Clustered, Trapped and Excluded? Exploring immigrants' social and geographical trajectories in Swedish Metropolitan Areas 1990-2008

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Research and advise?

Before Göteborg and Malmö, we also analysed Stockholm:
Andersson, R., Hogdal, J. & Johansson, S., (2007) Planering för minskad
bostadssegregation. Rapport 1:2007 Regionplane- och trafikkontoret,
Stockholms läns landsting.

All three reports contain two different types of sections, one using longitudinal individual
register data to analyse segregation dynamics ,and the other is based on expert
interviews.

Giving advice on policy

- Segregation and social integration/exclusion are highly contested issues which concern power relations, ethical principles and fear (of "the other" both geographically and socio-culturally).

- They tend to be left-right political issues (more State/less State, more planning/less planning etc).

- However, research can provide input conceptually and empirically and should play a role in the policy process.
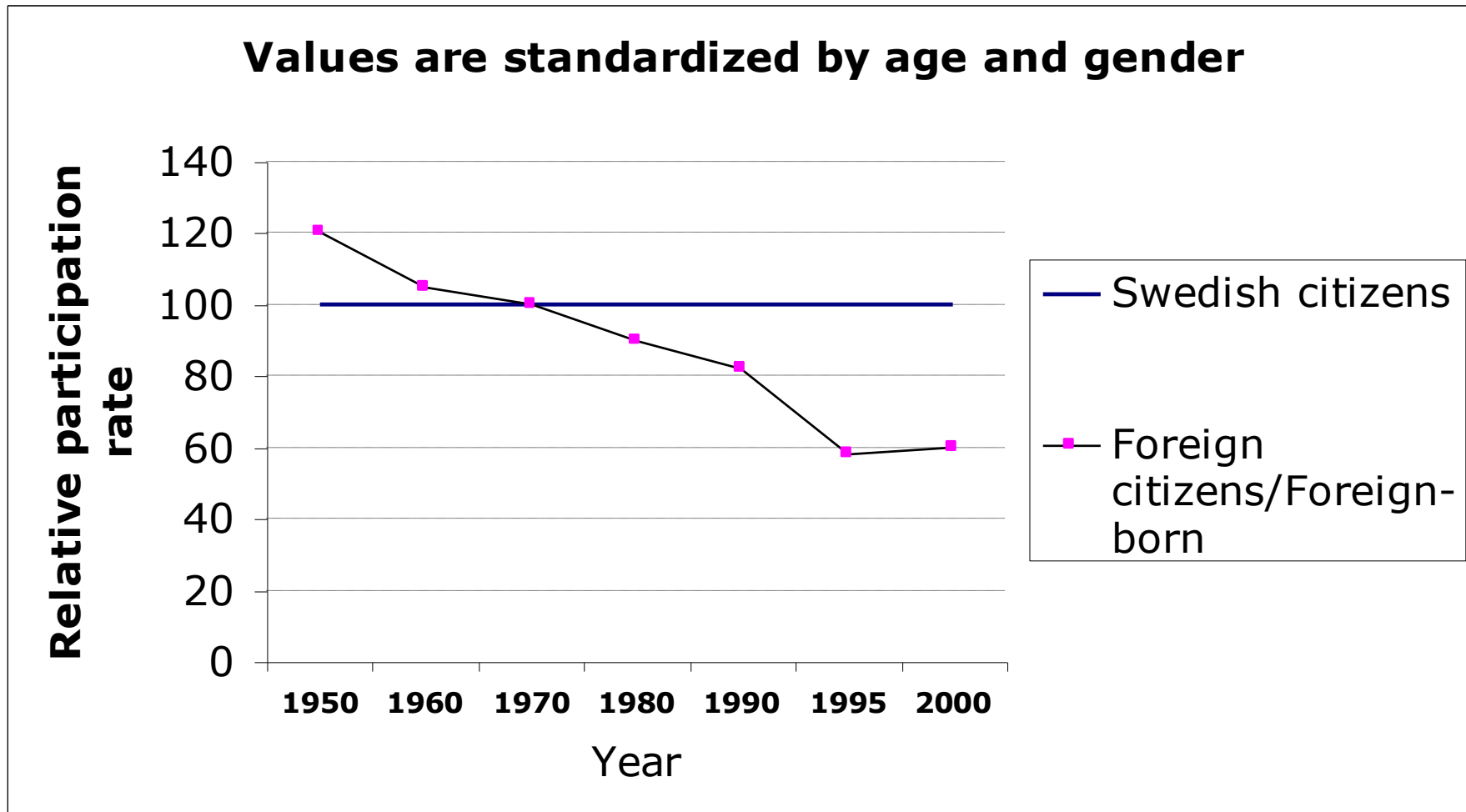
Contents of the presentation

- Aims
- Research and policy background: some dramatic socioeconomic data
- Conceptual introduction
- Empirical accounts: clustered, trapped and excluded?
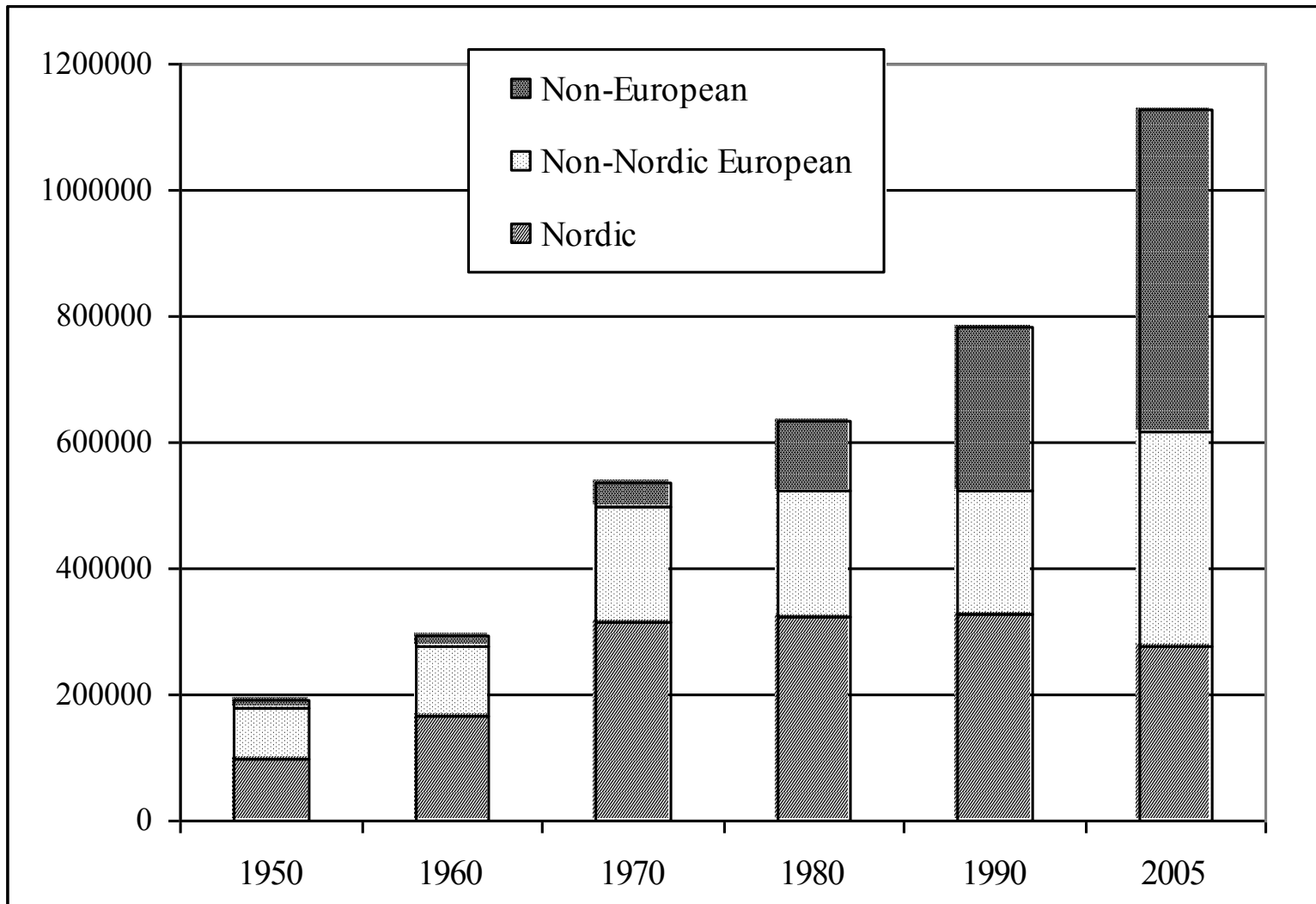- Policy overview
- Conclusion

Aim/questions

- **Theoretically and empirically: In what way does residential segregation relates to social integration processes?**

- Are immigrants in Sweden clustered (geographically concentrated/"segregated")?

- Are they trapped in particular neighbourhoods or housing estates?

- Are they socially excluded?

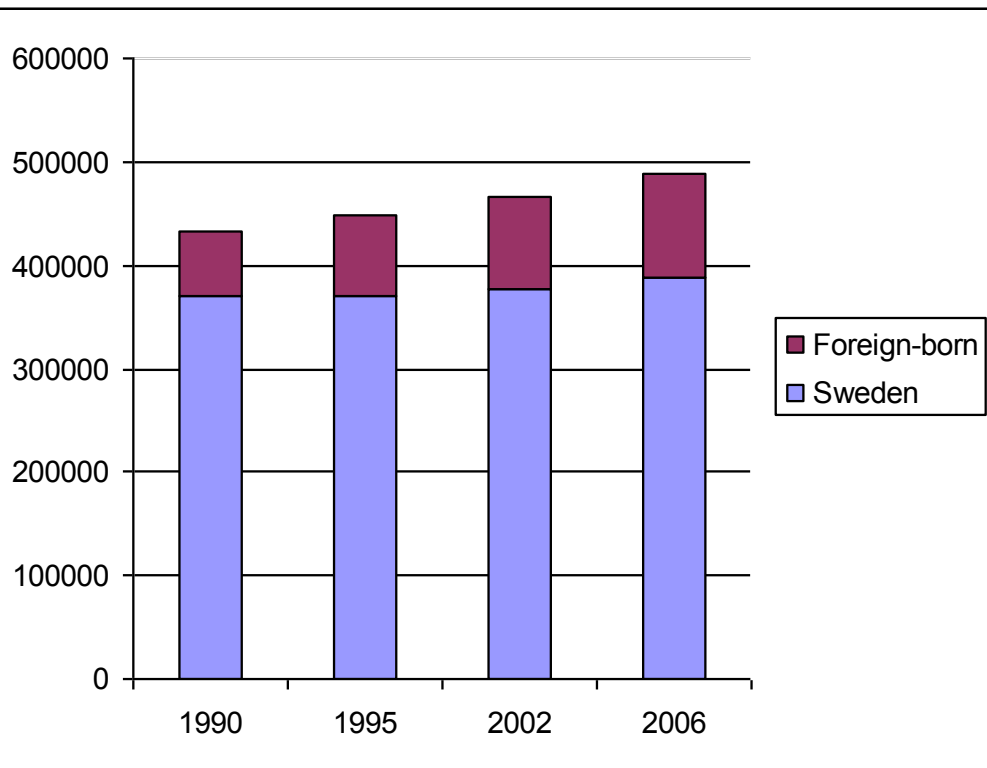- Counter-segregation and pro-integration policies: any lessons from Sweden?

Background: Relative labour market participation rates for immigrants in Sweden 1950-2000.

Values are standardized by age and gender

Changing numbers- changing composition

Gothenburg city, number of immigrants 1990-2006

Chart legend:
- Foreign-born
- Sweden

Y-axis: 0, 100000, 200000, 300000, 400000, 500000, 600000
X-axis: 1990, 1995, 2002, 2006

Country of birth	Change 1990-2006	Perc.
Sweden	19407	35
Non-European	29863	54
Other foreign-born	5842	11
Total	55112	100

Background*	Frequency	Percent
Sweden	354940	72,7
Western Europe	31971	6,5
Eastern Eur.	33369	6,8
North Africa & Western Asia	38440	7,9
Rest of Africa	10893	2,2
Rest of Asia	11739	2,4
Latin America	6767	1,4
Unknown	22	0,0
Total	488141	100,0

*Incl. 2nd gen.

Country of origin	Numbers in 2006
Former Yugosl.	18003
Iran	12368
Finland	12088
Iraq	11009
Turkey	6202
Total w. foreign b.	133201

Source: Database Geosweden,
Institute for Housing & Urban Research

Some key data for a Gothenburg housing estate 1990, 1995, 2006

Variable/Indicator	1 990	1 995	2 006
Pop aged 16-64	3 701	4 533	4 508
Born abroad	2 210	3 020	3 736
Born in Sweden	*1491*	*1513*	*772*
% Foreign-born	*59,7*	*66,6*	*82,9*
% employed, born in Sweden	52,7	22,9	41,2
% employed, born abroad	37,0	19,8	38,9
Work income, females born abroad	56 400	25 200	53 700
Work income, females born in Sweden	78 100	61 700	66 700
Work income, males born abroad	81 000	34 200	89 200
Work income, males born in Sweden	111 200	82 200	86 200
Work income, females born abroad, KPI Index90=100	100	36	70
Work income, females born in Sweden, KPI Index90=100	100	64	62
Work income, males born abroad, KPI Index90=100	100	34	81
Work income, males born in Sweden, KPI Index90=100	100	60	57
% on social allowances, born in Sweden	6	14	22
% on social allowances, born abroad	9	65	38

The role of ethnic residential segregation – alternative propositions

- Lack of labour market integration ⟶ housing segregation

- Housing segregation ⟶ lack of labour market integration

- Segregation ←/⟶ Integration

Segregation/Integration

Aspect	Level	
	Group	Individual
System/structural integration		
Social/cultural integration		

Level of Residential segregation	Level of Integration	
	Low	High
Low	1	**2**
High	**3**	4

How do residential patterns affect the level of structural and social integration?
And how does the level of integration affects residential patterns?
Swedish problem conception= 3. Goal= 2. How to reach the goal?

Explaining ethnic residential patterns

- Immigrants reside in and are concentrated to particular areas because they choose to live there ("cultural discourse")

- Immigrants reside in particular areas because they are poor ("structural discourse")

- Immigrants reside in particular areas because the majority population wants them to live there ("post-colonial discourse")

Should any of these explanatory approaches be favoured? This is an empirical question.

Understanding segregation

- **A structure-agency problem**

Key dimensions of segregation:
➢ **Demographic (age, size of households)**
➢ **Social class (socioeconomic composition)**
➢ **Ethnic/racial composition**

These intersect but affect also independently residential patterns both due to the housing and physical structures and due to variations in households' preferences and resources.

Understanding segregation

- Agency (preferences and behaviour)

  Most households do have preferences regarding where to live but not all can make a choice.

