



UPPSALA UNIVERSITET

Institutet för bostadsforskning
Institute for Housing Research



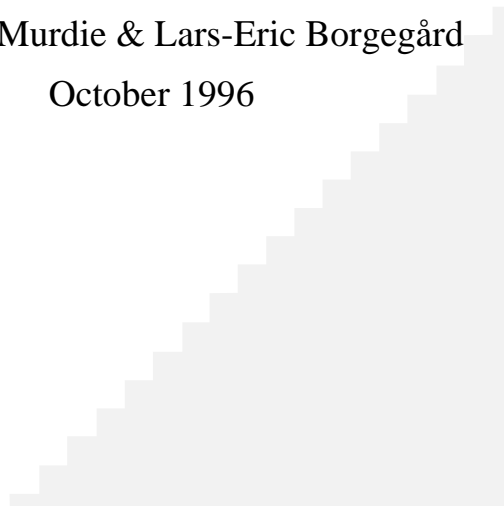
**Arbetsrapport/Working Paper
No. 2**

Immigration, Spatial Segregation and
Housing Segmentation in Metropolitan
Stockholm, 1960-95

by

Robert A. Murdie & Lars-Eric Borgegård

October 1996



Arbetsrapport/Working Paper

1. Patric H. Hendershott and Bengt Turner, Estimating Capitalization Rates and Capitalization Effects in Stockholm.
2. Robert A Murdie and Lars-Eric Borgegård, Immigration, Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation in Metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95.

tel: 026-14 77 00
fax: 026-14 78 02

Gävle, 1997

Postadress
Postal address
Box 785
S-801 29 Gävle
Sweden

Gatuadress
Visiting address
Södra Sjötullsgatan 3

Telefon
026-14 77 00
Phone
+46 26 14 77 00

Telefax
026-14 78 02

Immigration, Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation in Metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95

Robert A. Murdie
Department of Geography
York University
Canada

and

Lars-Erik Borgegård
Institute for Housing Research
Uppsala University
Sweden
and
Department of Human Geography
Umeå University

October, 1996

Revision of a paper presented at the ENHR Housing Research Conference in
Denmark (Housing and European Integration)

Helsingør, Denmark

August 26-31, 1996

Immigration, Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation in Metropolitan Stockholm 1960-95

1. Introduction

Since World War Two international migration has grown in numbers and complexity. More nations are involved in the migration process and the groups affected by migration have become more diverse. International migrants now differ dramatically according to characteristics such as culture, language, race, and economic status. Through time migrants have also been viewed differently by the receiving society. In the early post World War Two period immigrants were generally welcomed in countries with a labour shortage. More recently, however, newly arrived immigrants have often been viewed as a threat to economic well-being and national identity (Castles and Miller, 1993). This is especially so for countries which have experienced the social dislocation of economic restructuring and where a retrenchment of the welfare state has reduced the life chances of many residents.

In the receiving countries many immigrant groups are segregated spatially and concentrated in particular housing tenures. In some instances these forms of segregation result from discriminatory practices by the host society while in other cases they are attempts by immigrants to retain a degree of group cohesiveness, both as a way of enhancing cultural identity and of avoiding discrimination. There is considerable debate about the advantages and disadvantages of segregation. For example, the spatial concentration of an immigrant group from a single ethnic background may enhance communication among members of the group and encourage the development of ethnic-oriented businesses and institutions. On the other hand, residential segregation, either spatially or in particular housing tenures, may reduce opportunities for structural assimilation, especially in areas such as language, education and employment.

Our concern in this paper is the extent to which immigrant groups in metropolitan Stockholm are segregated spatially and the degree to which they are differentiated in the housing market. We consider both spatial segregation and housing market differentiation because of the conceptual distinction between the two measures. Spatial *segregation* concerns the separation of immigrant groups (or other social groups) according to their differentiation in space while housing market differentiation or *segmentation* relates to the concentration of groups in the housing market, usually according to tenure.¹ In

¹The dual notions of residential segregation and housing market differentiation have been part of the literature for several years (e.g., Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Rex and Moore, 1967). For a review of the residential segregation literature see Boal (1987) and for the housing market differentiation literature see Randolph (1991). The distinctions between the two measures of segregation and

many cities there is a close correlation between the spatial clustering of ethnic groups and the distribution of the housing stock (Knox, 1995: 187). This is because new immigrant groups are often channeled to low-cost housing areas, either in older immigrant reception areas near the centre of the city or in newly built public rental housing in the suburbs. In the Swedish case, however, Lindberg and Lindén (1986) note that housing market segmentation can increase without a concomitant increase in spatial segregation. This is because many new housing estates from the 1960s and 1970s were constructed with a mix of tenures, although particular social groups, including immigrants, tend to be concentrated by tenure within each estate. The result is that housing market segmentation remains high but spatial segregation may decrease because of the mixture of tenures in a particular area. Although Lindén and Lindberg (1991: 103) later note that in Sweden there is a close correlation between spatial segregation and housing segmentation, the conceptual distinction remains a useful one. Indeed, housing segmentation measured over time for particular immigrant groups is a useful measure of the extent to which these groups have achieved tenurial integration with the Swedish born population.

The specific purposes of the paper are to document and analyse the extent of spatial segregation and housing segmentation among immigrant groups of different economic and cultural backgrounds in the Stockholm region from 1960 to 1995. Stockholm is of particular interest because of Sweden's long-standing social welfare policy which incorporates an elaborate and integrated set of housing, labour market and general social security programmes. Behind this policy are values and norms, emphasizing justice, solidarity, and equality between individuals. For immigrants this implies 'integration' with Swedish society. Our hypothesis is that in spite of the official Swedish policy of 'integration' of immigrant and refugee groups the outcome has been continued 'segregation', and in some cases increased segregation, both in terms of the spatial distribution of these groups and their concentration within particular housing tenures.

