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CARFAX

Immigration, Spatial Segregation and Housing Segmentation of Immigrants in Metropolitan Stockholm, 1960–95

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Summary **Immigration policy and the origins of immigrants coming to Sweden have changed dramatically during the post-World War Two period. During the same period, changes in housing policy have affected the type of accommodation available to immigrants and refugees. It is within the context of these and other changes that we develop a model of the driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation in Sweden and document and evaluate shifts in the spatial segregation and housing segmentation of immigrants in the Stockholm region between 1960 and 1995.**

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 by majority groups, and particularly the political right, as a threat to economic well-being and national identity. 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 (Castles and Miller, 1993, ch. 2).

In the receiving countries, many immigrant groups are segregated spatially and concentrated in particular housing tenures. In

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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 integration, 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. 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. Spatial segregation is important because of its close link to social distance (Duncan and Lieberson, 1959, p. 364; Peach, 1975, p. 1). The smaller the social distance between individuals, the greater the likelihood that they will live in close proximity to each other. Also, the closer that people live to each other, the greater the potential for more social interaction and less social distance. Therefore, physical and social distance tend to be mutually reinforcing with the result that spatial segregation is both a measure of and an influence on social distance. Housing segmentation is important to the extent that it sheds light on spatial segregation. New immigrant groups are often channelled to low-cost public or private rental housing which in itself is spatially clustered within cities. Housing segmentation measured over time for particular immigrant groups is also a useful measure of the extent to which these groups have achieved tenurial integration with the native-born population. The latter is especially important in the Swedish context, given the somewhat negative view that Swedish officials have expressed towards housing segmentation.

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, emphasising 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.

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 global and national factors as well as 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.

