Tour guides and the hosting of policy tourism:
Show and tell in Vällingby and Växjö

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Introduction
Policymakers and practitioners often cast curious glances at what’s happening elsewhere, looking for inspiration as to what works and what to do next in their own working practices. This is conducted through several methods. Sometimes this is at a distance, through for instance reading newspapers or policy documents, searching online, or communicating via telephone, email, Skype and so on. Sometimes it is through visiting ‘best practice’ places, being there to see, hear and experience what is happening. Such visits often take the form of study tours – that is, organised visits usually focused on work-related learning. These are often associated with a niche form of tourism: policy tourism.

Study tours and policy tourism are widespread and long-standing practices, and are therefore worthy topics of academic exploration. As such, they have been the subject of a growing body of academic literature (González, 2011; Ward, 2011; Cook & Ward, 2012; Cook et al., 2014; 2015; Hudson & Kim, 2014; Wood, 2014; Cook, 2017; Ma, 2017; Montero,
This chapter builds on this work by exploring the hosting of policy tourists, the tour guides and organisations responsible, and the position of study tours within wider practices of learning and showcasing. This chapter advances the existing literature on policy tourism and study tours in two respects. The first is that it brings this literature into productive dialogue with the considerable academic work on guided tours (e.g. Holloway, 1981; Macdonald, 2006; Wynn, 2010; Piché & Walby, 2010; Modlin Jr. et al., 2011). This has not been done before and doing so will provide a more nuanced lens through which to view the performance and politics of tours and the role of tour guides with this. The second is that the chapter give an insight into something that is often underplayed in the literature: the similarities and differences across time and space within policy tourism. It does this through a comparison of two sets of study tours operating in two different places in two different time periods. The first set are planning and architecture study tours during the 1950s and 1960s in the Stockholm suburb of Vällingby. The second set are contemporary study tours in the small Swedish city of Växjö which focused on its environmental practices and policies.

This chapter draws on two research projects that explored policy tourism and policy mobilities. The first, conducted by Ian, centred on Vällingby and drew primarily on archival research, examining a range of materials from the 1950s and 1960s including journal, magazine and newspaper articles as well as plans, drawings, photographs, lecture notes, itineraries, letters and postcards. The second, conducted by Ida, focused on Växjö and utilised semi-structured interviews with those involved in organising the study tours, participant observation of four study tours, and documentary analysis.

The structure of the chapter henceforth is as follows. First, it outlines and brings together the literatures on policy tourism and study tours on the one hand and the literatures on guided tours and tour guides on the other hand. Second, it then explores the post-war development of Vällingby and the green city initiatives in Växjö several decades after-
wards before considering the ways in which both places have been showcased to the world. The study tours to Vällingby and Växjö are then critically examined, with particular attention paid to the roles of the tour guides, the ethics of guided tours, and the relationship between guided tours and the sites of visitation.

**POLICY TOURISM AND STUDY TOURS**

The growing literature on policy tourism and study tours sheds light on the practices of hosting policy tourists, the performances of study tours, the learning conducted, and the influence of these ephemeral events on the delegates and the delegates’ organisations and localities. Rather than situating policy tourism within wider bodies of work on guided tours or tourism more generally, the literature has positioned itself with the burgeoning work on policy mobilities (for overviews of the policy mobilities literature, see McCann, 2011; Peck & Theodore, 2015; Temenos et al., 2018). As part of this, the work on policy tourism has begun tracing the links between policy tourism and the movement and mutation of policies between places. Empirically the work on policy tourism has focused predominately on two policy areas: urban development and transportation. Much of the literature concentrates on policy tourism in recent decades, although there have been some empirical studies of policy tourism in the decades after the Second World War (Cook et al., 2014; 2015).