Swedish 'integration' policy emerged from the relatively negative view, especially concerning housing segmentation, that has been held by Swedish politicians and planners throughout most of the post World War Two period. The so-called 'segregation problem' was first identified when households moved to new multifamily housing in the 1940s and 1950s. The new rental dwellings were built to provide good housing for all household types, but were occupied primarily by young adults. Thus, the major concern was segregation by age or stage in the life cycle. By the end of the 1960s housing segregation based on economic status was recognized as a 'social problem',

segmentation were first identified for Sweden by Lindberg and Lindén (1986) in a study of tenure differences in Swedish municipalities.

particularly in the context of social class differences between the occupants of owner occupied and multifamily dwellings. Finally, by the beginning of the 1970s ethnic segregation was also identified as a problem, especially as migrants from countries such as Greece, Italy and Turkey began to occupy newly built multifamily houses from the Million Programme (SOU, 1975:51).

Since the 1970s, the concepts of immigrant and housing 'integration' have been major policy goals in Sweden. Immigrant integration policy is based on three objectives: equality, free choice and partnership. The equality objective is intended to provide immigrants with the same rights and opportunities as native Swedes, free choice assures that immigrants have the right to retain their cultural heritage and partnership is based on mutual tolerance and solidarity between Swedes and the immigrant population (The Swedish Ministry of Labour, 1995:5). Housing integration implies a mixture of household types (by age, family structure, class, and ethnicity) although it was noted that differences between and within regions and municipalities preclude the possibility of establishing 'integration norms'. During the past three decades segregation has remained an important policy issue in Sweden and is a key element of three recently established parliamentary commissions on Housing, Immigration, and Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas.

For this paper, two separate analyses were conducted. The analysis of residential segregation was undertaken for thirteen place of birth groups (including the Swedish born) for 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995. The first time period precedes the Million Programme era (1965-74) when the objective was to build one million new dwellings over a ten year period in Swedish municipalities. In the Stockholm area, many of these flats were eventually occupied by immigrants. The second period captures the mid-point in the Million Programme while the final three years identify a period of increased refugee flows to Sweden. The analysis of housing segmentation was restricted to three time periods (1970, 1980 and 1990), the only years for which place of birth groups cross classified by housing tenure categories were available. In contrast to previous Swedish studies of ethnic residential segregation (e.g., Andersson-Brolin, 1984; Biterman, 1994; Andersson and Molina, 1996) this analysis captures the broader spectrum of post World War Two immigration, especially refugee groups that arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The remainder of the paper is divided into four major sections. First, we provide a conceptual framework of the driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation. In doing so we consider the characteristics of Swedish immigrants in the post World War Two period and recent changes in economic structure and the housing market of the Stockholm region that have potential impacts on less skilled and more disadvantaged groups such

as recent immigrants. Next, we present some details concerning areas of study, the selection of immigrant groups and research methodology. This is followed by a presentation and discussion of the findings. Finally, we put the study in broader perspective and discuss the concepts of integration and segregation within the framework of the Swedish model.

2. Theoretical Framework: The Driving Forces Behind Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation

The conceptual perspective of the important driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation, as illustrated in Figure 1, is both a general model and a framework that can be applied specifically to Sweden and the Stockholm region. It is also a dynamic model that stresses shifts over time, especially during the post Second World War period. The model is organized according to three interconnected spatial scales ranging from global (international) to national (Sweden) to local (the Stockholm Region).

2.1 Global (International)

At the international level the most important factors are the increased flows and greater diversity of immigrants and refugees. In particular, there has been a shift from labour migrants who move primarily for economic reasons to refugees who are forced to move because of political problems or hostilities in their home countries. Post World War Two immigration to Sweden has followed these general international trends and can be divided into three major periods. These are the labour immigration period from the 1950s to the early 1970s, the labour and early refugee period from the 1970s to 1984, and the refugee immigration period from 1985 to the present (Andersson, 1993: 16).

2.2 National (Sweden)

The number and type of immigrants accepted by a country, as well as immigrant settlement patterns within the receiving country, are affected by a variety of factors related to the societal context of that country. These factors also change over time as a result of shifts in political ideology and economic circumstances. Important factors at the national level include the nature of immigration policy, attitudes towards immigrants, economic restructuring and housing policy. National immigration policy is particularly important because it defines the number and type of immigrants that will be accepted into the country and may also determine the nature of immigrant settlement within the country. The latter includes formal policies concerning both the integration of immigrants and their spatial distribution throughout the coun-

try. These policies, however, are also affected by a number of related factors. One is attitudes towards immigrants, expressed formally by the political party in power and informally through the views of organized interest groups and local citizens. Another important factor is the nature of the national economy as reflected particularly in the demand for labour and unemployment rates. Finally, housing policy and the nature of the housing market are important in providing opportunities or imposing constraints in the settlement of new immigrant groups.

All of these factors have contributed to the Swedish experience of immigrant settlement during the post World War Two period and have affected the settlement of newcomers. For example, during the labour immigration period from the 1950s to the early 1970s the Swedish industrial sector expanded rapidly and firms recruited employees from other parts of Europe, especially the Nordic and Southern European countries. Most immigrants obtained full-time jobs upon arrival, primarily in the metropolitan and industrial cities of middle and southern Sweden. The latter part of this period also corresponded with the beginning of the Million Programme, an ambitious programme to build one million new dwellings in Sweden over a ten year period. As a result, housing shortages eased and immigrants were more successful in finding good quality housing, especially in the municipal housing sector.