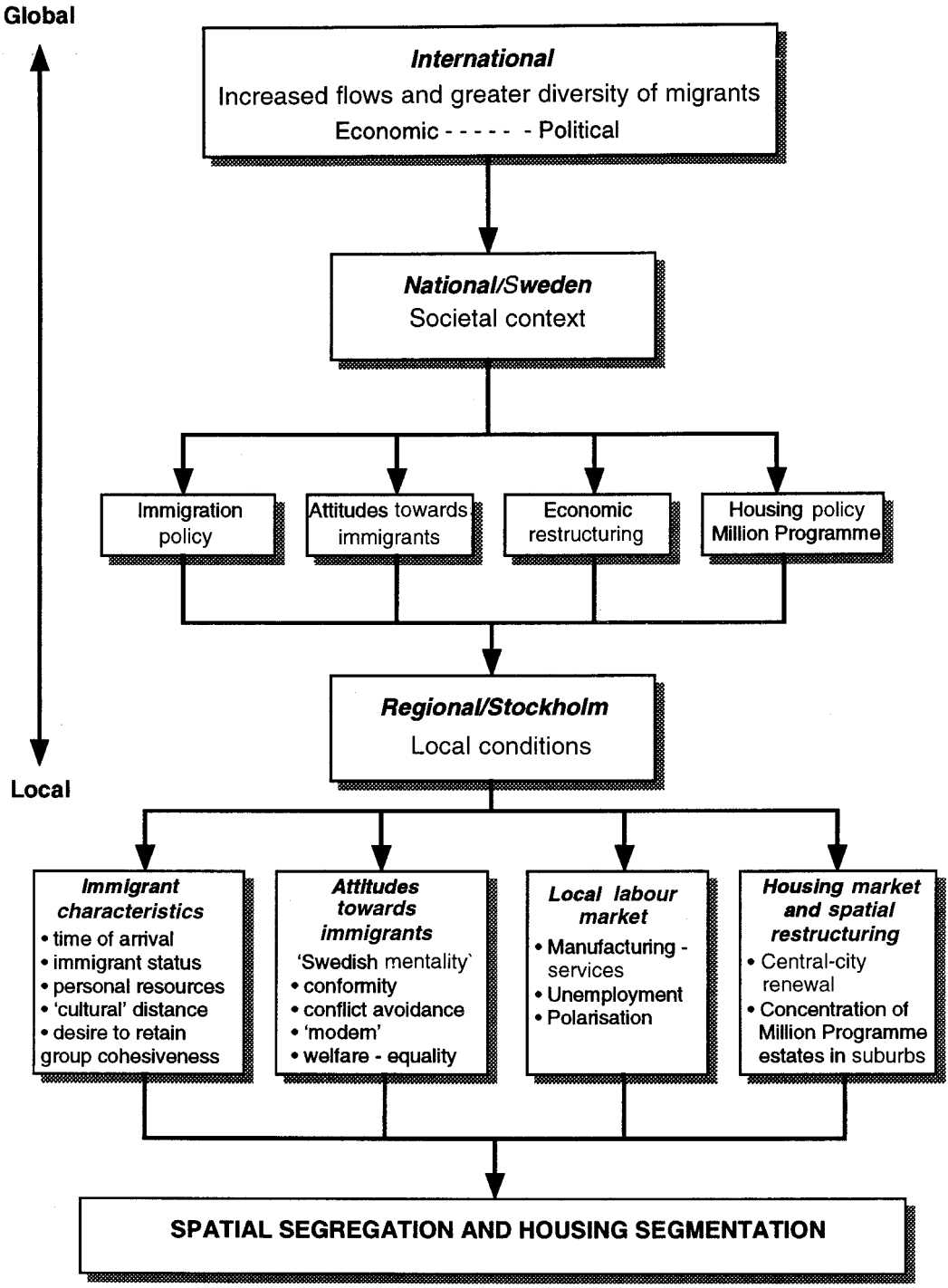

Figure 1. Driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation.

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 organised 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 (Castles and Miller, 1993; Roseman *et al.*, 1996). This shift in migration patterns is linked to economic and political structures which precipitate a variety of push and pull factors encouraging, or increasingly forcing, people to leave their homeland and move elsewhere. 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. These shifts in migration flows have had a considerable impact on urban centres particularly as internal migration becomes a less important factor in the growth of cities in most European and North American 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, p. 16). During the latter period, immigrants have become more diverse in ethnic origin, race, language, lifestyle, family size and labour market skills. The social distance between many newcomer groups and the native Swedish population has also increased, thus raising the potential for lower levels of integration and greater economic marginalisation. In turn, this has increased the likelihood of higher levels of spatial segregation and housing segmentation, especially in metropolitan areas such as Stockholm.

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 (see, for example, Castles and Miller, 1993; Boal, 1996).

Immigration policy. National immigration policy is particularly important because it defines the number and type of immigrants that will be accepted into the country, their length of stay and political status and the nature of immigrant settlement. The latter includes formal policies concerning both the integration of immigrants and their spatial distribution throughout the country. In turn, these policies affect the degree and rapidity of immigrant integration, the concentration of immigrants in particular parts of the country and ultimately their level of spatial segregation and housing segmentation. Castles and Miller (1993, pp. 196–201) recognise three major types of immigrant receiving countries, although they also note that differences between them have become blurred:

(1) 'classical countries of immigration' (for example, the US, Canada, Australia, Sweden) which encourage permanent

immigration, permit family reunion and grant security of residence;
(2) 'countries with colonial attachments' (for example, France, the Netherlands and Britain) which grant preferential treatment to immigrants from former colonies; and
(3) 'guestworker countries' (for example, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium) which have much more restrictive controls on permanent settlement and family reunification.

Segregation issues have been part of the public policy debate in Sweden during most of the post-World War Two period. Since the 1970s, the concepts of immigrant and housing 'integration' have been major policy goals in Sweden. 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 multi-family 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 recognised as a 'social problem', particularly in the context of social class differences between the occupants of owner-occupied and multi-family dwellings. Finally, by the beginning of the 1970s, ethnic segregation was also identified as a 'social problem', especially as migrants from countries such as Greece, Italy and Turkey tended to concentrate in newly built multi-family houses (SOU, 1975, p. 51).

Immigrant integration policy in Sweden, as developed during the first half of the 1970s, 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, especially in employment and housing. Free choice ensures 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 (Ministry of Labour, Sweden, 1995, p. 5). Increasingly, however, Swedes are beginning to appreciate the inherent conflict between freedom of choice and an integration policy that does not allow for special treatment or special interests.

Attitudes towards immigrants. The likelihood of spatial segregation and housing segmentation in urban centres is also affected by attitudes towards immigrants, expressed formally by the political party in power and informally through the views of organised interest-groups and local citizens. Informal and institutional discriminatory practices towards immigrants are particularly important, especially the way in which immigrants are treated in labour and housing markets. These practices have a direct effect on the structural integration of immigrants and also impact on their ability to compete for different residential areas and types of housing.

In the Swedish case, attitudes of the local population towards immigrants often take 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 characterised 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, p. 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. These factors are all important in understanding Sweden's rather lukewarm approach to multi-culturalism.

