop pure relations with their teenagers in the transition to adulthood.

What housing preferences and choices do Swedish young people have?

The survey shows that today, many young people living with their parents would like to have their own home but they cannot afford to have one. We put a number of questions to the young people about their future plans and thoughts about moving. It appeared that nearly half of those young people still living at home would like to move within the year. Given as a round figure this is about 160 000 - 170 000 of young men and women who quite clearly state a desire to leave home if they could afford to do so. Many of them say that they are actively looking for their own dwelling.

What kind of housing are young people looking for? Both this study and other surveys show that the majority (75%) would like centrally situated accommodation, with one or two rooms, bathroom and kitchen. Approximately the same number said that they would like to live in rented property. Furthermore the accommodation should be modern and clean. How does this demand-profile compare availability in the housing market? According to SCB, in March 1997, there were about 60 000 empty rental flats in Sweden. This is the highest figure ever recorded. Shouldn't this be in favour of young people starting to look for their own independent dwelling? Unfortunately, the answer is not so simple. The majority of those empty flats are located in areas where young people do not normally look for accommodation. The lack of flats is greatest in metropolitan areas and in university or college towns. 70 percent of the empty flats are found in towns with populations of less than 75 000 inhabitants and more than a half of the flats have three rooms, bathroom and kitchen or less. This shows that what young people are looking for does not correspond to what society can offer.

How do young people live today?

If we look slightly closer at how young people actually live and compare this with the earlier preference profile we find that, in spite of everything, the majority have had a fairly good kick off in life. As a rule, young people live in small, modern homes. Of all the young people between 18 and 27 who have left home and are neither married nor cohabiting, just over half (51%) have their own home comprising of one room, kitchen and bathroom or less. 33 percent live in a flat with two rooms, bathroom and kitchen and 16 percent have a larger home. You can also find differences between the individual age groups. Of the few 18-19 year olds who have left home and not yet started to build a family, 63 percent had their own home of one room, bathroom and kitchen or less. 55 percent in the age group 22-23 and 45 percent in the age group 24-27 lived in a flat of one room, bathroom and kitchen or less. It is primarily university or college students who live in one room, with or without a kitchen (41%). Many young people in this group have one room and a kitchenette. Those who are married or cohabiting with no children always live in a larger dwelling than those who are living on their own..

Nearly all young people live in well-equipped accommodation with toilet and bathroom (98%), kitchen or kitchenette (97%), deep freeze (94%). The majority of homes also have a TV (96%) and a stereo (96%). Many even have computers (44%), primarily in the homes of young people attending university/college or secondary school. More men than women have computers and more young people in the lower age groups than in the higher age groups. More young people living at home have computers than those who have left home.

Distance to various service points

A number of questions were asked about the distance between the young person's current home and various service points. The majority of young people have access to public transport (64%) and a letter box (63%) within 200 metres of their home. Two out of five have less than 200 metres to the nearest grocer. Considerably fewer have a café (20%), post office (16%), pharmacy (16%), cinema (7%) within 200 metres of their home. The service points which are most difficult to reach and which are situated more than a kilometre from their home are cinema (63%), pharmacy (42%), café (40%), post office (32%) and grocer (7%).

Rent accommodation is most common among young people with their own home

The majority of young people (57%) who no longer live at home, live in rented flats. At the same time the number of young people living in rented property decreases as they become older. 65 percent of those aged between 20-23 lived in

rented property and the corresponding figure for 24-27 was 53 percent. The number of young people living in a tenant-owned flat or in their own house is just under 20 percent but this figure increases according to age. The number of young people with their own house increases according to age, due to family building and having children. 46 percent of the young people who were married/cohabiting and had children had their own home and 36 percent lived in rented property.

The majority of young people with a home of their own is found among those living in smaller towns, who have children, are married/cohabiting or are between 24 and 27 years old.

Up to this point we have seen that just over 80 percent of those who have left home, have been able to find accommodation with two rooms, bathroom and kitchen or smaller. Nearly all the young people live in good standard accommodation, with bathroom, kitchen or kitchenette, deep freeze, etc. Most of the homes also have a TV and stereo. Many have computers. Nearly half of the young people live in a metropolitan area or in a town with more than 80 000 inhabitants and more than two thirds pay a monthly rent of between 1 500 SEK and 2 500 SEK. In other words, although there is a poor match between preference and accessibility, it nevertheless appears that a large number of young people have found acceptable dwellings as regards standard and affordability. However as seen previously (table 1) a considerable number of young people have made temporary solutions, often with quite risky legal protection. According to a report on Living Conditions (ULF), 11 percent of young people in the age group 20-23 years old lacked security of tenure in 1994/95. In our survey this figure increased to 15 percent and the figures from The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning there has been a recent increase. A probable assumption is that these young people prefer to live independently in insecure accommodation, rather than being forced to live in the parental home.

To leave home - a prolonged and complicated process

Leaving home is often seen as an important part in a young person's transition to adulthood and as part of the process of becoming more independent and having your own home. This process has changed successively during the last decade and, at present, includes returning to the parental home, not only once but many times. The general conception that you leave your family home only once in a lifetime can no longer be considered correct. This could lead to wrong conclusions as regards building a family and housing needs. In a study in the periodical *Young* (1984) it appeared that those who left home for reasons other than those of building a family, about half of the young men and 40 percent of the young women later returned to the parental home. In a survey carried out by HSB (cooperative housing company) in cooperation with the tenants national housing organisation, 32 percent had

returned to the parental home after having had an independent home (Bergenstråhle 1997). In our study 18 percent of all the young men, 18-27, living with their parents had moved back from an independent dwelling . The number of those returning to their parents was lower in our study because we have a younger population. Of the 20-23 year olds, the figure was 26 percent and in the age group 24-27 the number of those returning to the parental home was 56 percent. It is difficult to compare the reports because of the use of different survey methods and definitions. The figures do, however, show that young people who have left home return to to the parental home more or less regularly until they are quite old. It is, therefore, relevant to distinguish between "leaving home" and "living away from home", where the latter can be seen as a temporary and transitional process, and the former is a more one-sided and definite process.

Naturally the reasons for leaving home vary, but are quite often seen as an important step towards adulthood. Previously the most common reason for leaving home was work or building a family. Today these reasons are no longer considered as important. When the young people in the survey were asked what the most important reason for leaving home was, the majority (38%) said it was for study and 7 percent left home for employment. 18 percent said that they were looking for freedom and independence and about the same number said that they were going abroad - mainly to work or study. Travelling abroad for reasons of work or study at this age can also be seen as part of the desire to enjoy freedom and independence. It is for this reason that they should be included in this group. In international literature this group of people are often called "pilgrims" or "nomads" because of their search for their own identity by means of experience, expression and perspective. Another group we describe as "cohabitators" include those who leave home to start a family or live with a partner. this group made up 13 percent. Yet another group, sometimes called "refugees", are those young people who leave home because of an untenable social situation, with conflicts and violence in the home. 5 percent of the young people in the survey gave this as their reason for leaving home. We can divide those leaving home into two larger groups, "study seekers" and "pilgrims", and, in two smaller groups, "cohabitators" and "refugees".

This conception that one can leave home more than once is also relatively new in the area of research (Jones 1995). More than often the first move from home is seen as final. However, recent studies show that this does not always tally. Most young people who have left home return the parental home many times and for different periods of time. The reasons are many, as we shall soon see.

Table 3. Reason for returning to live in the parental home².

Reason	Number	Percent
Studies	30	27
Economic reasons	22	20
Social reasons	20	18
Employment	12	11
Housing	10	9
Other reasons	16	15
Total	110	100

The most common reason for returning home was given as study - either because one had given up studying or because one has started studying. Many young people travel abroad to study for shorter or longer periods after which they return to the parental home before finding their own dwelling. A fifth of the young people returned to the parental home for economic reasons, could not afford their own accommodation, were unemployed, etc. Almost the same number of young people gave social reasons, e.g. broken off relationship with a partner. Other reasons were related to changes in working conditions, usually unemployment, and living conditions. For example, many said that their housing contract had terminated or that they had been thrown out. Once again we find young people living under uncertain conditions, together with friends or in sublets. One does not really know if they have definitely broken their ties with their parents or not? How can one relate to this peer option.

How can one, for example, identify and define those who have left home when one does not really know if they have definitely broken their ties with their home or not? How can one relate to this period of transition, when young people live both at home and in some type of independent accommodation? (Compare SCB and ULF surveys).

Young people belong to a mobile group within society moving between different types of accommodation and to and forth between the parental home and independent accommodation. It is difficult to draw conclusions from separate cross studies. It is difficult to compare results from this type of study when different definitions and instruments of measurement have often been employed. For a more

² This was an open question which means that many of those who replied did not give any reason.

detailed discussion about these questions, we refer you to the discussion about method in Appendix 1.

Proximity and contact with parents

We shall approach these questions by looking more closely at the various types of contact between young people who have left home and their parents. The survey included questions about how often the young person visited his/her parents, if one usually stayed overnight, if one had regular financial assistance from their parents, etc. With the help of the responses to these questions, we were able to grade the degree of links with the parental home. It is also interesting to discuss the development of different kinds of contact between parents and young people. It is not so certain that visiting the parental home regularly is better, qualitywise, than daily phone calls combined with longer but more sporadic visits.

About half of the young people who had left home live in the same district as their parents and 16 percent live in the same area. Seven percent live in the same neighbourhood or area as their parents. One fourth live in another municipality but in the same part of the country. Those young people who had already settled down, live nearer their parents than other young people. Young people in the older age group generally live nearer their parents than young people in the younger age group. This also applies to those who are married/cohabiting and are gainfully employed.

Just over half the young people who had left home visit their parents at least once a week. As many as 10 percent visit their parents on a daily basis. An equally large number, a tenth, say that they also often stay overnight with their parents. The responses do not indicate which weekday this is, but most probably many young people visit their parents at the weekend. It is relevant at this point to question if these young people have really left home in a more profound sense. Many, perhaps not least of all young men, allow their parents to do their laundry and perform other household duties and visit their parents as a means of helping their economy. We shall not discuss whether this is good or bad, nevertheless one has to ask if these young people have really left or not. This is a problem above all when comparing results in different surveys about the share of young people living at home. (Compare SCB's surveys on Living Conditions (ULF) where students living in university towns but who visit their parents at least once a week are considered as living at home)

Those living in smaller towns visit their parents more often than those living in cities and metropolitan areas. Those born outside Sweden visit their parents less frequently. This is probably because their parents still live abroad. 35 percent of this group visit their parents once every six months, at the most.

Almost all the young people who have left home (93%) phone their parents at least once a week. One of three phone their every day. Young women have daily contact with their parents more often than young men. Those who do not have children of their own phone more often than those who do not have their own children,

Another feature of the level of parental contact is if one receives some form or other of parental financial support or help. About ten percent state that they regularly receive this kind of support from their parents and about the same number say that their parents help them with the rent.

One can draw a conclusion from these results that most of the young people who have left home, find a dwelling relatively near their parent's home. Nearly all have regular contact with their parents either by visiting or by phoning them. At present higher education is one of the most important reasons for young people leaving home. A study by the Institute for Future Studies shows those regions with universities and colleges are much more attractive to live in after secondary school education than regions where there are no institutions of higher education (Andersson et al 1993). In spite of this, this survey indicates that young people do not move so far from their parental home. This means that young people do not differ from the rest of the population. A study of the pattern of moving carried out in the Stockholm region, showed that around 70 percent of the total number of those moving home do so within a ten kilometre radius (Stockholm Planning and Traffic Council 1997).

Is it difficult for young people to find an independent dwelling?

When asked how they had found their present accommodation, 25 percent said that they had been helped by a relative or close friend. 23 percent had contacted a housing company or landlord, and about the same number had replied to an advert or put their own advert in a newspaper. About 15 percent had contacted the local housing department and only a small number of young people (4%) had been helped by their parents. You can also find differences between men and women and at the same time between young people from the metropolitan areas respectively from the smaller towns and rural areas. Young women were helped, to a greater extent, by relatives or friends and young men preferred to make their own contacts or to advertise in a daily newspaper. When young people from the smaller towns and from the rural areas looked for accommodation they took advantage of their network of relatives, friends and acquaintances. They did this more frequently than young people from the metropolitan areas who use more formal channels e.g. advertising, going to the local housing agents and using contacts they are given by their employer or colleagues.

How do young people currently discuss how they are going to live? What factors are considered important when deciding on an independent dwelling and do these

factors differ between young men and young women of different ages? These are difficult and complex questions, closely associated with the young person's earlier home, background and future plans. The housing market and access to housing also play an important part. The difficulty lies in explaining how the different factors are connected. This complex of problems often demands in-depth studies at individual level. The material presents a base for a deeper analysis than is usual in this type of study. The reason for this is that the questionnaire used in this study was relatively comprehensive and the size of the sample allows us to break down the variables into smaller groups. The qualitative study planned to be carried out directly after this report will give us the possibility of an interesting follow-up.

When asked what the young person thought the most important factor for choosing their own dwelling was, the answers were grouped according to two arguments. The first argument, which was more usual among the young men, concerned housing costs. About 30 percent of the young men and just over 20 percent of the young women said that this was the most important factor. The other argument concerned proximity to various activities, places and functions. You might think that proximity to entertainment and other activities in the cities and town centres would dominate. But this is not the case. Many, especially men in the younger age group, said that nearness to their work and study was important. The young women mainly answered that nearness to the countryside and to their parents was important.

We asked the following question to further illustrate how young people think when choosing a dwelling. What do you consider most important when you chose a dwelling? Three factors are listed as important here. Firstly, the dwelling should be situated in a good area, i.e. an area with few problems and with a good reputation, socially speaking. This reason was given as being of utmost importance by 30 percent, slightly more women than men. Secondly, the dwelling should be centrally situated. 25 percent of the young people said that they considered this to be the most important reason when looking for a dwelling. Young men were somewhat overrepresented. Thirdly, proximity to the countryside was given as the most important factor by 16 percent, a little more women than men. Factors such as proximity to work or study also was given a relatively high priority, mainly by young men, while young women thought that living near friends was important. On the other hand, very few (2%), thought that proximity to public transport, similarly living near cultural activities and places of entertainment, respectively near their parents was important. A comparison between those still living at home and those who have left home shows that the latter, by and large, prefer "a good area" (32%) and close to the countryside (19%). Those still living at home generally say that proximity to work and study (14%) and near friends (13%) is important. We also asked the young people which were the three most important factors they considered relevant in a good dwelling. As this was an open question it allowed the

young people themselves to say what they considered to be most important when deciding where to live. The majority or 33 percent, gave "location" as the most important factor, followed by standard (16%) and thirdly "cost" (11%).

Own income

In the survey we asked what the young person's monthly income was after taxation. This income included study grants and loans. The median income for the total group of young people, 18-27 years old, was 7 000 SEK per month. This sum divides the young people into two equal groups, half of whom have more and half have less than 7 000 SEK per month. Only a few percent of the young people say that they do not have any source of income. 18 percent have a maximum income of 2 000 SEK and 13 percent have between 2 000 SEK and 5 000 SEK. The majority of young people (54%) earn between 5 000 SEK and 10 000 SEK per month. Only one of ten (12%) have an income over 10 000 SEK.

There are vast differences in income between young people of different ages and between young people living at home, respectively having left home. The majority of young people in the youngest age group, 18-20, have no income at all or a maximum of 2 000 SEK per month. Only 10 percent of the 22-23 year olds and 3 percent in the oldest age group had a similarly low income. The majority of those in the oldest age group (63%) earn more than 7 500 SEK per month.

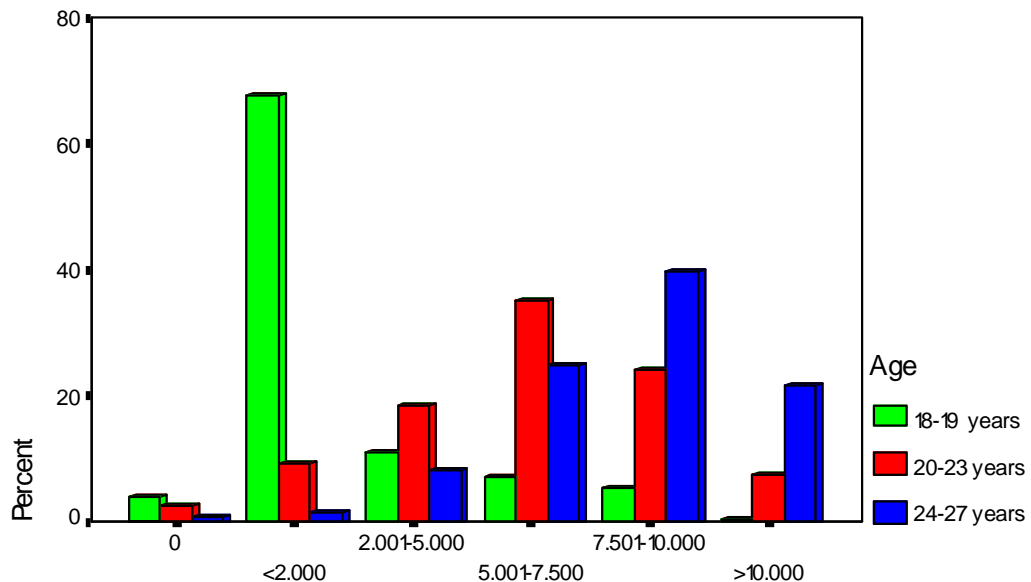


Figure 4. Monthly income in SEK according to age.

Those who were married or cohabiting were asked to give their joint monthly income, including grants and loans. The joint income median was 17 000 SEK. There were strong ties between age and income even in this group. In the older age group (22-27) only one of twenty (7%) with a joint income of 10 000 SEK or less per month. Every second young person had more than 17 500 SEK per month. 16 percent of the age group 20-23 had less than 10 000 SEK per month and this figure was 37 percent in the youngest age group.

Lundberg and Modig (1984) were able to show in their survey, that in the mid 80's there were no differences in income between young people living at home and young people living independently. Those living at home had a lower income than those who had left home. Later studies have shown that the situation concerning income and housing costs was relatively favourable for young people in the 80's. Further it was seen that young people who were cohabiting belonged to higher income bracket than those not cohabiting. The level of income was lower for women than men. What is the current situation in the nineties?

