

# **Reclaiming Inclusive Politics: Squatting in Sweden 1968-2016**

**Dominika V. Polanska**

## **Abstract**

*Squatting, or the use of property without authorization, can take many forms in different contexts. It has been used as both a means in a struggle for a more just city by redistributing resources, and a goal in itself. In Sweden, the first squatting attempts occurred in late 1960s, in the same period as many other squatting attempts in Northern and Western Europe. The objective of this paper is to outline the history of squatting in Sweden. Currently, there is no systematic and comprehensive research on this matter, and aside from presenting a historical outline of squatting, the ambition is to present a typology of goals or main motivations behind squatting in Sweden between 1968 and 2016. The analysis is qualitative and based on data produced by and about squatting activists and gathered from national and local news media, alternative leftist news media, thematic magazines, documentary films, material produced by the studied groups (pamphlets, Internet-based websites and blogs), a transcript of a debate on the topic of squatting in Sweden including activists involved in squatting, along with previous research on the topic. It is argued that it is important to study short-term and demonstrative squatting as it has the ability to uncover how squatting is used as a technique, and thus contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon. I distinguish between the goals of providing housing, preserving areas from clearance and demolition, protecting areas from environmental threats, creating free spaces for activities, and criticizing national (welfare) politics. Furthermore, it is maintained that despite its short-lived character Swedish squatting has been continuous with a low frequency, and overtly political in its character, by reclaiming the rights to housing and more egalitarian distribution of societal resources.*

## **Keywords**

squatting, contentious politics, goals of squatting, Sweden

## Introduction

Squatting, or the use of property without authorization, can take many forms in different contexts. In its collective use, the focus here, it has been used as a means in a struggle for a more just city by redistributing resources, and a goal in itself. In Sweden, the first squatting actions occurred in the late 1960s and were inspired by influences from outside of the country at the same time as they were criticizing local housing issues and planned educational reforms. Moreover, they took place in the same broad time period as squatting movements grew stronger across Northern and Western Europe (Squatting Europe Kollektive 2013; 2014). Although squatting attempts intensified in the 1970s and 1980s, and in the 2000s in Swedish cities, none of the squats lasted for long periods of time, and never longer than three years.

The objective of this paper is to outline the history of squatting in Sweden. Currently, there is no systematic and comprehensive research on this matter, and aside from presenting a historical outline of squatting, the ambition is to present a typology of goals or main motivations behind squatting in Sweden between 1968 and 2016. Squatting in Sweden is theorized as contentious politics since squatting has been used in the country as a tool or a technique of disruptive actions used by collective actors and social movements (Tilly and Wood 2009: 5).

Qualitative methodology was chosen to understand the reasons for squatting, how they are connected, and if and how they have changed over time. The analysis builds on data produced by and about squatting activists gathered from:

news media: 1) national (Dagens Nyheter (DN), Svenska Dagbladet (SVD), Swedish TV (SVT), Swedish Radio (SR), Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT), Expressen (EX), Aftonbladet (AB) and 2) local (Sydsvenska Dagbladet (SSD), Skånska Dagbladet (SD), Västerbotten Kuriren (VK), Mitti, Direktpress, Hela Gotland (HG),

leftist non-mainstream media (Arbetaren, Fria tidningarna, Alltid, ETC),

omagazines (Brand, Direkt Aktion 1996-, Ordfront),

odocumentary films,

omaterial produced by the studied groups (pamphlets, publications, Internet-based websites, blogs),

oa May 2016 transcript of a debate on the topic of squatting in Sweden including activists involved in squatting,

oprevious research on the topic.

The objective was to triangulate different data sources in the analysis and to avoid the biases that are associated with news media reports (Ortíz *et al.* 2005). A potential bias in using only national news media is the inclination to report on major events in larger cities, neglecting smaller events in peripheral locations. Therefore, local news media were included in the selection. Moreover, as mainstream media tends not to cover squatting attempts if they are not exceptionally spectacular or controversial, articles from alternative news media and thematic journals were also included. Additionally, in the analyzed news media more attention was paid to the statements made by the activists and less to the journalists' analyses of the situation. In the selection of articles covering different squatting actions the procedure was to include at least one article stating the aims of the squatting attempt.

The digitalized database of printed news media of the Royal Library in Stockholm (including newspapers such as Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen, Svenska Dagbladet) was used to cover reports between 1970 and 1999. The Swedish Retriever Research (Mediarkivet) was used to find news articles about squatting in the 2000s. The keyword used in both databases was "husockupation" (squatting). Not all hits were relevant and only those regarding squatting in Sweden were initially chosen and reduced to only one per registered squatting event, preferably with the criteria of stating the aim of squatting activists. Moreover, some additional searches via other search

engines (Google, Artikelsök) for specific squatting events not found in the media archives were run to ensure as complete coverage as possible. Worth mentioning is that the gathering of relevant material was easier and richer since the introduction of the Internet. Also, past issues of thematic magazines, along with documentary films made about squatting, and publications produced by the groups involved in squatting, were used in the analysis.

One problem encountered in the collection of data was the invisibility or biased representation of some of the squatting events held in the past. This is partly due to the centralized focus of the media (on cities) and away from other more peripheral locations throughout the studied period, to the uneven media coverage over time, and the existence of covert squatting in Sweden, as suggested by Ekberg (2016), that is difficult to uncover and study.

Another potential limitation could be the insufficiency of the keyword “squatting” in the collection of the material not capturing squatting events that were not explicitly framed as squatting by the activists or reporting journalists.

One unconventional method of producing information on the topic was to organize a debate during a conference including activists representing different squatting attempts (from the 1980s to recent squatting actions) to discuss the development of squatting in Sweden and local differences.

Furthermore, the paper was distributed to a number of activists previously involved in squatting in Sweden for comments and suggestions that were integrated in the final version. More than 100 articles were included in the analysis (from national and local news media and alternative media), two documentary films, over 30 texts produced by the activists (for instance in the magazine *Brand* and on the Internet), and a transcript from a 1.5 hour long debate. Only cited or referenced articles are presented in the Appendix, due to space concerns.

The paper begins with a review of previous research on squatting, putting squatting in Sweden in a broader perspective. Next, theoretical framework is introduced arguing for the importance of general, but complex, analysis of goals of squatting and in particular in the Swedish case, the inclusion of collective, short-term and demonstrative forms of squatting. The following presentation is for analytical reasons divided into roughly ten-year-periods in the history of squatting in Sweden, stretching from 1968 to 2016. In the conclusion I argue that the goals of providing housing, creating free spaces, and preserving areas from clearance and demolition have been present in all periods of squatting in Sweden. In the 1980s, the goal of creating free spaces for activities became even more explicit. In the 1990s and 2000s, the critique of national politics and environmental protection were distinguished as important motives among Swedish squatters. The main argument in this study is that despite its short-lived character, Swedish squatting has been continuous, with low frequency and overtly political in its nature, reclaiming the rights to housing and more egalitarian distribution of societal resources.

