

National Analytical Study on Housing

RAXEN Focal Point for Sweden

Expo Foundation

Cecilia Englund

October 2003

DISCLAIMER: This study has been compiled by the National Focal Point of the Racism and Xenophobia Network operated by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). The opinions expressed by the author/s do not necessarily reflect the opinion or position of the EUMC. No mention of any authority, organisation, company or individual shall imply any approval as to their standing and capability on the part of the EUMC. This study is provided by the National Focal Point as information guide only, and in particular does not constitute legal advice.

Executive summary

Sweden has as many other European countries segregated areas. This is evident from where and how people live. Segregation has both an ethnic/racialised and a socioeconomic dimension. The most disadvantaged groups regarding housing segregation are immigrants, in particular people with African and West Asian (i.e. the Middle East) background. They are also generally the most disadvantaged groups in Swedish society as a whole, as their precarious situation in the labour market clearly shows.

The main objective of this report is twofold: to look at the existing housing segregation in Sweden of today, and an effort to show the development in a historical perspective, as well as giving a future perspective. Segregation in housing is a complex matter. Many factors are correlated, a fact that is very noticeable in everyday life.

The ethnic and socioeconomic housing segregation is most visible in the Metropolitan regions of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö. The most socioeconomic disadvantaged residential areas can be found in the outskirts of the above mentioned cities, in suburban areas that in a Swedish context are known as the Million Program Areas (Miljonprogramsförorter). In 1965 the Government adopted a housing policy targeted to build a million dwellings. Interestingly, this program was very successful, as Sweden thus counterbalanced the expected housing shortage. The newly built dwellings were also of a much higher standard in contrast to the standard of the already existing housing. The success of the Million Program Areas was however rather short-lived. The areas were quickly subjected to a stigmatisation process, which today also has taken on an ethnic dimension. The public opinion has identified the problems of these areas with the residents, which in many ways is highlighted and exaggerated by the reporting in media.

In 1995 the Swedish Government first realised that housing segregation had become a major problem in society. This resulted in deciding on a particular funding aimed at breaking segregation in the disadvantaged suburban areas. In 1998 the Swedish Parliament adopted a Metropolitan Policy aiming to “end the social, ethnic and discriminatory segregation in the metropolitan areas and to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living

in the cities”. The integrated Metropolitan Policy was presented in the Bill “Development and justice – A policy for the 21st century” (Gov.Bill 1997/98:165). As a result of the adoption of this policy seven metropolitan municipalities offered to sign local development agreements to start a long-term cross-sectoral development work in the most distressed housing districts. From 1999-2000 the state signed local development agreements with these municipalities regarding a local development in 24 housing districts.

However, ethnic discrimination in housing has not been an area of major concern for the authorities in Sweden so far. The work against discrimination in other areas of society is more developed, e.g. regarding the labour market and higher education, i.e. universities and college universities. The *Act (2003:307) on a ban against discrimination* that came into force on 1 July 2003, as an implementation of the two Council directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC, is covering many areas of society. One of the new fields covered is the housing sector. The new Act increases the possibilities to conduct legal proceedings, and the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination has expanded activities with regard to the new Act. The Ombudsman has, however, since its establishment worked with ethnic discrimination with regard to housing. In 2002, they noticed an increase in incoming complaints.

Generally, the socioeconomic situation for the residents in the disadvantaged suburban areas is worse than for people in other residential areas. This is illustrated by lower occupation rates, lower educational levels and lower participation in elections as well as by the higher rates of dependency on social benefits. To improve the situation in these areas is among the eight goals to prevent segregation. The situation in the 24 areas involved in the Metropolitan Work has in general improved to a great extent, in particular with regard to employment and education. This tendency can also be seen in the development in Swedish society as a whole. However, the gap showed in statistics between residents in these areas and the whole population is still significant. There are great inequalities. According to researchers and scientific studies one can say that where you live in many ways decides what life opportunities you have. and as it is shown by existing statistics the choice of residential area may be decisive for many other factors such as schooling and work. Socialisation theories and network theories explain these correlating factors.

The work with local development agreements within the metropolitan policy is evaluated on a regular basis. All parties involved are well aware of the fact that such a great initiative is a

long-term process. However, the criticism against the Metropolitan Work is rather extensive. Housing segregation is of a structural character and cannot only be solved by area based activities, which is what the Metropolitan Work is about. Also, there are critical remarks that are related to the bureaucracy involved in the Metropolitan Work, since the different goals within the projects are not clearly formulated and in many ways difficult to achieve. In some cases there are even contradictions between goals decided by the Government and goals that other authorities set to run their activities. The best for the residents is also not always easy to decide for people coming from outside, even though the bottom-up approach - i.e. working from the residents perspectives - has been introduced as an important aspect of this initiative. It is not an easy task to fight the existing asymmetric relations that can be found between residents in disadvantaged areas and the rest of the urban population .