Young People's Welfare and Values (SOU 1994:73) shows how young people's income has developed in comparison with the standard income for those aged between 45 and 54. It appears that the difference in incomes during the 90's has increased and that these differences are greater now than they were 20 years ago. It has not been possible to find information about the difference between those living at home and those young people who have left home.

Nevertheless, it is possible to see from our study that the income differences between those living at home and those who have left home is considerable. Firstly we can see that of those living at home, 48 percent had a monthly income under 2 000 SEK. The corresponding figure for those who had left home was 4 percent. Just over half (51%) of those who had left home earned more than 7 500 per month. This figure can be compared with 16 percent of those young people living at home. If you are taking age into consideration, the differences are slightly lower but still large. In the age group 20-23, one fourth (25%) of those living at home earned less than 2000 SEK compared with 5 percent of those who had left home. Secondly we can see that the income level is lower for young women compared with young men. This applies irrespective of whether the young person is living at home or cohabiting. 19 percent of the young men compared with 6 percent of the young women earned more than 10 000 SEK per month. Thirdly, young people who cohabit have a higher income and, thereafter, better means of looking after themselves than those living on their own.

A conclusion one can draw from this is that the size of one's income is significant for one's living standards and for one's relations. One's level of income probably plays a significant part in housing preference i.e. from the time one decides to leave the parental home to moving into an independent dwelling. Either one believes that,

after leaving home, one has to have a steady income to pay expenses or one has to acquire a better level of income to pay those expenses incurred after leaving home. The responses to the questions about what society should do to help young people enter the housing matter speak for themselves. "Do something to reduce youth unemployment figures. Only then will we be able to afford to have our own homes".

What do young people pay for their housing?

Over a longer period of time, it appears that a considerable part of young people's incomes goes towards housing costs. In the survey, each person was requested to state how much their monthly rent or other form of living expense was. This included the rent they paid their parents. The median cost for the whole group was 2 200 SEK. This figure divides the young people into two groups, half pay more and half have less than 2 200 SEK per month. The median cost for those who had left home was 3 300 per month and of those still living in the parental home the figure was zero SEK. On an average 21 percent of the young people did not pay anything for their housing. This applies first and foremost to those living in the parental home (68%). Only a few (1%) who had left home did not have any housing costs.

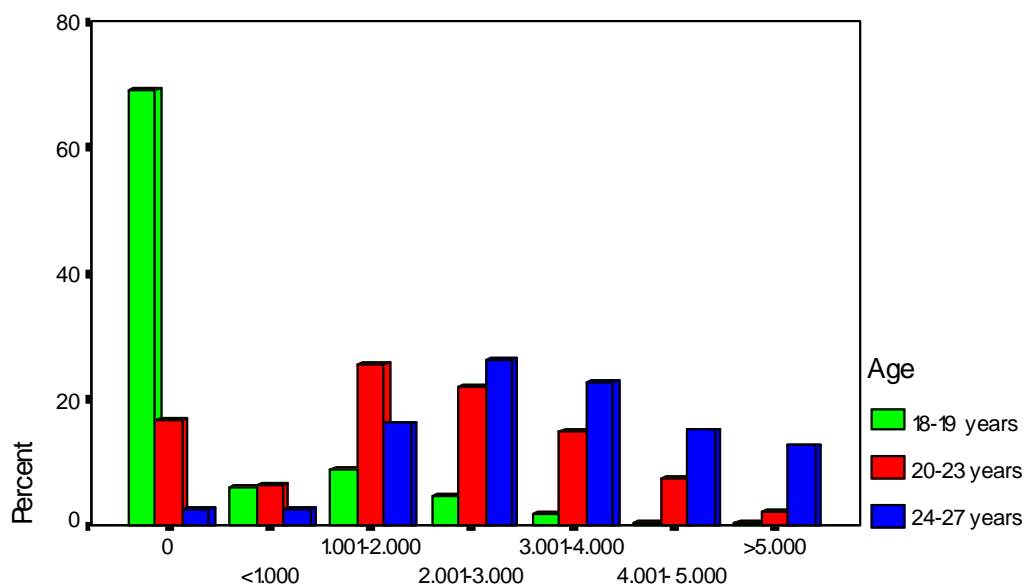


Figure 5. Housing costs according to different age groups.

Housing costs are not the same for young people in the different age groups (figure 5). 75 percent of the 18-19 year olds did not pay anything for their housing. 42 percent of the 20-23 year olds and 18 percent of 24-27 year olds pay less than 2 000

SEK per month. Most of them get financial help from their parents to pay rent or living costs. This kind of parental support is most common in the younger age group. 32 percent of those aged between 18-19 who had left home received help from their parents. The corresponding figure more than young men for their accommodation. This is related to their leaving home earlier than men. Should we compare those living at home with those who have left home, we find that in the first group men pay somewhat more than women. This is the opposite for the group who have left home. It, thus, appears that parents make greater demands on young men living at home than on young women.

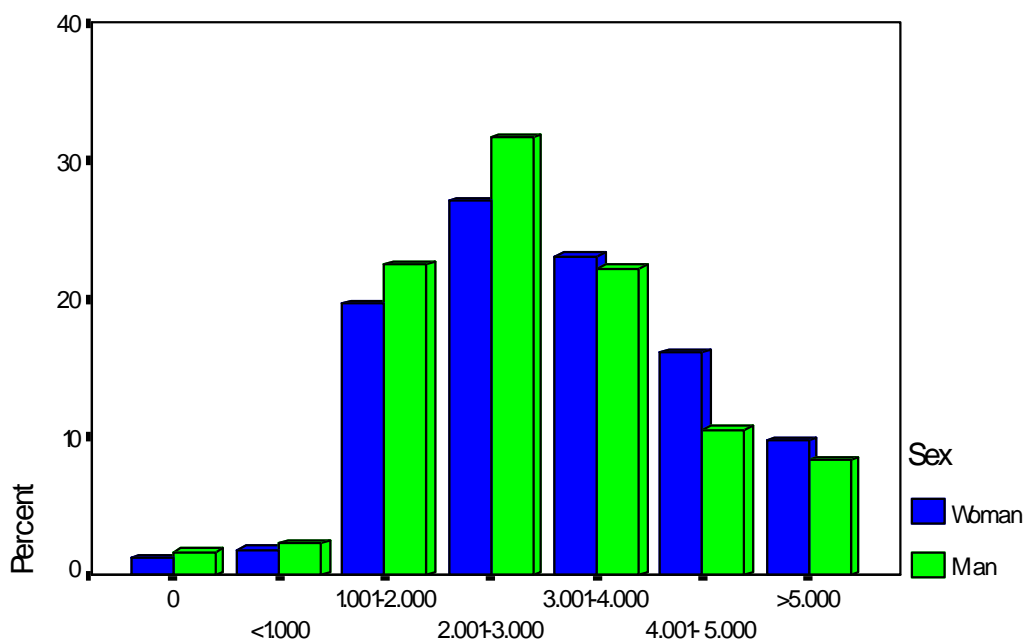


Figure 6. Housing costs in SEK for young people in independent homes.

Those living in sublets (4%) paid a maximum of 1 000 SEK per month. 67 percent pay between 1 000 SEK and 3 000 SEK. In the age group 20-23, the corresponding figure was 12 percent and for the 24-27 age group, 6 percent. Those in the low income bracket received financial help more often than those from the higher income bracket. It was more common for a young person to receive less than one fourth or low. Three of ten (28%) thought that their housing costs were high and one of twenty (7%) thought that they were very high. One third thought their housing costs were low and ten percent even thought that they were very low. It was mainly those young people living at home (62%) who thought they were low. As previously stated in this survey, many of the young people pay a relatively low sum each month. Few of those living with their parents (5%) thought that their housing costs were high. The opinion varied considerably among those who had

left home. One of three (31%) thought that their housing costs were high and the same number thought that they were low. Somewhat more (38%) thought that their costs were neither high nor low.

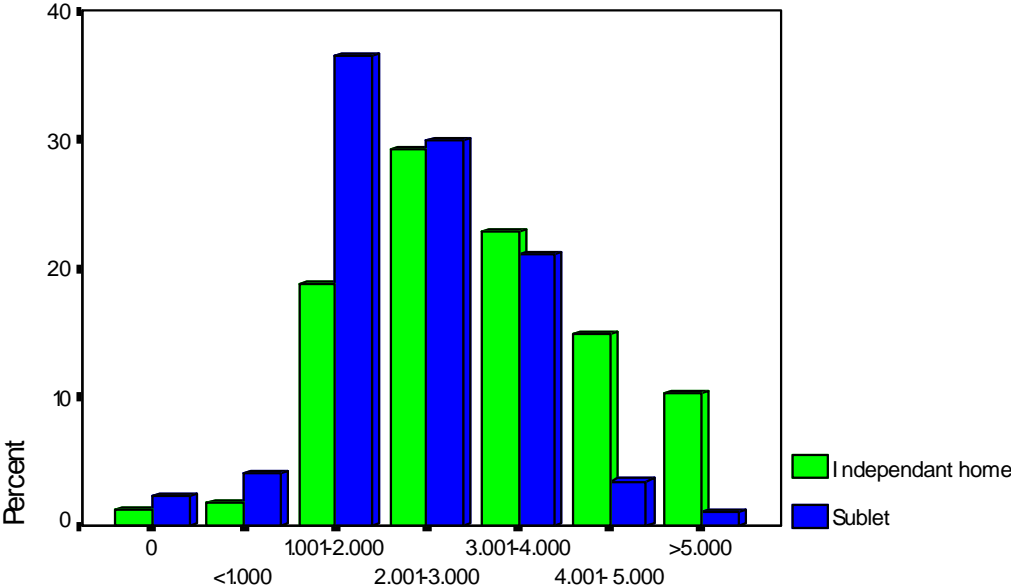


Figure 7. Housing costs in SEK for young people 18-27 years old in different forms of housing.

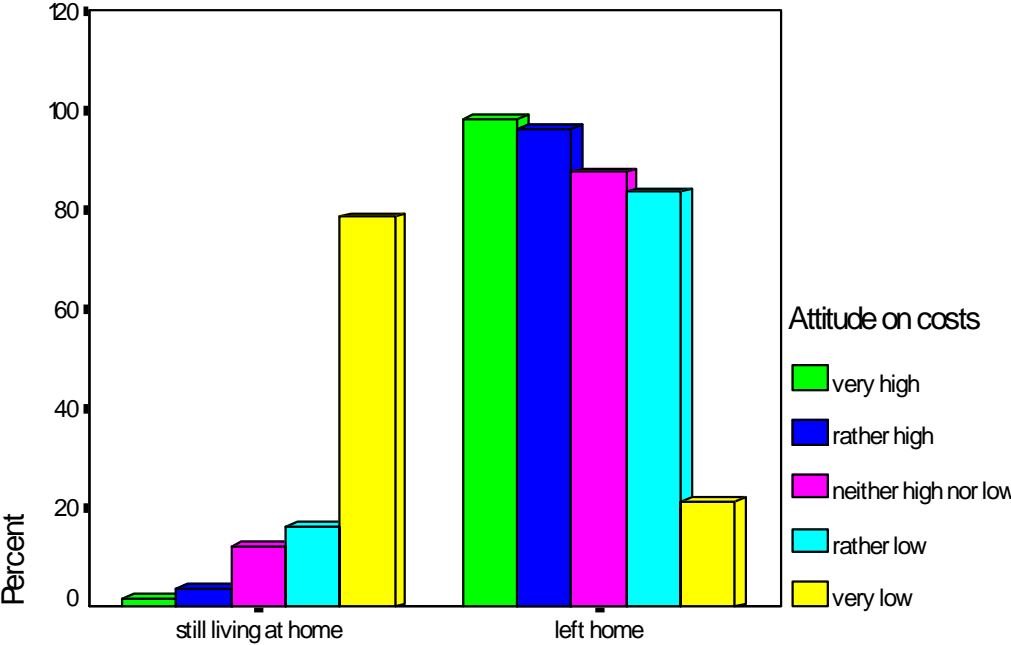


Figure 8. Attitude on housing costs

Housing benefits

15 percent of all the young people in the survey received housing benefits and 16 percent of those who had left home. The median benefit was 975 SEK per month. The majority of these receiving housing benefits (36%) received between 500 and 1 000 SEK per month. Just under 25 percent received more than 1 500 SEK per month and approximately the same number (23%) received less than 500 SEK per month.

The number of young people receiving housing benefits differed between the various age groups. Of the 18-19 year olds who had left home twentyfive percent received benefits. The corresponding figures for the age groups 22-23 and 24-27 were 19 respectively 12 percent.

Rental assistance from parents

Ten percent of those who had left home received financial help to pay rent or living costs from their parents. This kind of parental support is most common in the younger age group. 32 percent of those aged between 18-19 who had left home received help from their parents. The corresponding figure for the age group 22-23 was 12 percent and for the 24-27 age group, 6 percent. Those in the lower income bracket received financial help more often than those from the higher income bracket. It was more common for a young person to receive less than one fourth of the housing costs. Only a very few had their entire living housing costs paid for.

Unemployment benefits and social allowance

12 percent of all the young people said that he/she or his/her wife/husband/-cohabitor received unemployment benefits. In the age group 24-27, 16 percent received unemployment benefits and in the youngest age group only 2 percent. Unemployment benefits were more common among the unemployed (42%), young people with a short formal education (28%), those with children at home (26%), those who are involved in some kind of training scheme for the unemployed (24%) and finally among those who were married or cohabiting (21%).

Social allowances are somewhat less common among young people. In all 4 percent said that he/she or his/her husband/wife/cohabitor received a social allowance. The number of recipients was double in the age group 20-23 (5%) compared to the oldest group (2%).

Regular support from the parents

In all 13 percent of the young people in the survey said that he/she regularly received financial support from his/her parents. This was especially common in the youngest age group where 29 percent received support. A large number of those young people receiving regular financial support from their home was found among secondary school pupils (38%), those living with their parents (24%), those doing their national service (23%) or enrolled in some kind of government training scheme for the unemployed (22%).

This indicates that many young people receive financial support and allowances to cover their living costs from different sources. Apart from housing benefits and rental support from his/her parents, a young person can receive help to cover living costs from unemployment benefit or from regular financial support from the parents. A total of 36 percent received some kind of financial assistance to cover housing costs. An interesting question is, to what extent does one receive financial help simultaneously from different sources? Very few received assistance at the same time from more than one of the five different sources of financial assistance we have mentioned in our questionnaire. 78 percent gave one form of assistance, 17 percent gave two and only 4 percent said that they received help from three or more sources.

Table 4. Percentage of young people receiving benefits in the survey

Type of benefit	number	percent
Housing allowance	298	15
Rental help from parents	198	10
Other type of financial help from parents	258	13
Unemployment benefit	238	12
Social benefit	79	4

How much is left after paying the rent ?

Just over half (57%) of all the young people had more than 3 500 SEK left each month when the rent had been paid. About 35 percent had less than 2 500 SEK and one fourth had less than 1 500 SEK after paying the rent. In Sweden there are nearly 500 000 young people aged between 20-27. Of these 34 percent had less than 2 500 SEK and 17 percent less than 1 500 SEK after paying the rent. The minimum subsistence level for a single person is 3 900 SEK per month. This figure does not include housing costs, travel in work, trade union fees, insurance policies, car,

holiday money, etc. Even if the information in this survey about income is not reliable, nevertheless, the replies do indicate that many young people live under rather difficult economic conditions.

Grading housing

The young people were asked to evaluate their homes according to a five grade scale. 1 is very bad and 5 very good. The following items were graded:

- standard and equipment
- location
- neighbours
- landlord
- housing situation at large

Many young people gave high grades to standard and equipment (73%) and location (72%). Every second young person gave the same high grade to neighbours, while only one of three gave this grade to the landlord. Many nevertheless said that they missed having contact with their neighbours (8%) and especially with their landlord (40%). When it came to their housing situation at large, three of ten (29%) gave the highest grade. A further 42 percent gave the second highest grade and only 6 percent of the young people gave grades one or two, the lowest grades. Of those still living at home the figure is higher (36%) than those who have left home (25%) who consider their housing situation at large as very good.

If you take *present form of living* into consideration, a number of interesting differences become evident. Young people living in accommodation and holding a first hand contract are consistently more positive about their housing situation at large than those who living in a sublet respectively living with a friend. The differences are, nevertheless, not as great as you perhaps might expect. Only 13 percent give the lowest grade and as many as 65 percent of those living in a sublet consider their housing situation at large to be good or very good. This does not necessarily mean that their housing situation is really good, but rather reflects an attitude that corresponds with one's expectations. If you live in a sublet respectively with a friend you perhaps do not have such high expectations. Those living in some form of student accommodation have a more negative attitude. Only 10 percent of the young people gave the highest grade (5) to their housing situation at large and an equivalent number gave the lowest grade (1) to their housing situation at large. A recently completed survey on student housing in Sweden shows that many students live in student corridors but that extremely few want to live in this way. They would much prefer to live in their own dwelling and also to have some influence over their way of living. Students do not like this method of categorising housing

and they do not want to live in student areas (Svensson 1997). A possible explanation is that international influence is stronger than previously. Students in other countries are generally more integrated in society than is the case in Sweden.

Attitudes on standard and equipment are much more negative among those who do not hold a housing contract than among others. 50 percent of the young people holding subleases gave standard and equipment the lowest grades compared with 25 percent of the other young people. The equivalent figure for those living with friends was 35 percent. Young people in student accommodation are rather more positive. 30 percent gave the lowest grade and 36 percent thought that standard and equipment was very high. Leaving home very often means lowering one's living standards - especially when you consider living space and equipment. Most noticeable is limited access to washing machine, dishwasher, video, balcony or garden and finally the lack of a daily newspaper in the home. On the other hand it seems to be more common for a flat to have a TV than to have a freeze. (Ungdomsstyrelsen 1996).

Attitudes about location do not differ between the different groups; neither does relationship to neighbours appear to differ. There is possibly a somewhat more positive attitude among those living in sublets. However there are a clearly a more positive attitude to the landlord among those holding a sublet respectively living with friends. It is not possible here to ascertain whether this relationship refers to the "real" landlord or to the person one is at present renting from. 20 percent of the young people living in student accommodation did not have any contact with the landlord and only 7 percent considered that they had a good relationship with the landlord. 23 percent gave the lowest grade.