## **Squatting in Sweden: an under-researched field**

Squatting has been observed in the West, including Italy, Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, France and the US (Corr 1999; Martínez 2013; Milligan 2016; Squatting Europe Kollektive 2014; Thörn *et al.* 2011), and literature on squatting in these contexts is relatively rich. Squatting in Sweden is under-researched and there are few studies directly focusing on squatting. Moreover, the existing studies, except for two Masters theses, concern squatting in the 1970s, 1980s, and/or 1990s. Developments since the 1990s have been under-studied. Studies of other phenomena indirectly involving squatting are more numerous. Usually these studies concentrate on youth cultures, music studies (punk and rock), or social movements (left autonomous, “alternative”, anarchist, urban, or

environmental movements) touching upon squatting only indirectly. Also, most of the studies on squatting are local, examining squatting in a particular local setting in a particular period.

A significant contribution to the field was done by Thörn (2012; 2013) who focused on squatting in Gothenburg and the district of Haga. He is one of the few researchers analyzing squatting practices in depth and presenting explanations for squatting's extinction in the city in the 1990s. His studies focused on the late 1960s to the 1990s, and he has shown the goals of squatting in Haga to have been directed toward 1) the provision of housing, 2) provision of free spaces for activities along the ambition of squatters, and 3) preserving the district from demolition and clearance of its population. Squatting in the same city in the 1990s was examined in a study by Carle (1991), tracing the inspiration for squatting in this period coming from the BZ-movement ("besätt" or occupy) in Denmark. The movement was driven by the ideals of autonomous organization, creation of autonomous zones, and striving for freedom from work-related social and economic oppression (cf. Jämte 2013; Brink Pinto 2012). Like Thörn (2012), Carle distinguishes three goals of squatting in Sweden until 1990: 1) to preserve an urban area; 2) to provide housing; and 3) to provide space for activities. The city of Gothenburg is mentioned by Carle as one where squatting was resolved at the negotiation table in the 1980s.

The more recent period in Sweden's squatting history was analyzed in two Masters theses on Stockholm and Umeå by Lindell (2015) and Lundstedt (2016). In his thesis, Lindell focused on squatting in buildings in Stockholm in 2009 and 2012 by studying the protest characteristics of two squatting actions and their political responses in light of political opportunity structures in the city. Lindell's selection includes squatting in Aspudden (2009) and Husby (2012), and distinguishes between moderate and radical goals, cooperative and confrontational strategies, and concludes that radical goals of squatters might run the risk of being labeled "extreme" and

“undemocratic”, while moderate goals were perceived as politically relevant and discussed by the local politicians. His study demonstrated a difficult controversy for the squatters that, in order to be “successful” and elicit a reaction from the politicians, they need to frame their claims in moderate terms and show a cooperative attitude. Confrontational and radical claims in the studied cases were dismissed as irrelevant.

The dismissal of radical critique and the requirement of a more moderate approach in Swedish politics were also uncovered in Lundstedt's (2016) study where the author examined the change that occurred in the collective self-understanding of the autonomous left in Umeå and the role of squatting there. The author focused on squatting in the city in 2004, 2008, and 2014, and demonstrated how the movement shifted from a militant self-representation to a more open and cooperative position in the recent period of the 2000s. The overall goal of the three squatting events was the creation of free/autonomous spaces, even if the framing and methods varied from case to case. At the same time these three actions criticized other parts of local politics, in the 2003/2004 case housing politics, in 2008 case cultural and spatial politics, and in the 2014 case a reaction to cultural politics of the city.

Other relevant studies have been done by Stahre (2004, 2007, 2010) and (Ekberg (2016), focusing on the development of specific social movements/collective actors in Sweden and touching on their squatting practices. Stahre examined urban social movements active in Stockholm in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the environmental movement in particular, the neighborhood movement (Byalagsrörelsen), and later the new urban movements (organizing on issues of residents' rights to the city, its environmental development, critique of commercialism and globalization, and protesting against urban renewal projects, among others). He describes how the environmental movement in the capital city reached substantial numbers in its organization around 1970 and how it is connected to the

emergence (since 1968) of an urban movement mainly opposing urban renewal processes and organizing on the local level (Stahre 2004). A fraction of this very heterogeneous and fragmented urban movement is described by Stahre in a study from 2007 emphasizing its radical character (with a background in the local anarchist milieu), and its frequent use of blockades and squatting actions as tools (2007: 159). Ekberg (2016) focused on “alternative” groups’ spatial practices in Sweden during the 1970s concluding that urban squatting was one of these practices, however, somewhat different from other place-making practices popular among these groups. Driven by environmental concerns, collective living in rural locations, eco-villages as well as party politics became important parts of alternative groups’ repertoires.

All of these studies give a fragmented picture of the development of squatting in Sweden, even if the vast majority presents the goals behind squatting. They provide good insights on the development of squatting on the local level as well as social movements behind squatting actions, but are often limited to particular periods in history. The aim of this study is to bind together the different periods and give a more comprehensive view of squatting practices in Sweden since their 1968 beginning by mapping and examining squatting in different geographical locations throughout the country and their explicit goals.

## **The goals behind squatting**

In this study, squatting is conceptualized as contentious politics according to Tilly and Tarrow, and refers to the “interactions in which actors make claims bearing on someone else’s interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties” (1998: 4). In the Swedish case, contentious politics describes squatting politics more accurately than the concept of social movement, as squatting practices have been used in the

country by the urban (Thörn 2013) and environmental movements (Stahre 2004, 2007), the alternative environment (Ekberg 2016), left radicals (Pries and Zackari 2016), or the autonomous left (Carle 1991; Lundstedt 2016). Squatting in Sweden has been used as a tool or a technique of disruptive actions and has been infrequent in numbers compared to other countries, fragmented and sporadic in most cities and squatting actions have been relatively short-lived (putting some serious limitations on the creation of unity among squatters) making it difficult to apply the concept of a social movement. Thus, the coordinated efforts of Swedish squatting activists are studied here as contentious politics, and the shared interests and programs of these activists expressed in the form of goals are central.

In the scholarly literature, squatting's more specific goals were portrayed differently from case to case, but its overall ambition is to redistribute resources in a more egalitarian way (Corr 1999). It has been described as enabling and providing self-help (Katz and Mayer 1985), providing housing alternatives (Wates 1980), expressing a Do-It-Yourself culture (McKay 1998), a struggle for a better society (Kallenberg 2001), a manifestation of political/ideological activism (Della Porta and Rucht 1995; Katsiaficas 1997), or as a response to housing deprivation and problems inherent in neoliberal capitalism (Squatting Europe Collective 2014).