  Focusing on the ethnic dimension, three aspects of residential choice have often been discussed in the literature:

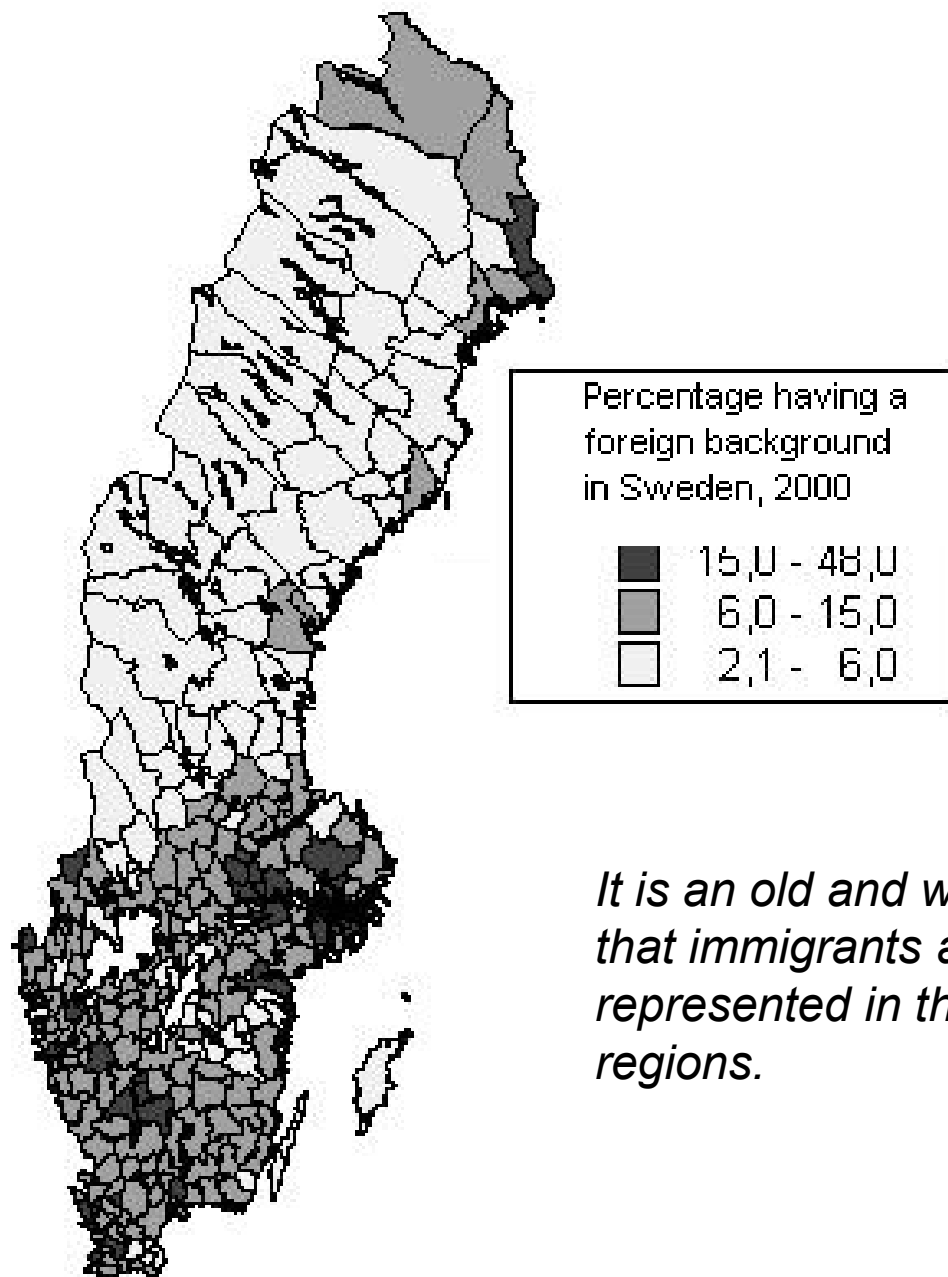# Understanding ethnic residential segregation: behavioural aspects

Minority

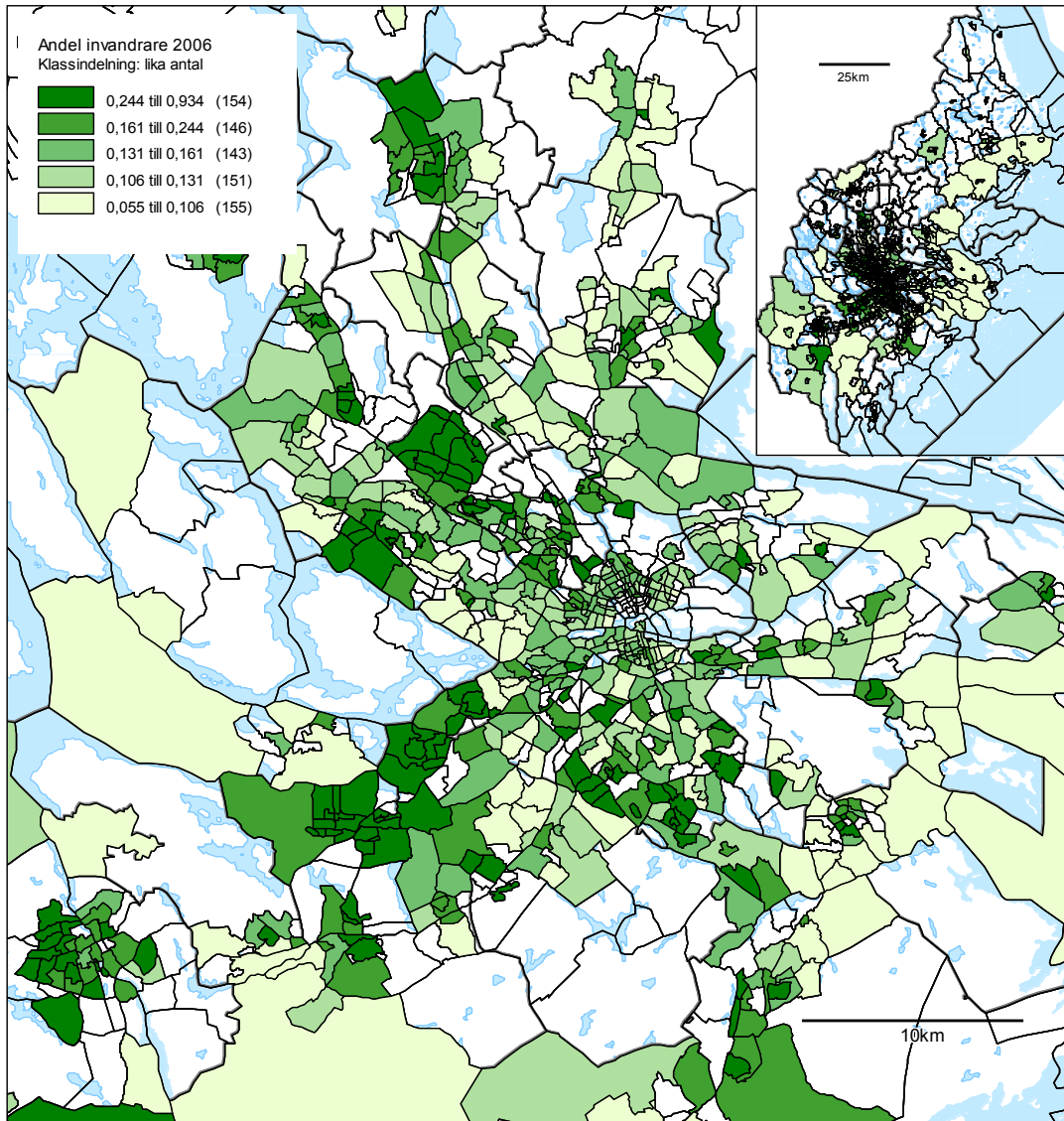- Spatial assimilation strategies
- Congregation

Majority

- ”White flight”
- ”White avoidance”
- Blocking strategies

Uneven geographies at different spatial levels – nation state

Percentage having a
foreign background
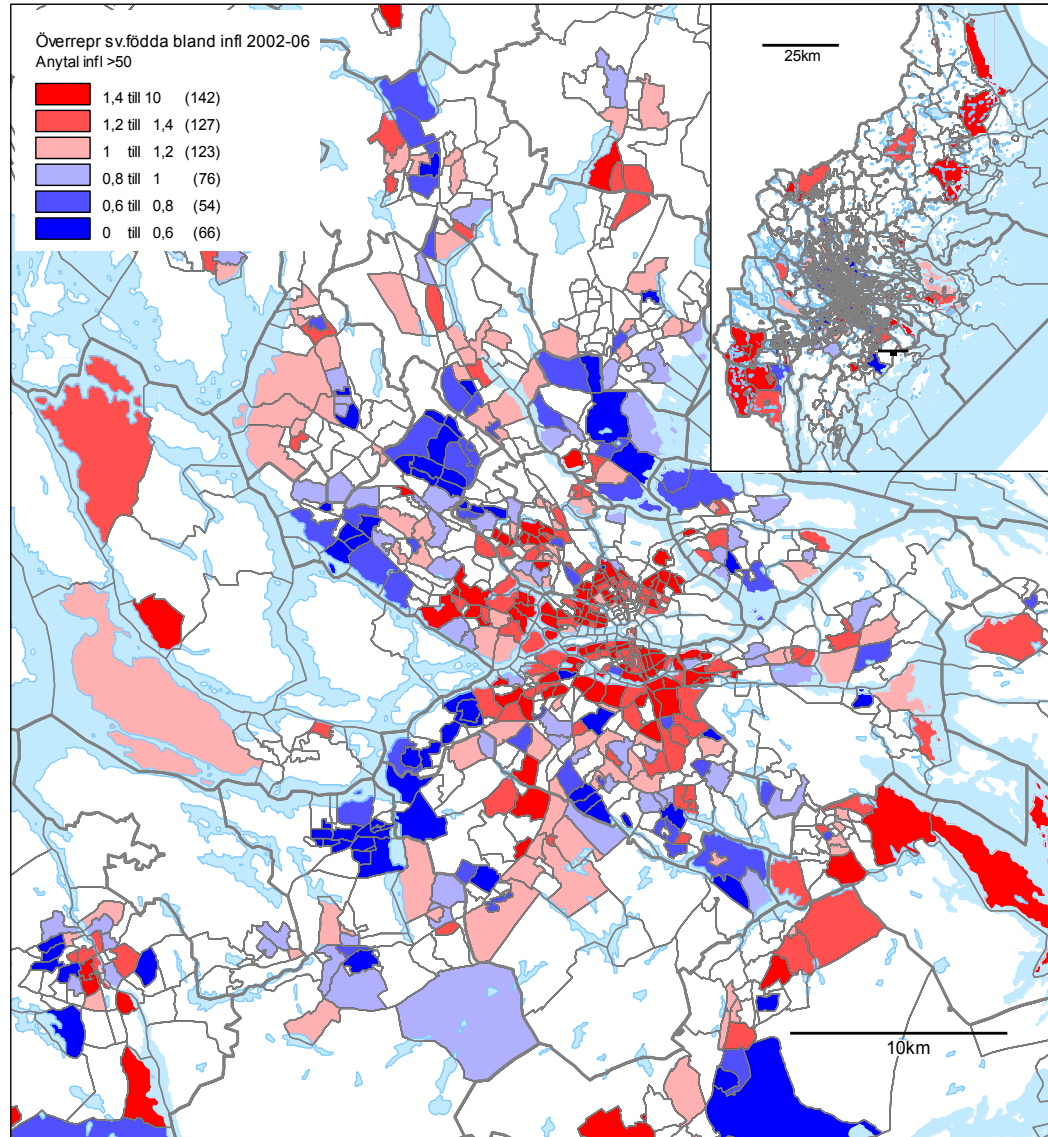in Sweden, 2000

■ 15,0 - 48,0
▨ 6,0 - 15,0
□ 2,1 - 6,0

It is an old and well known fact that immigrants are over-represented in the major urban regions.

Uneven geographies at different spatial levels – urban region

Andel invandrare 2006
Klassindelning: lika antal

- 0,244 till 0,934 (154)
- 0,161 till 0,244 (146)
- 0,131 till 0,161 (143)
- 0,106 till 0,131 (151)
- 0,055 till 0,106 (155)

25km

10km

Percentage
foreign-born
in Stockholm county
neighbourhoods
2006

Over/under representation of Swedish-born in-movers to the Stockholm region 2003-2006.


Överrepr sv.födda bland infl 2002-06
Anytal infl >50

1,4 till 10	(142)
1,2 till 1,4	(127)
1 till 1,2	(123)
0,8 till 1	(76)
0,6 till 0,8	(54)
0 till 0,6	(66)

25km

10km

Ethnic segregation in metropolitan Sweden is reproduced by huge differences in patterns of in-migration to these regions.

Many but by no means all immigrants end up in high immigrant Concentration areas.