Should we compare these attitudes with the attitudes of young people living in different places, eg large cities, small towns or in rural areas we note the following. Generally speaking attitudes towards their housing situation is somewhat more positive among young people living in rural areas than those living in cities. Most positive are young men from the rural areas. This reflects a well known fact, namely, that young men in rural areas are more positive than young women because the situation as regards work conditions, leisure time activities, etc. are much more male-orientated than female orientated (Bäck-Wiklund & Lindfors 1992). The attitudes of young people from metropolitan areas and young people from rural areas are consistently more critical about housing standards and equipment. 37 respectively 33 percent of the young people give standard and equipment the lowest grades compared to 18 percent of the young people from smaller towns. The attitudes about location is, as expected, more negative among young people from the rural areas. A large number of young people from the large cities, presumably from the metropolitan areas, are also critical. Young people from the smaller towns are more positive.

When we look at the question of relationships with neighbours, there is a considerable difference between young people from the metropolitan areas and other young people. Rather many feel that they have no relationship with their neighbours (10%) or that experiences with neighbours are not so positive (22%). Only 5 percent of the young people living in the rural areas do not have contact with their neighbours and 12 percent are negative about neighbour contact. Finally, there are also clear differences between young people from the rural areas and from the large cities when you examine attitudes towards landlords. More than half of the young people from the rural areas (55%) do not have any contact with their landlord which also means that very few (5%) felt that they have a bad relationship with their landlord. This is the opposite, however, in the metropolitan areas where it is more common to have some kind of relationship with the landlord. 35 percent do not have contact with their landlord and three times as many as the young people living in rural areas (15%) say that the contact they have with their landlord is bad or very bad.

Reducing housing costs

Almost all houses in Sweden today are modern. If you want to find a flat with a low rent, then you have to find one of the really few small flats in the housing market. Small flats of one room, bathroom and kitchen are, therefore, difficult to find, not least of all because competition from other groups in society e.g. pensioners, single immigrants is great. This means that young Swedish people cannot do much when looking for a cheap dwelling.

Therefore, we asked several open questions about what one, as tenant, could do to reduce rental costs in ones present dwelling. The first question was whether one could provide one's own kitchen equipment such as cooker, fridge. This is quite common in other countries. Only one third of the interviewees were interested in providing their own equipment. Mainly young men and those born outside Sweden saw this as a possible solution for rental reduction.

The next question was whether one could reduce the living area and could contemplate living in a smaller flat than normal. The young people were not particularly interested in this solution. About 70 percent disagreed completely with these possibilities. The younger people, those who do not have children and immigrants were most positive towards this solution.

Thereafter we asked a number of questions about whether one was prepared to curtail entertainment, travel and holidays costs. Again the young people were negative towards such a solution. Only one third of the interviewees were positive. Families with small children (55%) were most positive towards this measurement. These families could consider restraining from certain things to reduce housing

costs. Otherwise it was the youngest group and those from an immigrant family who were positive.

A larger number (48%) of young people could consider taking an extra job in the evenings or at the weekends to reduce housing costs. Once again the groups that were most positive were those between 18 and 20 and immigrants. Young women were more positive than young men.

Finally we asked the young people if they could consider helping by doing maintenance work to reduce housing costs. This could mean e.g. helping with painting, wallpapering, cleaning the stairs and looking after the garden. The young people's attitudes, without exception, towards this proposal were positive. On the average, 80 percent of all the young people said that they were either rather or very positive towards this type of responsibility. Only 10 percent said no. There is no greater difference here between young men and young women or between the different age groups in the survey. On the other hand fewer young people from immigrant families could consider doing maintenance work.

When the young people were asked what they would consider was a reasonable rental reduction in relation to this type of contribution, the majority said 500 SEK or more per month.

The results corroborate with the results from other surveys, namely that, today, young people are prepared to make a contribution to keep housing costs down. ULF surveys show for example 40 percent of young people in the age group 16-24 usually carry out maintenance work in their own homes, but the difference between the sexes is great. More than half of the young men usually carry out their own repairs but only a little less than a third of the young women (SCB 1993). Young people of the 90's give priority to their own contribution towards housing and this differs from young people of the 60's and 70's who preferred living collectively and lower housing standards.

Future housing

As regards young people's housing demands, it appears that traditional values steer demands for future housing. Today young people's ideas about their future housing are not especially daring. A clear majority could certainly consider making a personal contribution to reduce housing costs. The interest for special youth housing and ecological housing also appears to attract young people's interest. Otherwise as regards maintaining a high standard of equipment, then it appears that young people of today share the same values as past generations. This was indeed noticeable when it came to attitudes on future housing. A clear majority preferred to have their own house with a garden near the countryside. The question is if we in Sweden are ever going to afford such a high standard housing again?

Young people are not particularly interested in specific housing solutions. The majority said that the best way for young people to enter the housing market would be to reduce youth unemployment and, thereby, enable young people to pay their housing costs.

The pattern of moving home among young people in the Mälardal area

A certain number of questions were put to young people living in the Mälardal area, i.e. Stockholm, Uppsala, Södermanland and Västmanland administrative provinces, about their experiences from moving home and their future plans (see appendix 3).

Every fourth young person in the Mälardals administrative province (25%) has moved from one administrative province to another since they became 18 years old. Three out of four had lived in the same administrative province. Young people in the older group, those who are married or unmarried, cohabiting and young women have moved more often than the others. Ten percent have moved from Stockholm's administrative province to another administrative province in the Mälardal area. A smaller group of incomers come from other Swedish administrative provinces.

Many of the new incomers come from smaller or middle sized towns and areas. More than every third incomer comes from a town with a population of between 20 - 30 000 inhabitants and 38 percent come from towns of between 80-200 000 inhabitants. On the other hand only, 18 percent come from metropolitan areas and very few (7%) come from rural areas.

A majority of the incomers (59%) move to the Mälardal area to study and one of four to work. There are also those who move for domestic reasons (9%), or they want to move in a big city (4%) or because they did not like where they lived before (2%) or for proximity to entertainment (1%).

Mobility among the incomers is high. One of four (26%) plans moving to another town within the next few years. Most of them (73%) want to move to Stockholm or Södertälje. One of ten wants to move to Västerås or Uppsala. The most common reason for moving is study (33%) thereafter work (21%), domestic reasons (13%), location (11%) and finally reasons related to well-being and proximity to entertainment.

The most common reasons for remaining in the same place for the next few years are work (29%), location (26%), study (20%) and domestic reasons (14%). Some stay because of their leisuretime interests or they give some other reason for remaining in the same place.

A majority (55%) of those living in the Mälardal area can consider commuting from their present place of living to study or work in another place in the Mälardal area. This mainly applies to the younger group between 18 and 20; those living with their parents, living on their own and without children. Half of those who can consider commuting want to commute to Stockholm or Södertälje and one of five can consider commuting to Uppsala.

Conclusion

This survey shows that young people in Sweden tend to leave the parental home somewhat later in life than previously. The reasons for this can be found in the prolonged period of studies combined with increased housing costs and changes in the housing market. Nothing points towards this increase of young people remaining living at home is a result of a change in attitudes among the young people. Quite the opposite, many studies show that this is rather a result of structural and economic factors (Lindén 1990). When there is high unemployment and insecure economy many choose to remain living at home. At the same time one can point out that an increasing number of young people return home to live with their parents. "On probation from home" therefore appears to be a more adequate expression than "leaving home". This is a new and important phenomenon which has not been previously discussed in Swedish research. The reason for this is that earlier research has been concerned with the final move from home and not with the first move. It also appears that the process of returning home has been neglected in the field of research because of difficulties of gaining access to this data and because leaving home should be a one-off phenomenon. International research indicates, however, that returning home has become more common over the last few years (Jones, 1995). The significance of these results is that young people's appreciation of the housing market can have been considerably underrated. The increase in the number of young people returning home can be an indication that the process of leaving home is considerably more complicated and lengthier than we previously thought.

These changes can be of importance even in other aspects. The national housing policy appears to be built on a model of economic rationality which presupposes that young people first leave home when they can afford to do so. Measures aimed at reducing the reasons for leaving home, therefore, automatically lead to prolonging the period young people live in the parental home. The effects of this are, as yet, not especially apparent in Sweden, but international research shows that many young people who leave home while quite young do so because of domestic conflicts, lack of space and difficulties in getting employment or being able to study in their home town (Jones 1995, Coles 1996). In reality these young people are often given no choice about the point of time to leave home. They are almost certainly not prepared to live in an independent home and they do not have the

economic means to have one. Even if the situation in Sweden cannot as yet be compared with the international situation, we should be aware of any developments which lead to youth exclusion in the housing market. Jones (1995) means that the "normative" pattern for moving home is, to a large extent, built on economic rationality, while moving home because of marriage, looking for work or beginning studies in another town is largely built on individual choice. The latter is therefore more sensitive for manipulation due to different forms of state regulations and contributions.

This study has pointed out that young people remaining at home and leaving home is a special area for research and has also illustrated some of the definition problems related to this type of study. The study also points out the significance of continued research - not least as regards young people returning to live in the parental home and the increased economic responsibility on the family for young people who have reached the age of majority. Research should focus on studies of ethnic, class and regional differences and on possibilities for subsidies between different groups. Much of the international research has focused on what the process means mainly for marginalised and socially-burdened households. Continued research should, therefore, also include "whole" families i.e. lacking economic and social problems. These questions should even be seen from the parents' viewpoint as well as from the young people's and should lead to increasing the aim to view the young person's situation from both a family point of view and from a broader perspective in society.

Greater emphasis must be placed on regarding leaving home as a lengthy process and not as a one-off action. This means that when carrying out studies about the pattern of young people moving home, it must be made clear if it is the first time, last time or even a mixture of both. The best results are got by longitudinal studies where the same definitions and methods are used on many occasions.

Cross-section studies which build on temporary households are therefore greatly limited and one must define the population very accurately. Comparison with other studies should be avoided if the same definitions and methods of measurement are not used. (See Appendix 1).

Surveys with inadequate definitions only create confusion. It is even more significant in times when young people are met with increased difficulties to free themselves from their parental home and develop their own dwelling, that research results are of such a quality that politicians and decision makers can fully use them. There is, therefore, every reason to emphasise the significance of both broad longitudinal studies which can find trends and important changes in development and qualitative studies which aim at making deeper studies on a more individual level.

Literature

- Anderson, B & Lindén, A-L (1990): *Andrahandsboendets villkor. Två fallstudier: Västerås och Uppsala.* (Condition of sublets. Two case studies: Västerås and Uppsala.) Lund University: Research Reports.
- Andersson, Å, Furth, E & Holmberg, T (1993): *70-talister: Omvärderingar förr, nu och i framtiden.* (Those born in the 70's. On values before, now and in the future.) Stockholm: Institutet för Framtidsstudier.
- Bergenstråhle, S (1997a): *Ungdom och boende. En studie av boendet för ungdomar i åldern 20-27 år.* (Young people and housing. A study of young people's housing in the age groups 20-27.) Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Bergenstråhle, S (1997b): *Vägval i bostadspolitiken: Generellt eller selektivt stöd?* (Choice in housing policy: general or selective support?) Boinstitutet (The Institute of Housing Studies.)
- Boinstitutet (The Institute of Housing Studies.1996): *Bostadsmarknadsläge och förväntat bostadsbyggande 1996-97.* (Situation in the housing market and expected housing construction 1996-97.) Municipal assessment. Report 1996:1. Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Boverket (1990): *Ungdomars bostadsbehov fram till år 2010.* (Young people's housing requirements to the year 2010.) Karlskrona: The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.
- Boverket (1997): *Bostad sökes! En idéskrift om bostäder för unga.* (Home wanted ! An idea brochure on housing for young people.) Report 1997:3. Karlskrona: The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning.
- Coles, B (1995): *Youth and social policy.* London:UCL Press
- Dahlgren, A & Claezon, I (1994): Föräldrar och deras ungdomar i modernitetens berg- och dalbana. (Parents and their children on the roller coaster of modernity), in Miegel & Johansson (ed) *Mardrömmar och Önskedrömmar. Om ungdom och ungdomlighet i nittiotalets Sverige* (Nightmares and pipe-dreams: on young people and being young in the 90's in Sweden.) Stockholm/Stehag: Symposium
- Fornäs, J (1992): Dimensions of modernity, in J.Fornäs & G. Bolin (eds): *Moves in Modernity:* Stockholm: Almquist& Wiksell International.
- Giddens, A (1991): *Modernity and Self-Identity.* California: Stanford University Press.
- Giddens, A (1995): "Living in Post-Traditional Society" in Beck, U. Giddens, A. & Lash, s. *Reflexive Modernization.* Cambridge: Polity Press

- Hyresgästernas Riksförbund och HSB (1995): *Mambo-ungdomar över 20 som bor hemma hos föräldrarna*. (The Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies Living at home - young people over 20 living in the parental home.) Special report
- Hyresgästernas Riksförbund och HSB (1995): *Ungdom och boende. Sammanfattning av Hyresgästernas Riksförbunds och HSB:s undersökning om ungdom och boende*. (Young people and housing. A summary of the Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies.) The Tenants National Association and The National Tenants Savings and Building Societies
- Jones, G (1995): *Leaving home*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Lieberg, M (1994a): "Appropriating the City. Teenagers use of Public Space", in F Brown, S Neary, M Symes (eds): *The Urban Experience: A people-environment perspective*, London: E & FN Spon.
- Lieberg, M (1994b): "Att forska om ungdom. Om kunskapssökande och reflexivitet bland deltagande ungdomsforskare", (Making research on youth) i Johan Fornäs m fl (red): *Ungdomskultur i Sverige*. (Youth Culture in Sweden). FUS-rapport nr 6. Stockholm/Steheg: Brutus Östlings Förlag Symposion.
- Lieberg, M (1995): "Teenagers and Public Spaces", *Journal of Communication Research*, Vol. 22, No 6, December 1995, pp.720-744.
- Lieberg, M (1996): *Jugend, Modernität und öffentliche Räume*. Diskurs, no 2/1996, pp.38-48.
- Lindén, A-L (1988): *Bostadsmarknad för andrahandsboende*. (The housing market for subletting.) Lund University. Inst. for Sociology
- Lindén, A-L (1990): *De första åren i boendekarriären. Ungdomar på bostadsmarknaden*. (The first years of a housing career. Young people in the housing market.) Stockholm: The National Council for Building Research
- Lundberg, A & Modig, A (1984): *Ungdomars etablering på bostadsmarknaden* (Young people's establishment in the housing market.) Stockholm The National Council for Building Research
- Löfgren, A (1990): *Att flytta hemifrån. Boendets roll i ungdomars vuxenblivande ur ett situationsanalytiskt perspektiv*. (Leaving home: the role of housing in young people's transition to adulthood from a situation analytical perspective.) Lund: Lund University Press
- Regionplane- och trafikkontoret. *Nio gånger i livet. Förstudie om flyttning inom Stockholms län*. (Nine times in a lifetime. Part study on moving within the administrative area in Stockholm.) Office of Regional Planning and Urban Transportation, Stockholm's County Council. Report 1.

- SOU 1994:73 *Ungdomars välfärd och värderingar. Rapport till Barn- och ungdomsdelegationen och Generationensutredningen.* (Youth welfare and values. Report to the Children and Youth Delegation and Generation Inquiry). The Swedish Government Official Reports 1994:73. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- SOU 1996:156 *Bostadspolitik 2000 - från produktions- till boendepolitik. Slutbetänkande av bostadspolitiska utredningen.* (The Swedish Government Official Reports 1996:156 Housing policy 2000 - from production to housing policy. Final committee report from The Housing Policy Report. Stockholm: Fritzes
- Salonen, T (1993): *Margins of Welfare: A study of modern functions of social assistance.* Lund: Hällestad Press
- Svensson, R (1997): *Boendundersökningen.* (Housing Survey.) Lund: Stiftelsen AF Bostäder (work material)
- Teeland, L & Rummel, E (1996): *Housing for Younger People in a Period of Recession.* Paper for ENHR Housing Conference in Helsingör, August 1996
- Thelander, A L (1984): *Bostad efter behov. Jämlikhet och integration på 80-talets bostadsmarknad.* (Housing according to need. Equality and integration of housing in the in the 1980's housing market.) Report R26.1984. Stockholm: Byggeforskningsrådet.
- Turner, B (1997): *Vad hände med den sociala bostadspolitiken?* (What happened to the social housing policy?) Stockholm: Boinstitutet
- Ungdomsstyrelsen (1996): *Krokig väg till vuxen. En kartläggning av ungdomars livsvillkor.* (The winding road to adulthood. Mapping young people living conditions.) Youth Report 1996 part 1. Stockholm: Ungdomsstyrelsen. (The National Board for Youth Affairs).
- Ziehe, T (1986) *Ny ungdom. Om ovanliga läroprocesser.* (New youth. About unusual process of learning). Malmö. Norstedts Press.
- Ziehe, T (1989) *Kulturanalyser. Ungdom, utbildning, modernitet.* (Cultural analysis. Youth education, modernity). Stockholm: Symposium press.

Discussion of method:

Difficulties in comparing results from different studies

In cross-section studies such as this, different methods, varying definitions and different ways of presenting questions are used. It is, therefore, difficult to compare results from the various surveys. To illustrate these problems a comparison of the questions concerning remaining at home from our survey and a survey made by the Institute of Housing studies in March-April 1997 is given below. Also SCBs surveys on Living Conditions, known as the ULF Studies, are discussed.

The question concerning remaining at home was presented in our survey as follows: "Are you living at present with your?"

- Both mother and father
- Only with mother
- Only with father
- Neither

Those who answered "neither" were then asked "Do you live in"

- Own terraced house, semi-detached or linked house
- Tenant ownership
- Tenant ownership, first hand contract
- Tenant ownership, sublet
- Rented dwelling and share contract with friends
- Student accommodation
- Other answer

In the survey carried out by The Institute of Housing Studies, the question about remaining at home was presented in the following way: "How do you live today?". The following alternatives were given: Live with one or both parents: live with some other relative; share dwelling with a friends: live in student accommodation: rent a room or similar: have independent dwelling with sublet: alone or with husband/wife/cohabitor: live in some other way. The instructions to the interviewees said that the information concerned their present form of dwelling.

SCB's survey on living conditions, which is based on personal interviews, establishes who is part of the household. Young people who are studying and live in the place where they study, but who stay in the parental home at least two nights a week are counted as living at home. The argument is that they still have close contact with the parental home and therefore cannot be counted as having left home.