Most often scholars discuss squatting as either need-based or as political activity (Lowe 1986). Vasudevan argues that the two main lines of investigation in squatting studies treat squatting as "the expression of housing precarity or as an attempt to construct a radical alternative to more traditional forms of dwelling" (2015: 341), and points to the unsatisfied housing needs as fundamental to all forms of squatting. However, this analysis of squatting is not refined enough to reflect the complexity of the Swedish case, as it will be shown later in the text. Moreover, it divides squatting into categories of political and non-political incorrectly, playing down its conflictual and confrontational nature (cf. Milligan 2016).

A more refined typology of types of squatting was presented by Pruijt (2013), distinguishing among five configurations of squatting; deprivation-based squatting, squatting as an alternative housing strategy, entrepreneurial squatting, conservational squatting and political squatting. The first type, deprivation-based squatting, aims at providing housing for people in need. The second, squatting as an alternative housing strategy, strives to create housing alternatives for groups that are not necessarily homeless, but look for different housing solutions. Entrepreneurial squatting, the third configuration described by Pruijt, aims at setting up an establishment that provides infrastructure for a wider movement to meet and generate support in a non-commercial setting. The fourth type, conservational squatting's goal is to preserve a cityscape or a landscape. The fifth type, political squatting, is motivated by an anti-systemic aim and autonomous ideas. Based on squatting in Copenhagen and Gothenburg, Thörn argued that another type of squatting should be added to the model—the place politics of open space—building on Pruijt's second and third type of squatting and including a combination of autonomy and publicness in this sixth type (2012: 156). Furthermore, the configurations presented by Pruijt (2013) include activists' goals, class, organization, type of buildings, demands, framing, and cultural and political embedding. The model presented is complex and takes into account many dimensions in squatting, but builds incorrectly on the assumption that only one of these configurations can be present in a squatting project (Milligan 2016: 14). It also includes individual forms of squatting that are not in focus here. Only collective forms of squatting are analyzed in the paper because of 1) analytical reasons as it is difficult to map individual squatting as it often takes covert forms in Sweden and as 2) its collective forms are empirically and theoretically more interesting to a sociologist. Pruijt has also discarded demonstrative squatting from his model focusing on "relatively long term use" cases of squatting (2013: 29). In the mapping presented, even short-term squatting actions are included, as

Swedish squatting history is, for reasons (repression, cooptation, legalization, among others) that will be given limited attention here, dominated by short-term squatting. If short-term squatting is excluded from the analysis in this case, there would be only a few disconnected squatting events left and the analysis would lack an important dimension in Swedish squatting struggles—the more strategic and demonstrative character—as well as the continuity of the phenomenon in the country, and particular cities would not be included in the picture.

To make the mapping of squatting in Sweden comprehensible to the reader the focus is on the goals and motivations behind squatting in different periods since the late 1960s. I treat squatting, in accordance with Cattaneo and Martínez (2014), as a political act and the cases when squatting becomes a secret solution to an individual housing situation are not included in the analysis. Moreover, in line with Milligan (2016), I argue that the nature of all squatting is inherently political, criticizing Pruijt's configurational scheme for not recognizing overlaps between different configurations of squatting and adding to the false dichotomy of political and non-political squatting. Here, squatting is considered a political act as it is confrontational in its practice to re-claim space and thus questions the authority of the state and property relationships inherent in capitalism. Moreover, due to the difficulty inherent in the analysis of collective but covert forms of squatting, only overt forms of squatting are analyzed (cf. Ekberg 2016). Therefore, the criteria used for the included squatting events are that they are 1) organized collectively, 2) taking over buildings (not land), 3) overt (and not hidden). As it will be shown later on, the goals of squatting are often overlapping, not mutually exclusive, and inherently political.

## **Squatting in Sweden in 1960s to 1990s**

The first squatting attempt in Sweden took place in 1968 in Stockholm and was organized by students and influenced by the May '68 revolution in France (Documentary "Kårrockupationen"). Since then, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s, different squatting actions were undertaken in various Swedish cities. Lund was going through a series of squattings around 1969, Stockholm had a wave in the second half of the 1970s and in the mid-1980s to 1990s, Gothenburg in the 1980s, and there were a considerable number of squatting actions undertaken in other Swedish cities and towns during this period (see Table 1-3).

Gothenburg's squatting scene in the 1970s and 1980s was concentrated in a particular area in the city of Haga, and was heavily influenced by the Danish squatting movement (TotalBrand 1987, 1988; Brand 1988). Thörn argues that the threat to "slum clear" Haga mobilized the local forces and made it "the only old working-class district in Gothenburg's inner city that was relatively successfully defended through a mobilization of the district's inhabitants" (2012: 212). Squatting in the city intensified in the 1980s, and in the end of the 1980s several buildings in the district of Färjenäs in Hisingen were squatted for about two years.

In its beginning, squatting in Stockholm was also concentrated in the central city, later spreading to other parts (Brand 1978; 1979; TotalBrand 1987; Brand 1988). The district of Södermalm has been described as an area perceived as founded in a "specific popular culture blending radicalness with a happy-go-lucky spirit" (Franzén 2005: 59), and was the place where most, but not all, of the squatting actions were undertaken between the 1970s and 1990s. One of the activists involved in squatting in the 1980s explained that: "The development of Stockholm's inner-city is what we found problematic. That it would house office-buildings" (Panel 2016-05-17). In the 1970s and 1980s there were some exceptions where squatting events were taking place outside of central parts of the city in more peripheral locations, like Rågsved

(1977), Bromsten (1986), or Handen (1988) (Brand 1980; 1988; 1994). In the 1990s most of the actions were carried out in the suburbs of Stockholm or nearby municipalities.

Squatting in Umeå started somewhat later than in the other Swedish cities. The first squatting action was carried out in 1982, even if the city is today known for its rent strikes in the early 1970s. Until today, the activists in Umeå have achieved a legalization of two previously squatted places (*Kvinnohuset* and *Umeå Kulturhus*), one of which was recently closed as a result of privatization (Lundstedt 2016).

Furthermore, squatting in Lund in the 1960s was concentrated in vacant buildings in the central part of the city, and led to the legalization of a social/cultural center, *Kulturmejeriet*, among others in the 1980s (SD 1987-06-26). In Jönköping, a fire station was squatted in 1982, and as a result the center, *Kulturhuset*, was founded after negotiations with the municipality (Arbetaren 1998/24; Ericsson 2016). During this period four squatting actions are known to have taken place in the nearby city of Malmö (Brand 1990; 1991; Sandén 2007).

## **Late 1960s and 1970s: preservation and housing needs in focus**

Sweden's squatting history begins with the occupation of the student union of Stockholm University in 1968, protesting against planned educational reforms (Table 1). The most reported squatting event in the late 1960s and 1970s was *Mullvaden* in Stockholm, which lasted almost a year, between 1977 and 1978. *Mullvaden* consisted of four buildings in the area of Södermalm in Stockholm owned by the municipality and administrated by Svenska Bostäder, a public housing company. Parts of the area around Hornsgatan were included in the city clearance plan and threatened by demolition.