Economic restructuring. The Swedish economy in the 1960s and 1970s was characterised by an expansion of the industrial sector and a demand for labour immigrants. Many of these immigrants located in the small factory towns of middle and southern Sweden. In recent decades, the economy has gradually shifted from an industrial to a service orientation, resulting in a weakening of the industrial sector and substantial problems, especially for immigrants, in the local labour market. For several decades, Swedish politicians and labour leaders have tried to maintain a low level of unemployment. By 1996, however, the general unemployment rate had increased to over 8 per cent, a very high rate by Swedish standards (Statistics Sweden, 1997). For immigrants and refugees, the rate was considerably higher. The ability to afford particular kinds of housing is closely linked to economic resources. Households with a relatively weak economic position are likely to concentrate in the poorest-quality housing with a low probability of improving their housing position. Therefore, for many immigrant groups, spatial segregation and housing segmentation have become the norm.

Housing policy. Housing policy and the nature of housing markets are important in providing opportunities for or imposing constraints on the settlement of new immigrant groups. The general objective of Swedish housing policy since the end of World War Two has been to provide a large proportion of the population with good and reasonably inexpensive dwellings. This objective was achieved by the creation of municipal housing companies, beginning in the 1940s. Public housing created by these companies now comprises more than 20 per cent of Sweden's housing stock. The most important initiative was the 'Million Dwellings Programme' (hereafter referred to as the Million Programme), the goal of which was to build 1 million new dwellings during the period 1965–74. This policy was combined with other goals designed to encourage a mix of households in new housing areas by providing a variety of tenures and ensuring that housing costs would not exceed one-quarter of a household's disposable income. The outcome, however, has been increased concentration of more marginal groups, especially recent immigrants and refugees, in the large public housing estates of the suburban periphery, especially in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (Murdie and Borgegård, 1992, 1994).

Swedish immigration in the post-World War Two period. 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. 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 goal by the Swedish government in the mid 1970s. Because of distinct differences in ethnic background, race and lifestyle, the social distance between many new immigrants and Swedes increased. Also, the attitudes of employers towards new immigrants gradually changed and many of the newly arrived immigrants, because of lower educational and skill levels, 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 those of 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 (1984–94) was designed to spread the new immigrant population more evenly throughout the country, to encourage local municipalities to share responsibility for immigrant and refugee reception, and to avoid the development of new social service facilities by making use of existing buildings and agencies (Andersson, 1993; Ministry of Labour, Sweden, 1995; Borgegård *et al.*, 1998). 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 those of 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 are strongly affected by the numerous factors operating at the international and national levels, but these factors 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 changes in the local housing market. The last three factors are particularly important in offering opportunities and constraints for immigrant groups.

Characteristics of the immigrant population. The characteristics of the immigrant population—including time of arrival, immigrant status, personal resources, social 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

Table 1. Place of birth, Stockholm Region, 1960–95

	1960		1970		1980		1990		1995	
Place of birth	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
Sweden	1 119 431	92.6	1 263 753	89.0	1 266 327	86.3	1 326 868	84.3	1 372 256	83.0
Foreign-born	89 469	7.4	155 755	11.0	200 688	13.7	246 635	15.7	280 414	17.0
Finland	30 555	34.2	66 956	43.0	85 392	42.5	74 006	30.0	69 638	24.8
Turkey	148	0.0	1 979	1.3	8 525	4.2	13 805	5.6	15 678	5.6
Iran	57	0.0	189	0.0	1 255	0.1	9 249	3.8	13 752	4.9
Chile	34	0.0	84	0.0	4 144	2.1	12 601	5.1	12 599	4.5
Poland	1 906	2.1	3 300	2.1	6 456	3.2	11 127	4.5	11 986	4.3
Germany	13 228	14.8	13 817	8.9	11 769	5.9	11 183	4.5	10 607	3.8
Yugoslavia	264	0.3	5 075	3.3	6 828	3.4	8 217	3.3	10 183	3.6
Iraq	11	0.0	58	0.0	286	0.0	2 848	1.2	8 179	2.9
Greece	128	0.0	2 906	1.9	7 246	3.6	6 725	2.7	6 360	2.3
Ethiopia	28	0.0	160	0.0	842	0.0	3 683	1.5	5 947	2.1
Bosnia	0	0.0	0	0,0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3 615	1.3
Somalia	0	0.0	13	0.0	73	0.0	388	0.0	3 016	1.1
Total (12 groups)		49.3		60.5		65.0		62.2		61.2

Source: Statistics Sweden, special tabulations.