The literature so far on policy tourism highlights six key points. First, study tours are often advantageous. Not simply because of the ‘first-hand’ or ‘experiential’ learning that they offer (Montero, 2017), but also because they can facilitate social bonding – between delegates or between delegates and hosts – and they can help stimulate a consensus among delegates on certain policy prescriptions (Wood, 2014; Montero, 2017). Second, study tours are sometimes problematic not least because they can be time-consuming and difficult to organise, the media is not always favourable about public money being spent on
such ‘junkets’, and there are limits to how and what can be learnt on such trips (Cook et al., 2014). Third, attending study tours may increase the likelihood of policy adoption (Ma, 2017) but attendance does not guarantee adoption (Cook et al., 2014; Hudson & Kim, 2014). Here it may be that policy tourists are not impressed by what they see or hear about, feel it is untranslatable, or they encounter resistance to adoption upon return. Fourth, learning on study tours does not always flow in a unilateral direction – transmitted from hosts to visitors – but can involve hosts learning from visitors or learning between visitors (Cook et al., 2014, 2015). Fifth, learning is seldom the only activity engaged in during study tours as many study tours incorporate time for leisure and sometimes for other working activities (Cook & Ward, 2011). Sixth, study tours are highly selective in terms of which places are visited; how places, people and policies are talked about; and which voices are heard (González, 2011).

Two terms, coined by Eugene McCann and used widely in the policy mobilities literature, can help us make further sense of policy tourism. The first is the informational infrastructures, which McCann, (2008, p. 12) suggest are assemblages of “institutions, organizations and technologies that, in various ways, frame and package knowledge about best policy practices, successful cities, and cutting-edge ideas and then present that information to specific audiences”. The focus of informational infrastructures, therefore, is on educating audiences and shaping their knowledge and learning, influencing in turn the types of ideas and policies that circulate in different parts of the world (see also McCann, 2011; Cook & Ward, 2012; Cook, 2017). Technologies within informational infrastructures include awards, best practice guides, conferences and study tours. The term informational infrastructures has provided academics with a useful lens through which to view the promotion of ideas and ‘best practice’ models during study tours and conferences (Cook & Ward, 2012; Cook, 2017).

The second term is the extrospective city which McCann (2013) has used to denote the way urban actors think and act extrospectively. That
is, they draw ideas from elsewhere and, just as importantly, actively promote their policies to audiences based elsewhere. The latter phenomena can sometimes be overlooked in studies of policy mobilities and the term extrospective city can provide another useful lens, this time to view the extrospective practices of ‘showcasing’ by local policy actors. Such practices can include writing about their policies in trade magazines or newspapers, speaking at conferences, providing materials for exhibitions and, of particular relevance to this chapter, the hosting of study tours (Cook, 2017). In discussing the extrospective city, McCann challenges us to think about how and why local policy actors engage in such extrospective, ‘supply-side’ practices. The term also makes us think about the ways in which such practices are embedded within wider informational infrastructures and how they influence policy mobilisation.

**GUIDED TOURS AND TOUR GUIDES**

In this section, we will make the case that engaging also with the literatures on guided tours can help further our understanding of policy tourism. Like the policy tourism literature, the multidisciplinary work on guided tours has shed valuable light on the organisation and performance of tours. The guided tours literature also pays close attention to three pertinent issues that are worth paying close attention to when exploring policy tourism. The first issue is the role of tour guides. Whereas the policy tourism literature has not focused on tour guides in much depth (despite their centrality to most study tours), the same cannot be said of the literatures on guided tours. Here tour guides are frequently viewed as being facilitators and “cultural brokers” (Holloway, 1981; Bryon, 2012) who mediate and shape the encounters between sites and tourists (Macdonald, 2006). The literature has provided an insight into the variety of tours on offer and tour guides who head these. In so doing, several scholars following Cohen (1985) have developed typologies of tour guides (Bryon, 2012; Ferguson *et al.*, 2016; Zerva
& Nijkam, 2016) to capture the different roles and backgrounds of the tour guides. This work shows that we must recognise the heterogeneity of tour guides and guided tours as well as the commonalities.

The second issue within the literature is the complex relationship between guided tours and the sites of visitation. This is done in several ways. Schmidt (1979, p. 443), for instance, envisions the spatial selectivity of guided tours as a form of social control whereby “[t]ourists are directed toward places they are supposed to see and kept away from others”. This resonates with Modlin Jr. et al.’s (2011) argument that tour guides working in plantation house museums in the southern United States offer a selective retelling of the past. Here “tours at most plantation house museums present vivid, detailed accounts of the lives of members of planter families while reducing enslaved people – whose presence made the master/planter’s lifestyle possible – to stock characters who receive less attention than the furniture and china owned by the master” (ibid.: 4). These two studies echo wider questions in the literature about the role of storytelling in guided tours (Bryon, 2012), the degree to which tours are scripted or improvised (Piché & Walby, 2010), and the politics of narration and visitation within guided tours (Dahles, 2002; Macdonald, 2006; Skinner, 2016).