Stockholm	Lund	Gothenburg	Other cities
1968: Kårockupationen	1969: Västra	1970: Haga/Pilgatan	Markitta 1972, Skolbyggnad
1969: Gamla Bro	Mårtensgatan	1972: Hagahuset	Lerum 1974, Hedefors
1974: Brunnsgatan	1969: Kiliansgatan	1976: Kungstorget	
1976: Tomtebogatan	1969: Råbygatan		Malmö 1976, Victoriabiografen
1977: Kvarteret Mullvaden/Krukmakargatan			Karlstad 1977, unknown address
1977: Rågsved/Oasen			Helsingborg 1978, central city
1979: Kvarteret Järnet			

Table 1. Squatting in Swedish cities between 1960s and 1970s

One recurring motivation mentioned by the activists in the media was to **stop the clearance of the central parts of the city**, a plan that was interpreted as top-down, focused on new construction and profitability, and not taking tenants' interests or voices into account. The squatters demanded that the existing buildings be kept and renovated according to the needs of their tenants, and the recurring slogans on the banners during this period were: "Plan for people, not for money" and "Stop the bulldozers" (Ockupationshandboken 1979). Politicians and civil servants interviewed in the newspapers responded to the squatting with arguments on the "illegality" of squatting actions and the "not particularly valuable" character of the buildings (DN 1977-11-12). The squatters themselves emphasized:

The old workers' houses showed all the good craftsmanship from the turn of the century. Wooden floors, decorated doors, beautiful stairwells with marble. Everything was vandalized under politically organized forms. (DN 1987-11-12)

The housing company owning the four buildings of Mullvaden was accused of a strategic lack of maintenance of the buildings so they could be demolished. On a banner outside of the squatted space one could read: "The

occupation is extraordinary administration of intentionally run-down houses. We demand a comprehensive and impartial evaluation of the case of Mullvaden 7, 16, 17 and 18. If this is carried out, we will dismantle the occupation" (Ockupationshandboken 1979: 51).

The motive to protect an area from demolition was common for other squatting events in Stockholm and other Swedish cities of that time, although it did not guarantee that the squatted buildings would be protected or restored. In many cases squatting actually speeded up demolition plans. During this period, lasting until the 1980s, a top-down approach to urban renewal was used in Swedish cities, usually leading to the destruction of run-down buildings, inhabited by the working class in the inner cities, to be replaced by office or apartment buildings resulting in gentrification. This approach to city planning was interpreted by the activists as lacking democratic legitimacy and caused protests and squatting actions. For instance, in Gothenburg, when four houses in the Lustgården neighborhood were threatened by demolition, and where the landlord HSB wanted to build new construction, the tenants decided to squat. Their action was described as aiming at "preventing demolition" and "preservation of the neighborhood" (DN 1978-02-12).

Another important motivation behind squatting in the 1970s was **the housing situation and the need for affordable/free housing**. In 1978 the tenants in a building on Tomtebogatan in Stockholm occupied their apartments when Svenska Bostäder decided to terminate their contracts in order to realize a planned renovation of the building. Their main motive was that they could not afford the rents in newly built apartments due to their low incomes and had no other option but to squat:

We are squatting our house because we don't have anywhere to go after March 1<sup>st</sup>; we are simply standing on the street. (DN 1978-02-03)

It was common during this period that tenants facing eviction organized rent strikes or squatting actions to be able to stay in their apartments. In the small town of Lerum, tenants appealed to the court as their landlord did not fulfill his obligations, which in turn led to a rent strike, an eviction order, and a squatting action initiated by the tenants in 1974 (SVD 1974-08-22).

The **provision of free spaces** was another motive emphasized by the squatters of this period. For instance, in the late 1960s squatters in Lund demanded spaces for activities and protested against the commercialization of the central parts of the city (Thörn 2013: 43). Also, the squatting of *Mullvaden* in Stockholm led to cultural activities held in the squatted space (theater group for instance), and some punk and youth groups began squatting in the beginning of the 1980s to seize spaces for their activities (Ericsson 2016; Pries and Zackari 2016). One of the reasons this goal gained attention later on in the 1980s could have been the greater responsiveness of authorities in the 1960s and 1970s to youth demands for autonomous activities (Thörn 2013: 50).

## **1980s: free spaces gaining importance**

During the 1980s the motive of **preservation of buildings** from demolition and the aim to **provide housing** were still significant among the Swedish squatters (Table 2). In Stockholm, the housing stock of the municipal Svenska Bostäder was frequently squatted during this period. The squatters were criticizing the existence of vacant buildings in the inner city and the lack of affordable housing.

Stockholm	Gothenburg	Other cities
1980: Bellmansgatan	1982: Husargatan	Lund 1980, Stora Södergatan
1985: Skaraborgsgatan	1986: Järntorget	Sollefteå 1980, Taråbergstorpet
1985: Drottninggatan	1986: Kvarteret Sabeln	Höberg 1980, Torp
1986: Norr tullsgatan	1986: Kvarteret	Ronneby 1980, Kyrklokaler
1986: Bromstensvillan	1987: Kvarteret Furiren	Sollefteå 1981, Eisers fabrik
1986: Luntmakargatan	1988: Mellangatan	Umeå 1982, Nygatan
1987: Tavastgatan	1988: Sprängkullsgatan	Jönköping 1982, (4*) Brandstationen
1988: Klevgränd	1989: Färjenäs	Malmö 1982, Föreningsgatan
1988: Ultrahuset/Handen	(several buildings)	Västerås 1982 (3*), Knutsgatan
1988: Kindstugatan		Helsingborg 1983, Villa Skalet
1989: Vasagatan		Umeå 1983, Vasagatan
		Landskrona 1983, Österportsskolan
		Lund 1984, Gamla mejeriet
		Örebro 1986, Nygatan
		Lund 1987, (unknown address)
		Helsingborg 1988, (unknown address)
		Hässleholm 1989, Markan

\* number of times the building was squatted, if more than once

Table 2. Squatting in Swedish cities in the 1980s

The purpose of squatting of several locations by the mid-1980s in Stockholm was described by one of the involved activists as, “to protest against vacant dwellings in times of housing shortage” that was encouraged by the fact that the squatting action at Skaraborgsgatan was deemed successful by the activists and stopped the planned demolition (Vårt 80-tal 2015: 1). The squatters in Stockholm kept track of empty buildings in the city (SVD 1987-03-22) and used it to draw attention to the issue of vacant buildings in times

of housing shortages. One of the activists taking part in the squatting of Tavastgatan in 1987 explained to the journalists why squatting was used to highlight the housing situation in the city:

We no longer believe that the politicians can do anything about the situation. This is the only way to get people to react. (DN 1987-03-12)

In 1986, one of the squatters wrote in the magazine Brand and explained the goal of squatting at Norrtullsgatan:

So in Änkehuset we would not pose any demands, we would take the house and live there. (TotalBrand 1986)

The slogan of "Housing for all" (Bostad åt alla) was used repeatedly during this period in all locations. Housing as a right was stressed by the squatters as superior, and a recurring argument was to stop the office expansion in the central parts of the city. When the one day squatting event in the central part of Stockholm was organized, the activists explained:

People talk about the sneaky office expansion of Stockholm, says [name]<sup>1</sup>. But it is not the culprit; it's the big legal office expansion. Soon nobody will live here in Klara. The city culture is dying. Only banks and departments are left. (EX 1985-11-02)

During another squatting action at Drottninggatan in Stockholm a year later, 1986, an activist explained to the media:

Here they are planning to clear and build offices or luxury apartments, said [name], age 15 years. Politicians said they would do something to solve the housing shortage among youths but nothing has happened. We will continue to do different actions, but we will not reveal where or when we will attack. (DN 1986-12-15)

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<sup>1</sup>The names of squatters appearing in the studied material have been anonymized.

In Gothenburg, the planned demolitions or lack of renovations of working class districts resulted in a resistance in the district of Haga that, since the 1970s, was driven mainly by young students, but culminated in the 1980s (Thörn 2012). A group called “Husnallarna” (house bears) was continuously squatting places in this part of the city to block demolition and clearance, also protesting against housing politics in the city. In addition, Helsingborg experienced squatting in the 1980s that criticized office expansion in the central parts of the city, condemning the lack of municipally-administered distribution of housing in the city, which was dismantled during the 1970s (SVD 1988-05-31).

Another motive crystallizing during this period was the intention to **create free and alternative spaces for activities**. In a debate article, the first one to be published in Swedish national news media with a squatter as the author, it was explained:

Squatting is a way of achieving a free space that is needed to act against a society that you perceive as unjust and mendacious. We have chosen this way because it is also a concrete action that in practice gives the possibility of testing how far theories of anti-authority, solidarity, and freedom with responsibility function. (DN 1986-06-20)

The author of the above article was involved in the squatting of Skaraborgsgatan in Stockholm in 1985 and some other squatting actions in the city in the following years. There was a growing discontent among the activists of the lack of meeting spaces in the city. Thörn argues that the 68-generation formulated clear demands for free spaces for autonomous activities and they were largely responded to by the authorities in late 1960s and 1970s (Thörn 2013). It seems, however, that this demand was seriously unsatisfied in the 1980s, as many of the squatting actions revolved around this issue. In Jönköping, for instance, a closed fire station was squatted in 1982 and Ericsson (2016) explains that since the 1970s different civil society organizations demanded a space for their activities in the city. Eventually,

the struggle was taken over by a group called “Action group for a space in the center” (Aktionsgruppen för ett hus i centrum) and “their goal was to occupy the fire station and not give up until the municipality accepted their demands to give the building to a self-organized cultural center” (Ericsson 2016: 173).

In Umeå, the struggle for free spaces took off during this period and an interesting squatting took place in 1983 when a building (*Gula villan*) was squatted by a feminist separatist group. The group was active in the city since the beginning of the 1980s and demanded a free space for women only. In less than four months the group of squatters was able to gather enough resources to legalize their activity after the eviction. The “Women’s House” (*Kvinnohuset*) is still present in the city landscape of Umeå (VK, 2014-04-25).

## 1990s: expanding the goals further

Apart from the above goals of **providing housing, preserving buildings and communities from demolition or clearance, and creating spaces for activities**, squatting was used in the 1990s **to protest against the accession of Sweden to the EU and against plans for new traffic routes** (Table 3 below).

Stockholm	Other cities
1990 (2*): Folkungagatan	Gothenburg 1990, Landsväsgatan
1990: Kommendörsgatan	Malmö 1990, Ringgatan/Borgen
1991: Teatergatan	Umeå 1990, Storgatan
1991: Folkungagatan	Gothenburg 1991, Teaterkompaniet
1994: Häggvik/Linnévägen	Västerås 1994, Västra Utanbygatan
1994: Hässelby	Örebro 1994, Kulturhuset Viktoria
1994: Rålambsvägen	Alingsås 1995, Bryggeriet
1995: Sollentuna	Borås 1995, Viskafors (5 buildings)
1996: Häggvik	Alingsås 1996, Bryggeriet
1997: Norra Hammarbyhamnen/ Alsnögatan	Gothenburg 1997, Tullpackshuset
1999: Beckomberga	

\* *number of times the building was squatted, if more than once*

Table 3. Squatting in Swedish cities in the 1990s

Throughout the 1990s, it was still very common for activists to protest against the housing situation in their city through squatting. Homelessness was raised as an important issue and the necessity of acting outside of the formal system was propagated by the Swedish squatters (read more about the tension and differences between the alternative groups and the Swedish left in the 1970s in Ekberg 2016). Here are the words of the activists who squatted a building in Beckomberga, Stockholm, in 1999:

We are tired of all the talk of politicians. Homelessness is an urgent problem and politicians are not taking their responsibility. We are therefore taking the law and our self-evident right to housing in our own hands. We encourage everybody else, lacking housing or not, to do the same. Occupy more! Don't let houses stand empty! (Direkt Aktion 1999/18).

One of the longest squatting actions of 1990s was the one that lasted six months in Malmö. The activists involved were described in the media as youths in need of housing (SVD 1990-11-17). The squatters of Borgen in Malmö tried to discuss housing politics in the city with the municipal council responsible for housing (Pries and Zackari 2016: 200), and proposed to take care of the renovation of the building (Brand 1990/37-38: 20). However, their struggle ended with a violent eviction after 187 days.