Notes: In this study, we have used the official definition of the Stockholm region, but have added Södertälje municipality because of its high proportion of immigrants. The 'Foreign-born' category is calculated as a percentage of the total Swedish population in each year. Individual place-of-birth groups are calculated as a percentage of the total Foreign-born population in each year.

'cultural' or social distance from the native Swedish 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 per cent of the total population in 1960 to 17 per cent 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 differ dramatically in personal resources (economic and cognitive), social distance from the Swedish population and their desire, or even need, to retain group cohesiveness.

Attitudes towards immigrants. At a more regional level, there may be variations in the degree to which characteristics describing the 'Swedish mentality' are part of 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 receptive to 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 municipalities, noted that Sollentuna in metropolitan Stockholm had the most positive attitudes towards new immigrants. This may have been due to the simultaneous in-movement of a large number of Swedish-born migrants and Chilean refugees to 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.

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.[1] 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 services. 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.

Changes in the housing market. Since 1960, there has been considerable change in Stockholm's housing market, in the spatial reorganisation 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 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 per cent in 1960 to 41 per cent in 1992. Part of this growth was due to the impact of the Million Programme. In the Stockholm region, much of the housing during this period was built in the suburbs, especially in southern municipalities such as Botkyrka.[2] 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 recently arrived immigrants and refugees. (By 1995, 30 per cent of Botkyrka's population was foreign-born, compared with 17 per cent for the Stockholm region.)

3. Areas of Study, Immigrant Groups and Research Methodology

For this paper, two separate analyses were conducted. The analysis of residential segregation was undertaken for 13 place-of-birth groups (including the Swedish-born) for 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990 and 1995. The first time-period precedes the Million Programme era. The second period captures the midpoint 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 (see, for example, Andersson-Brolin, 1984; Biterman, 1994; Andersson and Molina, 1996, Bevelander *et al.*, 1997), this analysis captures a broader spectrum of post-World War Two immigration, especially refugee groups that arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

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, 800 regions) and the Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas (1990, 330 areas). Some of the parishes are fairly large in population size, but most are about the same size as census tracts in North American cities (an average population of 12 000 persons in 1960 and 14 600 in 1995).

The 12 immigrant groups in this study were selected to represent the range of groups that have entered Sweden and the Stockholm region since World War Two. Collectively, except for 1960, they represent over 60 per cent of the foreign-born population in each year (Table 1). Based on period of arrival and immigration status, they can be divided into four major groups. The first is the group that arrived shortly after World War Two, represented here by the German-born. They accounted for 15 per cent of the foreign-born population in 1960 but their numbers, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the foreign-born population, have declined since then and by 1995 they accounted for only 3.8 per cent of the foreign-born population (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 characterises

Table 2. Indices of dissimilarity, Stockholm Region, 1960–95 (parish level of analysis, place-of-birth categories, Swedish-born versus specific groups)

	Indices of dissimilarity				
Place of birth	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: Indices are only shown for groups with more than 200 people in each year.

Source: Calculations by the authors using special tabulations from Statistics Sweden.

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 relatively 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 (1984–94). Finally, the fourth group of immigrants from Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia characterise a recent group of refugees, most of whom arrived in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Table 1).

Using indices 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 indices 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 in calculation 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 (see Duncan and Duncan, 1955, and Lindberg and Lindén, 1986, for details of indices). These indices are provided in Table 3 ranked from lowest to highest according to the 1990 values. The values of both indices 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

Table 3. Indices of housing segmentation, Stockholm Region, 1970–90 (place-of-birth categories, Swedish-born versus specific groups)

Place of birth	Indices 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: Indices are only shown for groups with more than 200 people in each year.

Source: Calculations by the authors using special tabulations from Statistics Sweden.

the Swedish-born. Indices 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. Also, the index tends to be sensitive to small numbers especially when the number of persons in a group approaches the number of spatial units in the analysis (Peach, 1996, p. 218). Six tenure groups were included in the analysis of housing segmentation: owner-occupied, tenant-owned co-operatives, 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 sub-letting). In addition to the indices, percentage values for each tenure category by place of birth are given in Table 4 for all groups including the Swedish-born.

4. Residential Segregation and Housing Segmentation: Results of the Analysis

Because of the emphasis in this paper on the residential segregation and housing segmentation of immigrants, we have chosen to discuss the results by immigrant groups rather than by housing tenure. The four groups correspond to those identified in the previous section. Also, due to the close relationship between the two concepts, we will analyse patterns of residential segregation and housing segmentation together for each group of immigrants. We conclude the section with an overview of the results in the context of residential segregation and housing segmentation.