The period of labour and early refugee immigration from the 1970s to 1984 represents a transition in Swedish immigration policy. Between the mid 1970s and mid 1980s a large number of Swedish industries that had been successful in the 1950s and 1960s faced increased competition from abroad and laid off employees. As a result Sweden gradually abandoned its previous focus on labour market immigration. During the same period the first wave of refugees came to Sweden, primarily from Chile following the coup in 1973. Most of the immigrants who arrived during this period settled in the major urban centres.

The refugee immigration period from 1985 to the present reflects two important shifts in Swedish immigration and immigrant settlement policy. Concerning immigration, non-European immigrants and refugees came to Sweden in greater numbers, largely due to the international trends noted above and the adoption of a more multi-cultural policy by the Swedish government in the mid-1970s. As a result, the 'cultural distance' between immigrants and Swedes increased. Also, the attitudes of employers towards new immigrants gradually changed and many of the newly arrived immigrants were not considered as 'attractive' as those who came during the labour immigration period. In spite of strong economic growth in the last half of the 1980s, and a high demand for labour, unemployment levels of immigrants were two to

three times those of Swedes and incomes of immigrants also declined further relative to Swedes (Ekberg and Gustafsson, 1995). The second major policy change during this period was the implementation of the 'whole-of-Sweden' policy for the reception of immigrants and refugees. The 'whole-of-Sweden' policy (1984-1994) was designed to spread the new immigrant population more evenly throughout the country, encourage local municipalities to share responsibility for immigrant and refugee reception, and avoid the development of new social service facilities by making use of existing buildings and agencies (Andersson, 1993; Ministry of Labour, 1995; Borgegård, Håkansson and Müller, 1996). The result has been a more dispersed pattern of settlement, although many refugees migrated to larger urban centres following their initial period of settlement in Sweden.

Beginning in 1990-91 economic conditions in Sweden deteriorated dramatically when a recession set in. The result was budgetary restraint in both the public and private sectors and a declining demand for labour. In the somewhat more prosperous export industries the labour demand was for well-educated employees, preferably Swedes. At the same time the number of refugees and immigrants coming to join families already in Sweden increased. Unemployment rates for the immigrant population accelerated, especially for immigrants from outside Europe. Salaries for foreign citizens further declined compared to Swedes and the mismatch between supply and demand in the labour market for immigrant groups worsened.

2.3 Local (The Stockholm Region)

Spatial segregation and housing segmentation at the local level is strongly affected by the variety of factors operating at the international and national levels but these are also mediated by local conditions. Four sets of factors are especially relevant. These include the characteristics of the immigrant population, attitudes towards immigrants, the local labour market and housing market and spatial restructuring. The last three factors are particularly important in offering opportunities and constraints for immigrant groups.

2.3.1 Characteristics of the Immigrant Population

The characteristics of the immigrant population including time of arrival, immigrant status, personal resources, 'cultural' distance from the host population and desire to retain group cohesiveness are especially important in determining spatial segregation and housing segmentation at the local level. In general, recently arrived refugees who lack personal resources and have a higher level of 'cultural' distance from the native population are more likely to be segregated spatially and concentrated in particular tenure types. In the Stockholm Region the foreign born population has increased steadily during

the past few decades from 7.4 percent of the population in 1960 to 17 percent in 1995 (Table 1). As indicated in Table 1, the immigrant groups have also become more diverse, both economically and culturally, ranging from the Germans who arrived immediately after World War Two to refugee groups such as the Bosnians and Somalis who came in the early 1990s. These groups also differ dramatically in personal resources (economic, cognitive, psychological), 'cultural' distance from the Swedish population and their desire, or even need, to retain group cohesiveness.

2.3.2 Attitudes Towards Immigrants

Another important factor influencing spatial segregation and housing segmentation is the attitudes of the local population towards immigrants. In the Swedish case this takes a more subtle form than racial discrimination and can be best described as the 'Swedish mentality', a term attributed to the Swedish ethnologist, Åke Daun (Daun, 1996). There are at least four characteristics: conformity, conflict avoidance, modernity and equality. Conformity concerns the historical reality that for the most part Sweden has been characterized by a common language, religion and political history. The Swedish emphasis on conflict avoidance means that differences in cultural background are downplayed (The Swedish Institute, 1994; Daun, 1996). Many Swedes believe that all people are basically the same and that culture is a 'question of development', presumably to the Swedish norm (Laine-Sveiby, 1987, quoted in Daun, 1996:55). Compared to immigrants, Swedes view themselves as 'modern' and rational, a perspective that conflicts with the traditions and values of many immigrant groups. This view is not uniquely Swedish but it is strongly held by many Swedes and therefore may be more accentuated in Sweden than in many other countries. Finally, the Swedish welfare policy, one of the cornerstones of which is equality between different individuals and households, is an important factor in understanding Swedish perspectives on conformity and cultural homogeneity. Swedish social welfare policy has been a 'general policy' rather than a selective one with no one group favoured over another. All of these factors are important in understanding Sweden's rather lukewarm approach to multiculturalism.