Scholars elsewhere have engaged in other imaginative ways of thinking about the relationship between guided tours and the sites of visitation. van Es and Reijnders (2016), for instance, examine the sense of place that emerges “through the visiting and narration of specific locations” (Ibid, p. 6) on detective fiction tours in Los Angeles, London and Stockholm. Wynn (2010), meanwhile, frames guides on walking tours in New York as ‘urban alchemists’ who “infuse the urban fabric with curious stories, reenchant neighbourhoods and blocks, create experiences almost out of thin air, turn the libraries inside-out, and in so doing offer a sort of magical urbanism” (Ibid, p. 160). Elsewhere, others have considered the ways in which the forms and rhythms of mobility influences guided tours (Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Farias, 2010) as well as the ways in which tourists co-produce guided tours and actively
I. R. Cook & I. Andersson Tour Guides of policy tourism

interpret the sites of visitation (Edensor & Holloway, 2008; Larsen & Meged, 2013).

A third important issue within the literature is the ethics of guided tours. In studies on guided tours to slums (Selinger, 2009), prisons (Piché & Walby, 2010) and ruined buildings in Detroit (Scarborough, 2016), questions have been asked about voyeurism, commodification, the staging of the Other, and the effects of guided tours on the disadvantaged populations where such tours take place. As with all forms of tourism, ethics is an important issue to consider when studying policy tourism.

By bringing together the insights of the two sets of literatures on policy tourism and guided tours, we can piece together a more nuanced approach to the study of policy tourism. Such an approach takes from the policy tourism literature an emphasis on the relationship between visitation, learning and policy mobilisation, the position of study tours within informational infrastructures, and the practices of showcasing by local policy actors. This can work alongside an emphasis, taken from the guided tour literature, on the roles of the tour guide within tours, the ethics of guided tours, and the relationship between guided tours and the sites of visitation. We will now draw on this approach to explore the hosting of policy tourism in Vällingby and Växjö.

Vällingby and Växjö: showcasing sites of best practice

At different points in time, Vällingby and Växjö have captured the imaginations of people situated elsewhere, and have been held up as innovative sites of best practice that are worthy of emulation and visitation. This was certainly the case for Vällingby during the 1950s and 1960s, far less so in the following decades. For Wakeman (2016, p. 88) it “immediately became the poster child... of city planning [and] thousands made the pilgrimage to see this urban paradise”. Since the late 1990s, Växjö has attracted international attention – not as a site of best
practice for suburban planning but as a site of best practice for city-wide reductions in carbon dioxide emissions. Like Vällingby it has received large number of policy tourists and, unlike Vällingby, it continues to do so.

Constructed largely in the early to mid-1950s, Vällingby was one of the first of many post-war suburbs in Stockholm, a city that faced significant problems of overcrowding and a poor housing stock (Hall, 1999). It was built on former farmland situated approximately 10 kilometres north west of the city centre. Sven Markelius (the city planner director between 1944 and 1954) and his colleagues envisioned Vällingby as a new type of suburb: one that was comprehensively

Figure 1. An aerial view over Vällingby centre and the surrounding dwellings, 1958, taken by Oscar Bladh. Source: Stockholm City Museum.
planned, largely self-sufficient and well-connected with the rest of the city. It was billed as an ABC suburb with A standing for work (arbete), B for dwelling (bostäder) and C for centre (centrum). Each district within the Vällingby development area was centred around a tunnelbana (metro) stop. Most dwellings would be built and rented out by municipal or public housing corporations. As Figure 1 shows, the dwellings would be predominately high-rise and low-rise apartment blocks (situated near to district centres) with a small but significant amount of housing (further away from district centres). It was also envisaged that residents throughout the suburb would be able to walk to their district centre from their homes with great ease, crossing few if any roads (for overviews of the development, see Pass, 1974; Sax, 1998). Widely praised for its spatial layout especially, the development also received some criticism of its architectural eclecticism, the incomplete separation of pedestrians and motor traffic, and the lower than expected numbers of employers that located in the suburb.