IRAQ

Population in 2002 and newcomers 2003-06

1 punkt = 10 förutvarande inv

1 punkt = 10 nyanlända inv

25km

10km
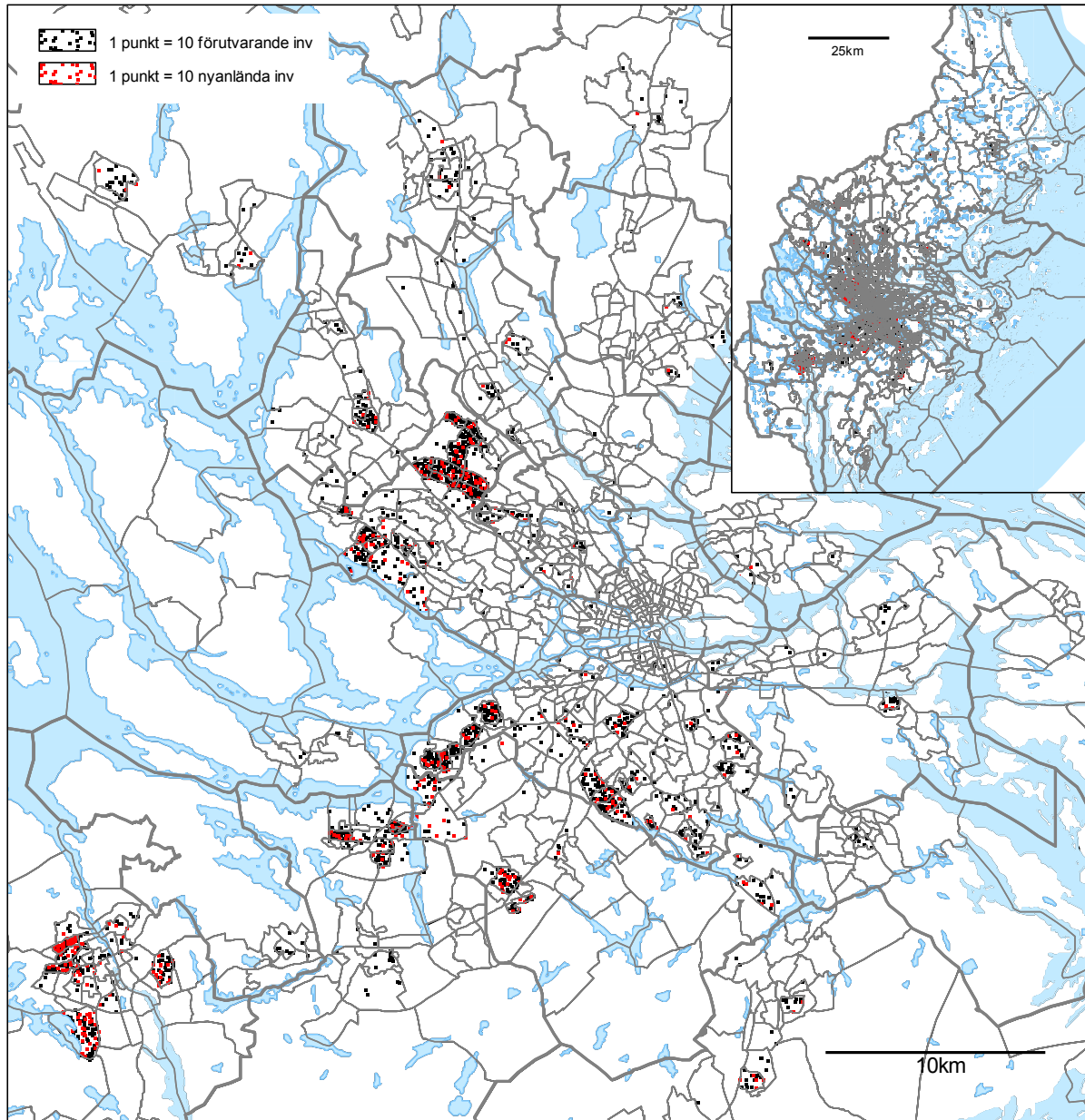
	Irak
Antal invånare	27 402
Andel 0-17 år	15,5%
Andel 18-64 år	80,0%
Andel 65- år	4,5%
Andel infl 2003-2006	20,6%
Andel Socialbidragstagare	38,3%
Andel a-nytta	63,6%
Andel priv HR	20,4%
Andel Brf	7,2%
Andel egnahem	8,8%
Medelink (disp ink) 18-64 år	86 936
Segregationsindex	0,61
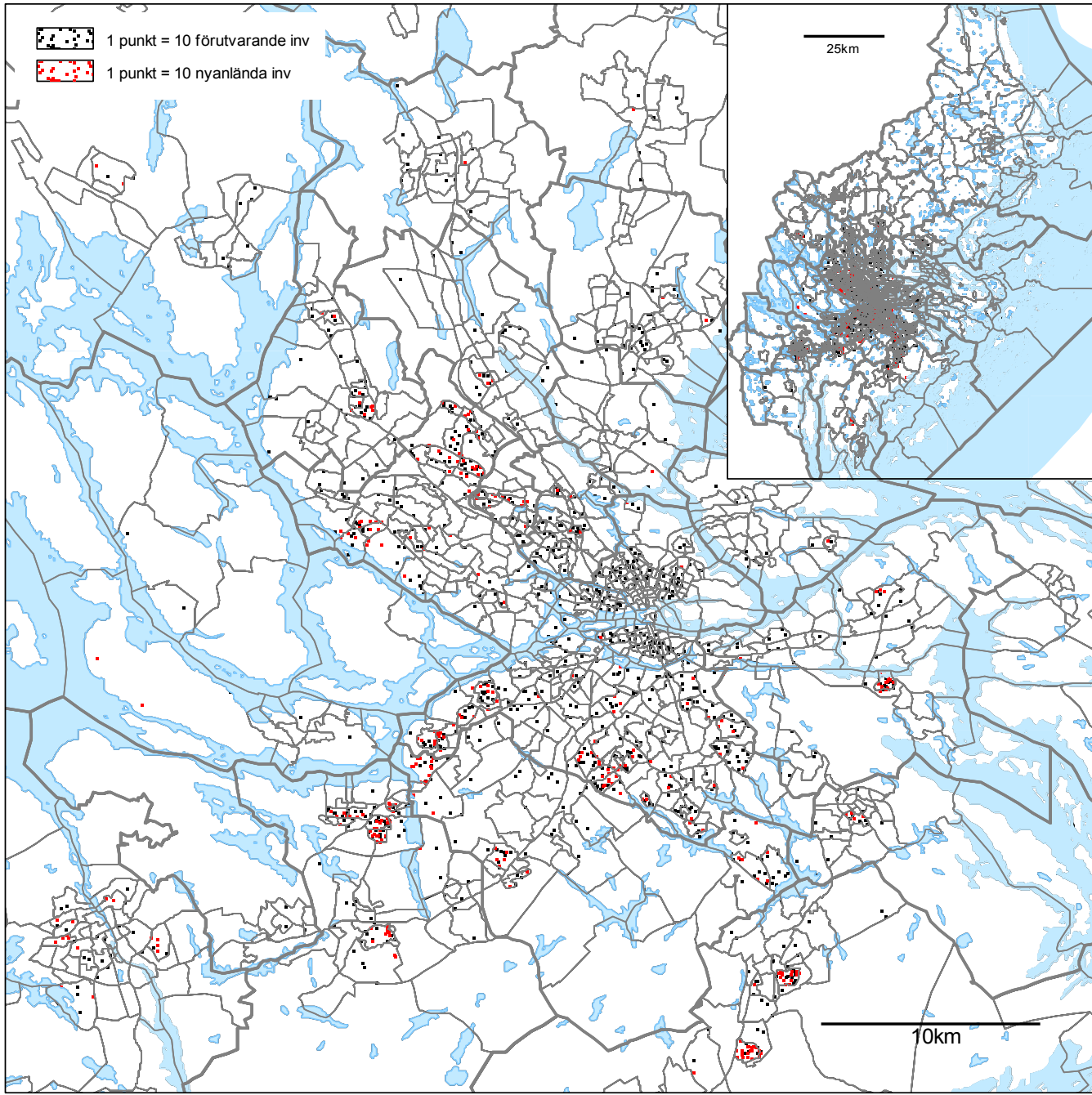
POLAND

Population in 2002 and newcomers 2003-06

| | 1 punkt = 10 förutvarande inv |
| 1 punkt = 10 nyanlända inv |

	Polen
Antal invånare	17 538
Andel 0-17 år	7,4%
Andel 18-64 år	81,6%
Andel 65- år	10,9%
Andel infl 2003-2006	30,3%
Andel Socialbidragstagare	4,9%
Andel a-nytta	32,3%
Andel priv HR	21,2%
Andel Brf	23,7%
Andel egnahem	22,8%
Medelink (disp ink) 18-64 år	126 062
Segregationsindex	0,29

25km

10km

The ethnic hierarchy in Gothenburg 2006, measured as labour market participation and dissimilarity index in relation to the Swedish majority population.
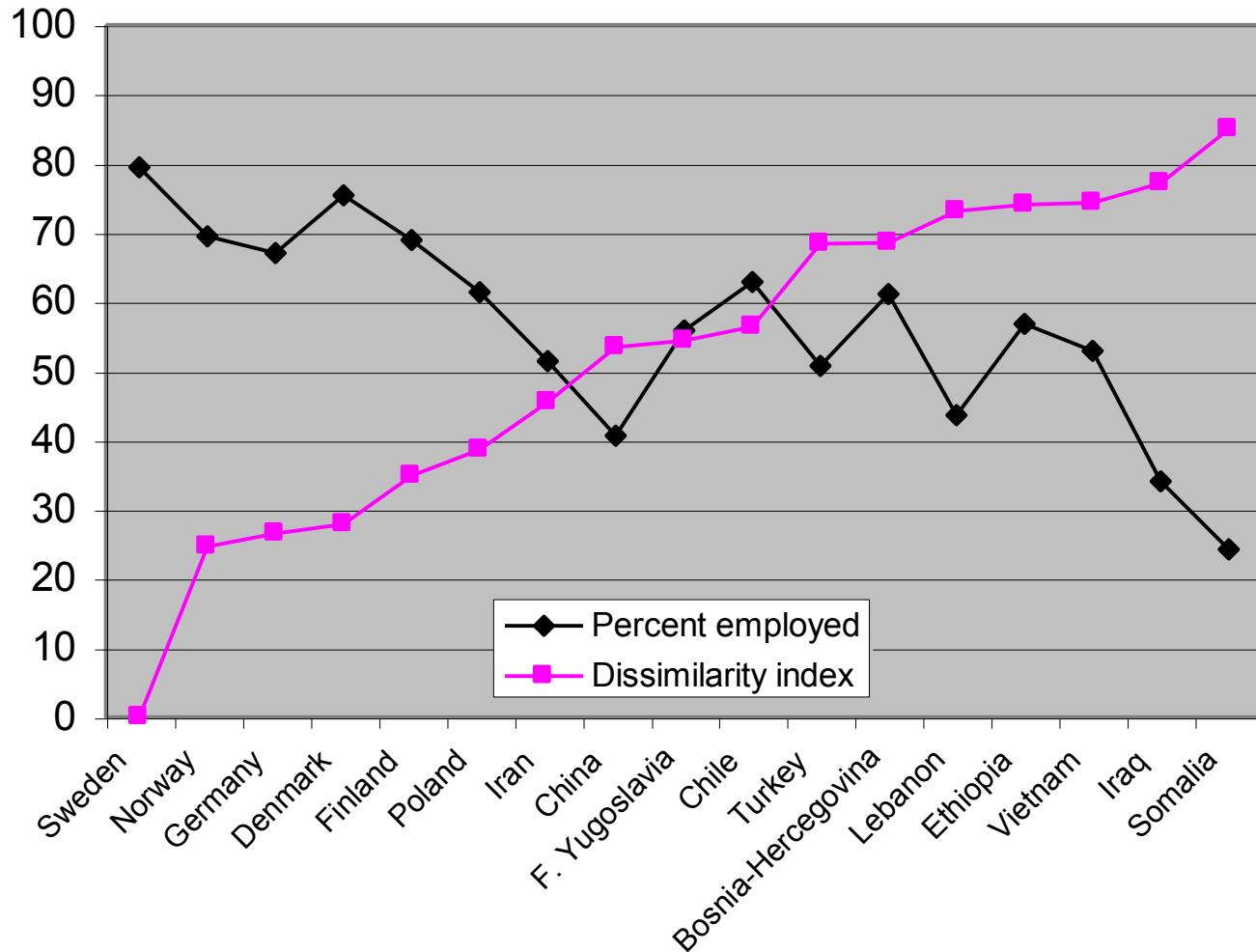
It is clear that there is a strong corre- lation between a group´s residential segregation and its level of labour market participation.
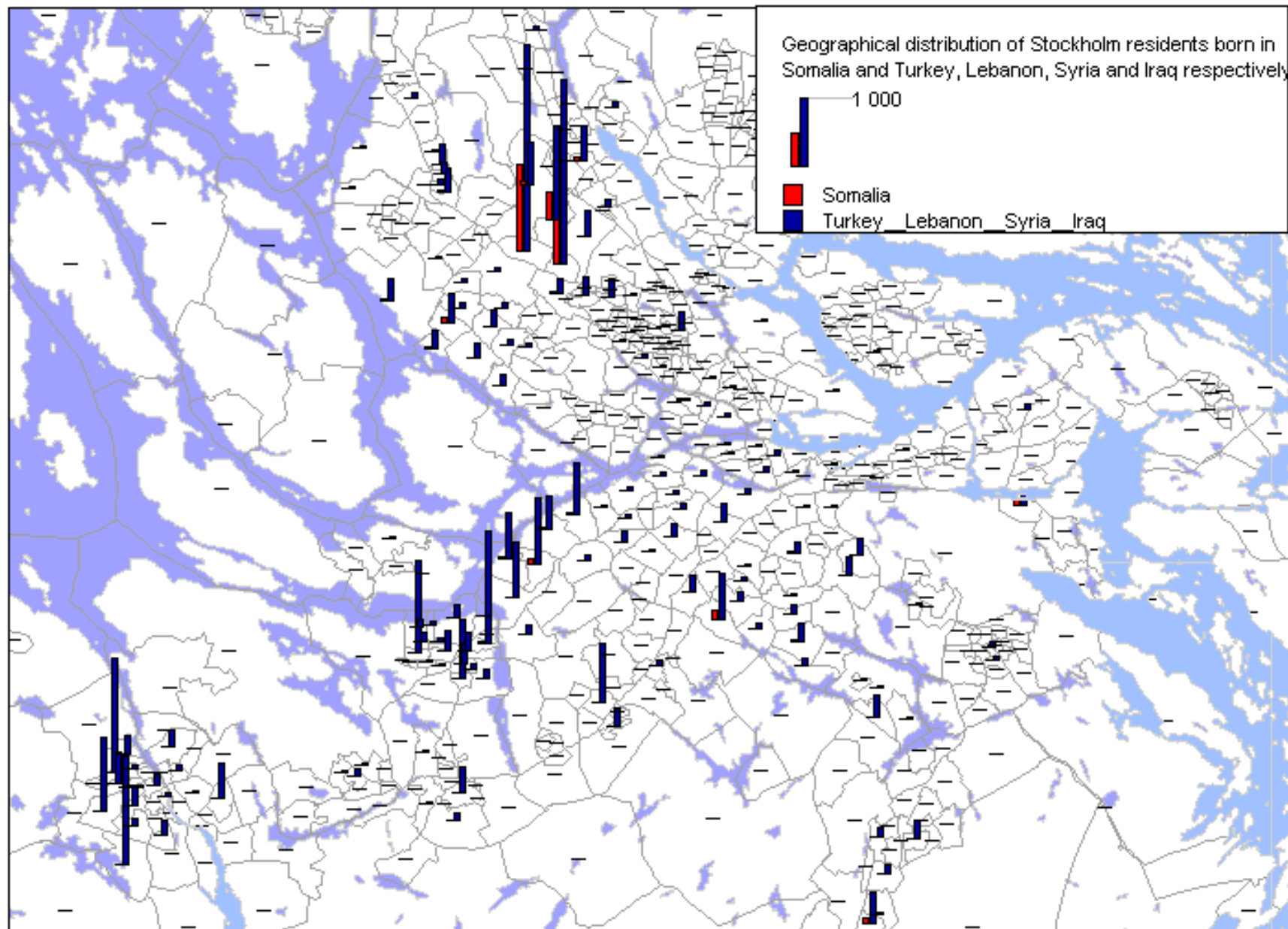
Poor (red) and rich (blue) neighbourhoods in Stockholm (average income from work, 2004)
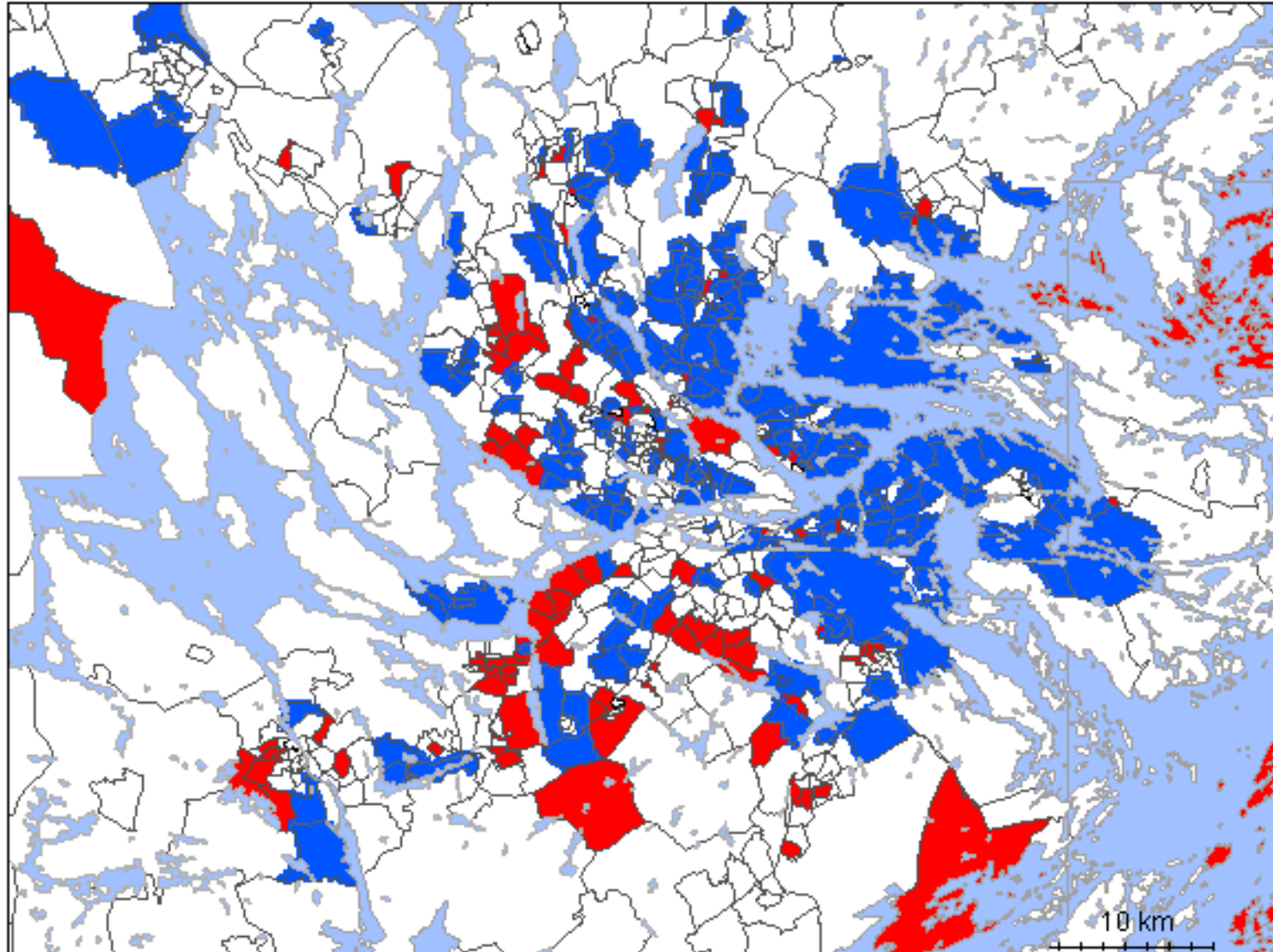
Quintile Cutpoints:
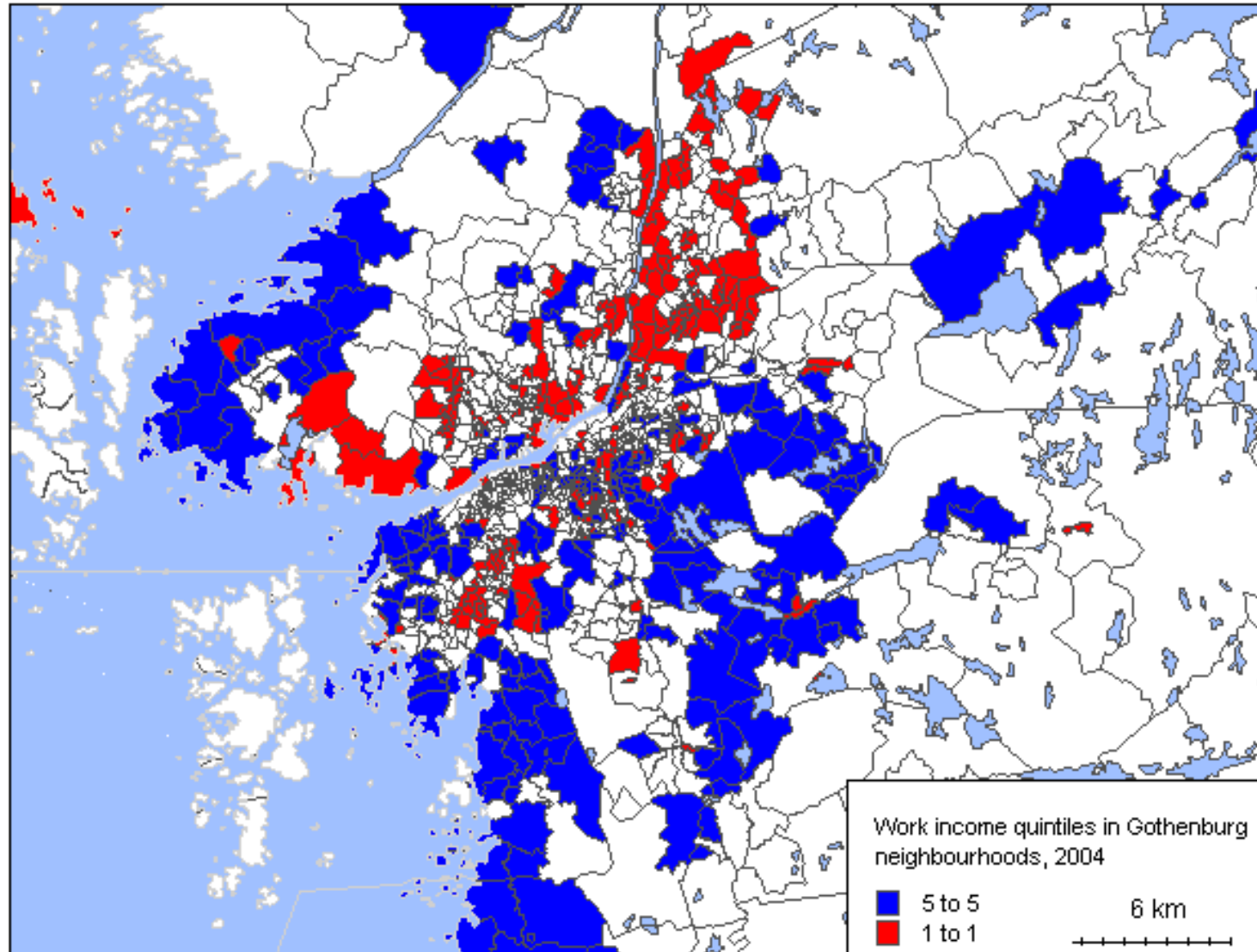(1) Red, below SEK 131,000 (14,100 Euro)