At a more regional level, it is likely that there are variations throughout the country in the degree to which characteristics describing the 'Swedish mentality' are part of the local culture. In this context, the extent to which Stockholm mirrors the country as a whole is not known. As the capital city, with a somewhat more diversified population, it is likely that Swedish born residents of Stockholm are more accepting of newcomers than residents in more rural parts of the country. However, it is also likely that there are considerable variations within the Stockholm region. Andersson (1993), when comparing immigrant reception experiences in three quite different Swedish mu-

municipalities, noted that Sollentuna in metropolitan Stockholm was the most accepting of new immigrants. This was partly because a large number of Swedish born migrants and Chilean refugees both settled in Sollentuna in the 1970s when the municipality was growing rapidly. Attitudes towards immigrants may be less positive in other areas of Stockholm where Swedish born residents have not had the same experience of previous immigration.

2.3.3 Local Labour Market

A characteristic feature of most western industrial cities in the past three decades has been the dramatic readjustment of employment structures leading to higher levels of unemployment and increased social polarisation. Although by world standards Stockholm is a relatively small metropolitan area it has experienced many of the same changes as the so-called 'world cities' including considerable growth and restructuring. The Stockholm Region (county) increased in population from 1.3 million in 1960 to almost 1.7 million in 1995.² As in many other metropolitan centres there has also been a decline in manufacturing activities and an increase in service functions. Despite its relatively small population, Stockholm is a growing node in an international network of banking and commercial activities and has experienced considerable growth in financial and related activities. These changes have led to an increased polarisation between 'good' and 'bad' jobs. Because of the increased qualifications needed for positions in the new service economy many workers with a weak position in the labour market have been squeezed out of better paying jobs. Older workers, young persons with relatively low skill levels and immigrants with low levels of education and weak language skills have difficulty competing for the new high paid jobs. These problems increased in the early 1990s when Sweden entered a serious recession and unemployment rates, particularly for young people and immigrants, increased dramatically.

2.3.4 Housing Market and Spatial Restructuring

Since 1960 there has been considerable change in Stockholm's housing market, in the spatial reorganization of the city, and in the redistribution of the population among different parts of the region (Borgegård and Murdie, 1994). In 1960 the City of Stockholm was the distinctive core of the region with just over 800,000 inhabitants. Since then the city's population has declined, reaching a low of less than 650,000 in 1980 before increasing slightly in the 1980s and early 1990s. These population trends have been accompanied by renewed interest in residential construction and renovation activity in Stockholm's inner-city resulting in more expensive dwellings and a social

²Unless otherwise noted these and subsequent population figures are taken from Regionplane- och Trafikkontoret (1994).

upgrading of the inner-city. In the 1960s many immigrants lived in inner-city Stockholm but due to renovation and higher rents inner-city housing has become increasingly less accessible to lower income immigrant groups. In this context, Stockholm differs from many other western cities where newly arrived immigrants are still able to find housing in lower rent areas near the centre of the city.

In contrast to the City of Stockholm, the northern and southern suburbs grew dramatically between 1960 and the early 1990s with the result that the city's population as a proportion of the region fell from 64 percent in 1960 to 41 percent in 1992. Part of this growth was due to the impact of the Million Programme (1965-74). In the Stockholm region much of the housing during this period was built in the suburbs, especially in southern municipalities such as Botkyrka.³ With the redevelopment and gentrification of the inner-city and the low turnover rates and long queues for older flats, these newly built suburban areas became alternative sources of accommodation for newly arrived immigrants and refugees.⁴

3.0 Areas of Study, Immigrant Groups and Research Methodology

The study was undertaken using parishes as the basic unit of analysis. Historically, parishes identified the catchment area of the state church and are one of the oldest spatial units in Sweden. Parishes in the largely rural municipalities of Norrtälje and Nynäshamn were eliminated from the analysis with the result the study is based on slightly more than 100 parishes. The parish level of analysis represents a compromise between the 22 municipalities of the Stockholm region and the much larger number of regions defined by the Metropolitan Commissions (1980 and 1985) and the Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas (1990).⁵

The twelve immigrant groups selected for this study represent the range of groups that have entered Sweden and the Stockholm region since World War Two. Based on period of arrival and immigration status they can be divided into four major groups. The first is a well established group, represented

³In part, this was for political reasons. During the Million Programme era the City of Stockholm was allowed to build housing on land outside its boundaries if it could obtain agreement from the municipalities. Most of the agreements were with municipalities in the south which, like the City of Stockholm, were controlled by the Social Democrats (Borgegård and Murdie, 1994)

⁴By 1995, 30 percent of Botkyrka's population was foreign born compared to 17 percent for the Stockholm region.

⁵The Metropolitan Commissions used 800 regions in their analyses and the Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas is using 330 areas. It would be very expensive, if not impossible, to obtain data for the 800 or 330 regions for all of the time periods used in this analysis.

here by the Germans. The Germans have been in Stockholm for the longest period of time (Table 1). Most are highly educated and culturally they are most like the Swedish born. The second group of immigrants from Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey characterizes the labour immigration period from the 1950s to the 1970s. Of these groups, the Finns started to arrive in large numbers in the 1950s while most of the others came in the 1960s and 1970s (Table 1). Many continued to arrive during the family reunification period between the mid 1970s and the mid 1980s and the Poles also came as political refugees in the 1980s before the dissolution of the Soviet Union. A third group, the first wave of refugees, is represented by immigrants from Chile who came in large numbers in the latter half of the 1970s and the 1980s and persons from Iran and Ethiopia who came in the 1980s. These three groups were particularly affected by the 'whole-of-Sweden' policy (1984-1994). Finally, the fourth group of immigrants from Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia characterize a recent group of refugees, most of whom arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Table 1).