Situated over 400 kilometres south of Stockholm, the small Swedish city of Växjö has hosted international policy visits since 1998. Visitors have come mainly from China, Japan, the USA and various European countries with the main attraction being the local environmental policy programme (Andersson & James, 2018). Växjö became an international renowned destination for policy tourism after a pledge in 1996 by the municipality to become a fossil fuel free city by the year 2030. Nowadays such ambitions might not seem noteworthy as the number of ‘green city’ initiatives seem to succeed each other in an increasing pace (Joss, 2011), but in 1996 this was a pioneering decision, with no equivalence elsewhere in the world.

Växjö’s early turn towards reducing carbon dioxide emission did not take place in a geographical and political vacuum. Two local historic events that took place long before 1996 gave Växjö a ‘head start’ in their environmental work following the global sustainability surge that followed the 1992 Rio Conference (Emilianoff, 2014; Andersson, 2016). Firstly, during the 1960s and 1970s, large scale restoration projects took
place in Växjö, where the two lakes in the city centre (named Trummen and Växjösjön) were dredged and cleaned from centuries of waste and emissions from the city. Since the polluted lakes caused bad smells and non-drinkable water, the involvement from the local community in this project was broad and active. This project created local awareness of environmental issues, that later helped build a consensus among local politicians for the city to become fossil fuel free by 2030 (Gustavsson & Elander, 2012; Andersson, 2016). Secondly, in 1983 following a local political scandal – involving fraud and the disappearance of 40,000 cubic meters of oil in the publically-owned thermal power plant – decisions were made to change the production of heat and electricity from using oil to woodchips, the latter being a local and seemingly more reliable source of fuel as well as a by-product from the local forest industry (Emilianoff, 2014; Andersson, 2016).

Building from this decision the ‘green’ ambitions of Växjö has grown over the years, linking various policy areas (e.g. housing, transportation, infrastructure, elderly care) to their local environmental strategising. So when a reporter for The Guardian reported on a recent 24 hour visit to Växjö in 2015 – 19 years after the 1996 pledge – they delighted in detailing how buses in Växjö run on biogas from food waste, how energy-efficient its ‘passive’ wood housing is, how its nursery schools teach children to recycle and value nature, and how 40% of food served at public institutions is organic (Slavin, 2015).

In their different time periods, officials in Växjö and Vällingby have acted extrospectively in showcasing their localities to audiences elsewhere. They have drawn on and added to informational infrastructures to do such showcasing. As well as hosting policy tourists, officials in Stockholm during the 1950s and 1960s attended conferences, wrote in Swedish and English language journals, spoke at conferences and contributed to travelling exhibitions. Furthermore, three Stockholm officials – namely city planning directors Sven Markelius and Göran Sidenbladh as well as the politician and former city planning commissioner Yngve Larsson – took up visiting roles at American universities (Cook,
2017). All these activities would have contributed to the idea that Stockholm and its (suburban) centrepiece Vällingby were innovative, cutting-edge places to learn from. Local elites in Växjö have also engaged in similar extrospective practices, and like Vällingby it has received international awards which have also helped increase the extra-local visibility and prestige of the city. A central part of the extrospective practices of those behind Vällingby and Växjö have been the use of place branding, with Vällingby marketed as the ABC suburb and Växjö as ‘the greenest city in Europe’ – the latter following its tagging as this by a BBC Radio London report in 2007 (Andersson, 2016). What is different about Växjö’s extrospectivism is that, unlike Vällingby, it has also made extensive use of its membership of international policy networks – to ICLEI, Covenant of Mayors, Energy Cities among others – and its role within numerous EU funded projects to extrospectively enhance its image as a leader in its policy field.

**Hosting policy tourists in Vällingby and Växjö**

One issue that local elites in Stockholm and more recently in Växjö probably did not pay much attention to when first developing their respective plans for Vällingby and becoming fossil fuel free is how they would manage the influx of policy tourists their policies would attract. Nevertheless, elites in both localities would develop and refine infrastructures for hosting policy tourists.