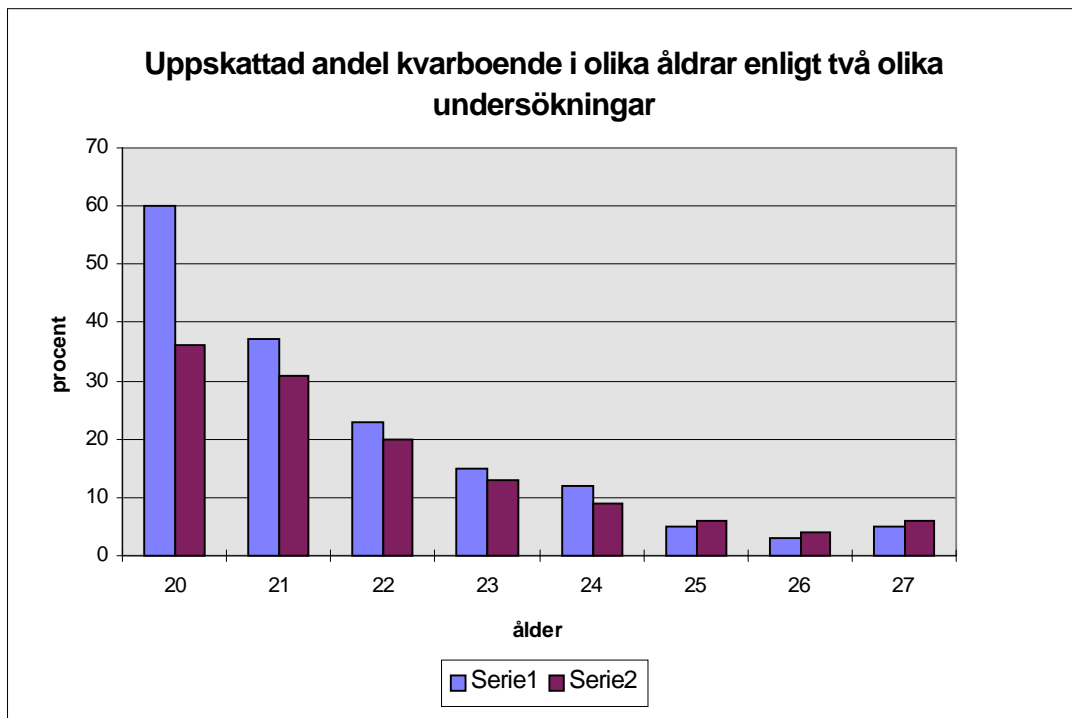


Figure 1. Expected percent of young people still living in the parental home according to age in two different surveys.

By asking the question in so many different ways the results of how many young people still live in the parental home also differ. The largest number of those still living at home (38%) is found in SCB's survey and the lowest figure (26%) is found in the survey carried out by The Institute of Housing Studies. Our survey lands up in the middle. A further analysis of the data shows that the differences between the surveys are strongly related to age. This is especially evident among in the age group 20. The above figure indicates a strong link between age and young people still living at home. The difference between 20 and 21 is especially great in our study. The differential with The Institute of Housing is 24 percent. This shows that the true age at the time of the survey can be extremely important for different estimates of young people's living at home.

The data collection in our survey was made between 23 October and 25 November 1996. 20 year olds were those who had their 20th birthday in 1996. The data

collection in the survey by The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning was made during the period 23 March to 21 April 1997. 20 year olds were those who were 20 in 1996. SCB collected their data throughout the year. If you had your 20th birthday during the period the data was being collected then you were defined as a 20 year old.

We can, thus, point out that age was defined differently in each of the surveys. This means that in the survey by The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 20 year olds were older than both the 20 year olds in SCB's survey and our survey. Naturally, this makes it difficult to compare the different surveys. SCB uses the safest method for collecting data (personal interview) with the lowest rate of drop outs, but the differences in definition of living at home and age makes comparison difficult. In our survey, a third of the students not living at home, visited their parents at least once a week. More than half of the young people aged 20-27 who did not live at home visited their parents at least once a week. A tenth stayed overnight with their parents.

The most reliable trend descriptions are most likely from SCB's survey on living conditions (ULF) or Population and Housing Census. Certain questions can, nevertheless, be studied more closely than these standard surveys allow. They can also present a true picture of the situation but, according to the definitions used. How one can produce the "truest" picture of really living at home is a question one can discuss.

Appendix 2

Description of survey of youth housing autumn 1996

Skandinavisk Opinions AB, SKOP, was commissioned to interview young people about their present housing situation, their history of housing and their preferences for future housing. The study also included questions about young people's economic situation, their education, their work and their family situation. The results are representative of all Swedish young people both Swedish and non-Swedish citizens aged between 18 and 27 years old.

Population

Young people living in Sweden aged between 18 and 27 years old.

Sample

A random sample (OSU) of young people drawn from the Swedish Population Register. The sample includes both Swedish citizens and non-Swedish citizens.

Method of collecting data

The survey was done by telephone from SKOP's interview centre in Stockholm and was carried out from 23 October to 25 November 1996. Some of the sampled persons had no telephone, had an ex-directory number or for other reasons the telephone number was impossible to find. 26 percent in all had no telephone number. They received a questionnaire by post.

Number of interviews and response rate

The gross sample included 3 200 persons. By using various sources 53 persons were identified as living abroad and 46 were abroad for extended periods due to study, work or other reasons. In addition 2 persons had deceased, 1 was registered as disappeared, 5 could not be interviewed because of illness or mental disturbance and 3 did not understand Swedish. The net sample of young people was 3 090.

It was impossible to find the correct telephone number for 823 persons. There were 2 267 young people with correct telephone numbers of whom 1 828 were interviewed. The response rate is 81 percent among young people with a telephone. Of those with a telephone, 93 persons (4%) did not want to be interviewed. After more than 15 telephone calls, there was still no answer from 346 young people (15%). From experience one can say that many of them have migrated or live abroad for other reasons or should be excluded from the sample. The rate of migration is greater among young people than from the other age groups and more common among non-Swedish citizens than Swedish citizens.

The questionnaire was sent to those young people whom it was difficult to reach on the phone resulted in 160 returned forms. Many of the non-returns should be excluded from the sample of change of address or for other reasons. From experience one can say that many of them have migrated or live abroad for other reasons or should be excluded from the sample.

In total 1 988 young people have been interviewed by phone or have filled out a questionnaire they have received by post.

	Respons	Non-respons	Total
Gross sample			3.200
Fallout:			
Living abroad		53	
Abroad		46	
Deceased or disappeared		3	
Ill or retarded		5	
Does not speak Swedish		3	-110
Net sample			3.090
<i>With telephone</i>			2.267
Interviewed	1.828		
Impossible to contact		346	
Refusals		93	
<i>Lacking telephone</i>			823
Questionnaires	160		
Non-response to questionnaire		663	
Total	1.988	1.102	3.090

The total number of non-responses is thus 1 102 persons or 35 percent. Using the above as background information it cannot be ruled out that those whom SKOP were unable to contact should in actual fact be excluded from the sample. The real non-response rate is therefore probably low.

European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion
Centrum för Välfärdsforskning, Mälardalens Högskola
Unginfo, Eskilstuna Stads- och Länsbibliotek
Byggnadsfunktionslära, Lunds universitet

Bostäder och boende bland unga socialbidragstagare

– en kvalitativ studie

av

Mats Lieberg

December 1998

Rapport 3

Innehållsförteckning

Inledning	5
Om marginaliserade ungdomars liv och utanförskap	5
Ungdomar och arbetsmarknad i Eskilstuna	6
Ungdomar berättar om sitt boende	7
Markus.....	8
Samira	12
Anna	17
Socialpolitiska åtgärder och projekt	20
Amanda- en socialpedagogisk verksamhet för unga kvinnor	20
Alva-gruppens arbete	22
Kommunens ungdomsboende	24
Projekt Astor	26
DUN-projektet.....	27
Om ungdomars liv och utanförskap i ett föränderligt samhälle	27
Flytta hemifrån med hjälp av det sociala	28
Det första egna hemmet.....	29
Den egna bostaden – en fast punkt i tillvaron	29
Kravet på borgenär – nytt fenomen på bostadsmarknaden	29
En ny arbetslöshetskultur håller på att växa fram.....	30
Särskilda ungdomslägenheter – kortsiktig lösning som ökar boendesegregationen.....	30
Skolan, fritiden och kamraterna.....	31
Drömmen om ett bättre liv	32
Litteratur	33

Welfare Research Centre

Inledning

I den här rapporten redovisas resultatet av en intervjuundersökning bland ungdomar med långvarigt socialbidragsberoende. Undersökning ingår i den svenska delen av Eu-projektet "European Survey on Youth Housing and Exclusion". Koordinator och initiativtagare till projektet är Frankrike. Övriga medverkande länder är Sverige, Tyskland, Belgien, Skottland, Spanien och Portugal.

Projektet finansieras med medel från Europakommissionen DG XII och DG XXII, Byggeforskningsrådet och Stockholms läns landstings Trafik-och Regionplaneenhet.

Syftet med denna delstudie är att ge en bild av hur bostadssituationen och boendekarriären ser ut för en grupp unga människor med sociala problem, samt beskriva hur myndigheter och samhälle arbetar med dessa ungdomar. Gemensamt för de intervjuade ungdomarna är att den sociala situationen sviktar på grund av arbetslöshet, missbruksproblem och ekonomiska bekymmer. Det kan t ex handla om tillfälligt kvarboende ungdomar, som egentligen vill flytta hemifrån, men där socialtjänsten går in och ger visst ekonomiskt stöd till familjen, alternativt ger bistånd till eget boende. I rapporten beskrivs också några av de socialpedagogiska projekt i Eskilstuna som arbetar med dessa ungdomar. Dessa projekt har tagits med för att komplettera den bild som intervjuerna med ungdomarna ger. Inledningsvis görs en kort beskrivning av det samhälle och den historiska och bostadssociala situation ungdomarna vuxit upp i och som ramar in deras liv.

Om marginaliserade ungdomars liv och utanförskap

Det svenska samhällets förändringar vad gäller arbete, boende, utbildning och familjeliv under 1960-70 talet, resulterade för många familjer i nya livsformer och splittrade vardagsförhållanden som i hög grad kommit att påverka ungdomars uppväxtvillkor.

Bostadssituationen i Sverige förändrades drastiskt under 1960-talet då det sk miljonprogrammet förverkligades. Under tio år byggdes en miljon nya bostäder i Sverige vilket gjorde det möjligt för ensamstående föräldrar, resurssvaga familjer och invandrare att hyra bättre bostäder. Den ökade tillgången på bostäder innebar inte bara en högre bostadsstandard. Omflyttningen mellan olika områden, inflyttningen från landsbygden till städerna samt den ökade invandringen från utlandet skapade också segregerade bostadsområden. De välbärgade hushållen lämnade successivt områdena för att skaffa sig en bättre bostad i andra områden. Miljonprogrammets områden åderläts på resursrika grupper. Det blev 70-talets villa- och radhusområden som kom att ta hand om dessa grupper.

Kvar i förorterna blev de fattiga familjerna och invandrarna. Många av dessa flyttade också inom och mellan förorterna i sin strävan att försöka finna sig till rätta

i det ”nya” samhället. Vi fick en etnisk och social/ekonomisk segregation som innebar att barn och ungdomar växte upp under olikartade förhållanden, vissa i trygga och stabila förhållanden, andra i en splittrad och oöverskådlig social tillvaro (Wirtén 1998). För ekonomiskt och socialt utsatta grupper blev den sociala oöverskådligheten en större belastning än för andra grupper. Få av de ungdomar som intervjuats i denna undersökning har t ex haft en fast förankring i ett lokalt bostadsområde under sin uppväxt. Många av dem har flyttat ett stort antal gånger redan under sin barndom.

Parallellt med denna utveckling växte en kommersiell kultur fram som riktade sig speciellt till ungdomar (Fornäs m fl 1996). I denna ungdomskultur kombineras olika typer av varor med bilder av smarta, attraktiva och framgångsrika ungdomar eller lyckliga familjer. Ungdomarna förses med bilder av hur man ska se ut, leva och ta sig fram i samhället för att bli framgångsrik, samtidigt som de tvingas inse att möjligheterna att köpa varorna eller leva upp till idealen är små.

Det sociala livet i bostadsområdena förändrades i grunden. Hög materiell standard kombinerades med att allt fler kvinnor gick ut på arbetsmarknaden. Detta var en nödvändigt för att klara den familjeekonomiska situationen. Kvinnornas frånvaro i bostadsområdena skapade en ny situation för de barn och ungdomar som växte upp där. Institutioner som daghem och fritidshem tog över en del av familjens sociala och fostrande funktion. Det sociala nätverk som tidigare hölls samman av hemarbetande kvinnor, omgav inte längre barnen och ungdomarna som i allt större utsträckning fick klara sig själva eller blev beroende av omsorgs- och utbildningsinstitutionerna. De kvinnor som på grund av bristande utbildning eller yrkeserfarenhet inte kunde konkurrera på arbetsmarknaden blev isolerade i bostadsområdena.

Omstruktureringen av samhället medförde inte bara att relationerna mellan de privata hushållen och lokalsamhället kom att förändras. Förändringarna påverkade också relationerna inom familjerna. Många äktenskap och sambo förhållanden bröts upp och nya familjekonstellationer bildades. Flera av de intervjuade ungdomarna har erfarenheter av uppbrutna familjeförhållanden och av de konsekvenser detta medför i form av ständig kamp för att bli accepterad eller själv acceptera nya familjemedlemmar, plastpappor och låtsasmammor, nya syskon etc.

Ungdomar och arbetsmarknad i Eskilstuna

Eskilstuna är en medelstor f d industristad med cirka 90 000 invånare. Befolkningen ökade fram till slutet på 1960-talet då flertalet fortfarande var sysselsatta inom tillverkningsindustrin. Därefter har befolkningstalen minskat successivt på grund av nedskärningar och rationalisering, framför allt inom industrisektorn. Den gamla industristaden drabbades hårt av den internationella konkurrensen.

I Eskilstuna, liksom i många andra små och medelstora industristäder i Sverige, har arbetsmarknadssituationen för ungdomar försämrats sedan 1960-talet. Många av de enklare arbetsuppgifterna har rationaliserats bort och ungdomar med låg utbildning har haft svårt att komma in på bostadsmarknaden. Från slutet av 1970-talet försämrades läget ytterligare på grund av konjunkturläget och de stora ungdomskullarna. Därefter skedde en tillfällig förbättring under 80-talet, medan 90-talet har inneburit en ytterligare försämring. Många ungdomar har tvingats leva på socialbidrag för att klara sin försörjning. 1991 mottog 15 procent av Eskilstuna ungdomarna 18-24 år socialbidrag medan motsvarande andel för hela riket var tio procent.

Långvarigt socialbidragsberoende har under 1990-talet i Sverige utvecklats till något som inte bara drabbar missbrukare och utslagna familjer. Den stigande arbetslösheten och ökade utslagningen på arbetsmarknaden gör att alltfler grupper blir beroende av samhällets stöd. (Salonen 1993). Trots detta betraktas fortfarande socialbidragstagare som personer som är ovilliga eller oförmögna att försörja sig själva, något som i sin tur ofta bidrar till en bestående negativ självkänsla och en allmän pessimistiskt tilltro till den egna förmågan. Under 1980-talet satsade staten på särskilda insatser riktade mot ungdomar. Ungdomar 16-18 år erbjöds kortare utbildning eller praktikarbete, för ungdomar 18-20 år satsade man på särskilda arbetsmarknadsinsatser sk ALU-arbeten. Under 90-talet har situationen för ungdomar ytterligare försämrats på grund av den höga ungdomsarbetslösheten. Statliga medel fördes över på kommunerna som fick ökat ansvar för ungdomsinsatserna.

Ungdomar berättar om sitt boende

I den här rapporten berättar ungdomar med långvarigt socialbidragsberoende om sina liv och boendeförhållanden. Samtliga intervjuade kommer från Eskilstuna, en medelstor industristad belägen i Mälardalen i mellersta Sverige. Berättelserna baseras på intervjuer vi gjorde med dem 1998. Totalt genomfördes 15 djupintervjuer med ungdomar i åldern 19-25 år. Intervjuerna utfördes av forskare och studeranden vid Mälardalens högskola i Eskilstuna. För att så långt möjligt få ungdomarna att reflektera över sin situation valde vi att göra ostrukturerade intervjuer. Till stöd använde vi en frågeguide med ett antal frågeställningar som intervjun skulle behandla. Dessa frågeställningar handlade om deras bakgrund och hemförhållanden, nuvarande boendesituation, kontakter med grannar, relationen till sociala myndigheter, bostadsföretag och andra myndigheter, samt drömmar och tankar om framtida boendesituation. De flesta intervjuer genomfördes i ungdomarnas egen bostad eller i högskolans lokaler. I något enstaka fall genomfördes intervjun på ett kafé eller på stadens biblioteket. Intervjuerna är förkortade och redigerade, men vi har strävat efter att återge citat och beskrivningar som ligger så nära ungdomarnas egna ord som möjligt. Intervjuerna bandades och resulterade i cirka 200 sidor maskinskriven text. Kategoriseringen av intervjumaterialet har skett

i tre grova avsnitt. Det första handlar om ungdomarnas beskrivning av sin bakgrund och sina uppväxtförhållanden. Den andra handlar om deras reflexioner kring nuvarande situation och boendeförhållanden. Det tredje avsnittet handlar om deras uttalade drömmar, förväntningar och önskemål om framtiden. Ungdomarnas namn är fingerade. Efter varje intervju följer våra egna kommentarer.

Markus

”Det har blivit lite hotellstämpel på den här lägenheten”

Markus har under större delen av sitt liv växt upp i ett litet samhälle, några mil utanför Eskilstuna. Han är 24 år och äldst av fyra syskon, med en lillebror i gymnasieåldern och ett tvillingpar om 7 år. Han har en treårig ekonomisk gymnasieutbildning. Innan Markus flyttade till den trea han bor i idag bodde han under en period i en etta i Torshälla, en liten stad, tillhörande Eskilstuna, ca 7 km från centrum, där han försörjde sig genom att arbeta på Konsum.