4.1 A Long-established Immigrant Group: The Germans

The first category contains only the German-born. Not unexpectedly, given their long period of residence, high level of education and cultural similarity to the Swedes, the Germans exhibit the lowest indices of dissimilarity for all years from 1960 to 1995 (Table 2). The highest index for the German-born was 16 in 1960, declining to 9 in 1980 and remaining at about that level until 1995. The Germans also have a very low level of housing segmentation. Index values of less than 10 indicate that the distribution of Germans by tenure categories differs very little from that of the Swedish-born. The segmentation index also declined from 1970 to 1980 and then levelled off—indicating that the Germans are becoming more like the Swedes in tenurial composition (Table 3). By 1990, the Germans were slightly less likely than Swedes to live in public rental housing and were slightly overrepresented, compared to the Swedish-born, in the 'Other tenure' category. Otherwise, they differ very little in tenure composition from the Swedish-born (Table 4).

4.2 Labour Immigrants: The Finns, Poles, Yugoslavs, Turks and Greeks

The second category includes people born in Finland, Poland, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. In 1970, when all five groups were represented in the analysis, the indices of

Table 4. Place of birth by tenure categories, Stockholm Region, 1970–90 (percentage of total dwellings in each year)

Place of birth/date	Owner-occupied	Co-operative	Public rental	Private rental	Other rental	Other tenure
Sweden						
1970	24.2	14.1	23.6	15.7	13.9	8.5
1980	33.9	13.4	23.0	11.1	13.1	5.4
1990	32.6	15.4	23.0	7.3	10.5	11.2
Germany						
1970	21.7	15.3	17.4	17.1	15.2	13.3
1980	34.3	14.9	18.0	11.4	14.1	7.3
1990	31.5	16.2	19.1	7.7	11.2	14.3
Finland						
1970	11.1	16.5	24.5	10.5	15.5	22.0
1980	14.9	14.7	38.2	6.6	14.1	11.5
1990	21.5	17.5	31.3	5.1	9.5	15.0
Poland						
1970	10.6	20.6	17.4	18.4	15.1	17.9
1980	14.3	15.4	32.1	11.7	16.1	10.5
1990	13.1	14.5	40.4	6.0	9.9	16.0
Yugoslavia						
1970	4.4	9.3	20.6	11.8	20.2	33.8
1980	9.1	8.2	44.4	9.5	18.8	10.0
1990	10.6	10.7	45.8	5.5	11.4	16.0
Greece						
1970	4.7	10.7	18.3	12.0	22.9	31.6
1980	3.0	5.0	46.3	9.9	19.4	16.4
1990	5.0	7.6	49.3	5.1	8.3	24.7
Iran						
1980	11.9	6.6	20.4	3.6	22.9	34.7
1990	3.8	7.4	51.8	2.3	6.7	28.0
Chile						
1980	5.6	4.0	65.8	1.8	11.5	11.2
1990	5.1	6.8	61.3	1.9	5.7	19.3
Turkey						
1970	7.4	11.5	18.2	9.6	14.6	38.6
1980	1.8	3.0	71.0	2.3	14.8	7.1
1990	2.9	5.2	70.8	1.7	7.4	11.9
Ethiopia						
1980	15.2	5.2	31.2	3.2	11.0	34.2
1990	3.6	5.4	47.8	2.5	5.7	35.1
Iraq						
1980	5.6	9.3	40.1	4.5	19.3	21.2
1990	3.9	5.0	58.6	2.5	4.8	25.2
Somalia						
1990	1.3	5.0	52.8	1.3	6.0	33.6

Notes: 'Public rental' includes primarily dwellings owned by municipal housing companies; 'Other rental' refers to dwellings primarily owned by state and local municipalities; and 'Other tenures' includes flats owned by employers and other forms of sub-letting.

dissimilarity ranged from 20 for the Poles to 33 for the Turkish-born. Of the three groups represented in 1960, the indices for the Polish- and Finnish-born were considerably lower than in 1970. The reason for the increase in segregation of these groups in the 1960s may relate to their gradual movement outwards from the inner city to specific areas of newly built Million Programme housing. Following 1970, indices for the Finnish, Polish and Yugoslav groups remained at their 1970 levels. In contrast, indices for the Turkish and Greek immigrants increased dramatically during the 1970s (Table 2). By 1980, the index for the Turkish-born was 60 and for the Greeks, 47. Thereafter, the index values for both groups remained about the same as in 1980.