In Vällingby, much of the policy tourism hosting was provided on an *ad hoc* basis in which the tours were not advertised but provided free-of-charge to those making a request to the municipality. The tour guide was sometimes Markelius, Sidenbladh or Larsson, but more often it was a less senior member of the city planning office. Between 1956 and 1964 another series of tours were offered by a local business association (Företagarföreningen Vällingby Centrum) who sought to accommodate the growing numbers of tourists (not just policy tourists) to the suburb. These tours were advertised and hosted by young women
employed during the summer months and based out of an information kiosk in the suburb’s main plaza (see Figure 2). With the job title of Fröken Vällingby, they would typically work in pairs and wear uniforms similar in style to those worn by air stewards. They were required to speak four languages (Swedish, English, French and German) and in addition to offering free-of-charge tours, they would also sell souvenirs and answer enquiries from locals and visitors. There seemed to be little or no collaboration or referrals between the two sets of tours around Vällingby.

Like Vällingby, the early study tours in Växjö were also run in an *ad hoc* way, organised in response to requests from prospective visitors. No-one had official responsibility for the tours and there was no budget to cover staffing costs. Visits were mostly handled by one of the envi-
Tour Guides of Policy Tourism

I. R. Cook & I. Andersson

In Växjö, a formal position as study tour coordinator was in place between 2006 and 2015. With strong similarities to Fröken Vällingby, their job was primarily focused on the tours. Their ‘front stage’ activities involved physically guiding visitors around, providing commentary, answering questions and communicating in multiple languages with the visitors – in the case of the Växjö coordinator it was primarily in Swedish and English and occasionally in Spanish. Their ‘back stage’ activities centred on the organisation of the tours (e.g. planning the itineraries and booking speakers, site visits and transport) as well as multiple other tasks such as gathering feedback from visitors and, even, writing invitation letters to support visitors’ visa applications if requested. In short, they were extremely busy as one coordinator interviewed in 2014 noted:
“[In] 2008, 2009, 2010 I will tell you, we had an unbelievable volume of technical visits and study tours coming in with almost three visits per week... at that time it was almost a full-time job to host visits, even to the extent that during some periods, especially between May to August/September, we had to bring in extra staff” (author’s translation).

Let’s concentrate on the content of the tours now, beginning with Vällingby. In terms of its geographical focus, the tours organised by Stockholm’s city planning office explored Vällingby alongside other suburbs (e.g. Farsta) and the redevelopment of central Stockholm, whereas tours by Fröken Vällingby focused very much on Vällingby. The Fröken Vällingby tours were not designed with planners and architects in mind unlike the tours offered by the city planning office. Furthermore, Fröken Vällingby tours were not able to offer first-hand accounts of the decision-making behind the suburb in the way the city planning office tours could.

Both sets of tours in Vällingby typically involved walking between sites, which was not only a practical arrangement but also a mean through which to demonstrate the suburb’s emphasis on separating pedestrians from vehicles. The tours were often tailored to meet the requirements of the delegates but often followed a similar pattern. Within Vällingby both sets of tours usually focused on the commercial centre of Vällingby and explored its residential areas. The tours by Fröken Vällingby sometimes involved going into an apartment in the suburb and meeting its occupants as well as occasionally visiting work premises (*Dagens Nyheter*, 1962). Tours with officials from the city planning office frequently involved visits to the city planning office to discuss the plans for the suburb and the city more widely. City planning officials sometimes took the visitors to lunch (often in Vällingby), while some larger groups had buffets at the city hall, and a select few were invited to the homes of Larsson and others.

Since 2006, policy tourists interested in visiting Växjö have been able to choose from a range of itineraries listed on an official ‘menu’ (see
Figure 3. Front covers of two technical visits menus. The menu on the left and right were published in 2011 and 2013 respectively.
Figure 3). There has also been scope for their itinerary to be further tailored. A menu, published in 2013, for instance offers a variety of activities related to sustainable urban development under different sub-topics such as sewage management, waste management, water management, city planning, forestry and ‘fossil fuel free Växjö’. Under the latter sub-topic, activities available include a visit to a home heated by a pellets combustor, visits to power plants, and seminars on bioenergy. Under the city planning sub-topic, to give another example, visits are available to different residential developments constructed out of wood. Irrespective of the choices made, the tours usually begin at city hall and involve listening to and speaking with senior officials within local public institutions as well as being guided around the city in chartered busses or cars.