(5) Blue, above SEK 219,870 (23,600 Euro)

10 km

Geographical distribution of Stockholm residents born in Somalia and Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq respectively

1 000

■ Somalia
■ Turkey_Lebanon_Syria_Iraq

Poor (red) and rich (blue) neighbourhoods in Gothenburg (average income from work, 2004)

Quintile Cutpoints:
(1) Red, below
SEK 124,900
(13,430 Euro)

(5) Blue, above
SEK 195,760
(21,050 Euro)

Work income quintiles in Gothenburg neighbourhoods, 2004

■ 5 to 5
■ 1 to 1

6 km

Geographical distribution of people born in Somalia
and Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq (2004)

1 000
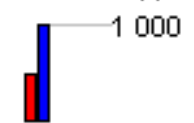
SOMALIA
Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq
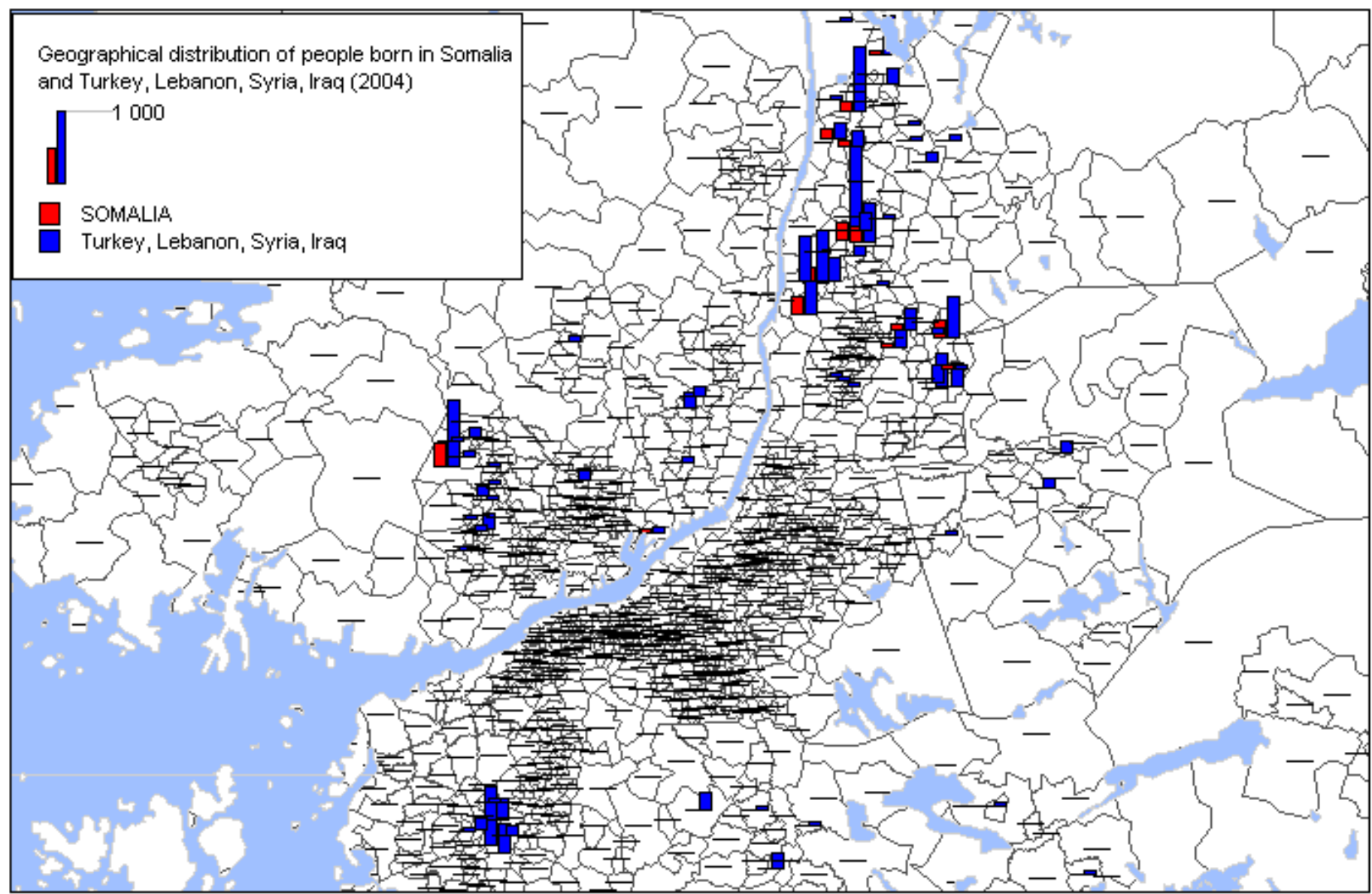
Poor (red) and rich (blue) neighbourhoods in Malmö (average income from work, 2004

Quintile Cutpoints:
(1) Red, below
SEK 103,150
(110,90 Euro)

(5) Blue, above
SEK 176,280
(18955 Euro)

DENMARK

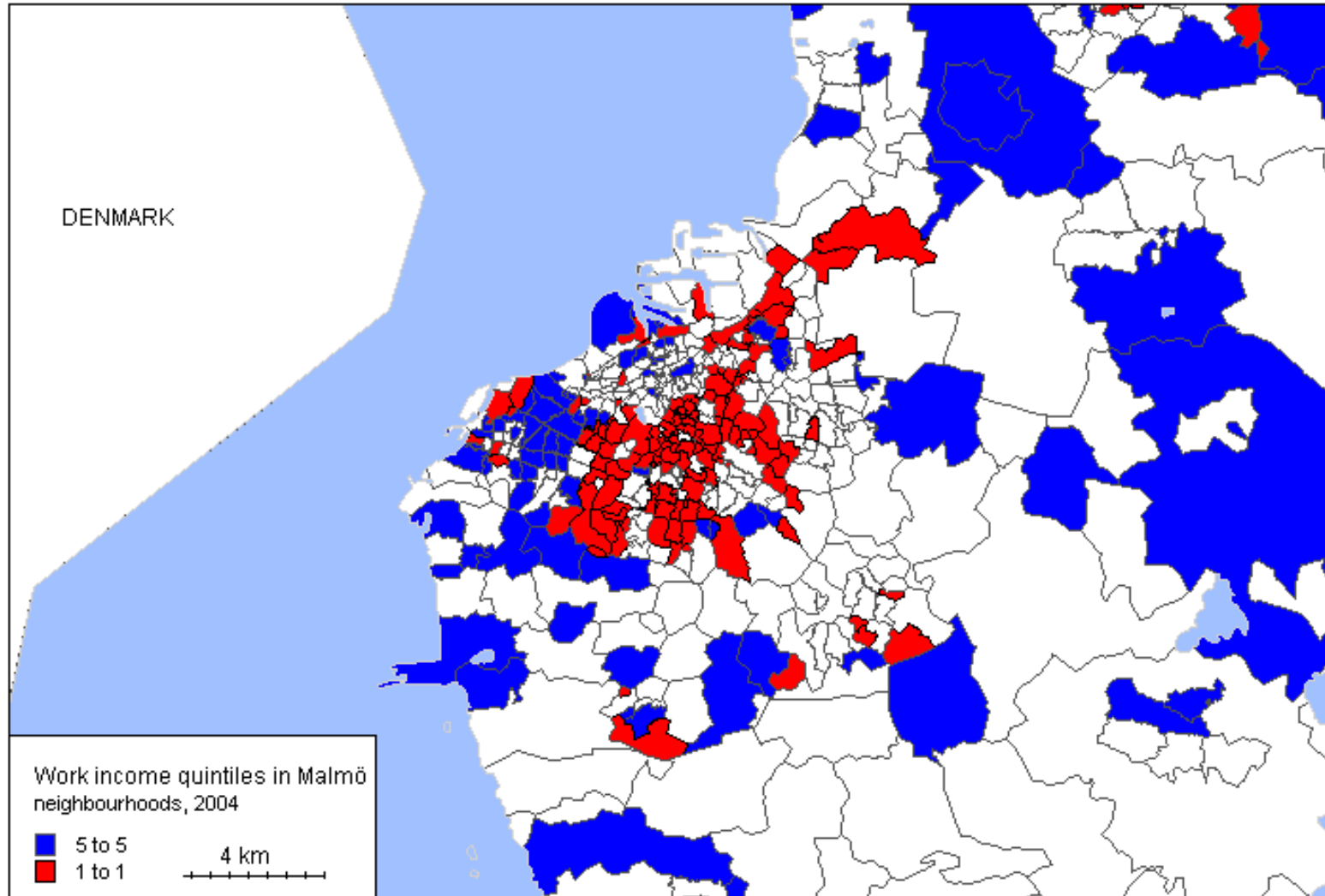Work income quintiles in Malmö
neighbourhoods, 2004