Using indexes of dissimilarity and housing segmentation, comparisons were made between each immigrant and refugee group and the Swedish born population. The index of dissimilarity measures the proportion of the specific immigrant group who would have to move in order to approximate the spatial distribution of the Swedish born population. The indexes of dissimilarity for each place of birth group compared to the Swedish born are shown in Table 2, ranked in ascending order according to the values of the index in 1995. The index of housing segmentation is similar to the better known index of dissimilarity but measures the proportion of the immigrant group who would have to move in order to approximate the tenure distribution of the Swedish born.⁶ These indexes are provided in Table 3 ranked from lowest to highest according to the 1990 values. The values of both indexes can range from 0 to 100. A value close to 0 indicates little difference in spatial distribution or housing tenure distribution between the specific immigrant group and the Swedish born while a value close to 100 indicates a high level of spatial or housing tenure differentiation between that group and the Swedish born. Indexes were not calculated for groups with less than 200 population in any one year. This was based on the assumption that the latter probably include a relatively large number of diplomats, business people, and adopted children, persons who were not of direct interest for this study. Six tenure groups were included in the analysis of housing segmentation: owner occupied, tenant owned cooperatives, public rental (owned by municipal housing companies), private rental, other rental (primarily owned by the state and local municipalities), and other tenures (primarily flats owned by employers and subletting).

⁶For details on the calculation of the index of dissimilarity see Duncan and Duncan (1955) and for the index of housing segmentation see Lindberg and Lindén (1986).

4.0 Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation: Results of the Analysis

We begin with a discussion of contemporary patterns of spatial segregation and housing segmentation and then focus on the development of these patterns over time. Because not all groups are represented in the earlier years this strategy allows us to focus on the full range of groups in the analysis before turning to the more restricted discussion of longitudinal trends.

4.1 Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation in the 1990s: A Cross-Sectional Perspective

When viewed in the context of the 1995 data there is a wide variation in the spatial segregation of the immigrant groups with indexes of dissimilarity ranging from a low of 10 for the German born to a high of 60 for the Turks (Table 2). The indexes of housing segmentation for 1990 also differ considerably between groups, from a low of 5 for the Germans to a high of 52 for the Somalis (Table 3). There is a close relationship in the rank ordering of immigrant groups between the two tables indicating that in the Stockholm region in the 1990s spatial segregation and housing segmentation were strongly correlated. This confirms Lindén and Lindberg's (1991) observations about the empirical relationship between the two concepts. The Germans, Finns, Poles and Yugoslavians have the lowest levels of spatial segregation and housing segmentation while the Greeks, Turks, Somalis, Ethiopians and Iraqis (and the Bosnians for spatial segregation) exhibit the highest indexes. Compared to the latter groups the Chileans and Iranians have lower levels of spatial segregation but similar levels of housing segmentation.

The relatively low indexes of spatial segregation and housing segmentation for the Germans, Finns and Poles are not surprising given their presence in Stockholm since the 1950s, their cultural similarity to the Swedish born, their high level of educational achievement, and their opportunities for accessing labour and housing markets. Swedish speaking Finns, in particular, had a considerable advantage in adapting to Swedish society. The Poles had the advantage of a comparatively high level of education when they first arrived. The Polish immigrants are also overrepresented by women, many of them married to Swedes. This may be a further explanation of their relatively higher level of integration. Although the indexes for the Yugoslavian born are higher than the Finnish and Polish born they are not as high as expected. This may be due to the ethnic differences within the Yugoslavian immigrant population and the possibility that persons from various regions of former Yugoslavia (e.g., Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia) tend to live in different parts of Stockholm (Magnusson, 1990).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, the Turks, Somalis, Ethiopians and Iraqis (and the Bosnians for spatial segregation) have relatively high index values. The index values for the Turks are particularly high given their initial immigration to Stockholm towards the end of the labour immigration period in the 1960s and 1970s. In part the relatively high degree of spatial segregation of the Turks can be accounted for by their cultural distance from the Swedish born population and their strong affinity for living in a neighbourhood with persons of the same ethnic background (Özüekren, 1992). Because of cultural, linguistic and religious differences they have tended to concentrate spatially, a phenomenon that was probably encouraged by strong social networks among older immigrants and chain migration. From this perspective the Turks contrast with labour immigrants such as the Germans, Finns and Poles who arrived earlier. The high index values for the Somalis, Ethiopians and Iraqis are not unexpected given their recent arrival in Stockholm, their refugee status, their cultural distance from the Swedish born population, the weak economic situation in Sweden during their time of arrival, and their limited opportunities in the housing market. In particular, these groups arrived in Sweden during a period of intense restructuring in the labour market and very high unemployment rates, especially for immigrant groups.

4.2 Changes in Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation: A Longitudinal Perspective

The last line of Tables 2 and 3 shows the average index values by year for all immigrant groups that were included in the analysis. Average values for both the index of dissimilarity and the index of housing segmentation changed substantially between 1970 and 1980. For example, the average index of dissimilarity increased from 22.8 in 1970 to 37.2 in 1980 and remained at about that level for 1990 and 1995 (Table 2). Similarly, the index of housing segmentation increased from 23.7 in 1970 to 33.8 in 1980 and 36.5 in 1990 (Table 3). Of the groups analysed in both 1970 and 1980, indexes for the Greeks and the Turks increased most dramatically. Indeed, for the Turks the indexes of dissimilarity and housing segmentation almost doubled during the decade.