A hotly debated issue in Sweden in the beginning of the 1990s was accession to the EU. In 1994, there was a referendum in which a small majority voted in favor. Two days later there was a squatting action held in Västerås. In an article called "They wanted to create an EU-free zone", the squatters in Västerås explained to the media the goal of their squatting action:

This was a protest against the EU. We wanted to organize an EU-free zone. It is difficult for youths to be heard. This is why we have to do this, he explained before the door of the police bus was shut. (AB 1994-11-15)

Another reported squatting attempt was the occupation of Dagens Nyheter's offices (largest national newspaper) in Stockholm in November 1994, by a group called "Kick upwards, not downwards" (Sparka uppåt, inte neråt). They demanded the newspaper nuance its reporting on the events of November 30, when Swedish nationalists commemorate the death of the Swedish king Karl XII. The group argued in a press release:

All the established media are willing to legitimize police actions through serving relevant threat scenarios. One technique is to only focus on the anti-fascist protesters' real or feared acts of violence. But the questions of "in what context" or "with what goals" are absent. (Pressmeddelande 941130)

These two examples show how the tactic of squatting was used in struggles other than those of housing, preservation, and creation of free spaces, and how the new claims contributed to the extension of the goals previously

formulated in the 1970s and 1980s. The extension included a **critique of national politics and media practices**. Yet another expansion of the goals of squatters in the 1990s included protests **against new road construction and the extension of goals to environmental protection** during this period (even if environmental claims were present in earlier periods, see Ekberg 2016). The agreement, called the “Dennis package” (Dennispaketet), that was signed in Stockholm in 1992 and aimed at specific extensions of traffic routes in the city, provoked a number of squatting events in the city in the 1990s. Environmental issues were frequently raised in squatting actions of this period. The first planned road construction encountered resistance in 1994. One of the activists explained:

I am against the whole Dennis package, against the vision of society and Stockholm as constantly expanding and getting bigger, says [name], age 23, a peaceful squatter for seven nights. (SVD 1994-04-19)

During 1994-1996, different squatting actions were directed toward the planned traffic route crossing through Häggvik. The squatting of an office of one of the leading construction companies in 1996 was described by one of the activists in the following way:

We were able to do what we came here to do. We burned their plans and sabotaged their computers, said the squatter [name] to TT before he was taken away into the police van. We are doing this as a step in the mass mobilization against Dennis [referring to the plan on traffic extensions in Stockholm]. There must be more Stockholm residents wanting to be able to breathe in the future, said a 27-year-old man who calls himself [name]. (TT 1996-05-31)

## **2000s: reactions to cutbacks**

A large wave of squatting swept the country in 2008 and 2009 (Table 4). Four main motivations, although not mutually exclusive, can be distinguished among the squatting attempts undertaken during the 2000s (Table 4). One common motive, similar to the past squatting, was the one to **create a multi-activity center**, where alternative cultural and social activities could be held. These squatting attempts were often initiated by youths and students striving for a free space.

Stockholm	Gothenburg	Malmö	Umeå	Lund	Other cities
2000: Svedmyra	2008:	2002:	2003/2004:	2008:	Linköping 2000:
2003:	Drakbåten	Ystadgatan	Haga/	Smultronstället	Gamla
Östermalm	2008 (2*):	2002:	Kvinnohuset	/	Westmanska BB
2004:	Agnesberg	Rasmusgatan	2008:	Kävlingevägen	Grängesberg
Telefonplan	2008:	2002:	Tullkammar	2008:	2002
2007:	Holländareplat	Lönngatan	en/ central	Kårhuset	Visby 2005:
Solna	sen	2003:	city	2008:	Lagerlokal
2008:	2008:	Industrigatan	2008:	Bankgatan	Nyköping 2008:
Gärdet	Gamlestan/	2008:	Kvarteret	2008:	Fåfågan
2009:	Församlingshe	Johanneslusts	Hammaren	Klosterängsväg	Visby 2009:
Liljeholmen	mmet	gatan	(2*)	en	Göransgården
2009: Aspudden	2008:	2008:	2008:	2009:	Lunnarp 2009:
2009:	Luftvärnsväge	Ramels väg	Övägen (2*)	Squatting	Julmusthuset
Farsta	n/ Kviberg	2009:	2008:	festival	Nyköping 2009:
2009:	2008:	Sofielundsgat	Djursjukhus	(two buildings)	Stora Berga
Gröndal	Lärje	an	et	2009:	Östersund
2009:	2009:		2014:	Romano Trajo	2009: Lyckliga
Nettovägen/	Viktor		Haga	2009:	gatan
Järfälla	Rydbergsgatan			Högevallsväge	Uppsala 2010:
2009:	2009:			n/ Muraren	Ulleråker
Rinkeby	Gamla			2009:	Uppsala 2011,
2012:	Almedalsvägen			Botulfsgatan	Sävja
Husby	2009:			2010:	Dorotea 2012,
2012:	Gårda/Tritonga			Magle Stora	Sjukstugan
Kristineberg	tan			Kyrkogata	Helsingborg
2015:	2010:				2014, Västra
Högdalen	Biskopsgården				Sandgatan
2015:	2011:				Jönköping 2014,
Årsta	Allmänna				Rosenlunds
2015:	vägen				herrgård
Södermalm	2012:				Katrineholm
2016:	Alelyckan				2015, Björkvik
Akalla					Landskrona
2016:					2015, Unknown
Östermalm					address
2016:					Uppsala 2016,
Hagsätra					Flogsta
2016:					
Socialstyrelsen					

\* number of times the building was squatted, if more than once

Table 4. Squatting in Swedish cities in 2000-2016

When a building in central Linköping was occupied in 2000, the activists described their goals in the magazine Brand:

We want a youth house that functions like a free zone. A house that can work independently of privatizations and cuts in the society. It should be run by the youths and for the youths. We also want the house to be free from prejudice like racism, sexism, and homophobia. (Brand 2000: 2)

In Stockholm, one of the most well-known social centers in the 2000s was *Cyklopen*. It started with squatting an empty building in 2003 and developed into an established social center in Högdalen from 2013 onwards (Brand 2004/1; Ordfront 2012/3). In Umeå, different squatting events aimed at creating free/autonomous spaces, even if the framing and methods varied from case to case and were intertwined with a critique of local (housing and cultural) politics (Lundstedt 2016).



Figure 1. A banner stating “Evict Veidekke before Veidekke evicts you” from the Högdalen’s People’s House, May 2015. Photo: author

The motive for protesting against **unjust housing politics and providing housing** was often intertwined with the above incentive to create a free space for activities. In some cases, when squatting was undertaken by homeless people, the objective of finding a place to live overshadowed other reasons. The most common argument among those emphasizing housing politics as the main reason for their squatting action was the inefficiency of the existing system for distributing housing and providing affordable housing

to all. Activists squatting a vacant building, standing empty for three years in the district of Gamlestan in Gothenburg in 2008, explained to the media:

We want to draw attention to the housing situation and that more rental dwellings should be built. There are many people queuing and rental housing is being transformed to private housing, says [name], one of the squatters. (Göteborgs Fria 2008-11-14)

Another important motive was to **preserve (building, area, and community), and go against planned demolition of buildings** like school buildings (Högdalen 2015), bath houses (Aspudden 2009), municipal buildings (Rinkeby 2009), or storage buildings (Visby 2005). The planned demolitions were described by the interviewed activists as unjustified in light of the existing housing, community center, or school shortages. Here, are the words of an activist from Malmö who squatted a building owned by the Swedish Railway company in 2008:

It is sick that I need to be homeless when there are houses like this that are planned to be demolished, says [name]. (SD 2008-11-16)

The demolition of buildings was often intertwined with the critique of displacement of lower-income groups caused by urban renewal projects. It was not so much focused on the preservation of historical buildings or housing areas, but on the preservation of communities, where squatting events were framed as resistance to processes resulting in displacement and “renovictions” (a term used in the last few years), as, for instance, in the case of Valla torg in Årsta in 2015 (Internationalen 2015-12-03).