Han bor idag i en trea, ca 85 kvadrat, som han hyr från det kommunala bostadsföretaget Hyresbostäder i Eskilstunas. Det är en ungdomslägenhet på så sätt att han har en hyresreduktion från ca 4100 till ca 2100 per månad. Efter andra årets slut kommer hyran att höjas 30% per år i tre år för att femte åren vara upp i fullt pris igen. Skälen till att han bor i lägenheten är att det är centralt, 5 min promenad till centrum, det är billigt och det är stort utrymme. Bostadsområdet har rykte om sig att vara rätt stökigt och med ganska hög brottslighet. Det är ett relativt invandrartätt område och här bor främst de som har låga inkomster. Markus tycker också att det är rätt stökigt och mycket liv ute på kvällarna men säger att den del av området där han bor är rätt så bra. Det bästa är dock den billiga hyran och att det är så nära till centrum.

”Det är inte så där jättetrevligt här kanske, det är rätt mycket liv utanför, på kvällar men just det här huset är väl ett utav de bästa i alla fall i hela Xfors, tydligen, så det är väl hyfsat. Men just att det är nära till allting, det är det som är det bästa.”

Det var inga problem för Markus att få tag i denna lägenhet, han läste om den i tidningen, ringde upp och efter några dagar var det ordnat. Markus försörjs idag till största delen av Socialtjänsten, men hade trots detta inga problem med att få lägenhet. Markus tycker att hans situation på bostadsmarknaden känns ljus, i och med att det gick så lätt att få den lägenhet han bor i idag. En dag i veckan arbetar han som datalärare på en gymnasieskola i veckan, detta är en fast anställning som han har terminen ut. Ibland får han även arbeta lite extra, på gymnasieskolan och på Biblioteket. De extra pengar han tjänar ser han dock aldrig direkt i handen eftersom Socialtjänsten drar av denna summa på hans bidrag så att han aldrig får en summa över 5000 kronor. Idag läser Markus på distans på Komvux, något han precis har

börjat med under februari månad. Detta för att komplettera vissa ämnen för att kunna söka in på högskolan senare. Han har ansökt om studiemedel men ännu inte fått något besked om detta. Han får idag en inkomst från det sociala på 5000 kronor, vilket innebär att ungefär lite mindre än halva denna summa till hyra. Markus har haft socialbidrag sedan årsskiftet 96/97, då han slutade på Konsum. På dessa pengar klarar han sig något så när, det blir sällan pengar över och han måste lägga undan pengar varje månad för att klara de räkningar som kommer nästa månad. Markus har ibland haft svårt att kunna betala vissa räkningar och har haft en del kontakt med kronofogden, han har dock klarat sig från att bli skyldig dem pengar. För att klara vissa skulder har Markus lånat av sina kompisar ibland, då det endast varit tre dagar kvar innan kronofogden skulle kopplas in. Det är sällan han lånar av sina föräldrar då inte de har det så gott ställt ekonomiskt. Det är ofta man är skuldsatt berättar Markus.

Markus tyckte det var skönt att flytta hemifrån och att inte ligga föräldrarna till last längre eftersom hans syskon behövde hans rum. Hans bror hade tidigare sovit i hallen, medan tvillingarna delat rum och Markus hade ett eget rum. Det kunde dock bli lite ensamt att bo själv ibland, tyckte Markus.

”Det var fruktansvärt skönt att komma hemifrån, det var det helt klart. Just då hade jag en fast anställning, för då jobbade jag på Konsum i Torshälla, det var därför jag flyttade just till Torshälladet var rätt jobbigt hemma då ett tag, också, det blir ju det, man gick bara hemma, man gjorde ingenting ett tag när man hade slutat skolan. Då kände man sig bara i vägen också, i och med att vi var fyra stycken ungar, så då kände man sig lite i vägen och tyckte att då kunde man lika gärna försöka flytta i alla fall.”

Markus har goda relationer till sina föräldrar och besöker dem kanske en eller två gånger i månaden, det är lite dåligt med bussförbindelser vilket försvårar eftersom Markus varken har körkort eller busskort. När han ser tillbaka på tiden hemma hos sina föräldrar och jämför med hur kontakterna fungerar idag tycker han att det snarare har blivit bättre relationer:

”Ja, det var inga problem, jag har aldrig varit speciellt upprorisk av mig, jag var rätt lugn. Men det blev ju ändå att man gick varann på nerverna i och med att jag alltid var hemma. Så när man väl flyttade hemifrån så fick man ju ändå bättre relation. Då fungerade allt jättebra, när man inte slet på varann. Så det var bra när man flyttade hemifrån, rent relationsmässigt också. Och samma sak med syskonen, man bråkade ju jämt när man var hemma, sedan nu är det ju jättekul varenda gång man träffas.”

Markus har i flera omgångar haft kamrater som bott hos sig i lägenheten. Det är oftast kompisar som är på väg att flytta hemifrån och som kommer och bor ett tag hos Markus tills de hittar något eget. Markus har inte tagit ut någon hyra av sina kamrater men de delar på mat, telefon och sådana saker. Vissa kompisar har bott

där längre perioder medan andra bara stannat en kort tid. Den som stannade längst, ett år, flyttade ut för ett kort tag sedan. Som Markus säger:

”Det har blivit lite hotellstämpel på den här lägenheten”.

Nu bor Markus själv igen och hans tjej bor längre ner på gatan men de har inga planer på att flytta ihop. Det var onödigt tyckte de eftersom de bor så nära varandra. Markus har inte haft några problem med Hyresbostäder, annat än att de är lite långsamma på att komma och reparera grejer som gått sönder och detta är inget som Markus har upplevt särskilt många gånger. Med grannarna har Markus haft en del trassel efter ett par fester som han och hans kompisar haft. Han har fått två varningar och passar sig nu noga för att föra mer liv eftersom han vet att en tredje varning innebär att han troligen måste flytta.

Markus kontakter med Socialtjänsten tycker han har varit besvärliga. Han tycker aldrig att de har tid. Han träffade sin handläggare för första gången för några veckor sedan och då har han haft kontakt med Socialtjänsten i ett år. Det har varit struligt med utbetalningar och i perioder har det tagit lång tid att få pengarna utbetalade. Det är inte det att de inte hjälper en säger Markus, men man får aldrig pengarna i tid.

”Socialtjänsten kan man ju säga är fruktansvärt usel. Man får alltid ringa och tjata på dem för att något ska hända. Men det har man väl lite förståelse för också, de har aldrig tid. Jag träffade min handledare för första gången för tre veckor sedan, det var första gången jag träffade henne, första gången hon hade tid. Det var första gången jag pratade med henne över huvud taget.”

Markus tycker ändå att han har förståelse för deras situation och att det är många som behöver deras hjälp. Han tycker inte det känns speciellt bra att leva på socialbidrag och som det fungerar nu är det inte speciellt uppmuntrande att arbeta. Han har t.ex. blivit erbjuden jobb från Konsum, helgarbete, men de pengar han tjänar därifrån får han inte utöver det han får från Socialtjänsten. Om Markus tjänar 4000 kronor en månad, får han 1000 kr från Socialtjänsten så hans inkomst överstiger aldrig 5000 kronor per månad. För att detta ska ske måste han tjäna över 6000 kronor i månaden. Detta tycker Markus gör det omotiverat att arbeta extra eftersom han ändå inte ser dessa pengar. Markus hoppas dock att kunna få studiemedel, vilket skulle öka hans inkomst från 5000 kr till 8000 kr i månaden. Detta är också ett av skälen som gör att han vill börja plugga, för att få det bättre ekonomiskt. Ett annat skäl är att han inte tror det finns några stora möjligheter att få ett jobb om man inte har en utbildning. Fick han välja mellan att få ett jobb, som t.ex. datalärare på gymnasiet, en utökning av det han har idag, eller att plugga så skulle han välja att jobba. Men då dessa möjligheter är små väljer han istället att börja plugga. Annars tror Markus att det för arbetet med data är bättre merit att ha arbetat praktiskt istället för att enbart ha en teoretisk utbildning.

I framtiden vill Markus börja plugga på högskolan, antagligen något med data eller liknande. Han vill gärna flytta från Eskilstuna och plugga i någon annan stad. Då vill han helst bo i en tvårummare och inte i ett studentrum, när han vant sig vid att ha lite utrymme. Han vill flytta från Eskilstuna för att det är små möjligheter att få jobb och för att han inte tycker att den har mycket erbjuda i boendeväg eller överhuvudtaget när det gäller nöjen och fritid. När Markus bildar familj och skaffar barn vill han gärna bo ute på landet, i ett hus, gärna någonstans söderut. Han tycker det är bättre att barnen får växa upp på landet än inne i staden.

Kommentar:

Markus är för tillfället helt beroende av socialbidrag för att få en inkomst och trots att han arbetar en dag i veckan har han ändå alltid samma inkomst per månad. Detta gör att Markus inte uppmuntras till att ta extrajobb eftersom han aldrig märker av det i plånboken. Det känns som att detta är ett system som kan ifrågasättas. Man säger ofta att socialbidragstagare passiviseras p g a att de får bidrag hela tiden. Men när man inte får någon morot av att arbeta så kan det till viss del vara förståeligt att han reagerar som han gör och tackar nej till extraarbete. Markus' lösning' på problemet är att börja plugga, så han får en större inkomst. Detta är naturligtvis inte den enda anledningen till att han studerar, men det är en av dem. För att få ett arbete är Markus övertygad om att man måste ha utbildning idag. Ungdomarna idag är mycket medvetna om sin utsatta position på arbetsmarknaden och ser ofta utbildningen som ett sätt att få jobb. Det kanske inte alltid är det som de helst vill göra, men de tvingas i högre grad än tidigare in i utbildningssystemet, då högskola eller universitet.

Markus har inte stött på några hinder i sitt boende eller val av boende vilket gör att han ser positivt på sin situation på boendemarknaden. Dock har han ännu inte försökt att få lägenhet i något annat företag än Hyresbostäder och detta med hyresreduktion. Risken för besvikelse vid nya boendesituationer är stor om Markus' situation fortsätter att se ut som den gör.

Markus har inga positiva tankar om Eskilstuna, vare sig när det gäller boende, arbete eller nöjen utan vill i framtiden gärna bo någon annanstans. Det har även framkommit i flera av intervjuerna, att man vill flytta från staden eftersom den inte har så mycket att erbjuda, framförallt vad gäller arbeten. Eftersom Eskilstuna är en f.d. industristad har den drabbats relativt hårt senaste åren och arbetslösheten är bland den högst i länet med över 10%. Det är inte så konstigt att ungdomarna blir desillusionerade vad gäller arbetssituationen.

Liksom de flesta ungdomar vi har pratat med drömmer Markus om ett eget hus, vilket ändå visar att han har en tro på en ljus och positiv framtid, bara de här första svåra åren är över och hans ekonomiska situation blir bättre.

Samira

”Jag blir jättearg på svenskarna. De fattar inte hur ensam man kan vara i ett land där man inte känner någon”.

Samira är 22 år och kommer ursprungligen från Liberia. Hon flyttade hit till Sverige när hon var 12 år. Har växt upp på landsbygden i liten by, familjen bodde i ett stort hus, med 5-6 personer boende där. Först bodde Samira i Södertälje, med sin pappa och styvmamma och sina halvsyskon. Där bodde hon i tre år och efter en del trassel med pappan blev hon placerad hos en fosterfamilj. När Samira bodde hos sin pappa i Södertälje, delade hon rum med sin syster (idag 19 år). Samira tyckte det var bra att dela rum med sin syster, hon var van att ha folk omkring sig och brukade dela säng redan tidigare med sina syskon. Hon hade eget rum hos fosterfamiljen.

”Det var ingen fara tycker jag, för jag har växt upp och är så van med folk, jag har liksom inte legat själv i någon säng, aldrig, så det kändes bra att hon och jag fick dela säng.”

Fosterfamiljen bodde i något som Samira benämner som ett slott där fosterfamiljen höll kurser. De var fyra stycken som bodde där. Samira har inte haft speciellt bra relation till sin familj här i Sverige, pappan och styvmamman. Hon tyckte dock att hon hade god relation till sin fosterfamilj. Gillade dock inget vidare att bo på landet och få åka buss och passa tiderna. Där bodde hon ca ett år innan hon flyttade igen, denna gång till Eskilstuna där hon bott nu i ca 4 år. Till Eskilstuna flyttade Samira med sin kille, hon flyttade in i hans etta innan paret sedan flyttade vidare till en annan lägenhet och när barnet föddes flyttade de igen, till den lägenhet Samira bor i idag.

”Då träffade jag min gamla kille, sedan flyttade jag därifrån, så då sade jag till dem att jag ville flytta därifrån, fast jag fick bo kvar där, det sociala ville liksom ta hand om mig fortfarande men jag ville inte det, jag ville bo med honom i stan. Så då flyttade jag till stan, och sedan bodde jag med honom och så.”

Det är också relativt vanligt att ungdomar i den här situationen flyttar runt en hel del. På frågan varför hon inte flyttade till en större lägenhet svarar så här::

”Nej, för han (min kille) bodde där själv och sedan eftersom jag ville bo i stan, så jag trodde inte jag skulle få flytta från slottet. Men jag fick det och sedan bodde vi där i jag tror tre månader, sedan flyttade vi till en större, en tvåa. Sedan flyttade vi till V-vägen, en tvåa så bodde vi där och sedan blev jag med barn och sedan flyttade vi därifrån till X-gatan här nere.”

Paret separerade och Samira är idag ensamstående med barn. Idag går Samira på frisörlinjen i Eskilstuna, första ring, och ska gå där i tre år. Hon började sin utbildning ett tag innan sin graviditet men fick avbryta utbildning p g a av detta.

Samira har tidigare gått på utbildningar som varit speciellt för personer med invandrarbakgrund. Hade en del problem i grundskolan och skolkade en del varför hon fick komplettera sin betyg i vissa ämnen genom ytterligare utbildning. Även då skolkade hon ibland och tyckte inte det var så viktigt med utbildning. Säger dock vid intervjun att det är viktigt med utbildning varför hon ska försöka gå klart Frisörskolan. Hon trivs bra med att bo i Nyfors men skulle helst vilja bo i Stockholm, hon tycker Eskilstuna är tråkigt med för lite liv, fast tycker ändå att det är ganska bra i Eskilstuna, det är nära till skola och annat.

Samira trivs bra i sin lägenhet men tycker att hyran är för dyr. Får sällan pengar över och tycker att när pengarna väl kommer går de till hyra och räkningar. Hon har sällan pengar över till kläder, som är ett av Samiras intressen, att köpa kläder.

”Det är bra, jag tycker mycket om den här lägenheten men hyran är så dyr. Jag vill liksom ha lite pengar över och så där. Fast det går inte, för man sitter och väntar länge på pengarna och sedan när pengarna kommer så går alltihopa till hyran och jag blir så jättearg för jag vill ha kläder, jag tycker mycket om kläder. Jag är såndär, min mamma är också så, så jag tror jag fick det från min mamma, det är såndär sjukdom i vår släkt tycker jag. Det är sant, min syrra är också så där, hon tycker också om kläder, så det måste vara något. Men det är bra, men jag måste alltid tänka, alltid när jag var i Liberia, fick jag allt jag ville ha, pengar varje dag, kläder varje dag, så jag är liksom lite bortskämd och jag har kvar det. Fast jag försöker ta bort bortskämdheten men ibland det kommer och då blir man sådär jättesugen på kläder.”

Samira försörjer sig idag genom studiemedel från CSN, ca 6700 i månaden och av de går 3700 till hyra. När hyra och räkningar är betalda är det inte så mycket pengar kvar och när hon kan försöker Samira skicka pengar till sina släktingar, bl.a. mor och farmor som är kvar i Liberia. Släkten vill gärna att hon hjälper dem genom att skicka pengar och Samira försöker då och då att skicka lite pengar, ett par tusen kronor senaste gången. Hon känner sig delvis tyngd av detta och tror det är ett av skälen att det inte går så bra för henne med svenska språket. Hon har ingen ekonomisk hjälp från Socialtjänsten annat än på sommaren då hon inte har studiemedel. Hon har försökt hitta sommarjobb och extrajobb men inte lyckats få något och känner ilska över att det är så svårt att få något jobb. Uppger att hon vid något tillfälle fått ett jobb i en muntlig överenskommelse men när hon kom dit sa de nej och hon funderar på om det kan ha något med att göra att hon är färgad.

Samira har sökt lägenhet inom ett privat stort hyresbolag i Eskilstuna för att få en billigare lägenhet, och få mer pengar över till kläder och hon skulle gärna vilja resa utomlands. Samira väntar fortfarande på svar om hon får lägenheten eller inte. Det är en sk ungdomslägenhet som kostar 2800 kr i månaden. Svårigheten i att få lägenheten ligger i att Samira måste ha en borgenär för att få kontraktet på lägenheten. Detta är dock inte lätt eftersom Samira inte har någon nära anhörig, sin

pappa har hon ingen kontakt med så där kan hon inte få hjälp. Samira förstår inte varför hon måste ha en borgenär, de bara säger så, säger hon.

Samiras kontakt från Ungdomsgruppen inom Socialtjänsten har också ringt och frågat om det verkligen är så att hon måste ha borgenär på en lägenhet som är 1000 kronor billigare än den hon har idag. En av personalen på Ungdomsgruppen som är i lägenheten vid tillfället för intervjun säger följande:

”Jo första gången jag ringde dit, eller ja första gången jag var ner till bostadsbolaget själv och då sade de till mig att hon måste ha en borgenär eller hur och sedan ringde jag till henne och frågade varför hon måste ha en borgenär. Jo det måste alla som går på socialbidrag och då sade jag det att hon går inte på socialbidrag, för hon har studiemedel och studiemedel räknas som en fast inkomst, vad jag vet. Jaha, sa de, ja men vi vet ju inte om hon har betalningsanmärkningar så hon måste ju i alla fall ha en borgenär. Jaha, sade jag, men det är väl lätt att kolla upp, ifall hon har eller inte. Ja och så skulle de göra det och sedan så gjorde de det och ringde tillbaka och sade att hon i alla fall måste ha en borgenär. Så nu är det ändrat till det, att går man på Komvux eller på gymnasiet så måste man ha en borgenär för att få lägenhet hos just den här hyresvärden. Så jag vet inte om det stämmer eller inte eller om det är så för alla eller om det är så att det är olika”.