■ 5 to 5
■ 1 to 1

4 km

Geographical distribution of people born in Somalia
and Turkey, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq

1 000

Somalia

Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq

2 km
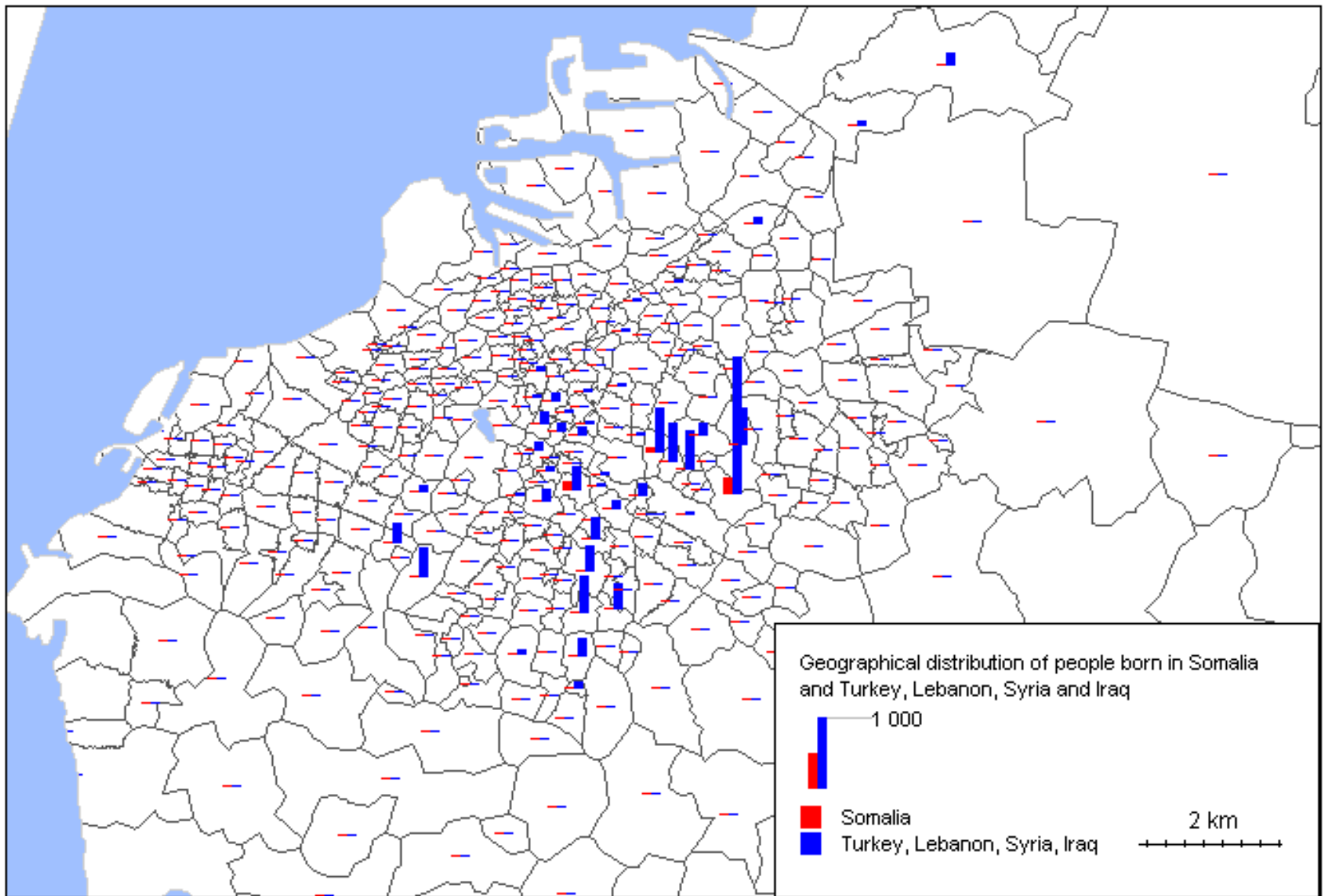
The distribution of work incomes and relative presence of people with foreign background in Gothenburg neighbourhoods, 2006. (Neighbourhoods are ranked from left to right according to decreasing average incomes).
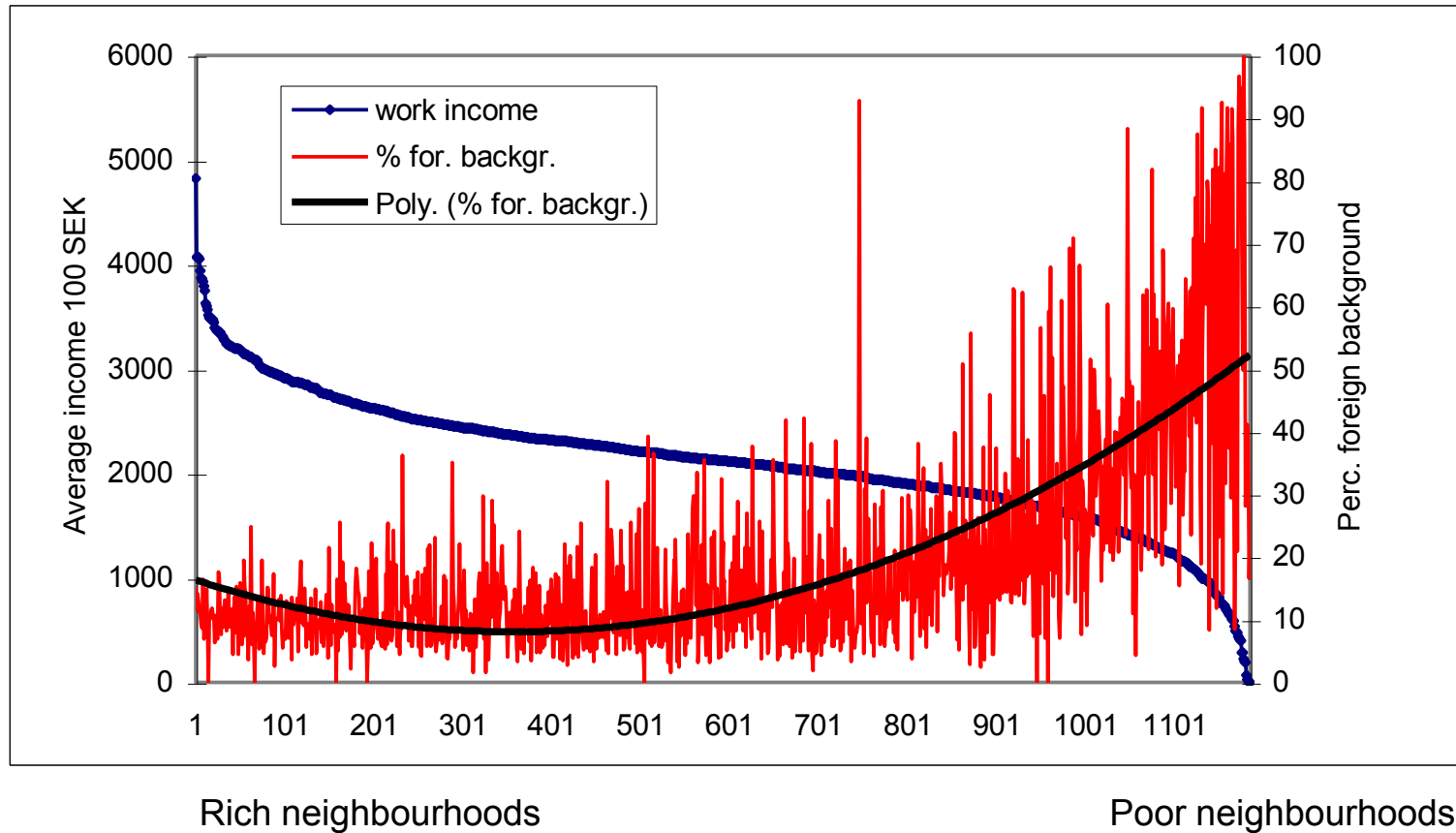
Pearson correlation: -.64 (significant at .01 level).

Income polarisation at the neighbourhood level in the Gothenburg and Malmö Labour Market regions in 1990 and 2006/2004

	Gothenburg		Malmö	
Quota	1990	2006	1990	2004
Percentile 90/percentile 10	1.55	2.33	1.48	1.79
Percentile 80/percentile 20	1.30	1.58	1.30	1.39
Percentile 70/percentile 30	1.18	1.30	1.17	1.21
Percentile 60/percentile 40	1.08	1.12	1.12	1.14

*All neighbourhoods (about 1200 in Gothenburg and 1000 in Malmö) have been ranked according to average work income (*förvärvsersättning*). Quotas are then calculated for different combinations of ranking positions (percentiles).

Source: Andersson, Bråmå, Hogdal (2009).

Income polarization at the individual level has been increasing since the 1980s. However, polarization between rich and poor neighbourhoods takes place at a much higher speed.

In which areas do we find rich and poor natives and immigrants, respectively?
The distribution of Stockholm residents over individual work income quintiles and neighbourhood income quintiles.

Stockholm, Swedish background

Individual Work income quintile	Neighbourhood income quintile (Poor)				(Rich)		
	1	2	3	4	5	Sum	(N)
1--2 (low)	19,5	22,9	20,8	18,5	18,3	100,0	509970
3	16,3	22,7	22,4	20,4	18,3	100,0	262226
4	14,4	22,5	23,2	21,8	18,2	100,0	285455
5 (high)	6,9	13,9	20,5	25,8	32,9	100,0	308182
Total	15,0	20,7	21,5	21,2	21,6	100,0	1365833

Stockholm, born in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria or Iraq

Individual Work income quintile	Neighbourhood income quintile (Poor)				(Rich)		
	1	2	3	4	5	Sum	(N)
1--2 (low)	69,8	16,0	7,3	4,7	2,2	100,0	31136
3	65,5	17,3	8,0	6,3	2,8	100,0	15062
4	55,1	19,8	10,9	9,3	5,0	100,0	5898
5 (high)	39,5	19,3	14,5	14,8	11,9	100,0	2311
Total	65,7	16,9	8,2	6,1	3,1	100,0	54407

Percentage of residents in the Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö labour market regions with origin in Turkey, Lebanon,