The substantial increase in average levels of spatial segregation and housing segmentation during the 1970s results from the convergence of a number of important factors. Most of these relate to the driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation that were mentioned earlier (Figure 1). In particular, the international flow of migrants became more diversified during this period and shifted from Southern European countries, one traditional source of economic migrants, to refugee producing countries, especially in South America, Asia and Africa. Recently arrived refugee groups

such as the Ethiopians, Iraqis, and Somalis exhibit a much greater cultural distance from the Swedish born than previous groups and the spatial segregation of these immigrants may be further compounded by a desire to retain their cultural identity in anticipation of returning to their home countries. In addition, the structural assimilation of these groups, especially in the labour market, has been made more difficult by the recent retrenchment of the Swedish welfare state and the weak economic conditions of the 1990s.

The concentration of immigrant groups in particular housing tenures is also affected by housing opportunities and constraints. As noted earlier, two factors were of particular importance in Stockholm in the 1970s: the creation of more expensive renovated housing in the inner-city and the development of large tracts of Million Programme public housing, especially in the southern suburbs. For example, the dramatic increase in the housing segmentation index for the Turks and Greeks in the 1970s can be accounted for by the substantial inflow of immigrants from these groups during the decade combined with the availability of new public rental housing in suburbs such as Rinkeby, Tensta, and Botkyrka (Klich and Svanberg, 1990; Svanberg, 1990).

The proportion of Turkish households in public housing increased dramatically, from 18 percent in 1970 to 71 percent in 1980 while for Greeks the comparable values were 18 percent and 46 percent. At the same time the high level of residence in flats owned by companies or rented from other individuals dropped dramatically, from 39 percent to 7 percent in the case of the Turks. Residence in flats owned by the employer was a common way for immigrants arriving in the labour migration period of the 1960s and 1970s to obtain access to the housing market (Biterman, 1993:37). For the majority of Turks and Greeks public rental housing has remained the dominant form of housing tenure. The priority of investing in a small business (often with capital from relatives and friends) rather than ownership housing, may explain much of the reluctance of Turks to move out of rental housing, even when incomes increase (Özüekren, 1992; Pripp, 1992) while members of both groups may have wanted to invest in property in their home countries. Indeed, Özüekren (1992: 107) notes that 78 percent of her sample had some form of housing investment in Turkey.

The index values for refugee groups such as the Ethiopians, Iraqis and Somalis, who arrived primarily in the 1980s and 1990s, were high when they first arrived in Sweden and have remained so during their short period of settlement in the country. In fact, the indexes of dissimilarity increased steadily for all three groups between 1980 (Ethiopians and Iraqis) or 1990 (Somalis) and 1995 (Table 2). Indexes of housing segmentation also increased substantially for both the Ethiopians and Iraqis between 1980 and 1990 (Table 3). Most of these groups must start their housing career from the bottom of the housing

market, usually in public rental housing or some other form of tenure such as a flat owned by an employer or by subletting. More than one-third of Ethiopians and Somalis and about one-quarter of Iraqis lived in the 'other tenure' category in 1995.

4.3 Summary

The results of the cross-sectional analysis indicate that both the spatial segregation and housing segmentation of the twelve groups vary widely. The Finns, Germans, Poles and Yugoslavians tend to have the lowest index values for both variables while the Ethiopians, Iraqis, Somalis and Turks generally have the highest index values. The two indexes are strongly correlated with each other although there are some differences in rank order by country of birth. The differences between groups, particularly at the extreme ends of the spectrum, relate to time of arrival in Sweden, cultural distance from the Swedish born, the desire to retain group cohesiveness, personal resources (language, education, age and sex, and urban experience), and opportunities for access to labour and housing markets (structural integration). At the more local level, this raises a broader issue of whether the higher levels of segregation observed for more recently arrived groups are voluntary or not. In-depth interviews with members of the individual groups would be needed to answer this question and thereby unravel more specific factors that lie behind the statistical results.

Over time, the average index values for both spatial segregation and housing segmentation increased substantially between 1970 and 1980. The reasons are associated with the convergence of a number of factors at the international, national and local scales of analysis that impacted on the number and diversity of immigrants arriving in Sweden, and Stockholm more particularly, and the settlement of these groups within Stockholm. In the 1980s and 1990s, indexes for the most recently arrived groups are not only higher than for groups who first arrived in the 1950s and 1960s but also increased through the 1980s and first half of the 1990s. The reasons relate both to the characteristics of these immigrant groups and to the worsening economic conditions in Sweden during this time. In contrast, indexes of spatial segregation and housing segmentation for groups who arrived at an earlier point in time were relatively lower at the outset and have remained so until the present.

5.0 Conclusion: Immigration and the Swedish Model

The evidence in this paper suggests that in spite of Swedish policy of integration, spatial segregation and housing segmentation remain in the 1990s and for some groups have increased. Swedish discussion on integration should

be seen in the historical context of Sweden as a country with a long tradition of homogeneity built on a common culture, language and religion. Daun (1989) points out that the early post World War Two migration policy was assimilationist in nature. Newcomers were expected to learn Swedish and adopt Swedish customs - in short, to become Swedish. This policy changed in 1975 with the adoption of an integration model. There were two major goals. One was to preserve ethnic identity and the other was to attain equality with the Swedish born population. The latter encompassed equal participation in different kinds of social relations such as labour and housing markets and political participation.