Samira misstänker att det kan ha något med hennes hudfärg att göra men när hon frågat dem på bostadsbolaget har de sagt nej men hon tror det ändå. Ärendet är nu överlämnat till Samiras ekonomiska handläggare på Socialtjänsten, den hon har kontakt med under sommarlovet. De undersöker om Socialtjänsten kan gå in som borgenär.

Samiras kontakt med Socialtjänsten tycker hon är dålig. Hon tycker inte att de lyssnar på henne när hon tar upp att hon vill att hennes farmor ska komma hit på besök.

”Nej, det är bara det när det kommer till min farmor och de där. Då liksom, jag vet inte, eftersom jag inte kan så mycket om det här svenska systemet, och då vill jag liksom för en gångs skull ha en vuxen som skulle kunna hjälpa mig, hur man ska kunna ta hit min farmor. Jag känner att jag blir jättearg för det finns så många turkar som har sin släkt och kusiner och allt här och jag är helt själv här och har ingen. Jag försökte och skicka efter min mamma, men mamma fick inte komma hit, inte på besök heller, ingenting och jag blir så där jättearg på svenskarna alltså. De är knäppa, de vet inte hur de som inte har någon, det är de som man ska hjälpa, men de som har, de fortsätter hjälpa dem istället. De tar hit 10-15 stycken och de som inte alls har någon, de skiter de i, jag blir arg.”

Samira skulle gärna vilja ha stöd av en vuxen som kan finnas där för henne, och då helst hennes mamma eller farmor. Hon tycker det känns orättvis att andra kan få hit hela sin familj men hon kan inte ens få hit någon på besök. Hon har försökt skicka efter sin mamma men hon fick inte komma. Hennes ekonomiska handläggare har

påpekat att det kanske inte är lämpligt att hon skickat pengar till Liberia eftersom hon har svårt att klara sig själv men Samira säger att hon inte mår bra om hon inte skickar pengar.

Samira har även kontakt med Invandrarenheten och den kontakten tycker hon inte heller är bra.

”Jag har lust att smälla henne, jag är sån där, jag blir så där, temperament på en gång, man sitter och snackar om sina släktingar, som är jätteviktiga, då sitter hon där och filar naglarna eller så petar hon och, ja, man liksom bara hallå, jag blir jättearg på det men jag säger inget, men när jag kommer därifrån då blir jag så där arg på mig själv. Fast hon gör ju inget, hon ringer inte tillbaka, man ringer till henne hela tiden, men hon säger ingenting. Jag känner liksom, jag gjorde allt, jag försökte få hit min farmor, men då kanske inte hon kommer, men farmor skulle bara komma på ett besök, inte stannar här och min lillasyster också. Fast jag tänker liksom, om farmor åker tillbaka då blir jag liksom själv igen, jag måste ha någon vuxen som är nära från min släkt, som är från min sida, som jag kan ha, som typ när man behöver hjälp med såna här lägenheter och sånt där. Mamma fick inte komma och det var jag ledsen över.”

Samira upplever sin kontakt vara ointresserad och nonchalant och inte göra någonting för henne. När Samira ville ha hjälp med en adress för att kunna skicka kläder till sin släkt i Liberia tog det lång tid innan hon fick hjälp. Även när Samira ringer upp henne är hon ofta mycket upptagen och Samira tycker inte hon tar sig tid. Samira säger ingenting om detta, vill inte visa sin ilska för hon tror att de kanske inte hjälper henne längre då men samtidigt tror hon kanske att det skulle bli bättre, hon vet inte riktigt vad hon tror.

Samira tycker att kontakten med Centrala studiemedelsnämnden (CSN) fungerar bra även om hon tycker den summan är alldeles för liten och inte räcker någonstans efter att hyra och räknings är betalda. Ibland hjälper Ungdomsgruppen till och köper mat åt Samira när pengarna gått och åt och studiemedlet inte kommit. Pappan till barnet betalar underhåll men Samira tycker ändå inte att det går att få pengarna att räcka till. Det är dyrt med barn påpekar hon och Samira tycker om att köpa fina kläder till sin dotter vilket också gör att det går åt pengar.

I framtiden tänker sig Samira att arbeta som frisör och vill bo i Stockholm eller kanske USA , där hon har släktingar. Det beror lite på, träffar hon en kille i Stockholm och trivs där kanske hon bor kvar där. Hon har även funderingar på att åka tillbaka till Liberia, kanske något år, för att jobba och hinna träffa sin farmor innan hon dör och hjälpa till att försörja henne.

I framtiden vill hon bo i ett hus, ett stor lyxigt hus med öppen spis och annat, helst inte i Sverige.

Kommentar:

Samira verkar allmänt känna sig ur balans och mår inte riktigt bra. Hennes situation är minst sagt rörig, det finns flera saker som Samira känner att hon inte har kontroll över som gör att hon känner sig maktlös. Det är tydligt att hon saknar någon äldre vuxen som kan backa upp henne och finnas till hands i besvärliga stunder, något hon även själv påpekar. Att hon skickar pengar till sina släktingar gör säkerligen att det är svårt att få pengarna att räcka till varje månad. Här hamnar Samira emellan den svenska kulturen och den afrikanska. I Sverige är det varje vuxen persons eget ansvar att klara sig själv ekonomiskt och gör man inte det få man som enskild individ pengar för sig själv och för ev. barn. Detta skiljer sig från många länder i Afrika där slakten är det skyddsnet som tar hand om en när man själv inte är kapabel till det. För slakten i Afrika är det svårt att förstå att Samira kanske egentligen inte har råd att skicka pengar till dem. För dem framstår säkerligen Sverige som ett land där det går att leva bra och att man därmed har mycket pengar eftersom man får en fin lägenhet, möbler, mat för dagen osv. Det är inte svårt att förstå vilket dilemma Samira har, å ena sidan måste hon hjälpa sin släkt i Liberia, något hon känner att hon vill också, samtidigt som hon inte har råd att köpa det hon vill ha, t.ex. kläder, när hon själv vill. Det är en inte helt lätt situation som hon befinner sig, för samtidigt som hon ger uttryck för sin solidaritet för slakten i Liberia så är detta också något som tynger henne och ger henne skuld känslor. Detta blandas med en egen vilja att själv vilja kunna köpa sig fina kläder till sig och sin dotter, vilket hon också säger att hon gör. Denna situation har en stor påverkan på hennes egen boendesituation och ekonomi som gör det svårt att planera för det framtida boendet för sig och sin dotter. Att flytta till en billigare lägenhet är ett försök för Samira att börja ordna upp sin situation, både boendet och ekonomin i stort.

Samira uppger flera gånger att hon känt sig mer eller mindre utsatt i vissa situationer, p g a sin hudfärg, bl a. när hon sökt jobb och sökt lägenhet. Det privata bostadsbolag, där Samira sökt lägenhet, verkar ha ett negativt sätt att behandla sina mindre bemedlade kunder. Först så beror det på att hon går på socialbidrag som hon inte kan få lägenheten och sedan beror det på att hon går på gymnasiet. Trots att hon har en inkomst från CSN varje månad, precis som många andra studenter, så är detta tydligen inte tillräckligt garanti för hyresvärden. Att hyran hos bostadsföretaget sedan är 1000 kronor mindre än hennes nuvarande lägenhet gör också att man reagerar. Det verkar kunna vara ett bostadsföretag som diskriminerar personer som har minsta samröre med Socialtjänsten.

Anna

”Har man en gång flugit ut, går det inte att komma tillbaka.”

Anna är född 1975 i Eskilstuna, där hon har bott i hela sitt liv. Hon har bott med båda sina föräldrar och en yngre syster som fortfarande bor hemma. Systemen är idag 21 år, Anna tyckte inte detta var någon fiffig lösning, varken för föräldrarna eller systemen. Systrarna hade ett eget rum under uppväxten, de bodde i en 3:a i R-torp tills Anna var 13 år. Sedan flyttade de till en 4:a i samma bostadsområde.

”Jag föddes här i R-torp, då bodde vi i en trea tills jag blev 13 år och sedan flyttade vi in i en fyra i samma bostadsområde och då gick jag alltså i skolan där i närheten. Sen gick jag högstadiet där i F-lunda. Just när jag blev 16 år så flyttade jag ihop med den där äldre killen. Så bodde jag ihop med honom i tre år, just på S-gatan, nej först flyttade vi in i andrahandslägenheten här på övre N-fors och sedan till S-gatan. Vi hade den där sommarstugan i K-la på somrarna. Sen flyttade jag in i den där ettan, när vi separerade, då fick jag den där lägenheten. Det sociala hjälpte mig. Jag trodde inte att jag skulle få hjälp av det sociala, men de sa att det är klart att de hjälper mig, just i min situation som jag var i.”

Enligt Anna själv, var hon ”strulig” som tonåring och flyttade vid 16 års ålder hemifrån för att leva med en äldre ”kille” innan de flyttade till en andrahandslägenhet (3:a), Eskilstuna. Denna äldre man hade två barn och sommarstuga, Anna bodde ihop med honom i 3 år. Hon upplevde att kontakten med föräldrarna blev bättre sedan hon flyttat hemifrån

Idag bor Anna i en tvåa på 59 kvm med sin dotter på 1,5 år. Hon har bott där i 2 år. Pappan till barnet har besöksförbud och Anna säger att det var p.g.a. honom som hon ett tag bodde hos MOA, som är ett inackorderingshem för unga ensamstående mammor. Utanför intervjun berättade Anna att mannen vid ett flertal tillfällen hade försökt att komma in i lägenheten, någon gång påtänd, han hade även slagit sönder en bil utanför Annas lägenhet när han inte kom in och vid något tillfälle försökt att klättra upp för balkongen, detta har förstås också bidragit till att Anna är mindre omtyckt av grannar och hyresvärd.

Anna trivs inte med sitt boende, hon har fått mycket klagomål från grannar. Det bor mycket äldre i huset, de har under hela tiden varit gnäll från grannar. Klagomålen handlar mest om att det är för mycket liv.

”Att det är liv här, om man t ex spelar musik mitt på dagen, eller radio. Så kommer de ner och gnäller och sen om jag har fler ungar här hemma så kommer de och klagar. Och de klagar till hyresvärden. Och sen om jag har kompisar som kommer upp hit lite senare på kvällen, det gnäller de också om, att man går i trappan.”

Anna tycker att klagomålen är felaktiga och att de inte har någon som helst förståelse för att hon är småbarnsmamma och ung och har kompisar. När det gäller

kontakten med bostadsföretaget som äger fastigheten (om jag uppfattade det rätt så är det en privatperson) så använder Anna ordet ”oseriöst”. Anna har varit sen med hyran och fått erbjudande om hjälp av det sociala men hyresvärden vill att Anna flyttar. Hon lever på 3200 kr i månaden, hyran är på 3600 kr nästan 3700 vilket betyder att hon har totalt 6 900 kr i månaden.

Anna letar efter en ny lägenhet, men p.g.a. gamla anmärkningar är det svårt för henne att få kontrakt någonstans. Ett problem är också att Anna nuvarande hyresvärd är svår att få tag på.

”Ja, jag har varit sen med hyran, för det är inte så lätt att leva när man har en liten dotter och det sociala skulle hjälpa mig med hyran, men hyresvärden sa att i vilket fall som helst skulle jag bli vräkt. Även fast de hjälper till med hyran. För att han ville bli av med mig...”

På frågan om hon fick någon hjälp av det sociala, svarade hon:

”Ja, det är så att min f d sambo har besöksförbud och sen att jag ville ifrån den här lägenheten så fort som möjligt, fast jag får klagomål och så där, men att jag tycker inte att det sociala ställer upp tillräckligt. För om de säger att du får försöka få tag på en lägenhet själv, när jag säger att jag har gjort det. Det verkar som de inte tror mig. De säger åt mig att skriva upp en lista på vilka hyresbolag jag ringt till. Jag har ju ringt överallt. Men det är svårt faktiskt. Och sen när de inte får tag på min nuvarande hyresvärd.”

Anna tycker att det sociala med flit såg till att Anna fick skulder och problem. Hon har haft kontakt med många olika handläggare. På frågan hur hon upplever mötena med socialtjänsten svarar hon:

”Första intrycket är väl att man får väl försöka klara sig själv så gott det går. Och sen när man bryter ihop så kanske de hjälper en lite. Som just det här med lägenheten... det beror väl på, vilket humör de är på, om de vill hjälpa. Jag har ju hört att de hjälper andra som har kanske 30 000 kr i skulder, som har fått hjälp. Det beror ju på handläggaren tror jag faktiskt.”

Anna tycker också att man ska göra rätt för sig, dvs betala så mycket som möjligt själv för att slippa det sociala. Hennes uppfattning av det sociala är att även de tycker att man ska klara sig så mycket som möjligt själv, det beror mycket också på vilken handläggaren man har enligt Anna. Hon upplever att alla klagar på det sociala, att alla har något dålig att säga, generellt handlar det om att man blir felbehandlad, p.g.a. det sociala tycker att de har makt. Anna berättar speciellt om en person på det sociala som inte trodde på henne. Anna har haft hjälp av det sociala under både längre och kortare perioder.

Anna ser dystert på sin framtid på bostadsmarknaden. Hennes framtidsdröm är att ha en lägenhet inne i stan och sedan en stuga på landet på somrarna. Hon har gått 9-

årig grundskolan och sedan IV (Individuella val) på gymnasiet fyra terminer. Efter gymnasiet började hon arbeta. Hon började arbeta redan som 14-åring under skoltiden.

Anna vill inte bo var som helst i Eskilstuna. Högsta prioritet just nu är att bo nära folkhögskolan där hon planerar att börja studera i höst och vill ha nära till skolan för att kunna ha dottern på dagis i närheten så att allt går smidigare. Hon planerar att läsa in gymnasiekompetens, och sedan ev. datorinriktad kurs på högskolan.

Anna flyttade vid ett tillfälle hem till sina föräldrar igen. Detta upplevdes inte som positivt varken av Anna eller föräldrarna.

”Det var jättejobbigt faktiskt. Vi bråkade. Så det gick inte längre än fyra månader. Som tur var så fick vi tag på den här lägenheten.”

Hon var vid detta tillfälle gravid och hade blivit vräkt från sin dåvarande lägenhet, denna period varade dock endast 4 månader. Hon såg inga fördelar med att flytta hem igen utan beskrev det hela som följande *”har man en gång flugit ut, då går det inte att komma tillbaka”*. Hon besöker sina föräldrar en gång i månaden, men föräldrarna kommer sällan och besöker henne.

Anna låter mycket besviken och arg på de myndigheter hon har mött under sin uppväxt. Hon tycker att hela samhället är emot ungdomar:

”Ja, samhället är emot ungdomar tycker jag, alla borde gå ut och demonstrera, men det är ingen som gör någonting. Jag tycker invandrarna är väldigt modiga när de går och demonstrerar mot rasism.... Ja, de tänker ju att jag måste ju ha hjälp nu eftersom jag har en dotter som ska växa upp, så de är illa tvungna att hjälpa mig nu. Om jag vore ensam så kanske de inte skulle göra något. De kanske skulle straffa mig med någonting.”

Hon har varit med om väldigt mycket och är en tjej som i första hand tar kontakt med det sociala för hjälp och inte sina föräldrar. Hon verkar inte vilja be dem om hjälp. Annas föräldrar är arbetskraftsinvandrare från Finland. Anna hoppas att bli av med sina skulder, då tror hon att allt skulle bli mycket bättre och enklare.

Kommentar:

Anna tillhör den grupp unga kvinnor som flyttar hemifrån tidigt i livet för att komma bort från slitningar och sociala problem och skaffa sig en ny identitet. Vägen ut från uppväxtfamiljen underlättas av att hon träffar en man som är några år äldre än hon själv, men som hon samtidigt blir ekonomiskt beroende av. Paret flyttar runt mellan olika bostäder och när Anna blir gravid spricker relationen och paret separerar. Anna går in i en ny roll som ensamstående mamma och blir ekonomiskt beroende av stöd från samhället. Anna har ett väldigt naivt sätt att se på saker och ändå är hon både förälder och har varit med om en hel del. Hon verkar tycka att

det mesta är andras fel och inte hennes eget. Möjligtvis kan man tycka att det är förvånansvärt att man inte fångar upp och hjälper en sådan person som Anna tidigare.

Socialpolitiska åtgärder och projekt

En viktig utgångspunkt för det socialt inriktade ungdomsarbetet i Sverige, är att försöka påverka de sociala och psykiska förhållanden som begränsar ungdomarnas möjligheter att utvecklas till självständiga och kreativa personer. Samhällets insatser går därmed bl a ut på att på olika sätt medverka till att stärka ungdomarnas förmåga till den typ av kommunikation, interaktion och samverkan som behövs för att fungera i det moderna samhället. Nedan beskrivs några av de projekt i Eskilstuna som arbetar med dessa frågor och vars målgrupp är ungdomar i riskzonen. Avsnittet bygger på insamlat material samt intervjuer med personalen.

Amanda- en socialpedagogisk verksamhet för unga kvinnor

Amanda startade sin verksamhet 1989 utifrån ett kartlagt behov från olika håll i kommunen. Människor som arbetade med ungdomar insåg att det fanns en hel del tjejer som man inte fick tag i på olika sätt, man såg att dessa tjejer misslyckades gång på gång och ingen åtgärd verkade hjälpa. Då arbetade man fram Amandaverksamheten, det tog två år, man tittade utifrån behovet från tjejerna och idag är det fyra handledare som arbetar med en grupp tjejer på 10-12 st. Titeln handledare kom till för att de inte ville kalla sig något som förknippades med socialtjänsten, de tillhör inte socialtjänsten utan arbetsmarknadsavdelningen. Namnet Amanda kommer utifrån AMA som är arbetsmarknadsavdelningen och NDA står för Närhet, Delaktighet och Ansvar. AMANDA betyder också "Hon som är värd att älska"!

Projektet lanserades som ett arbetsmarknadsprojekt och ett socialpedagogiskt projekt som gick ut på att göra det möjligt för unga lågutbildade kvinnor med sociala problem i Eskilstuna att undvika social utslagning (exclusion) och socialbidragsberoende genom att hitta en plats på arbetsmarknaden. Redan från början stod det klart att verksamheten dock inte fick inskränkas till att försöka skaffa jobb åt flickorna

Handledarna hjälper ungdomarna - endast tjejer - med att hjälpa dem att hitta sina egna vägar, vidare i livet. Man arbetar med långa kontakter för att tjejerna ska kunna hitta ut i vuxenlivet, beroende på deras olika bakgrunder så behöver de olika lång tid på sig att komma på fötter - hitta praktik, utbildning eller något annat. Tjejerna är mellan 16-25 år, det flesta är runt 20 år. Det är fyra handledare anställda på Amanda.