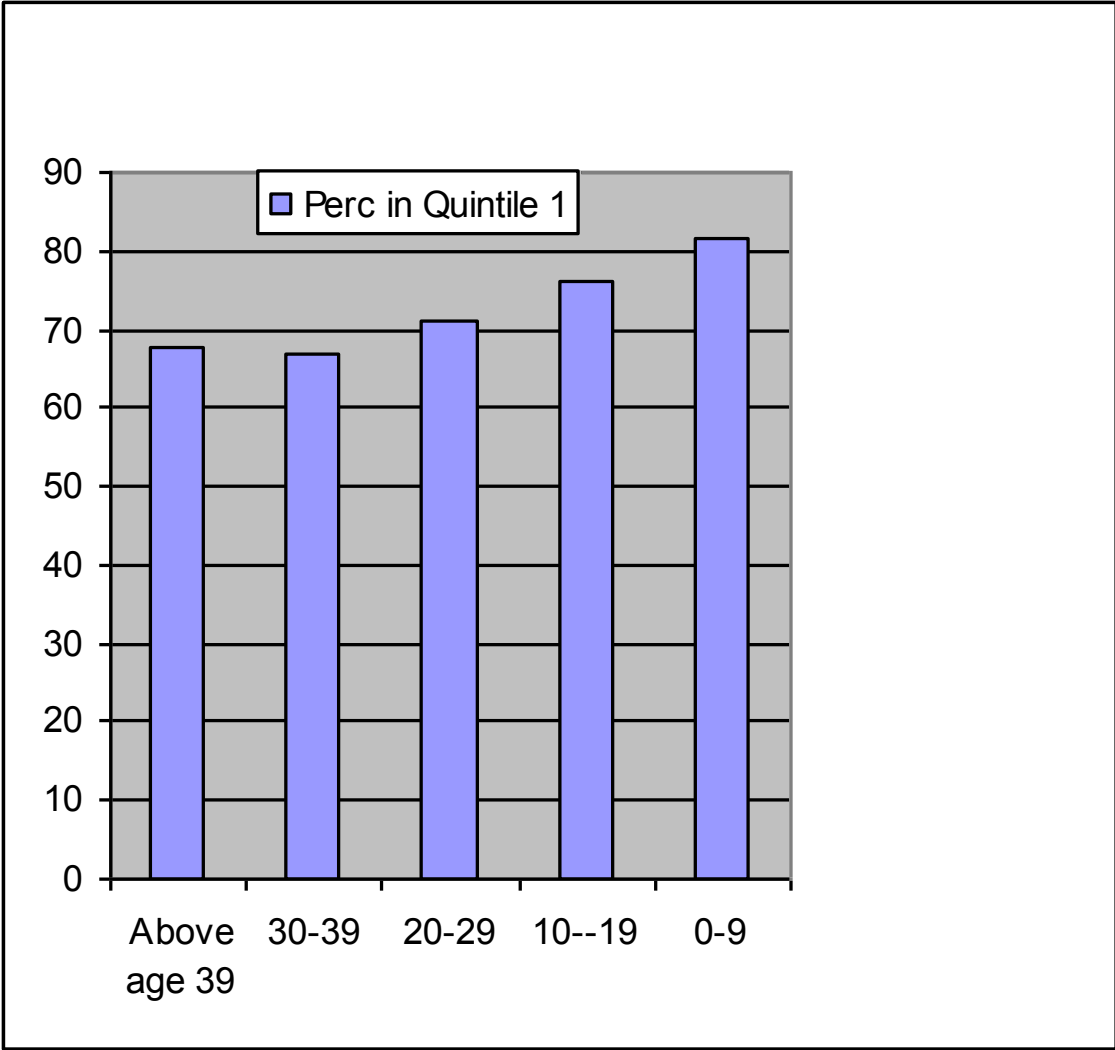Syria and Iraq living in the poorest neighbourhoods (1st quintile).
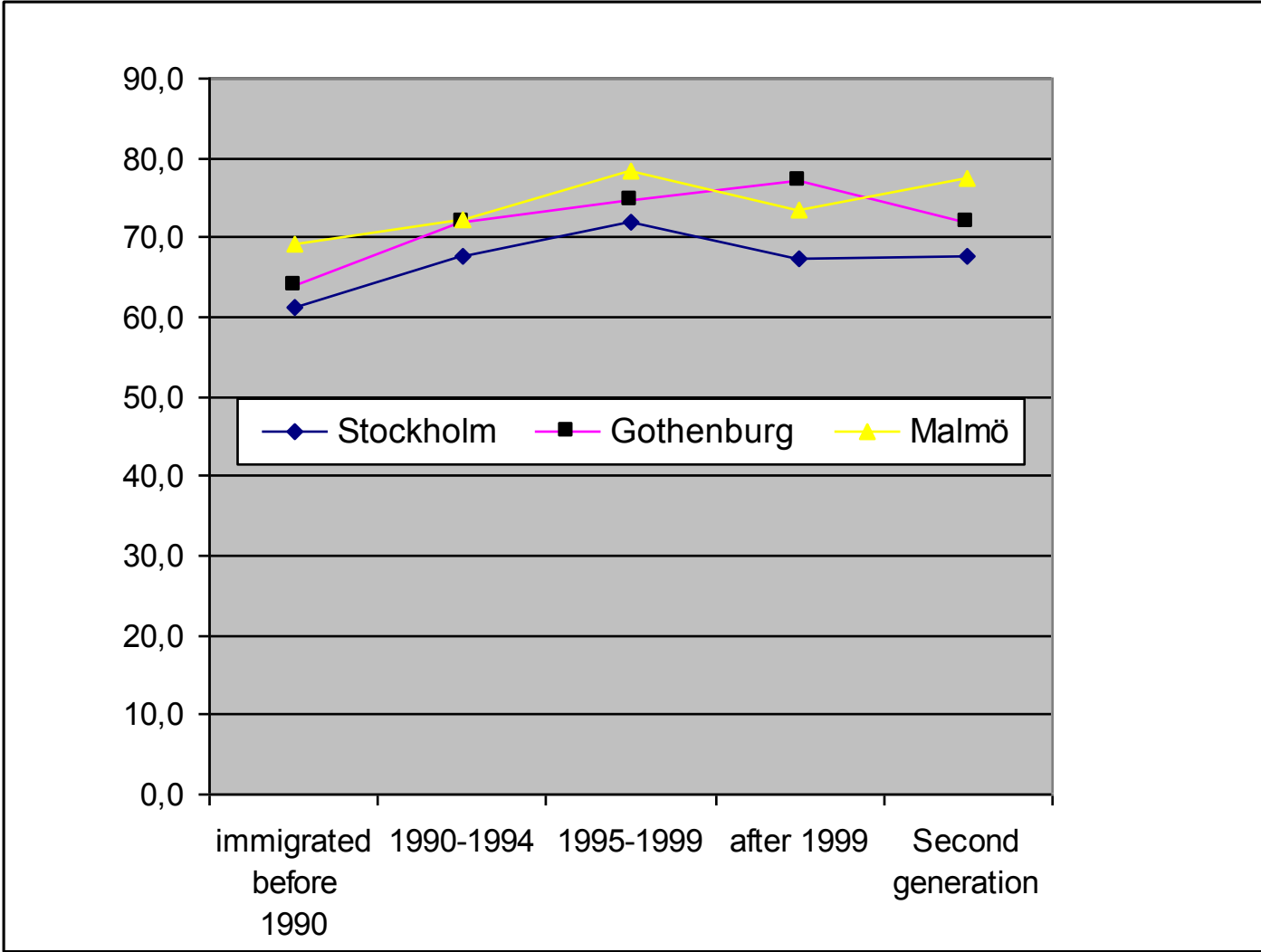
Percentage of residents in the Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö labour market regions with origin in Somalia living in the poorest neighbourhoods (1st quintile).
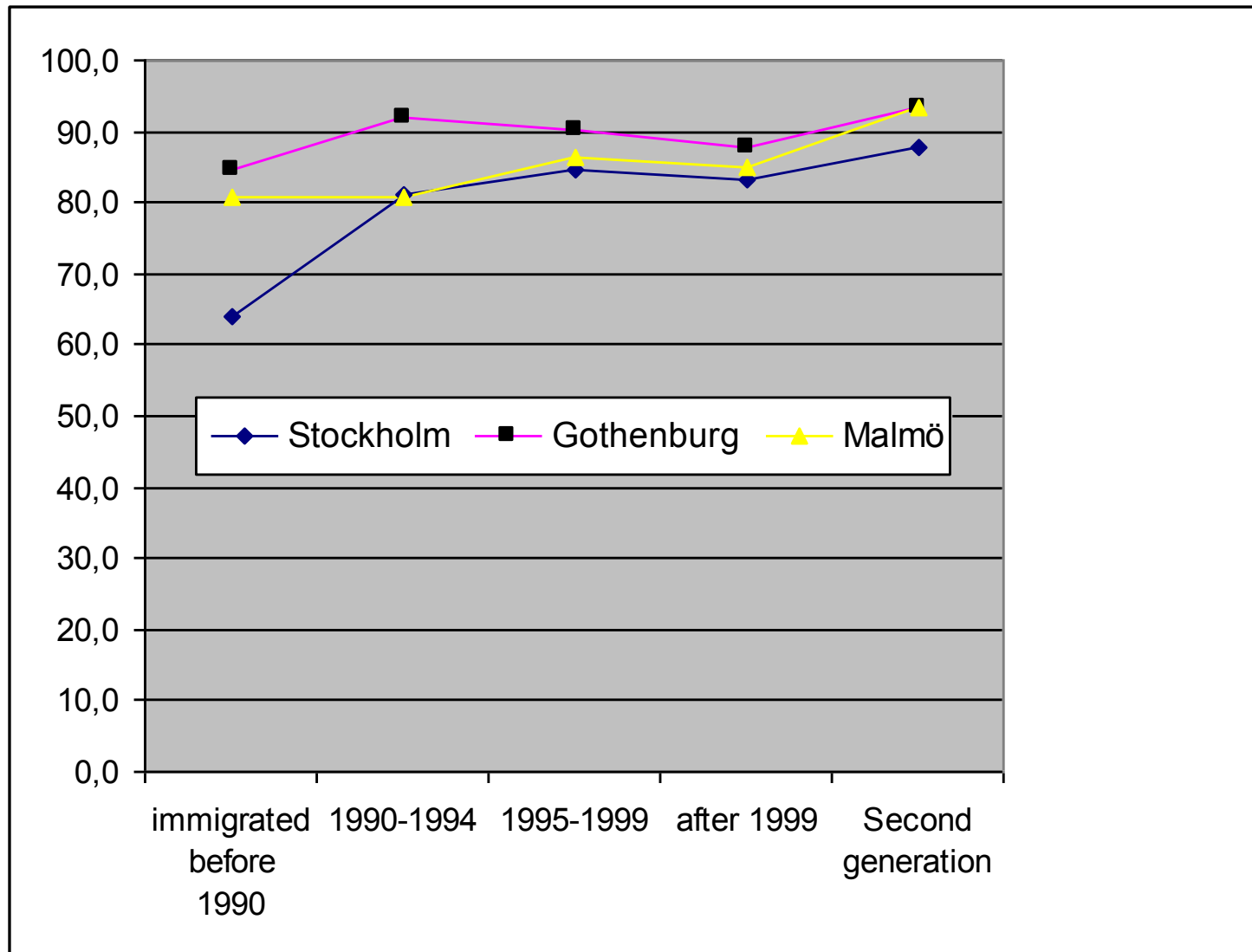
Percentage of residents of different age living in poor neighbourhoods (SAMS Income quintile 1).

Somali background (entire country).

Generalising residential patterns:

- Most non-Western immigrants who live in poor neighbourhoods are poor but poor neighbourhoods comprise also some non-poor people of immigrant origin.
- Low-income people with a Swedish background are quite dispersed over different neighbourhood types while high-income Swedes tend to cluster in rich and Swedish-dense neighbourhoods.

Own-group geographical concentration for Turks resident in Stockholm county 1995 and 1999. Crosstabulation.

	1999						
1995	0-1%	1-2%	2-3%	3-4%	4-5%	More than 5%	Total (1995)
0-1%	1184	261	59	33	45	137	1719
1-2%	184	469	251	72	16	102	1094
2-3%	48	93	282	174	21	57	675
3-4%	60	43	115	384	138	166	906
4-5%	21	22	22	112	297	183	657
More than 5%	215	180	175	196	322	8184	9272
Total (1999)	1712	1068	904	971	839	8829	14323

Source: GeoSweden database. Institute for Housing and Urban Research, Uppsala University.

Levels of geographical concentration are low for most immigrants in Sweden. Very few neighbourhoods have more than ten percent of a particular ethnic minority. Clustering is typical only for recently arrived refugee immigrants. When the influx from a particular country is reduced, dispersal is the general trend.

White flight and white avoidance:
The Husby housing estate in North-Western Stockholm, built around 1975, now one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Stockholm region
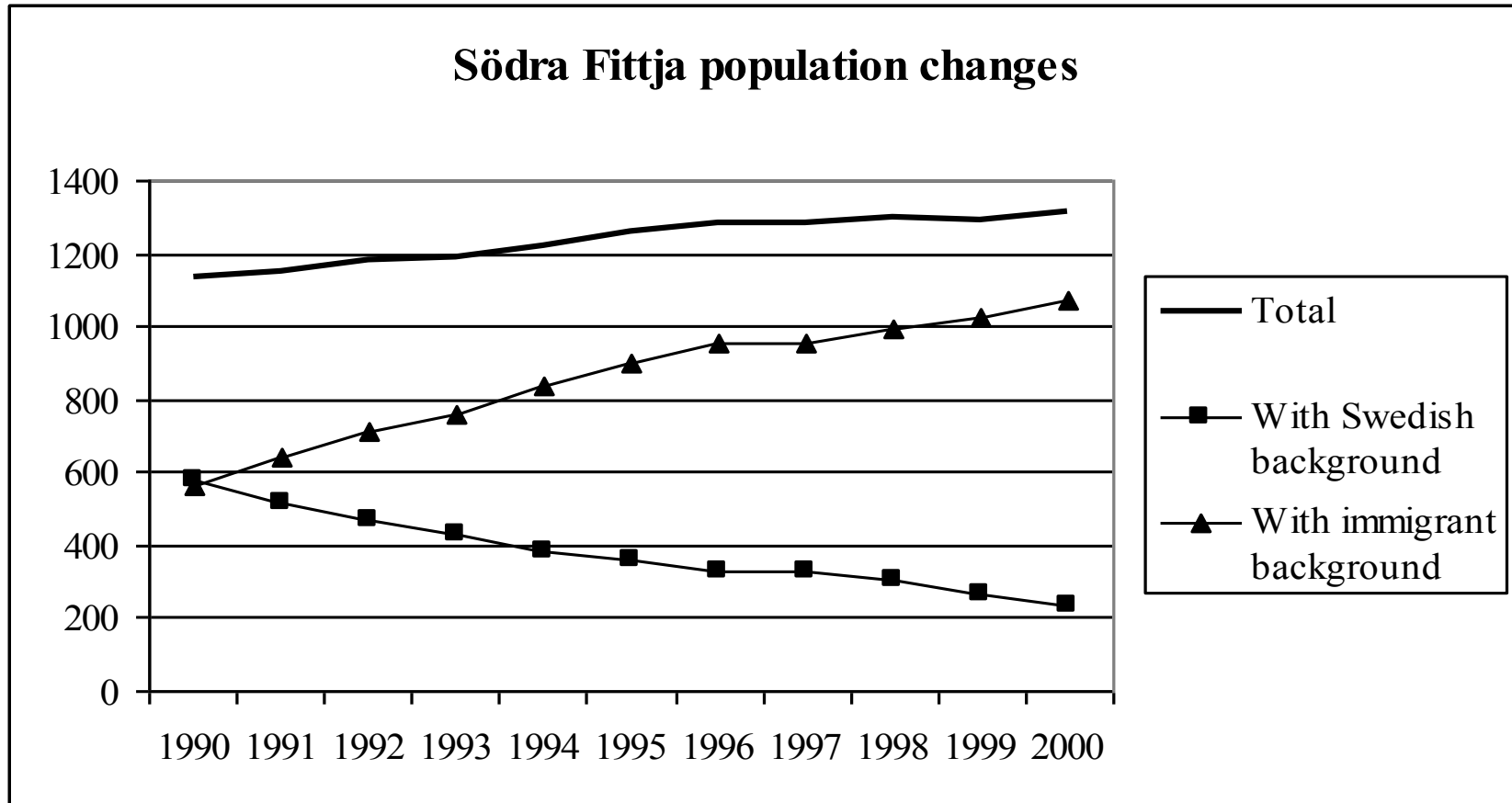
Total number of residents and number of residents with Swedish and immigrant background in Husby, Stockholm 1990-2000.