The relatively low indices of dissimilarity for the Finnish- and Polish-born are not surprising given the presence of these groups in Stockholm since the 1950s and their cultural similarity to the Swedish-born. 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 indices for the Yugoslav-born are higher than those for the Finnish- and Polish-born, they are not as high as expected. This may be due to the ethnic differences within the Yugoslav immigrant population and the possibility that persons from various regions of former Yugoslavia (for example, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia) tend to live in different parts of Stockholm (Magnusson, 1990).

The dramatic increase in index values for Greek and Turkish immigrants between 1970 and 1980 can be accounted for by their rapid increase in numbers during the decade and their cultural distance from the Swedish-born population (Table 1). Because of cultural, linguistic and religious differences, these groups tended to concentrate spatially—a phenomenon that was probably encouraged by strong social networks among older immigrants from each group and chain migration. In contrast to earlier periods, the spatial concentration of these groups was facilitated in the 1980s by the availability of new public rental housing built in suburbs such as Rinkeby, Tensta and Botkyrka as part of the Million Programme (Klich and Svanberg, 1990; Svanberg, 1990).

The Finnish- and Polish-born also have relatively low indices of housing segmentation while the index for the Yugoslavians is somewhat higher. Between 1970 and 1990, and particularly since 1980, the Finns became more like the Swedish-born in tenure status. The index for the Finnish-born declined from about 20 in 1970 to 14 in 1990; for the Poles there was a slight increase from 20 to 22; and for Yugoslavs the index decreased from 32 to 29 (Table 3). There were also important changes in specific tenures between 1970 and 1990 for each group (Table 4). By 1990, the percentage of Finns in owner-occupancy had doubled from 11 per cent to 21.5 per cent; the percentage of Poles in owner-occupancy had increased slightly, from 11 to 13 per cent; and the percentage of Yugoslavs in this tenure had more than doubled, from a relatively modest 4.4 per cent in 1970 to almost 11 per cent in 1990. By 1990, the level of home-ownership among Finns in Stockholm approached the Swedish average. The upward mobility of the Finnish population reflects their more affluent economic position and ease of integration into Swedish society.

During this period the Finns, Poles and Yugoslavs all increased their percentage representation in public rental housing. The increase in public rental occupancy was particularly noticeable for the Poles with an increase from 17 to 40 per cent and for the Yugoslavians with an upward shift from 21 per cent to 46 per cent. Part of this increase relates to reduced rental opportunities in the private rental and state and municipal sectors and, for the Yugoslavs, a decreased presence in the 'Other tenure' category where the percentage dropped from 34 to 16. The latter includes flats owned by the employer, 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, p. 37). In contrast to the Finns, the Poles and Yugoslavs did not achieve the same high level of home-ownership, although they were more successful than the other groups included in this analysis.

The housing segmentation index for the Greek- and Turkish-born groups was about the same as that of the Yugoslavs in 1970, but between 1970 and 1980 the segmentation index increased dramatically for both groups and then levelled off at about 40 for the Greeks and 50 for the Turkish-born (Table 3). As with the Yugoslavs, the major difference between these groups and the Swedish-born in 1970 was their very low level of owner-occupancy and high level of residence in flats owned by companies or rented from other individuals as a sub-let. In 1970, almost 40 per cent of Turkish-born immigrants and more than 30 per cent of Greeks lived in company-owned flats or took over a rental contract from another individual. By 1980, the pattern changed dramatically as both groups, but especially Turkish immigrants, became concentrated in public rental housing that had been constructed during the Million Programme era. For the majority of Turkish households (70 per cent) public rental housing became the dominant form of housing tenure by 1980 and remained so through 1990. The priority of investing in a small business (often with capital from relatives and friends) rather than ownership of housing, may explain much of the reluctance of Turks to move out of rental housing, even when incomes increase (Özüekren, 1992; Pripp, 1992). Greeks may also be reluctant to purchase houses in Sweden because of an agreement with the Swedish government which allows Greeks the opportunity to claim a Swedish pension while living in Greece.