In practice, however, the integration model was largely regarded as an assimilation policy (Diaz, 1996). In this context, Roth and Rundblom (1996) argue that a major objective of the Swedish political structure is to establish general solutions which include all individuals. As a result, minority opinions are not favoured.⁷ Indeed, the mental barriers between Swedes and immigrants, including second generation immigrants, seem to have increased in the 1990s (Rojas, 1995). Furthermore, structural changes in the economy have lessened opportunities for recent immigrant and refugee groups to achieve equality in the labour market. The latter is a key prerequisite for achieving equality in the housing market (Ekberg and Gustafsson, 1995). As a result of these views, the media, politicians and planners, when speaking of immigrants, tend not to differentiate between groups. Yet, a distinction should be made according to level of integration. In the housing market, for example, groups who arrived in the first few decades following World War Two have achieved a relatively high level of integration while this is not the case for recent immigrants. Both decision makers and the general public tend not to realize that it took some time for early immigrants to adjust and that for recent groups the integration process will be even longer.

This raises the broader issue of what is meant by integration and whether integration, especially in the context of spatial assimilation, is a desirable objective for all ethnic minorities. As Potter (1996) notes, spatial segregation accompanied by the social exclusion of disadvantaged groups is undesirable, but forced integration may not be an appropriate solution either. Potter (1996) suggests that more emphasis be placed on ethnic group differences as a means of further understanding the integration/segregation debate and promoting affirmative action. Most importantly, options should be available for immigrant groups depending on whether they wish to live in a neighbourhood that contains mainly persons from their own ethnic background or

⁷This may be one reason why there is no information on ethnic origin, language or religion in Swedish statistics on immigrants. Such variables would be useful in obtaining a better understanding of the diverse nature of immigrant groups in Sweden and the needs of these groups.

in areas of more mixed ethnic composition. A challenge for Swedish society and Swedish decision makers is to achieve a reasonable balance between the needs of society and the needs of individual immigrant groups.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the Institute for Housing Research, Uppsala University for providing us with a good working environment during the writing of this paper, to The Swedish Council for Social Research for supporting the project during Robert Murdie's stay in Sweden, to Mats Haglund, Statistics Sweden, for assistance with the acquisition of data and to Ove Ericsson at the Institute for Housing Research for a careful reading of the paper. Robert Murdie is also appreciative to York University for a sabbatical leave fellowship which allowed him to spend research time in Sweden. This paper was first presented at the European Network for Housing Research conference in Helsingør, Denmark, August, 1996. We are grateful to the participants in the workshop on Immigration and Housing for their valuable comments.

References

- Allen, J. and C. Hamnett (1991). Housing and Labour Markets: Building the Connections. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Andersson, R. (1993). "Immigration policy, and the geography of ethnic integration in Sweden," Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift, No. 16, 14-29.
- Andersson, R. and I. Molina (1996) "Etnisk boendesegregation i teori och praktik," in Vägar in i Sverige. SOU 1996:55 Bilaga.
- Andersson-Brolin, L. (1984). Etnisk Bostadsegregation. Diss. Stockholm.
- Biterman, D. (1985) "Invandrare i Stockholms län. bostäder och boende. Regionplanekontoret," Rapport 1985: 9.
- Biterman, D. (1993). "Invandrarnas boendesegregation," in Så här bor vi (Ehn, S, ed.). Bygghälsningsrådet, T2.1993. Stockholm.
- Biterman, D. (1994). "Boendesegregationsutveckling i Stockholms län 1970-1994." Inregia, Stockholm.
- Boal, F. (1987). "Segregation," in M. Pacione (ed.), Progress in Social Geography. London: Croom Helm.
- Borgegård, L-E., J. Håkansson and D. K. Müller (1996). "Distributing Immigrants - Strategies and Evidence: Concentration and Dispersion of Immigrants in Sweden, 1973-1992," Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umeå University, unpublished paper.
- Borgegård, L-E. and R. Murdie (1994). "Social Polarization and the Crisis of the Welfare State: The Case of Stockholm," Built Environment, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 254-268.

- Castles, S. and M.J. Miller (1993). The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. London: Macmillan.
- Daun, Å. (1985). Bra och dåligt i Sverige. Invandrare i Stockholms län. Stockholms läns landsting. Regionplane- och trafikkontoret. Rapport 1985:6.
- Daun, Å. (1989). "Invandrarnas integration - som politiskt mål och kulturell verklighet," in Invandrare i storstad. Underlagsrapport från storstadsutredningen. SOU 1989:111.
- Daun, Å. (1996). Swedish Mentality. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press. (Translated and revised from the Swedish, Svensk mentalitet, first published in 1989).
- Diaz, J. A. (1996). "Invandrarnas integration - några teoretiska och metodologiska utgångspunkter," in Vägar in i Sverige, SOU 1996:55.
- Duncan, O.D and B.Duncan (1955). "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification," The American Journal of Sociology 60: 493-503.
- Ekberg, J. and B. Gustafsson (1995). Invandrare på arbetsmarknaden. SNS. Kristianstad.
- Horna, H. (1990) "Latinamerikaner," in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo.
- Kemeny, J. (1987). Immigrant Housing Conditions in Sweden. Gävle, Sweden: The National Swedish Institute for Building Research, Research Report SB:5.
- Knox, P. (1995). Urban Social Geography: An Introduction. Harlow, England: Longman. Third Edition.
- Laine-Sveiby, K. (1987). Svenskhet som strategi. Stockholm: Timbro.
- Lindberg, G. and A-L. Lindén 1986. "Housing Market Segmentation in Swedish Local Authorities." Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research 3:233-248.
- Lindén, A-L. and Lindberg, G. (1991). "Immigrant Housing Patterns in Sweden," in E.D. Huttman (ed.), Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in Western Europe and the United States. London: Duke University Press, 92-115.
- Ministry of Labour, Sweden (1995) Immigrant and Refugee Policy
- Negash, T. (1990). "Eritreaner" in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo.
- Klich, N. and I. Svanberg (1990). "Greker", in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo.
- Magnusson, K. (1990). "Jugoslaver" in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo.
- Murdie, R. and L-E. Borgegård (1992). "Social Differentiation in Public Rental Housing: A Case Study of Swedish Metropolitan Areas," Scandinavian Housing and Planning Research, 9: 1-17.