Husby population changes
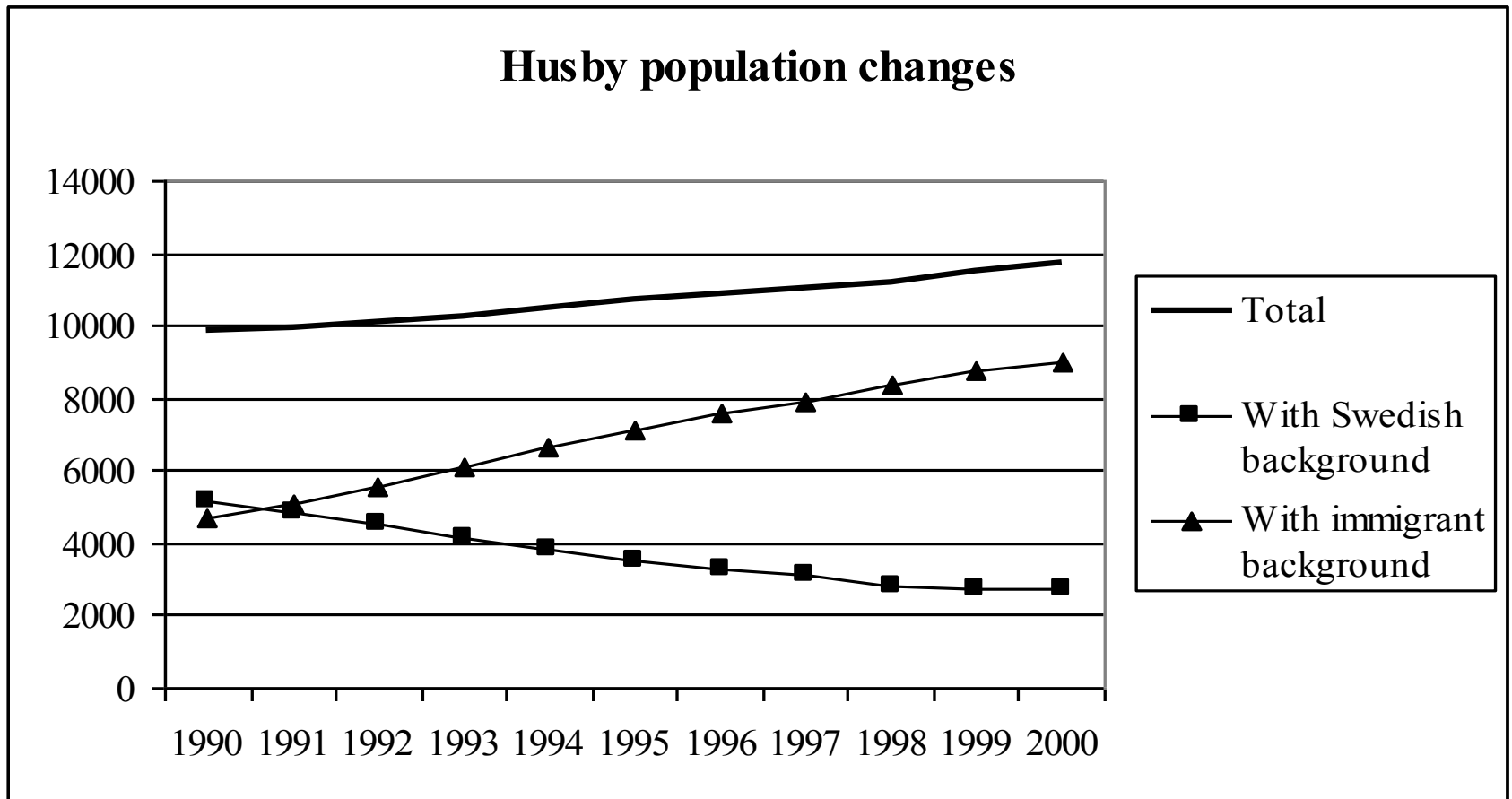
Primary factor: avoidance (few Swedish-born move into the estate)

Total number of residents and number of residents with Swedish and immigrant background in Södra Fittja, Botkyrka, 1990-2000 (home ownership).

Södra Fittja population changes

Legend:
- Total
- With Swedish background
- With immigrant background

X-axis: 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000
Y-axis: 0, 200, 400, 600, 800, 1000, 1200, 1400

Source: Bråmå 2006.

Primary factor: avoidance (few Swedish-born move into the estate)
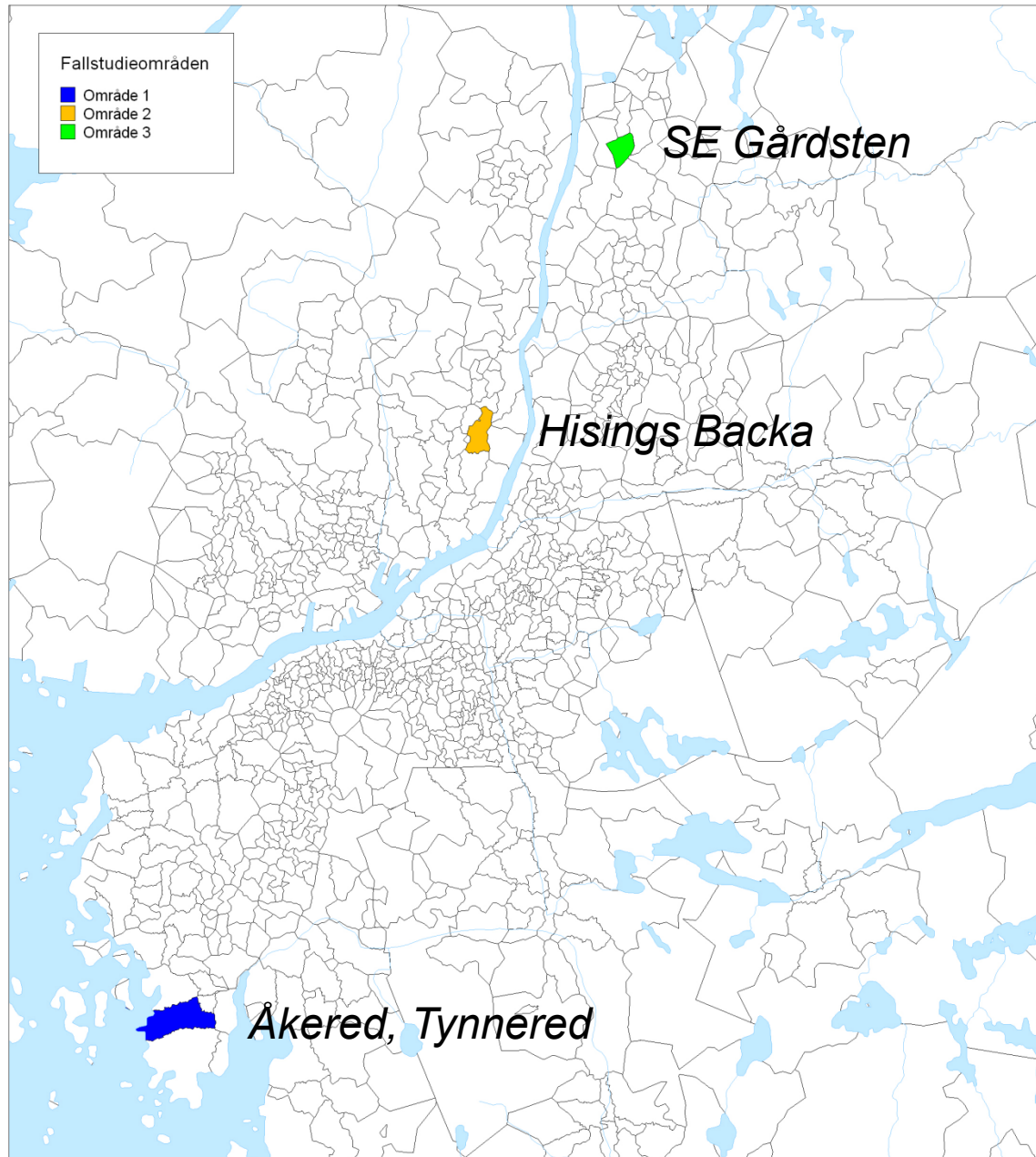
Concentrated and excluded, but trapped?

- Many immigrant categories do live concentrated in neighbourhoods that are characterised by low income, low employment rates and the presence of few native Swedes. One important question is of course whether or not people are trapped in these neighbourhoods. If they remain in these immigrant-dense concentrations, they could of course do so either voluntarily or due to severe constraints on their residential mobility.

Trapped or passing through? In-migrants to poor and immigrant dense neighbourhoods 1999-02: where do they reside in 2006?

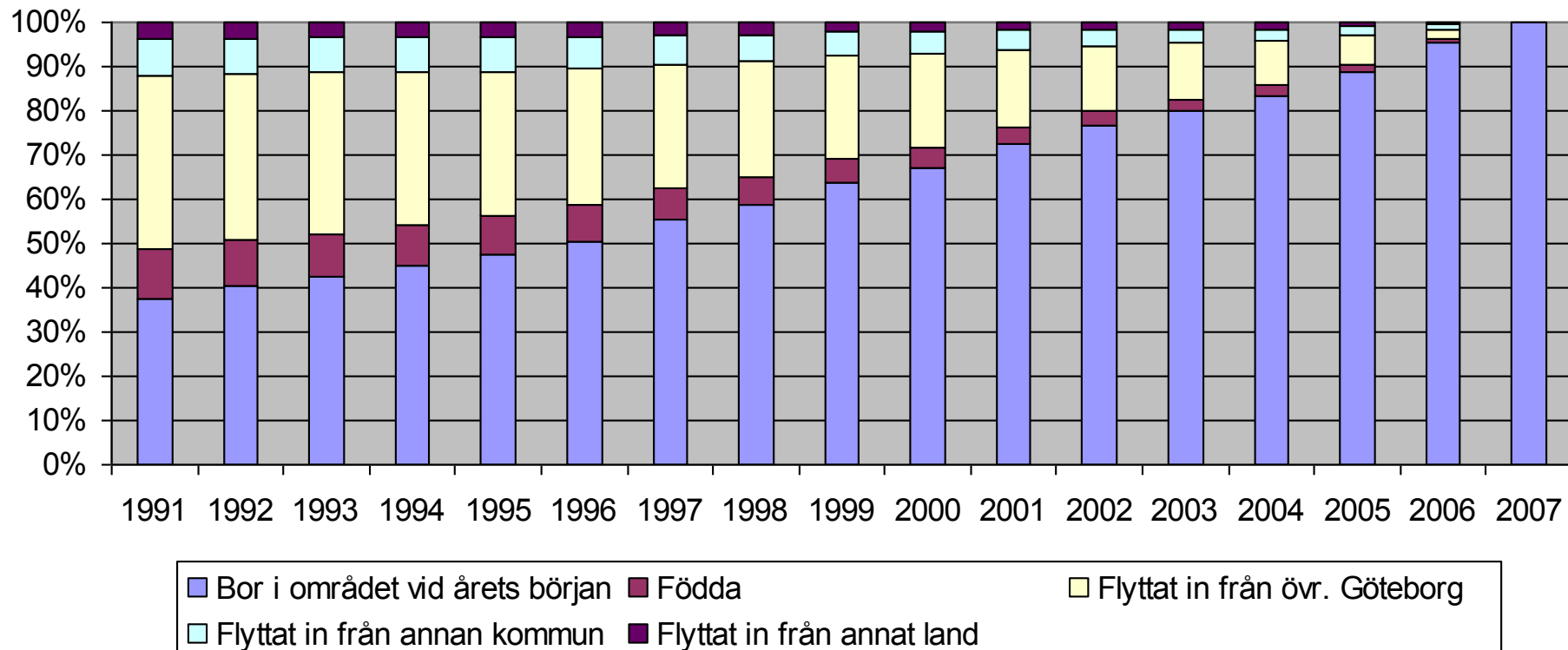| Area with high immigrant-densities	Stayed	Moved to another high-conc. area	Moved to other area in Stockh.	Moved out of Stockh. county	Moved out of Sweden	Died	Total	Numbers
Järva (fx Rinkeby, Tensta, Husby)	60,2	7,4	18,1	6,1	7,8	0,4	100,0	12706
E4 South	57,8	6,0	23,4	7,3	4,9	0,5	100,0	5983
Immigrant-dense Södertälje	60,8	2,4	22,7	9,2	4,1	0,7	100,0	4807
Immigrant-dense Botkyrka	55,4	7,5	24,8	6,3	5,6	0,3	100,0	5182
Hässelby	45,7	8,1	31,8	10,0	3,8	0,7	100,0	3207
Rågsved	47,4	7,2	31,7	9,5	3,8	0,4	100,0	2803
Hallonbergen	46,4	4,1	29,6	13,4	6,1	0,4	100,0	1668
Immigrant-dense part of Solna	34,5	4,5	37,1	15,4	8,4	0,2	100,0	1160
Total eight concentr. areas	55,6	6,4	23,8	7,9	5,9	0,5	100,0	37516

It is very common that half of all residents stay for five years or less in immigrant-dense neighbourhoods.

Residential mobility, a couple of examples from Gothenburg city

Fallstudieområden
- Område 1
- Område 2
- Område 3

SE Gårdsten

Hisings Backa

Åkered, Tynnered

When and from where did the 2006/07 Åkered population enter the area?

Samtliga

Legend:
- Bor i området vid årets början
- Födda
- Flyttat in från övr. Göteborg
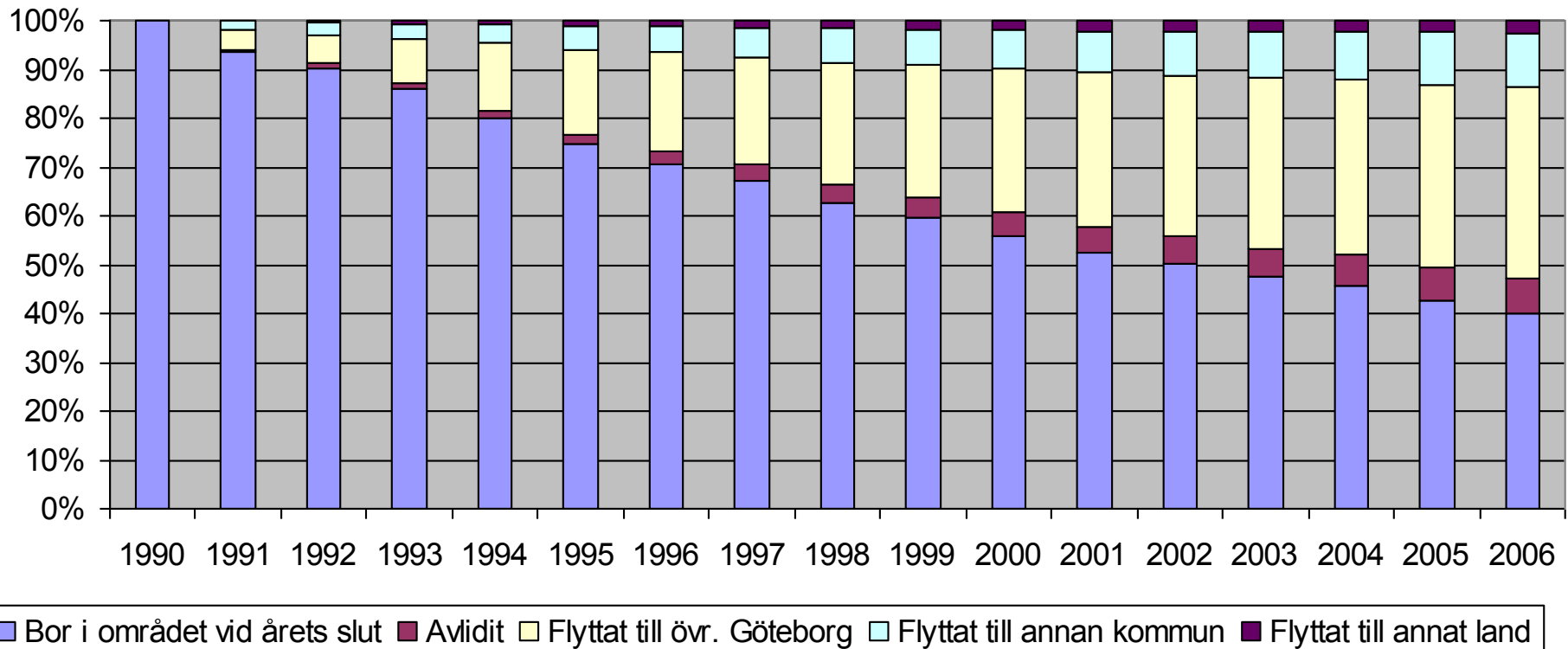- Flyttat in från annan kommun
- Flyttat in från annat land