4.3 Early Refugees: Chileans, Iranians and Ethiopians

The Chileans, Iranians and Ethiopians all arrived in relatively large numbers in the 1980s, although refugees from Chile began to come after the coup in 1973 (Table 1). The index values for the Chileans and Iranians were about 50 in 1980 but declined to less than 40 in 1990 and remained at that level in 1995. The relatively high index values for these groups in 1980 are not surprising, but the decline in values between 1980 and 1990 is unexpected. Part of the reason may be the implementation of the 'whole-of-Sweden' policy in 1984, whereby all local municipalities were encouraged to take their fair share of immigrants and refugees. Iranians and Chileans who arrived in Sweden in the 1980s may have been more evenly distributed throughout Stockholm's municipalities than those who arrived earlier.[3] Indices for other groups such as the Ethiopians, who were also affected by the 'whole-of-Sweden' policy, did not decline during this period and, therefore, other explanations must be sought. One further explanation concerns the fact that many Iranians and Chileans were well educated and were accustomed to a more urban experience than immigrants from southern Europe (Utas, 1990; Horna, 1990). As a result, they may not have been as concerned about the retention of their cultural identity and subsequently experienced a more rapid rate of behavioural integration. Ethiopian refugees also arrived in considerable numbers during the 1970s. This group includes a relatively large number of fairly well-educated young people from middle-class families (Negash, 1990). The index of dissimilarity for this group was 41 in 1980 but, in contrast to the Chileans and Iranians, the index increased in 1990 and 1995. By 1995, the value had risen to 52. The comparatively low value for 1980 may be due to the relatively large number of Ethiopian children living with Swedish parents at that time.

In contrast to their decline in residential segregation, the Iranians and Chileans exhibit relatively high levels of housing segmentation (Table 3). However, there is a difference between the two groups with respect to their entry point in the housing market. More than half of the Iranians who

arrived in the 1970s began their housing career in flats owned directly by the state or local municipality or in the 'Other tenure' category. A decade later, a large proportion of Iranians still lived in employer-provided flats but their concentration in the 'Other rental' category declined dramatically and their occupancy of public rental housing increased from 20 per cent to 52 per cent. In part, this may be a statistical artefact resulting from housing owned outright by the state or local municipality being absorbed by the municipal housing companies as public rental housing. In contrast, more than 60 per cent of Chileans lived in public rental housing in both 1980 and 1990.

The index of housing segmentation for the Ethiopians also increased dramatically between 1980 and 1990, from 37 to 49. In part, this relates to a reduction in percentage of home-ownership from 15 to 4 per cent, but the increase in the index value also relates to the increased percentage of Ethiopians occupying public rental housing. The incidence of Ethiopians in municipal housing company stock increased from 31 to 48 per cent during the decade, 1980–90. As with the index of segregation, the comparatively high proportion of Ethiopians in home-ownership in 1980 can be accounted for by the relatively small number of Ethiopians in Stockholm combined with the large number of adopted children living in single-family housing with Swedish parents. The important point about the Chileans, Iranians and Ethiopians is that no group is strongly represented in ownership housing or tenant-owned co-operatives, housing tenures that are viewed by many as upward moves in a housing career. In part, this may also be an outcome of the 'whole of Sweden' policy. Those who moved to Stockholm after their refugee reception period in a smaller Swedish municipality had to begin again at the bottom of the market in order to find suitable housing.

4.4 Recent Refugees: Iraqis, Somalians and Bosnians

The final group includes immigrants and refugees from Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia. These are among the most recent groups to arrive in Sweden. Indeed, most Somalis and all of the Bosnians came during the first half of the 1990s. The indices for all of these groups were about 50 in 1995 and indices for the Somalis and Iraqis both increased slightly between 1990 and 1995.[4] This is not surprising given the recent arrival of these groups, the weak economic situation in Sweden during the time of their arrival, their limited opportunities in the housing market, and their cultural distance from the Swedish-born population. These groups arrived in Sweden during a period of intense restructuring in the labour market and very high unemployment rates, especially for immigrant groups. The family tradition among Somalis is also strong and therefore they tend to live close together.

The two groups for which data are available in 1990 (Somalis and Iraqis) have the highest indices of housing segmentation of the groups examined in this study.[5] The index for the Iraqis also increased between 1980 and 1990. Both groups are heavily concentrated in public rental housing and in the 'other tenure' category. Very few have achieved owner occupancy or tenant owned co-operative status.

4.5 Discussion

At the beginning of the paper, it was noted that segregation reflects the extent to which various immigrant groups are integrated into the host society, both behaviourally and structurally. A number of factors or driving forces were suggested that might account for the segregation patterns of immigrant groups and the changes in these patterns over time. It was also hypothesised that, in spite of official Swedish policy of integration, immigrants in the Stockholm region have tended to become more segregated residentially and more segmented in the housing market. In this section, we summarise the results and put them in the context of factors that might account for the residential segregation and housing segmentation of immigrant groups. In the conclusion, we put the study in

broader perspective and discuss the concepts of integration and segregation within the framework of the Swedish model.