Figure 2: Squatted theater in the district of Årsta, south of Stockholm, November 2015. Photo: author

**Reaction to closure and suppression of a particular activity/sector** was also found to be a significant motivation for the squatting undertaken during this more recent period. One of the longest occupations driven by this motive was the over three-year-long occupation of a local hospital in Dorotea, threatened to significantly cut down its activity in the area (SR 2015-01-30). Also, other social and cultural community centers threatened by re-location or closing chose to squat their facilities in protest (such as *Järvas Vänner* in Akalla, which protested in 2015 against civil society organizations being thrown out from the premises, *Lundabor mot nedskärningar* (Residents of Lund against cutbacks). Other examples include Lund in 2009, reacting to the closing of an after-school center, *Romano Trajo*, residents of Husby protesting against a re-location of their community center to smaller premises in 2012, or the protest against changes planned by the municipality in the activities held in the cultural center *Kulturhuset* in Jönköping in 2014. One of the representatives of the network *Järvas Vänner* (Friends of Järva), occupying the premises that they formerly rented, explained the situation in 2016:

The company Fast Partner has gone too far with their greediness; they have plenty of empty premises and do not want to rent them out at a sensible price. Everywhere I see premises without renters; people cannot afford to pay the rents. (Stockholms Fria 2016-03-02)

These kinds of motives for squatting, increasing in the 2000s, were usually framed as a critique of the cutbacks in the welfare state, privatization of formerly public companies, market-orientation, and an increased focus on profitability. The squatting groups used the slogans of “Reclaim the welfare” (Documentary “Anarkistiska Kliniken 4”) or “We didn’t create the crisis. We don’t want to pay” (<https://lundabormotnedskarningar.wordpress.com/>).



Figure 3: Squatted school building in Hagsåtra, south of Stockholm, June 2016. Photo: author

There have been some other motives guiding squatting in Sweden, but they are quite unusual. One motive could be a solidarity action and the squatting of the Student Union in Lund in 2008, as an example (YouTube, “Vänsterns Studentförbund Lund ockuperar kårhuset i solidaritet med Smultronstället”). Another more uncommon motive is the above mentioned squatting festival

organized in Lund in 2009 that aimed at popularizing squatting as a protest tool against the housing shortage (Arbetaren 2009-05-13). Both could be categorized as showing support to local squatters. Yet another motive was to protest against the lack of payment of wages to construction workers that led to the occupation of a building in Gärdet, Stockholm, in 2009 (SVD 2009-11-28).

## **Conclusions**

It seems there were two important periods of squatting in Sweden since 1968. The first one started at the end of the 1960s and went on throughout the 1970s and 1980s, slowing by the end of the 1990s. The second culminated in a great wave of squatting in 2008-2009, when all the larger Swedish cities reported squatted buildings. However, as seen internationally, squatting actions in Sweden have been relatively short-lived, and never lasted more than three years. In the 2000s, they most often lasted between a month and two months, while the shortest actions lasted several hours.

I argue that the goals of providing housing, preserving areas from clearance and demolition and creating free spaces have been present in all periods of squatting in Sweden and intimately intertwined. The goal of creating free spaces gained even more importance in the 1980s and has been present since. However, in the 1990s and 2000s, the goals of squatting were expanded to include a more explicit critique of national politics and environmental protection. It was also during the 2000s that a large squatting wave took place. The goals presented in Figure 4 were impossible to separate and rank as they were often mentioned together by the squatting activists. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, the stated goals appeared in almost all of the studied cases simultaneously when the reasons for squatting were explained by the activists.

In the 1990s, a more explicit focus on environmental issues was expressed by squatters when squatting actions were used, for instance, to stop the

construction of new traffic routes. During this period, the goals of squatting showed variety and were not all stated simultaneously. It was also during this time that other questions were raised by squatters, such as the issue of Sweden's EU accession and the critique of media practices. These were not the most common goals, but their appearance shows that the use of squatting as a protest tool was not only limited to the goals of housing provision, preservation of areas, and the creation of free spaces, but was diversified and popularized among other collective actors than those who squatted in the past.

In the 2000s, yet another goal of squatting was emphasized in Sweden. It was a critique of cutbacks in the Swedish welfare provisions in the 2000s, and it reflected ongoing changes in Swedish society. The squatting was focused on condemning national politics related to the provision of welfare in the country. Links were drawn to similar situations in different locations (in the country as well as outside), and it was during this period that the activists started to explain their situation more explicitly with concepts such as *gentrification*, *renoviction*, or *displacement*. Encouraged by the large wave of squatting in the country by 2008-2009, the activists also used squatting either in support of other squatters or with the objective of popularizing squatting. It also seems that squatting was used during this period by a group of workers lacking payment from their employer, suggesting that squatting was seen as an effective instrument to claim back the group's right.

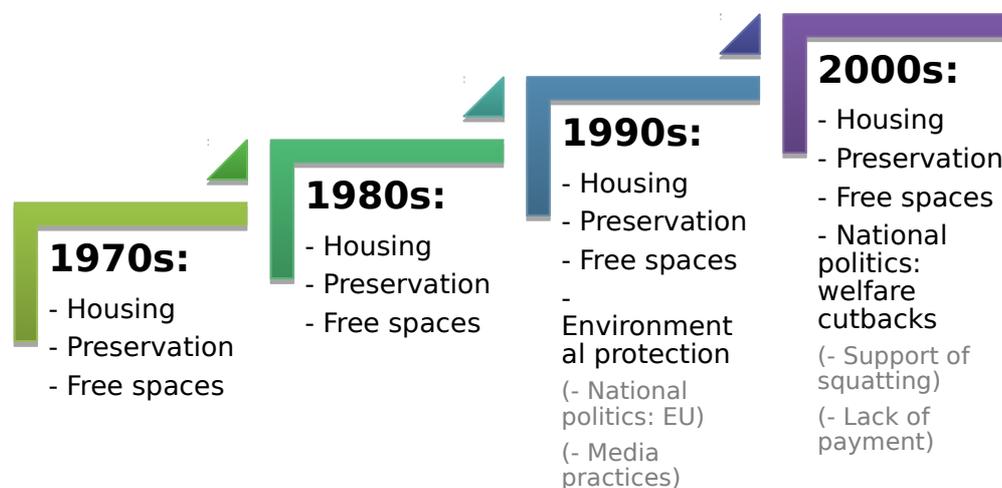


Figure 4. Motivations behind squatting in Sweden 1968-2016

If we define a social movement according to the criteria presented by Tarrow (1998) as consisting of groups of individuals who act collectively to reach their goals, who share common purposes, solidarity, and who are constantly interacting with the elites, authorities and opponents, the case of squatting in Sweden could probably classify as a social movement. However, I would like to argue that other social movements, such as the left autonomous movement, the environmental movement, or the urban movement, have used squatting as a disruptive tool in their struggles (Carle 1991; Lundstedt 2016; Stahre 2004, 2007, 2010; Thörn 2013). Moreover, the diverse goals of squatting, even if sometimes connected, were far from displaying unity (Tilly and Wood 2009). The claims posed by the Swedish squatters, but also their variety and these actions' uneven distribution among Swedish cities, proposes the term of contentious politics as a better match in this case. In a sense, squatting in Sweden sounds more like the "demonstrative squatting" that Pruijt discards from his model of analysis, as this kind of squatting is rather short-term (2013: 29). Despite its short-lived character, Swedish squatting has been continuous with low frequency and overtly political in its character, by demanding better/more egalitarian housing conditions, spaces