(1549 residents 2006/7; 628 of these leved in the area in 1990)

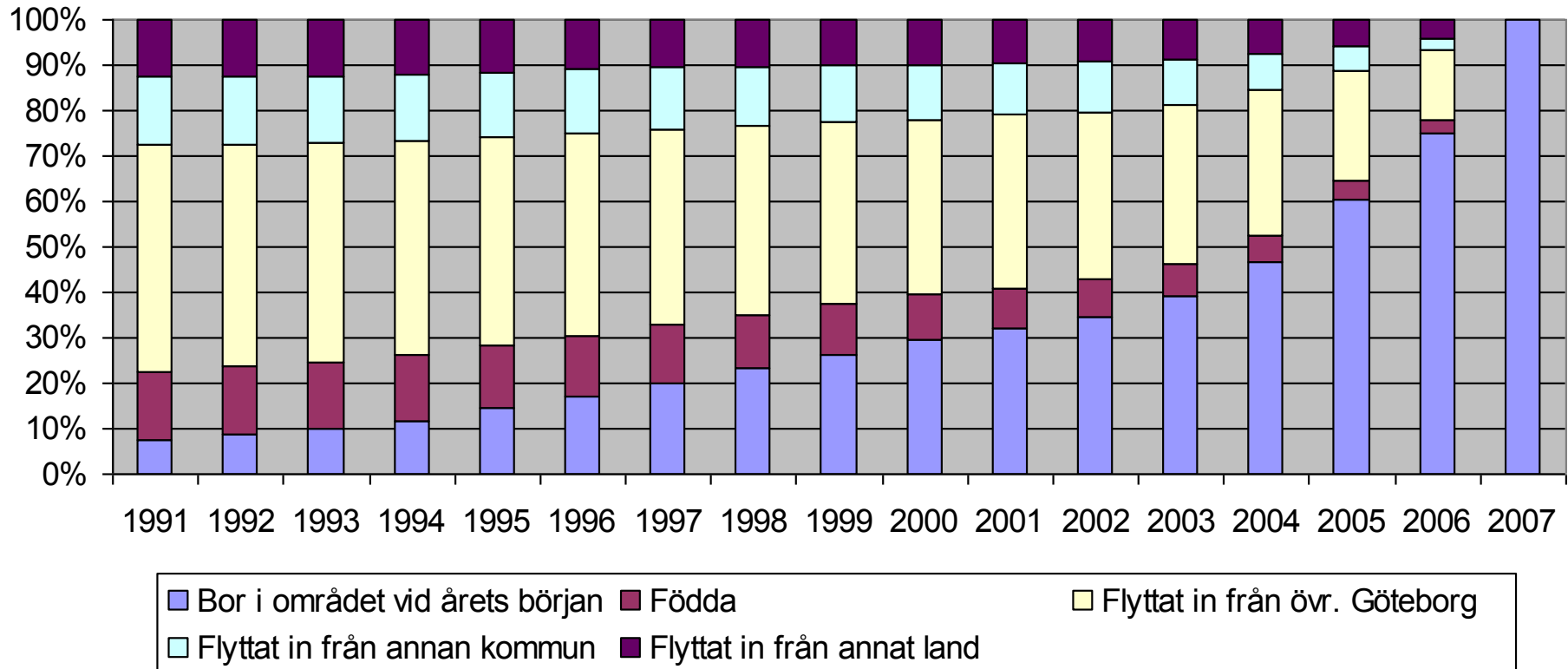# When and with what destination did 1990/91 Åkered resdidents leave the area?

Samtliga

Legend: Bor i området vid årets slut | Avlidit | Flyttat till övr. Göteborg | Flyttat till annan kommun | Flyttat till annat land
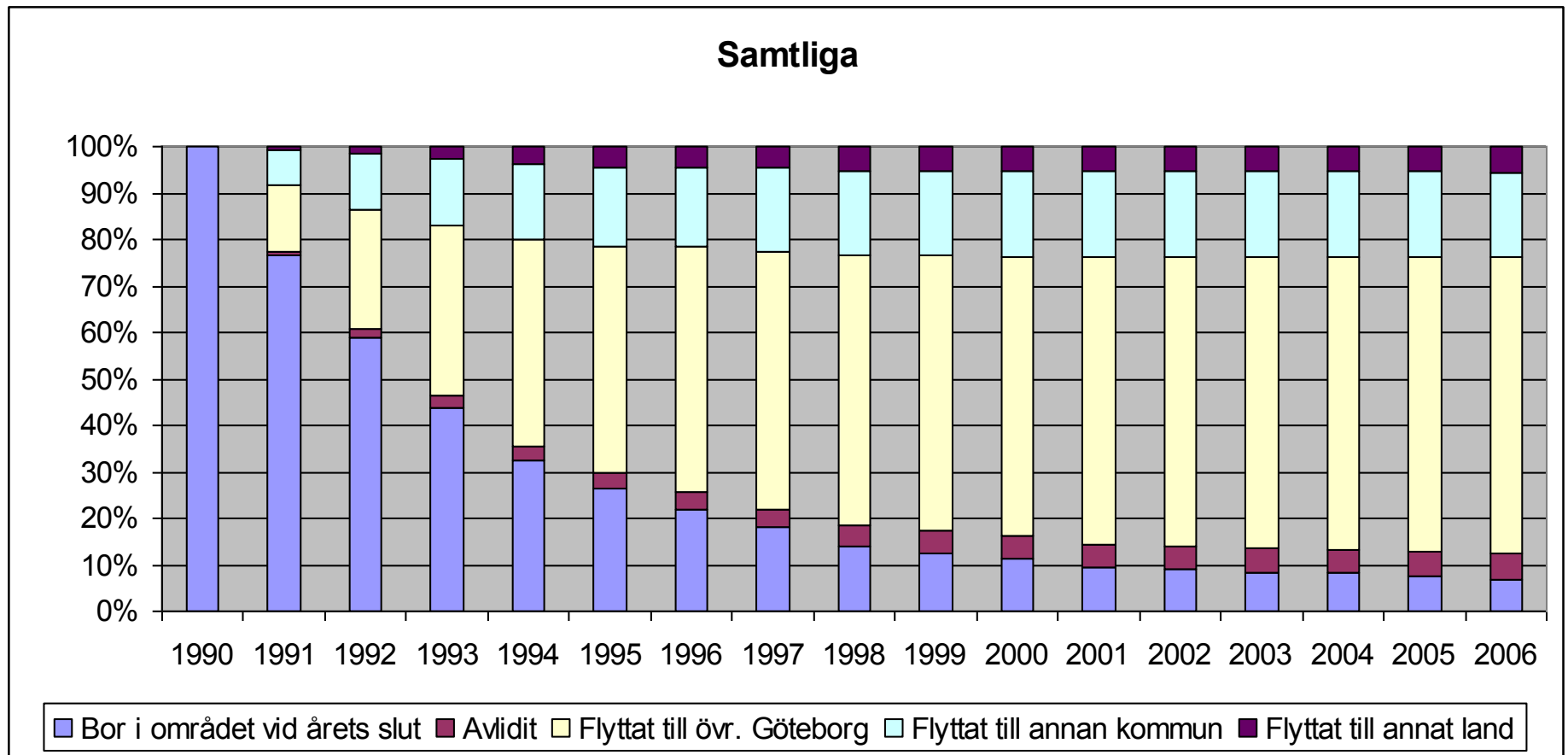
(1557 residents in 1990/91; 620 remain in 2006)

When and from where did the 2006/07 SE Gårdsten population enter the area?

(1238 residents in 2006/7; 109 of them lived there in1990)

When and with what destination did 1990/91 Gårdsten residents leave the area?

Samtliga

Legend: Bor i området vid årets slut | Avlidit | Flyttat till övr. Göteborg | Flyttat till annan kommun | Flyttat till annat land

(1379 residents in 1990; 102 of them remain in 2006/7)

Conclusion (I)

- Despite a high level of residential segregation for many immigrant categories in urban Sweden, one cannot conclude that people are trapped in the neighbourhoods they move into upon arrival. However, for certain categories, in particular refugees from Africa and Western Asian countries, it seems to be the case that many anyhow have big difficulties moving into completely different types of residential areas. The areas continue to be high concentration areas for immigrants but at the level of individual migrants they are highly dynamic places. One way of characterising the areas would be to label them transit areas, or ports of entry.

Conclusion (II)

- In terms of policy conclusion I would argue that opening up more ports of entry for refugee in-migrants <u>within</u> the major urban regions probably is the most effective counter-segregation policy available. A lot of things can also be done in terms of physical planning, upgrading the outlook and the functionality of the large housing estates.

- Repeated studies show that Swedes are the most pro-immigration and pro-immigrant people in Europe. One would wish that these attitudes translate into real behaviour, which they however have not done so far. Flight, avoidance and blocking strategies seem to be the dominating types of practices among native Swedes.

Questions & Answeres

- **Theoretically and empirically: In what way does residential segregation relates to social integration processes?**

They clearly affect one another. A two-way causality.

- **Are immigrants in Sweden clustered (geographically concentrated/"segregated")?**

Yes, but (a) there is an ethnic hierarchy and (b) mono-ethnic clusters are normally small in size

- **Are immigrants trapped in particular neighbourhoods or housing estates?**

Normally not but many young people from certain refugee backgrounds grow up in Swedish-scarce n'hoods

- **Are ethnic minoties socially excluded?**

Too many face discrimination in work and housing.

- **Counter-segregation and pro-integration policies: any lessons from Sweden?**

- *Probably, but we will know better when having completed the Norface research project!*

Some reflections on four specific counter segregation policies

- Housing and social mix policies (initiated in the 1970s),
- Refugee dispersal policies (initiated in the 1980s),
- **Area-based urban interventions (initiated in the 1990s), and**
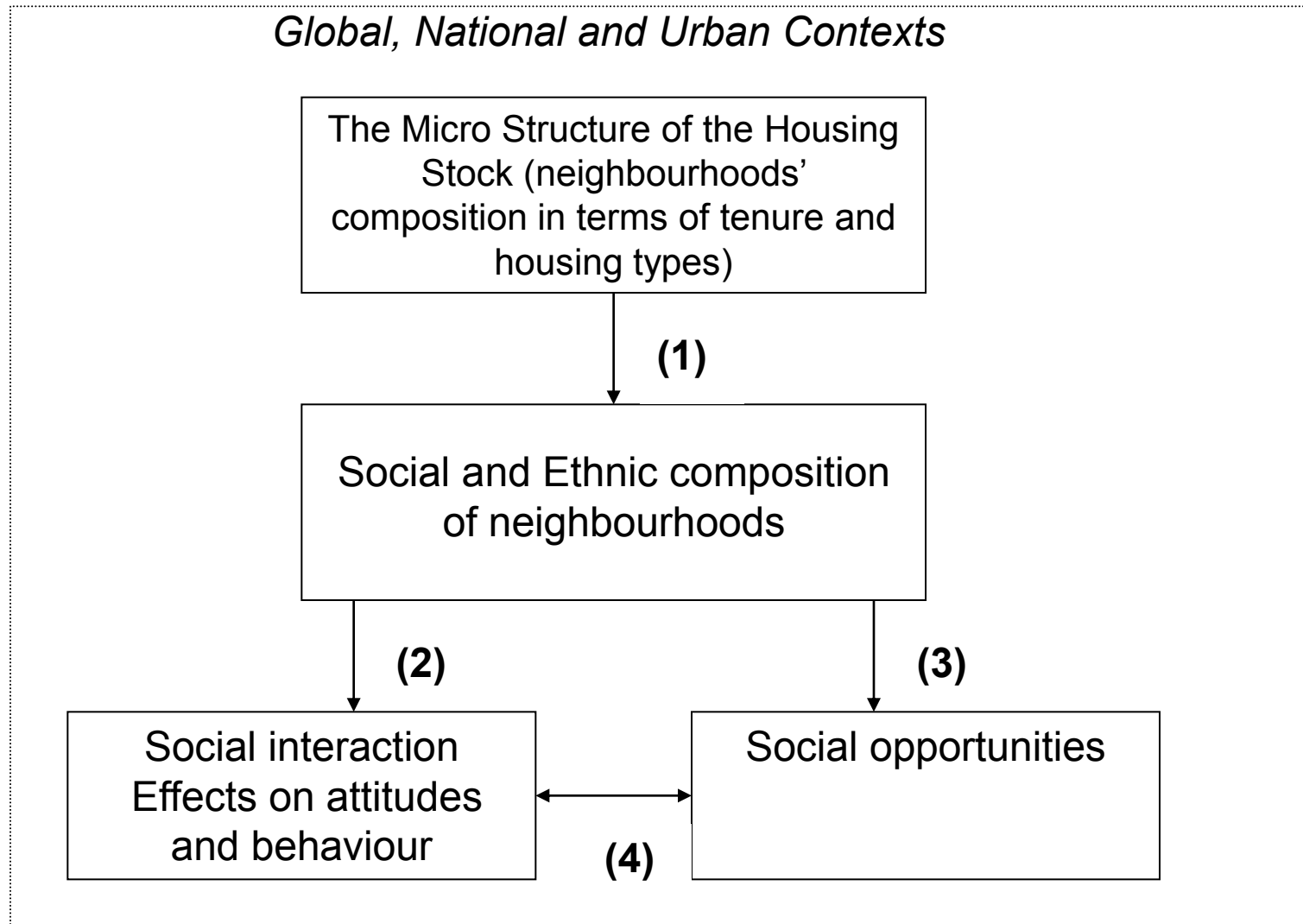- Anti-discrimination policy (more recently developed).

Of these four, the three last ones have a clear ethnic focus while mix policies primarily aim for socioeconomic and demographic mix.

Evaluating policy is difficult. Systematic research often lacking.

The future and the rational of counter-segregation policies in Sweden

- **First of all, segregation processes in all big cities need to be understood in a broader regional perspective.** *Effective counter-policies need more efficient institutional regulations so that housing development and physical planning are coordinated across wider urban regions.*
- **Secondly, the segmentation of housing markets according to tenure produces segregation.** Most immigrants are found in rental housing, especially in public housing. If combating ethnic segregation is considered an important aim, *the allocation procedures of the politically controlled (municipal) public housing companies need to be revised.*
- ***A policy that encourages more neighbourhoods to become primary destinations for newly arrived immigrants*** *would probably lead to a more even ethnic geographical distribution in the future.*
- **Finally, the single most important factor for succeeding in pursuing a housing mix strategy is land ownership.** Without control of land it has proven difficult for municipalities to effectively carry out mixing policies. *A municipality can, at least in theory, affect long term developments by ensuring that a certain percentage of the dwellings in new housing projects is reserved for public rental housing.*

A research programme on neighbourhood mix and neighbourhood effects

Thanks for the attention!