When viewed in the context of the 1995 data, there is a wide variation in indices of dissimilarity between the various groups, ranging from a high of 60 for the Turkish-born to a low of 10 for the Germans (Table 2). The indices of housing segmentation also differ considerably, from a high of 52 for the Somalis to 5 for the Germans (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 1995 residential 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 Yugoslavs have the lowest levels of residential segregation and housing segmentation while the Turks, Somalis, Ethiopians and Iraqis (and the Bosnians for residential segregation) exhibit the highest indices. These results also confirm recent findings by Bevelander *et al.* (1997), who examined residential segregation by place of birth for parishes in the cities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö (1986, 1990, 1993).

The differences, particularly at the extreme ends of the spectrum, relate to a number of the factors identified in Figure 1 as driving forces behind spatial segregation and housing segmentation at the regional level. These include immigrant characteristics such as recency of arrival, immigrant status, personal resources (language, education, age and sex, and urban experience), cultural differences from the Swedish-born and the desire to retain group cohesiveness through spatial segregation, as well as opportunities for access to labour and housing markets. As well, the mental barriers between Swedes and immigrants, including second-generation immigrants, seem to have increased in the 1990s, perhaps accounting for the increased levels of spatial segregation and housing segmentation observed for some recently arrived groups (Rojas, 1995).

Recently arrived refugee groups such as the Ethiopians, Iraqis and Somalis display a low level of both behavioural and structural integration. These groups exhibit considerable cultural distance from the Swedish-born and the residential segregation of these immigrants may be further compounded by a desire to retain their cultural identity in anticipation of returning to their home countries (Andersson-Brolin, 1984). In addition, the structural integration of these groups is made more difficult by the recent retrenchment of the Swedish welfare state and the weak economic conditions of the 1990s. 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 sub-letting.

In contrast, groups that have been in Sweden for a relatively long period of time, such as the Germans, Finns and Poles, have experienced a high level of behavioural and structural integration. Compared with more recent immigrants, these groups exhibit fewer cultural differences from the Swedish-born and had much better job prospects when they first arrived. When they came in the period from the 1950s to the early 1970s, the Swedish economy was expanding.

Between these extremities are other groups that arrived in the 1970s and 1980s and have experienced various levels of residential segregation and housing segmentation. The Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavs arrived during the labour market boom, but had different backgrounds and faced different experiences from those of the Germans, Finns and Poles. Many came from a rural background where family tradition was strong. Chain migration from particular rural areas also meant that they were more likely to keep together, primarily in the public rental sector of Million Programme areas in the suburbs. Many also started small businesses and placed higher priority on this form of investment than on home-ownership.

Comparison of these findings with the results from studies conducted elsewhere is difficult because of the sensitivity of the

index values to different spatial levels of analysis and the different immigration histories of various countries, including problems of comparing different ethnic groups. It can be noted, however, that the 1995 segregation indices found here are considerably lower than the hypersegregation (index values in the 80s) between blacks and whites that has persisted in most northern US cities throughout the post-World War Two period (see, for example, Massey and Denton, 1993, p. 64). Instead, the values found in Stockholm are more comparable with the levels of ethnic segregation for similar groups in Australian and Canadian metropolitan areas (see, for example, Hugo, 1996, for Australia and Balakrishnan and Hou, 1995, for Canada). Although the national contexts are different, this finding is not surprising given the earlier observation that these are similar types of immigrant-receiving countries. Cross-country comparisons of levels of ethnic segregation and immigrant experiences remain an underdeveloped but important area of study.

5. Conclusion: Immigration and the Swedish Model

The evidence in this paper suggests that in spite of the 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 integrationist 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.[6] Furthermore, structural changes in the economy have lessened opportunities for recent immigrant and refugee groups to achieve equality in the labour market. In particular, recently arrived immigrants and refugees, who often have higher levels of education than the Swedish-born population, do not have equal access to jobs that they have been trained for (Bromée *et al.*, 1996). Equal access to employment opportunities 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 realise 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 integration, 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 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.

Notes

1. Unless otherwise noted, these and subsequent population figures are taken from Regionplane- och Trafikkontoret (1994).
2. In 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).
3. Borgegård *et al.*, (1998), in an analysis of the concentration and dispersion of immigrants and refugees in Swedish municipalities, note that the dispersion of Chileans, and particularly Iranians, increased dramatically between 1984 and 1988.
4. The Bosnians were included as part of the Yugoslav group in 1990.
5. Since Bosnians were included as part of the Yugolsav group until 1995, a housing segmentation index could not be calculated for this group. A segmentation index for the Somalians could only be calculated for 1990.
6. This 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.

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