- Potter, P. (1996). "Alternatives to the Concept of 'Integration' in the Struggle Against Exclusion," in E.M. Komut (ed.), Housing Question of the 'Others'. Ankara: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 492-501.
- Pripp, O. (1992). "Assyrian and Syrian immigrants in small business. A study of a group of refugees and their business activities in Botkyrka and Södertälje." Culture and management in the field of ethnology and business administration (Ed Sjögren, A. and L. Janson). Stockholm School of Economics. The Swedish Immigration Institute and Museum. A:7.
- Randolph, B. (1991). "Housing Markets, Labour Markets and Discontinuity Theory," in Allen, J. and C. Hamnett, editors, Housing and Labour Markets: Building the Connections. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Regionplane- och trafikkontoret (1994). Årsstatistik 94 för Stockholms län och landsting.
- Rex, J. and R. Moore (1967). Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rojas, M. (1995). Sveriges oälskade barn. Att vara svensk men ändå inte. Brombergs. WSOY, Finland.
- Roth, H. I. and H. Rundblom (1996). Stater, minoriteter och invandrade grupper. In Vägar in i Sverige, SOU 1996:55.
- SOU (1975) Bostadsförsörjning och bostadsbidrag. 1975:51.
- SOU (1984) Bostadskommitténs delbetänkande. Sammanfattning. 1984:34.
- Statistiska centralbyrån (1995). Folkmängden efter kön, ålder och medborgarskap, Del 3.
- Svanberg, I. (1990). "Turkar," in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo.
- The Swedish Institute (1994). Immigrants in Sweden.
- Utas, B. (1990). "Iranier," in Det mångkulturella Sverige (ed Svanberg, I & Rundblom, H). Gidlunds. Värnamo
- Özüekren, S. A. (1992). Turkish Immigrant Housing in Sweden. Gävle, Sweden: The National Swedish Institute for Building Research, Research Report SB:47.

Table 1: Place of Birth, Stockholm Region, 1960 to 1995

Place of Birth	1960		1970		1980		1990		1995	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Sweden	1119431	92.6	1263753	89.0	1266327	86.3	1326868	84.3	1372256	83.0
Foreign Born	89469	7.4	155755	11.0	200688	13.7	246635	15.7	280414	17.0
Finland	30555	2.5	66956	4.7	85392	5.8	74006	4.7	69638	4.2
Turkey	148	0.0	1979	0.1	8525	0.6	13805	0.9	15678	1.0
Iran	57	0.0	189	0.0	1255	0.1	9249	0.6	13752	0.8
Chile	34	0.0	84	0.0	4144	0.3	12601	0.8	12599	0.8
Poland	1906	0.0	3300	0.2	6456	0.4	11127	0.7	11986	0.7
Germany	13228	1.1	13817	1.0	11769	0.8	11183	0.7	10607	0.6
Yugoslavia	264	0.0	5075	0.4	6828	0.5	8217	0.5	10183	0.6
Iraq	11	0.0	58	0.0	286	0.0	2848	0.2	8179	0.5
Greece	128	0.0	2906	0.2	7246	0.5	6725	0.4	6360	0.4
Ethiopia	28	0.0	160	0.0	842	0.1	3683	0.2	5947	0.4
Bosnia	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3615	0.2
Somalia	0	0.0	13	0.0	73	0.0	388	0.0	3016	0.2

Source: Statistics Sweden, special tabulations. In this study we have used the official definition of Stockholm region, but have added Södertälje municipality because of its high proportion of immigrants

Table 2: Indexes of Dissimilarity, Stockholm Region, 1960-1995 (Parish Level of Analysis, Place of Birth Categories, Swedish Born versus Specific Groups)

Place of Birth	Indexes of Dissimilarity				
	1960	1970	1980	1990	1995
Germany	16	12	9	9	10
Finland	14	22	25	21	19
Poland	14	20	21	20	20
Yugoslavia	24	28	32	31	31
Chile			47	36	37
Iran			50	38	40
Greece		32	47	48	46
Iraq			40	43	47
Bosnia					47
Ethiopia			41	47	52
Somalia				52	56
Turkey		33	60	60	60
AVERAGE	17.0	22.8	37.2	36.8	38.8

Note: Indexes are only shown for groups with more than 200 people in each year. Calculations by the authors using special tabulations from Statistics Sweden

Table 3: Indexes of Housing Segmentation, Stockholm Region, 1970-1990 (Place of Birth Categories, Swedish Born versus Specific Groups)

Place of Birth	Indexes of Housing Segmentation		
	1970	1980	1990
Germany	9	5	5
Finland	18	24	14
Poland	20	20	22
Yugoslavia	32	32	29
Greece	32	41	40
Iran		39	46
Chile		49	46
Turkey	31	52	49
Ethiopia		37	49
Iraq		39	50
Somalia			52
AVERAGE	23.7	33.8	36.5

Note: Indexes are only shown for groups with more than 200 people in each year. Calculations by the authors using special tabulations from Statistics Sweden