for activities and preservation of existing communities, among others. During its most recent development it also explicitly criticized national politics and the successive dismantling of the Swedish welfare state and its consequences in this period. Yet, it has lacked unity in the important aim pointed out by Cattaneo and Martínez to “prefigure ways of living beyond capitalist society” (2014: 3). This kind of prefigurative politics has been more a result of the squatting actions or a hidden purpose behind some of the actions, than an explicit goal in itself that could function as unifying. The reasons for it are plenty, but one of the most important is the quick, sometimes violent, and effective repression that squatting has encountered in Sweden along with the preference/tendency for choosing legal solutions (living collectives, cooperatives, cultural institutions, cf. Ekberg 2016), a topic that not been developed in this paper as the aim has been to outline the goals behind squatting, not the conditions for squatting.

The repression faced by squatters has left marks in the collective memory. Squatters (and potential squatters) often share a belief in the impossibility of holding a place for a longer period of time, and refrain from fantasizing about more utopian ways of collective living in an ever-toughening neoliberal context. Moreover, the neoliberal ideas playing an important role in Swedish politics since the 1990s (Hedin *et al* 2012) have more or less made claims of prefigurative politics difficult (if not impossible) to raise, to resonate, and to legitimize in the eyes of a society characterized by individualism and a widespread belief in a “well-functioning” welfare state.

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## Appendix

### •Magazines:

- Brand - Anarkistisk tidskrift nr 9-10 1978 "Mullvaden".
- Brand - Anarkistisk tidskrift nr 13-14 1979 "Järnet".
- Brand - Anarkistisk tidskrift nr 16-17 1980 "Den sanna historien om Oasen".
- TotalBrand nr 4 1986 "Enkeltur "Enkehuset"
- TotalBrand nr 4 1986 "Din rätt - Bezätt".
- TotalBrand, nr 12 1987 "Tavastgatan"
- TotalBrand, nr 12 1987 "Göteborg"
- TotalBrand nr 17 1988 "Hagaockupanterna åker ut"
- Brand nr 21 1988 "Kampen om Ultra"
- Brand nr 23 1988 "Kampen om Haga"
- Brand nr 23 1988 "Klevgränd"
- Brand nr 37-38 1990 "Borgen ska stå kvar"
- Brand nr 44 1991 "Intervju med Lasse från Borgen"
- Brand nr 44 1991 "Kommendörsgatan - en icke-ocke"
- Brand nr 62 1994 "Barbarhuset rivet"

Brand nr 2, 2000 "Linköpingockupationen"  
Brand nr 1, 2004 "Nya ockupationer. Nya koncept!"  
Direkt Aktion 1999, nr 18 "Öppna Beckomberga för alla!"  
Ordfront Magasin 2012, nr 3 "Cyklopen- ett äkta Folkets hus"

## •Other publications by the activists involved in squatting:

Pressmeddelande 941130, Sparka uppåt, inte neråt  
Vårt 80-tal (2015), Folder from an exhibition  
Youtube, "Vänsterns Studentförbund Lund ockuperar kårhuset i solidaritet med Smultronstället" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSPq68-aIyc> accessed 2016-06-09  
"Ockupationshandbok" (1979), Micke Berg

## •Documentary movies:

Documentary "Kårhusockupationen" SVT Archive. Accessed 2015-07-01,  
<http://www.oppetarkiv.se/video/2260557/karhusockupationen>  
Documentary "Anarkistiska Kliniken 4" 2009, accessed 2016-06-09,  
<http://www.filmbasen.se/node/84553>

## •Blogs (accessed 2016-06-09):

<https://lundabormotnedskarningar.wordpress.com/>

## •News media (a selection of only cited articles):

Aftonbladet 1994-11-15 "Bombattack mot polisen"  
Arbetaren 1998, vol. 24, pp. 23-27 "Striden om kulturhuset"  
Arbetaren 2009-05-13 "Det är dags att piffa till ockupantrörelsen"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1977-11-12 "Vi måste stoppa rivningsraseriet"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1978-02-03 "Husockupation i Birkastaden"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1978-02-12 "Husockupation på andra veckan"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1986-06-20 "Polisvåldet trappas upp"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1986-12-15 "110 husockupanter gripna"  
Dagens Nyheter (DN) 1987-03-12 "Ockupation för en natt"  
Expressen 1985-11-02 "Ny husockupation igår "Låt inte Klara dö""  
Göteborgs Fria 2008-11-14 "Ockupanter kräver billiga bostäder"  
Internationalen 2015-12-03 "Vallabor demonstrerade mot renoveringar"  
Stockholms Fria 2016-03-02 "Järvabor ockuperar föreningslokal"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 1974-08-22 "Polisuppdåd fick vräka ockupanter i Lerum"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 1987-03-22 "Polisen stoppade husockupation"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 1988-05-31 "Fredlig husockupation för bostadsförmedling"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 1990-11-17 "Slut på sex månader lång husockupation"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 1994-04-19 "Klart vi stoppar leden"  
Svenska Dagbladet (SVD) 2009-11-28 "Byggarbetare ockuperade hus"  
Sveriges Radio (SR) 2015-01-30 "Tre års ockupation av sjukstugan i Dorotea"  
Sydsvenska Dagbladet (SD) 1987-06-26 "Kulturmejeriet äntligen klart"  
Sydsvenska Dagbladet (SD) 2008-11-16 "Husockupation i Malmö"  
Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT) 1996-05-31 "Ny husockupation mot Dennispaketet"  
Västerbotten Kuriren (VK) 2014-04-25 "En sommar av systerskap"

## **•Other material**

Transcription of a panel held 2016-05-17 with four participants involved in squatting actions in Sweden in different periods (1.5 h).

## **Author Details**

**Dominika V. Polanska**

[dominika.polanska@ibf.uu.se](mailto:dominika.polanska@ibf.uu.se)

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