Det märks inte någon ökning eller minskning av Amandatjejer oavsett konjunktur upp- eller nedgångar. Det finns alltid en liten klick som inte kommer igång i samhället. Man ser vilka tjejer som det handlar om redan tidigt i skolan.

Amandaverksamheten är inget hem eller boende. Flickorna kommer istället dit som till en arbetsplats. Amandatjejerna träffas varje dag i 6 timmar. Deras jobb är att komma dit och att vara med i verksamheten. Det handlar mycket om att hitta sina egna resurser och känna att man klarar av mer än vad man tror. En stor del är även studier av olika slag.

I Sverige finns det historiskt sett en skillnad i hur man har satsat på arbetsmarknadsåtgärder. Skogslag, dikesgrävning etc var vanligt förr, men idag lever en hel del av mentaliteten från förr tyvärr kvar. AMA är t ex fortfarande väldigt inriktad på manliga sökande, 28 av 29 arbetsledare är män. Det finns inte mycket anpassat efter kvinnors behov, något som verkligen borde ses över.

Flickorna på Amanda har haft en blandad social bakgrund, men de flesta är från "arbetarklass", inte några kommer från högutbildade hem etc.

I Sverige är boende för ungdomar mycket dyrt. Ungdomar har ofta inte en stabil ekonomi och klarar därför inte dagens höga hyror. Ett av de största problemen för ungdomar idag är dock att det inte finns arbeten. Det finns gott om lägenheter i Eskilstuna men många av tjejerna på Amanda vill inte ha mindre billiga lägenheter i äldre områden. För Amandatjejerna handlar det mycket om att kunna bevisa att man genom sitt boende har en tillhörighet - status i vissa bostadsområden. De bostadsområden som väljs bort i Eskilstuna är Nyfors, Lagersberg och Råbergstorp - områden med social belastning.

Det är ett bra initiativ att man har gjort speciella hyror för ungdomar de första åren, men mycket talar för att det behövdes vara på lite längre sikt. Många klarar inte upp situationen på den korta tiden rabatten ges.

Personalen (handledarna) tror inte att Amandatjejerna skulle välja att bo i ett ungdomsområde. Det är mer för studerande. De tror att det skulle skapa problem om man samlade allt för många ur samma åldersgrupp på samma ställe. De tror snarare på en blandning, mellan åldrar, socialgrupper och familjer.

Bland Amandatjejerna ökar inte kvarboendet i föräldrahemmet, men generellt så pluggar många längre idag och klarar inte att bosätta sig själva p.g.a. ekonomin. Bland handledarna på Amanda tror flertalet att det är bra om man som ungdom har möjligheten att bo kvar hemma, (Några har själv barn som flyttar hem mellan arbeten). Det är nödvändigt för att inte dra på sig allt för stora skulder.

Handledarna arbetar till viss del mot bostadsföretag i Eskilstuna och detta tycker de fungerar bra. Samarbete med arbetsförmedlingen fungerar sådär. Amanda arbetar

utifrån varje tjejs behov och försöker få en kontakt på arbetsförmedlingen om det är aktuellt. Ibland blir det problem med det går ofta att lösa.

Amandagruppen har haft samarbete med ungdomsboendet på Almsbergsgatan, det har gått ut på att om någon tjej i Amanda har haft svårt att hitta en lägenhet har ungdomsboendet fungerat som ett alternativ. Men enligt handledarna känns det som om tjejerna växer ur ungdomsboendet och vill ha något eget.

Det förekommer missbruksproblem bland Amandatjejerna, men det är bara en bit av vissa tjejers problematik.

Viktigt med Amanda är att ge tjejerna sina grundläggande behov tillgodosedda, att de får sitt självförtroende tillbaka. Förutsättningarna för Amanda har även ändrats, de har fått ändra sina mål efter hur arbetsmarknaden har sett ut. Idag är det, på grund av den kärva situationen på arbetsmarknaden, svårt att få ut tjejerna i arbete och då får man ta andra mål och inriktningar.

Problembilden har inte förändrats, kanske har vissa problem blivit tyngre, men annars så har gruppen som Amanda jobbar med alltid funnits. Man menar att i skolan så räknar man med att i varje klass finns 5 – 10 elever som inte har det bra hemma, eller som inte har harmoniskt liv. Tjejerna kommer många gånger till Amanda när man inte har hittat sätt att hjälpa dom tidigare. En effekt som Amanda hoppas på är att påverka dessa tjejer så att inte deras döttrar skall hamna i samma situation som de själva gjort, att bryta den onda cirkeln.

Alva-gruppens arbete

Alva-gruppen vid Socialtjänsten i Eskilstuna arbetar med ungdomar mellan 19-25 år Det är totalt 7 st som arbetar inom denna grupp. Personalen bokar besök och gör upp handlingsplaner tillsammans med sökande, man fokuserar mycket på att få den sökande i sysselsättning; arbete, studie eller åtgärd. Socialbidrag heter idag försörjningsstöd.

Alvagruppen inriktar sig på ungdomar, tidigare blandade man alla åldersgrupper. Att det bildades en ungdomsgrupp 1994 beror på att det då började bli ont om jobb, risken för att ungdomar skulle hamna fel ökade, och man ville få ut ungdomarna i jobb och se till att de blev självförsörjande. Man började med att arbeta för att få ner hyrorna, om man är ensam och ung över 20 år och flyttar hemifrån så skall allt vara ordnat (möbler mm), max 2600 kr accepteras som hyreskostnad.

Ungdomarna måste ha slutat gymnasiet för att få söka försörjningsstöd. Om man har synnerliga skäl kan politiker besluta om yngre personer kan vara berättigade stöd till eget boende. Det är både tjejer och killar som kommer till Alva-gruppen och de har olika sociala bakgrunder, det går inte att säga att det endast är en viss grupp ungdomar.

Av intervjuer med personalen framgår att man fattar mer restriktiva beslut när det gäller boende för unga idag jämfört med bara för några år sedan. Eskilstuna kommun har varit generösa när det gäller ungdomar och boende. Många kommuner säger tvärt nej när ungdomar vill flytta hemifrån med hjälp av det sociala. I Eskilstuna har man höjt åldersgränserna och sänkt hyresnivån och blivit mer restriktiva med eget boende när föräldraansvaret kvarstår. Om man fortfarande går på gymnasiet så tas frågan om en ungdom vill flytta hemifrån upp i biståndsutskottet i kommunen där beslut fattas om han/hon kan få pengar för att flytta hemifrån. Om man har slutat gymnasiet och föräldrars försörjningsplikt försvinner så ser kommunen att man helst bor kvar hemma tills man kan försörja sig på något sätt. Om man fyllt 20 år och är i någon form av sysselsättning kan man få hjälp med att flytta hemifrån. Maxhyran man kan få av det sociala i Eskilstuna är 2 600 kr, ensamstående hushåll får 2884 kr + hyran och sedan drar man av ev inkomster.

De flesta ungdomarna som har försörjningsstöd är ensamstående. Detta beror på att man får mycket mindre bidrag om man bor ihop med någon, - något som ungdomarna inte alltid talar om. Om man som ungdom (över 19 år och avslutat gymnasiet) bor hemma kan man få 2 427 kr i månaden oberoende föräldrarnas inkomst. Om ungdomen skall fortsätta studera i augusti kvarstår föräldraansvaret tills man är 21 år annars upphör det i juni när man går ut gymnasiet. När man flyttar hemifrån så skall man ha sparat ihop saker till sitt första boende själv man kan inte få något extra bidrag för hemutrustning. Det finns gott om lägenheter till rimliga priser i Eskilstuna. Det största problemet ungdomarna möter är dock arbetslösheten.

Personalen på Alva-gruppen tycker inte man behöver bygga speciella ungdomsbostäder utan förespråkar en blandning. Tidigare har det varit ont om billiga lägenheter till ungdomar men det har blivit bättre sedan vissa hyresvärdar gått ut och subventionerat hyreskostnaderna. Dessa rabatter har framförallt givits i områdena Råbergstorp och Lagersberg. I Skiftinge har man istället plomberat rum så att hyran blir billigare, dessa åtgärder riktar sig framförallt till ungdomar. Eskilstuna är inte speciellt i något avseende när det gäller bostadsmarknaden, det enda skulle vara den goda valmöjligheten på bostäder.

De som arbetar inom Alva-gruppen kan i vissa fall ringa till hyresvärdar för ungdomar då de får nej p.g.a. att de inte har någon fast inkomst. Personalen tycker kontakten med bostadsföretagen i regel fungerar bra men tog upp ett exempel som nyligen hade hänt, det var en ungdom som tidigare hade hyresskulder. De tycker det är bättre om man som hyresvärd kan göra upp amorteringsplan med aktuell hyresgäst istället för att vägra att hyra ut, i slutändan handlar det om att kommunen får gå in med skattepengar och betala för denna person som inte har någonstans att bo.

Sedan första oktober 1997 tillhör socialtjänsten arbetsmarknadsnämnden och i personalens arbetsuppgifter ingår det att få in ungdomarna i någon form av sysselsättning. Personalen tycker att kontakten med Arbetsförmedlingen fungerar bra. De

förespråkar möten mellan ungdom, arbetsförmedlare och ekonomiska handläggare. Man har också mycket kontakt med KOMVUX, där man försöker få igång ungdomar att läsa upp behörighet etc. Även den kontakten fungerar bra enligt personalen.

Personalen önskar att de hade haft mer tid till uppföljning på ungdomarna, olika arbetssätt prövas för att inte ungdomar skall gå för länge utan någon sysselsättning. Ungdomar har blivit en väldigt stor grupp inom försörjningsstödet, vilket är "tragiskt" enligt personalen. Det vore bättre om de fick arbete och en "naturlig" lön för att själva söka bostad.

Personalen uppger att de har 160-180 ärenden per handläggare, därav cirka 70 nya ärenden i månaden. De flesta ungdomar har sparat ihop möbler mm när de skall flytta, de lånar av släkt och vänner. Ungdomar har mer sociala problem nu än förr, det gäller lika mycket tjejer som killar. Ansökningarna ökar när ungdomarna slutar sina studier i maj och juni. Det är gymnasieungdomar, högskolestuderande, KOMVUX och folkhögskolestuderande. Alvargruppen var från starten 4 st, idag är de 7 st, samt att de idag får extra resurser för att hjälpa till med löpande ärenden för att hinna ta emot alla nybesök.

Enligt personalen på Alva-gruppen är inställningen bland ungdomarna att vända sig till det sociala blandad, men de kan märka en stor skillnaden på att det är mer naturligt för unga att faktiskt söka hjälp att det är mer öppet. Detta förenklar också personalens jobb. Skillnaden på hur man arbetar mot ungdomar är att man satsar mycket mer på att få ut dem i olika sysselsättningar. Meningen med bidragen är ju att de ska blir självförsörjande så fort som möjligt, Väldigt många kommer igång och en del flyttar till Stockholm för jobb.

Personalen på Alva ser ljusst på ungdomars framtid när det gäller boende i Eskilstuna och tror att boendet är väldigt viktigt för ungdomarna. De tycker att ungdomarna som besöker Alva till mestadels är positiva.

Kommunens ungdomsboende

Detta är ett ungdomsboende i Eskilstuna som har funnits i sex år. Det är samtidigt ett av Sveriges första ungdomsboende. Ungdomarna som kommer till detta ungdomsboende har i första hand bott i familjehem och personalen vet inte mycket om deras sociala bakgrund mer än att de nog inte haft det så "roligt". Meningen med boendet är att ungdomarna skall klara sig själva när de flyttar därifrån. De får stanna hur länge det vill, men normalfallet är ett halvår och upp till ett par år. Ungdomarna som bor i boendet är från 18 år och uppåt och man är tvungen att ha en socialsekreterare för att få komma till boendet. Bakgrunden till att ungdomarna har blivit hänvisade till att bo i detta ungdomsboende är att de fyllt 18 år och då vill man bo själv. Slitningar hemma i den egna familjen eller i fosterfamiljen är vanliga orsaker.

Föreståndarens arbetsuppgifter varierar. Det kan handla om allt från att fylla i papper till att laga något som har gått sönder. En vanlig arbetsdag för föreståndaren består av massor av möten, i skolan, det sociala hos olika handläggare, möten med ungdomarna. Han gör dessa möten för att ha uppföljning och kontroll på hur det går för ungdomarna. Det är blandat mellan killar och tjejer och det är blandat mellan invandrare och svenskar som bor i ungdomsboendet, man ser ingen skillnad på ungdomarnas nationalitetsbakgrunder, de är alla ungdomar som inte har klarat relationen hemma. Det är bara föreståndaren som arbetar i detta ungdomsboende och när han ska vara ledig så har han en avbytare som bor i andra ingången i samma hus. Han har arbetat med ungdomar i 12 år, och han har haft ungdomar i sitt eget boende innan dess.

Det är 10 ungdomar som bor i detta ungdomsboende. Alla bor i varsin lägenhet och man får inte ha någon inneboende mer än någon natt. Ungdomarna sköter allt i hus-hållet själva. De flesta studerar, läser in gymnasiet. Lägenheterna är allt från etta med kokskåp till två rum och kök, ungdomarna får ställa sig på kö till lägenheterna om de vill byta. Den som har bott kvar längst i boendet bodde där i två år och någon månad. Hyrorna på lägenheterna är marknadsmässiga. I huset finns det gemensam bastu och biljardrum som används flitigt. Ungdomarna umgås till och från, ibland är det ungdomar som känner varandra väl och då umgås de mycket. Ibland är det ungdomar som inte känner varandra väl och då umgås de inte lika mycket. Det har hänt att ungdomar fått flytta ifrån boendet p.g.a. olika problem.

Ungdomarna som kommer dit får skriva på ett andrahandskontrakt och blir informerade om vad det är för regler som gäller. Lägenheterna är inte möblerade alls, ungdomarna får inte göra om något i lägenheterna.

Föreståndaren anser att lägenheter överhuvudtaget är alldeles för dyra, särskilt för ungdomar, det borde finnas fler mindre lägenheter men annars har han inte någon direkt uppfattning om ungdomars boendesituation i samhället. De ungdomar som flyttar ifrån ungdomsboendet har inte haft några problem att hitta bostäder och de har klarat sig bra..

Ungdomsboendet sorterar under familjehemsenheten vid socialförvaltningen i Eskilstuna. Direkta åtgärder som man gör för ungdomar är att få dem att tänka själva, kunna ta initiativ, gå till arbetsförmedlingen, eller bostadsförmedlingen. Det finns ett samtalsrum i bostaden där ungdomarna samlas en gång i månaden och diskuterar olika saker.

På ungdomsboendet samarbetar man inte mot några särskilda bostadsföretag, men om de ringer så ger föreståndaren referenser, vilket hjälper många ungdomar att få lägenhet. På vår fråga varför dessa ungdomar måste göra en "mellanlandning" på detta ungdomsboende, svarade föreståndaren att - då det sociala redan är inblandad,

vill man se att dessa ungdomar klarar sig ute i samhället så att det slipper bli tokigt där, hyresskulder etc.

Målet är att ungdomarna ska klar sig helt och hållet, de allra flesta som flyttar från boendet klarar sig mycket bra ute i eget boende. Det har inte varit någon ungdom som har flyttat tillbaka till ungdomsboendet. Ungdomarna får lära sig gränssättning och att få en större tro på sig själva, vilket uppfattas som positivt av ungdomarna.

Enligt föreståndaren är många av ungdomarna till att börja med negativa mot att bo i ungdomsboendet, särskilt innan de har varit där, men det flesta tycket det är bra. Det är ett lugnt och fint bostadsområde, ungdomarna kan läsa läxor som kanske tidigare har varit ett problem. Föreståndaren är med och väljer vilka ungdomar som får komma och bo i boendet och tar även emot tips från andra ungdomar.

Föreståndaren åker och hälsar på vissa ungdomar när det har flyttat därifrån och de kommer även och hälsar på boendet. Man har haft kontakt med Amanda när det gäller en del tjejer som har bott i ungdomsboendet. Kontakten med föräldrarna blir bättre när ungdomarna har flyttat hemifrån. Föräldrarna kommer och besöker ungdomarna och ungdomarna åker även hem. Det fungerar bra med grannarna runt Ungdomsboendet också, i början var de skeptiska men numera har de inget att klaga på.

Projekt Astor

Detta projekt riktar sig till en grupp särskilt utsatta unga män. Det handlar om en grupp män som är utklassade ur det sociala välfärdssystemet, samtidigt som de är helt myndighetsberoende. Arbetet i projektet har männens personliga utsatthet i fokus. Det går ut på att möta de unga människors behov på ett sätt så att de upprättar självförtroende, integritet och social kompetens. Utvecklingsarbetet sker i grupp där männen uppmuntras att foga in sig själva i en helhet med ny förståelse av den egna situationen och den egna förmågan/ansvaret att styra sitt eget liv.

Bakgrunden till projektet är de erfarenheter man haft sedan 1995 på Alva-gruppen i arbetet med den här gruppen utsatta män. Det som särskilt uppmärksammades hos den här gruppen var den stora personliga osäkerheten och misstron mot samhället och myndigheterna. Den första tiden handlade mycket om att få struktur över dagen för deltagarna, komma upp i tid och orka arbeta 4-6 timmar om dagen. Stort arbete lades ner för att få med alla i gruppen och inte tappa någon. Deltagarna arbetade med reparations- och målningsarbeten, städning etc. Deltagarna fick också medverka i stödsamtal. Det som kanske hade störst betydelse för den här gruppen män var deras kontakt och medverkan i en av stadens boxningsklubbar. Förutom hård fysik träning och tävling kunde de här successivt utveckla en ny syn på våld, droger och kriminalitet. De kom också i kontakt med andra ungdomar och började ta itu med frågor kring sitt boende och arbete.