The tours in Vällingby and Växjö are selective in terms of where they visit, what they see and who they meet. The organisers have been limited by time, costs, capacity, access and goodwill so cannot ‘overload’ the tours. Just as importantly, the selectivity of the tours is shaped by a common desire to showcase the positive, modern and seemingly innovative aspects of their locality. That is, aspects that fit in well with Växjö’s ‘fossil free’ branding and its focus on environmental sustainability, or in the case of Vällingby with its image as a successful, vibrant and inclusive place to live, work and consume. In Växjö, for instance, while many of the speakers on the tours gladly mention the early shift from oil to wood chip in the local power plant, it is seldom, if ever, acknowledged that the transition was sparked by municipal fraud. Elsewhere, the study tours in Vällingby only occasionally went to Johannelund – an industrial district in the wider Vällingby development area – which struggled to attract as many employers as hoped for (with some notable exceptions).

In addition to the dilemma of what should been seen and heard on the tours, the organisers in Vällingby and Växjö have been faced with two ethical dilemmas. The first is whether they should agree to host visitors from elsewhere. Stockholm and Växjö have been engaged in
forms of inter-urban competition which might have discouraged them from sharing their ‘recipes for success’ with potential ‘rivals’. Likewise, hosting visitors might have been viewed as an inconvenience and intrusion. Nevertheless, officials in both places have wanted to host visitors, and this seems to have stemmed from two understandings about external relations. The first is that being helpful and hospitable to those interested in their work is the morally right way to act and the second is that international interest could provide legitimacy for the host’s work and locality (Cook, 2017). Moving on, the second ethical dilemma is whether participants on study tours should be charged. It has long been the convention to not charge and this is what happened in Vällingby and initially in Växjö. Nevertheless, in Växjö there had been repeated drives by policymakers to charge visitors attending with the tours. Such drives derived from concerns that hosting study tours is costly for the hosts as well as a belief that the tours could generate income. What materialised, however, was that few visitors were actually charged as the hosts found it awkward to ask for more than transportation and admission fees from those working in public administration, students and journalists (which represents about 90% of the total visits). Furthermore, charging for study tours does not sit well with Swedish legislation that prohibits public authorities from selling public policy and knowhow (in Swedish: offentlichetsprincipen) – however this can be circumvented through a public-private partnership which was one of the reasons for establishing Sustainable Småländ. As a result, from 2013 it was decided that they would no longer attempt to charge for the study tours, except basic costs such as transportation. Hosting study tours is, suffice to say, far from straightforward.

CONCLUSION

Study tours are important and long-standing informational infrastructure events. They shape the extra-local circulation of knowledge about ‘best practice’ places and often influence the ways in which policymak-
ers and practitioners draw on ideas from elsewhere in their own working practices (Wood, 2014; Montero, 2017). As work on policy tourism and study tours continues to grow, this chapter has made the case that a more nuanced understanding can be achieved through bringing the literature on study tours and policy tourism into dialogue with the considerable literature on guided tours and tour guides. In so doing, a lens can be crafted that sheds light on several important issues, namely: the relationship between visitation, learning and policy mobilisation; the position of study tours within informational infrastructures; the practices of showcasing by local policy actors; the roles of the tour guides; the ethics of guided tours; and the relationship between guided tours and the sites of visitation.

This chapter has also made the case that we should look closely at the similarities and differences between study tours across time and space. Through the two case studies, we can see that there are important similarities between the study tours in Vällingby during the 1950s and 1960s and those in Växjö during the early 21st century. These include the willingness to host visitors, the positioning of study tours alongside a range of other ‘extrospective’ practices by local officials, and the emphasis on positive ‘success stories’ on the tours. Such similarities are influenced to some degree by (sometimes long-standing) social norms and conventions that travel between places influencing the practice of study tours. Nevertheless, study tours are influenced by a multitude of actors as well as contexts in which the tours operate. As a result, tours are rarely identical. Here we have seen that aspects of the study tours in Vällingby and Växjö differ from each other. For instance, Växjö’s unconventional and aborted attempts at charging for study tours was not mirrored in Vällingby and is rarely practiced elsewhere (Freiburg being an exception). When the tours in Vällingby and Växjö share similarities, they are sometimes contrary to convention – an example being their attempts to professionalise and market the tours staffed by dedicated tour guides. In sum, similarities and differences, as well as space and time are important in the study of study tours and policy tourism.
I. R. Cook & I. Andersson

Tour Guides of policy tourism

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