Arbetet pågick under 1995 och 1996. Några särskilda projektmedel avsattes inte. De ansvariga fick utföra arbetet inom ramen för sina ordinarie tjänster, vilket till slut blev för mycket för dem. Arbetet blev inte heller avgränsat med mätbara mål och syften. Därför upplöstes gruppen och istället föreslogs att det skulle ske inom ramen för ”projekt Astor”, ett samarbetsprojekt mellan Socialtjänst, Arbetsmarknadsavdelning, Landstinget, och Kriminalvården. Arbetet med gruppen har kommit igång och inriktas dels på praktiskt arbete (måleri/byggnadsarbete) och studier, dels på träning av vardagsliv/vuxenliv med matlagning, städning, ekonomi och hem. I denna socialpedagogiska verksamhet finns stort utrymme för ett lärande på alla plan. Att veta hur man ska klara sin vardag är grunden för utveckling av självtillit och social trygghet.

DUN-projektet

Dun-projektet är ett samverkansprojekt mellan psykiatriska kliniken och socialförvaltningen i Eskilstuna. Det går ut på att bygga nätverk kring unga människor med dubbla diagnoser missbruk/psykisk ohälsa. Sambandet mellan missbruk och psykisk ohälsa var vanligare än man tidigare hade trott och många av dessa ungdomar i 20-års åldern hade mycket traumatiska upplevelser med sig i sin ”ryggsäck”. Man kunde också konstatera att ungdomar som sökte psykiatriska kliniken och socialtjänsten ofta ”ramlade mellan stolarna”. Inget helhetsarbete var möjligt bl a på grund av sekretessen mellan myndigheterna. Arbetsidén i projektet bygger på att klienten ska få tillgång till båda myndigheternas kompetenser och insatser. Tanken är att genom många och samordnade kontakter, *snabbt* finna lösningar anpassade för den enskilde individen. En viktig del i arbetet är att klargöra för klienten *vilka som gör vad*. Erfarenheterna från projektet är hittills mycket goda. Insatserna har kommit igång snabbare och större kontinuitet i behandlingsarbetet har uppnåtts.

Om ungdomars liv och utanförskap i ett föränderligt samhälle

I rapporten har vi pekat på olika samhällsliga omständigheter som haft betydelse för ungdomars boende och levnadsförhållanden. Såväl boende, utbildning, arbetsmarknad och konsumtionsmöjligheterna, liksom förhållandena i lokalsamhället har genomgått stora förändringar under de senaste åren. Relationerna mellan människor har blivit flyktigare och mera utbytbara. Den geografiska rörligheten har ökat. 40 procent av alla ungdomar 20-25 år har under de senaste tre åren tvingats flytta från sina hemtrakter för att skaffa sig utbildning. Få av dem återvänder. Bristen på arbete i hemorten samt vikande befolkningstal, gör att de flesta ungdomar istället söker sig till storstadsregionerna. Detta får i sin tur konsekvenser för hur unga människor orienterar sig i livet, för hur de bearbetar sina erfarenheter och skapar sin omvärldsuppfattning (Ziehe 1989).

Flytta hemifrån med hjälp av det sociala

De ungdomar vi har mött i den här studien har flyttat hemifrån tidigt i livet. Förr var det mer ”naturligt” att ungdomarna flyttade hemifrån redan vid 18-19 års ålder. Idag är det inte så, utan många bor kvar hemma. Det kan både ses positivt och negativt att ungdomar bor kvar längre hemma. Ekonomiskt kan ungdomarna spara mer pengar om de bor kvar hemma och om allt fungerar bra så är det ofta inte några problem. Att ungdomar inte får jobb kan ses som en bidragande orsak till att de inte flyttar hemifrån. En del ungdomar mår inte bra av att bo hemma för länge och det händer att föräldrar tycker att när barnet har studerat färdigt så skall hon/han flytta till eget boende och föräldrans ansvar försvinner.

Tidigare förekom att ungdomar flyttade hemifrån med hjälp från socialförvaltningen, något som har blivit betydligt svårare under de senaste åren. Man ska vara över 20 år och måste vara i någon slags arbetsmarknadsåtgärd eller i utbildning, eller ha arbete. Vi frågade en handläggare varför de ändrade kraven och då svarade hon att det berodde på att allt fler ungdomar passade på att flytta hemifrån med hjälp av pengar från socialförvaltningen. Det blev större kostnader för samhället och politikerna ställde krav att det skulle minska.

Frågan om möjligheten att få ekonomisk hjälp av samhället för att flytta hemifrån är synnerligen aktuell och har under senare tid ytterligare aktualiserats genom några uppmärksammade rättsfall. Det handlar om ungdomar som fyllt 18 år och som sökt socialbidrag för att kunna flytta hemifrån, men fått avslag. I ett fall rörde det sig om en 19-årig flicka som hade skaffat sig en egen lägenhet för 1 986 kronor i månaden. I sin överklagan skriver hon att hon inte kunde bo kvar hemma hos sin mamma för de var alltid osams och grälade jämt vilket ledde till att hon mårde så fysiskt och psykiskt dåligt att hon måste uppsöka läkare. I ett annat fall handlade det om en 21-årig flicka med mycket goda relationer till sin mamma som ville flytta hemifrån för att inte försämra den goda relationen. Mamman hade blivit arbetslös och bodde med sin sambo i en lägenhet på 68 kvadratmeter. Flickan, som var utbildad barnskötare, ville ha hjälp med halva hyreskostnaden (cirka 1 000 kronor) för att kunna försörja sig själv tills hon fått ett jobb. I båda fallen har ungdomarna flyttat hemifrån utan att själva kunna försörja sig. De har sökt socialbidrag i sina hemkommuner men fått avslag. När de överklagat till länsrätten har de fått igenom sina krav. Därefter har socialnämnderna i sin tur överklagat hos kammarrätten och fått rätt. Ärendena avgjordes slutligen i regeringsrätten till socialnämndernas fördel.

Enligt föräldrabalken upphör föräldrarnas försörjningsansvar när barnen fyllt 18 år eller när de gått ut gymnasieskolan. Socialtjänstlagen ger dock inte den enskilde någon generell rätt till bidrag. Varje fall skall prövas individuellt och bidrag beviljas vanligtvis enbart om andra lösningar saknas. Socialstyrelsen skriver i sitt yttrande att unga människor bör bo kvar i föräldrahemmet så länge ”oskäligen

sociala konsekvenser inte uppstår”. Frågan är således om ett ofrivilligt kvarboende hos föräldrarna skall kunna betraktas som oskäliga sociala konsekvenser.

Det första egna hemmet

De ungdomar vi har intervjuat i denna undersökning har flyttat hemifrån tidigare än andra ungdomar. Flera av dem har flyttat hemifrån som sexton-sjuttonåringar och bott i en egen lägenhet, ofta tillsammans med en pojk- eller flickvän. Att flytta hemifrån så tidigt är annars mycket ovanligt i Sverige. Endast cirka två procent av alla ungdomar i denna ålder har flyttat hemifrån. Samtidigt som det första egna hemmet har varit viktigt för dem, har det inte alltid varit så lätt vare sig ekonomiskt eller socialt. Många har haft svårigheter att försörja sig sedan de slutat skolan, vilket har lett till att de förlorat sin bostad. För flickorna ligger ofta svårigheterna i relationen till en äldre pojkvän. Att ha en pojkvän och att flytta ihop med honom innebär för många flickor en omedelbar möjlighet att flytta bort från uppväxtfamiljen. Särskilt de flickor som saknat en nära flickkompis eller ett arbete, har pojkvännen inneburit en möjlighet till ett mera vuxet och oberoende liv. Pojkvännen har blivit befriaren ur barndomens beroende av uppväxtfamiljen. Av intervjuerna framgår att pojkvännen inte alltid är den man som de önskat sig, samtidigt som beroendet gör det svårt att bryta upp från relationen. Han är inte heller alltid den far de vill att deras framtida barn ska ha. Trots detta föder några av dem barn tidigt, kanske för att identiteten som mamma är viktig för dem. Barnafödandet ger dem möjlighet att förändra bilden av sig själva och sitt eget liv. De får en ny identitet som mamma och förälder.

Den egna bostaden – en fast punkt i tillvaron

För de ungdomar vi har intervjuat utgör bostaden den fasta punkten i tillvaron. Kring bostaden utvecklar de sina aktiviteter och det är hit de koncentrerar sin begränsade konsumtion. Att hyran blir betald och att man får behålla sin bostad är viktigt.

Kravet på borgenär – nytt fenomen på bostadsmarknaden

Kravet på borgenär från hyresvärdar måste betraktas som ett nytt fenomen på bostadsmarknaden. Här är ungdomarna utsatta då de inte har någon inkomst att luta sig tillbaka på eller andra saker som t.ex. pensionärerna har. Det sociala skriver inte på dessa borgenärsskap utan det måste någon anhörig göra. Detta drabbar särskilt invandrarungdomar. Som vi såg i exemplet med Samira förekommer det att unga invandrare inte har några anhöriga i Sverige att vända sig till. Våra intervjuer visar också att det finns stora skillnader mellan olika bostadsföretag i Eskilstuna. En del är stenhårda på borgenär, andra är det aldrig några problem med.

En ny arbetslöshetskultur håller på att växa fram

Massarbetslösheten under början av 1990-talet har satt sina spår, samtidigt som vi nu inför millenniumskiftet glädjande nog kan konstatera att arbetslösheten i Sverige långsamt är på väg ner. Detta konstateras också i allt fler utredningar. Men mellan raderna skymtar också en annan del av sanningen. För de unga – den grupp som har det allra svårast att få arbete, är situationen fortfarande besvärlig.

I en undersökning från Linköpings universitet konstateras att en ny arbetslöshetskultur håller på att växa fram, speciellt bland de ungdomar som har allra svårast att slå sig in på arbetsmarknaden (Hallström 1998). Denna kultur karaktäriseras av att de unga låter sig nöja med arbetsmarknadspolitiska åtgärder. De känner ovilja mot att satsa på längre utbildning och kräver att samhället skall ordna arbete och sysselsättning åt dem. Att ungdomsarbetslösheten minskat under det senaste året förändrar naturligtvis bilden, men det tragiska är att det alltid blir en grupp över. Ungdomarna på 90-talet är de första på över 60 år som haft en så kärv arbetsmarknad.

I vårt eget undersökningsmaterial finns en tydlig motsättning mellan ungdomarna och de myndighetspersoner vi har intervjuat beträffande synen på samhällets ansvar att ordna sysselsättning. Motsättningen speglar förmodligen även en del av den generationsskillnad som finns i inställningen till arbete, där ungdomarna i Sverige tycks närma sig den som finns i andra europeiska länder med hög och permanent arbetslöshet. I dessa länder sätter man nämligen inte likhetstecken mellan försörjning och arbete.

Särskilda ungdomslägenheter – kortsiktig lösning som ökar boendesegregationen

Under senare år har det kommit en rad förslag om hur man kan bygga bostäder speciellt för ungdomar. Att bygga särskilda ungdomsbostäder är dock inte något som tilltalar de som ingår i denna undersökning. Genom sin utsatta sociala situation är de redan utpekade i samhället och särskilda ungdomslägenheter skulle bara förstärka bilden av utanförskap. Vad dessa ungdomar söker är snarare ett boende som bekräftar att de är en del av samhället. Tidigare undersökningar visar också att den här formen av kategoriboende avvisas av de flesta ungdomar idag, inklusive studenter (Bergenstråhle 1997; Lieberg 1997b). Dessa lägenheter, ofta små bostäder med låg standard, betraktas som kortsiktiga lösningar, och ungdomar vill inte bli särbehandlade i samhället. Det handlar istället om att i större utsträckning tillhandahålla bostäder som passar alla de som behöver bostad.

Skolan, fritiden och kamraterna

De ungdomar vi har intervjuat i denna undersökning befinner sig som vi tidigare påpekat i samhällets marginal. De har tvingats leva i en ofta komplex och svår social situation. På såväl det privata som på det samhälleliga planet har de utsatts för olika former av förtryck och förnedring. Deras hemförhållanden har t ex ofta inte gett utrymme för den trygghet och omvårdnad som fordras för att man ska kunna utvecklas till en självständig individ. På det samhälleliga planet har de blivit föremål för myndigheters nonchalans och ointresse, skolan har inte haft möjlighet att ta sig an dem och arbetsmarknaden har varit så gott som stängd för dem. När de nu ställs inför nästa steg i livet, att flytta hemifrån, möter de nya likartade problem och svårigheter hos hyresvärdar och fastighetsägare.

Som framgår av intervjuerna tvingas de unga utveckla egna strategier för att kunna agera på olika marknader, vad gäller arbete, utbildning, boende etc. Det handlar om att få sitt vardagsliv att fungera, att undvika droger, kriminalitet och ett direkt beroende av samhällets hjälporgan.

På grund av den allt längre utbildningstiden är skolan idag en av de viktigaste institutionerna för integration av olika grupper i samhället. Skolan utgör en miljö för lärande som går långt utöver det som stadgas i nationella läroplaner och pedagogiska mål. Den kanske viktigaste uppgiften är att lära ut ett gemensamt språk och demokratiska umgängesformer som fungerar mellan människor och som inte är avhängigt någon speciell grupp eller situationen. Även sådana saker som disciplineringen av kroppen genom den tidsrytm som tillämpas i skolan är av stor betydelse, inte minst för de ungdomar som själva har svårt att strukturera sin tillvaro och annars riskerar att ligga kvar i sängen hela dagen.

Intervjuerna har visat att skolan ofta varit betydelsefull under de första sex åren då man haft samma klasslärare med trygga och nära personliga relationer. Kraven på intellektuella prestationer och social kompetens har varit förhållandevis låga. Övergången till högstadiets ökade krav på mera opersonliga relationer både vad gäller olika ämneslärare och det som ska läras in, liksom livet på skolgården, har för många av dessa ungdomar inneburit en svår och negativ utveckling. De har slutat engagera sig i skolarbetet, blivit tysta eller bråkiga. De har antingen blivit osynliga eller synliga på ett sådant sätt som skolan inte har kunnat hantera. Att de drog sig tillbaka och blev tysta beskriver flera av flickorna som ett resultat inte bara av skolans krav utan också därför att de kom utanför kamratgemenskapen. De hade ingen att vara tillsammans med på rasterna och blev mer eller mindre isolerade mellan lektionerna. De saknade många gånger en nära vän eller kamrat och lämnade skolan ensam eller tillsammans med någon flyktig kamrat, inte sällan en pojkvän eller flickvän. Ibland sökte de sig till grupper av äldre ungdomar på stan. De skolkade från lektionerna och kunde ofta vara borta från skolan utan att någon frågade efter dem.

Den sociala och språkliga kompetens skolan skulle förmedla har dessa ungdomar i liten utsträckning själva haft chans att utveckla.

Drömmen om ett bättre liv

De ungdomar vi har intervjuat lever i en betydligt mera utsatt och marginaliserad situation än vad de flesta andra ungdomar gör. Samtidigt påverkas de av samma moderniseringstendenser i samhället som andra ungdomar (Salonen 1993). De påverkas och påminns ständigt genom massmedia, reklam och TV hur ungdomar i deras ålder skall vara och leva. Dessa bilder fungerar som en slags norm för hur man bör leva som ung. Till skillnad från andra ungdomar i samhället kan de konstatera att de själva befinner sig i marginalen för det som betraktas normalt eller eftersträvansvärt i samhället.

I svåra situationer drömmer ungdomarna om ett bättre liv, något som i de flesta fall är knutet till möjligheten att skapa ett eget hem och en egen familj. Flera av de flickor vi intervjuade såg t ex på sin relation till en man som en möjlighet att ta sig ur sin uppväxtfamilj och starta ett nytt liv med ett eget hem. Denna tendens att unga människor uppfattar olika livsområden som möjliga att förändra eller åtminstone tematisera symboliskt, är en del av det moderna samhällets reflexiva karaktär.

Möjligheten att drömma och fantisera, det inre subjektiva utrymmet, blir allt viktigare och kan ses som en del av samhällets individualisering (Beck 1992). För de ungdomar vi intervjuat i denna undersökning är dock de yttre möjligheterna att realisera sina drömmar och fantasier begränsade, vilket gör att de upplever sig vara i en ständig bristsituation. När klyftan mellan dröm och verklighet blir för stor uppstår frustration och ångest.

Här uppstår också en generationskonflikt genom att dagens livsform inte på samma sätt som gårdagens, ger skydd mot höga anspråk på lycka och välstånd. Dagens ungdomar ser inte på samma sätt som sina föräldrar och morföräldrar, sparsamhet och ett anspråkslöst leverne som en förebild. Idag är situationen mer öppen. Livsformen är inte på samma sätt som tidigare ett hinder för förändring och utveckling. Det är mot bakgrund av denna utveckling som de socialpedagogiska projekt som beskrivits i denna rapport blir så viktiga. De kan ses som en slags framtidsverkstäder som bidrar till att stärka utsatta ungdomars självkänsla och självtillit så att de inte bara blir kapabla att ta itu med sin boendesituation utan också hela livssituationen.

Litteratur

- Margalit, A (1996): *Det anständiga samhället*. Daidalos.
- Beck, U. (1992): *Risk Society. Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Bergenstråhle, S (1997): *Ungas boende. En studie av boendeförhållanden för unga i åldrarna 20-27 år*. Stockholm: Boinstitutet.
- Berggren & Hermansson (1994): *AMANDA – Hon som är värd att älskas*. Göteborg: Daidalos
- Boinstitutet (1998): *Bostäder för nästa generation*.
- Fornäs m fl (1994): *Ungdomskultur i Sverige: FUS rapport nr 6*. Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion.
- Hallström (1998): *Arbete eller bidrag. En attitydundersökning bland arbetslösa ungdomar och ledande kommunpolitiker*. Rapport 1998:2, Linköpings universitet.
- Lieberg, M (1997a): *Youth Housing in Sweden*. Rapport 1 i svenska delen av EU-projektet "Youth Housing and Exclusion". Centrum för Välfärdsforskning, Mälardalens högskola, Eskilstuna.
- Lieberg, M (1997b): *On probation from Home*. Rapport 2 i svenska delen av EU-projektet "Youth Housing and Exclusion". Centrum för Välfärdsforskning, Mälardalens högskola, Eskilstuna.
- Salonen, T (1993). *Margins of Welfare. A Study of Modern Functions of Social Assistance*. Lund: Hällestad Press.
- Wirtén, P (1998) *Etnisk boendesegregering*. Stockholm: Boinstitutet.
- Ziehe, T (1989): *Ny ungdom. Om ovanliga läroprocesser*. Malmö: Norstedts Förlag.