As stated before some groups are more vulnerable than others. Therefore an ethnic hierarchy becomes apparent with regard to both housing and employment, with Swedish-born on the top, closely followed by people born in Western countries, and people born in West Asia and Africa in the absolute bottom of the hierarchy. With regard to both housing and labour market segregation, the Somali-born are the most disadvantaged group.

There are many theories explaining the underlying factors for housing segregation. Some focus on the process of segregation and others on the relation between ideas and practice. A major part of the theories refer to the stigmatisation process that both residents and the residential areas are subjected to. This process can be decisive for the flight from these areas; the fact that Swedish-born and foreign-born with employment leave the area and poorer people move in, often newly arrived immigrants that have no other choice. The same refers to the phenomenon called network migration, which sometimes drives the surrounding society to blame the immigrants for choosing to live in these areas because they want to live close to each other due to cultural factors. Network migration is on the one hand likely to generate segregation, but the options for newly arrived immigrants to find housing are on the other hand few, due to their lower economic status and to housing shortage. Discriminatory factors resulting from sometimes misguided policies, such as how the public housing companies are directing immigrants where to live, e.g. to apartments in the disadvantaged areas, are also discussed. Exclusion from social networks is another aspect of indirect discrimination focussed in this report.

In Sweden there are many ongoing efforts to combat segregation in society. While the Metropolitan Policy is the main initiative regarding housing segregation, the new anti-discrimination legislation is a major step towards an improvement for protection against ethnic discrimination in many areas of society, not only housing.

There are also many efforts to combat segregation and racist attitudes on a local basis. In Eksjö in southern Sweden the local branch of Youth against Racism has carried out an interesting and successful project dealing both with segregation and racist activities. The positive outcome of this project illustrates the importance of working with matters regarding housing segregation in a wider context, and not only on a strictly area-based level, like the Metropolitan Work.

Another interesting ongoing activity is the public housing companies in Gothenburg which have taken a central position to combat housing segregation and take a social responsibility for the residential areas. Thus, they work with an overall picture in a number of areas in Gothenburg, for example the local housing company Gardstensbostäder and their work in the suburb Gardsten, which is further described in the report. Other interesting projects are the so called mentor projects that work with several factors simultaneously. The work of the projects is aimed at preventing ethnic segregation as well as dealing with education and the employment market.

As the phenomena of housing segregation is of a structural kind, and involves many aspects, the focus of the work to find ways to combat the obstacles that immigrants are facing in society also has to be placed on a structural level. It is not a local or isolated question, it is a national and complex one and tied to existing, emerging and desirable structures. Society's future is more and more based on policies for a sustainable structure on economic, ecologic and social levels and the clarification of this enormous task should encompass the economic, ecologic and social factors that result in housing segregation. Legislation and follow-ups of implementations of policies and initiatives are examples of a strive to continuously finding better solutions. Notwithstanding, the work carried out on the local basis should not be overlooked when it comes to reduce segregation. People have to meet on a local level, to achieve new input, ideas and also be included in society, in order to counteract the increasing on people exclusion by living in disadvantaged areas and/or by being unemployed and dependent on social benefits in today's Sweden.

Table of contents

1. Glossary/definition of terms and concepts used	9
2. Introduction	11
3. Legislation and policies concerning the Housing sector of relevance for migrants and minorities.....	12
3.1 A short introduction.....	12
3.2 An unified Metropolitan Policy.....	13
3.3 Legislation in the housing sector.....	15
3.4 The reception of asylum seekers	15
3.5 Allowances for housing.....	16
3.6 Monitoring bodies	17
4. Description and analysis of existing data and sources in the housing sector	18
4.1 Short demographic introduction.....	18
4.2 The 24 districts of the Metropolitan areas	19
4.3 The development in the metropolitan areas.....	20
4.4 Ethnic hierarchies in housing.....	25
4.5 Evaluations of the work with local development agreements.....	26
4.6 Discrimination in the housing area.....	29
4.6.1 Some cases of discrimination in the housing area	30
4.7 Methods used	31
4.8 Gap-analysis	31
5. Analysis of direct and indirect discrimination.....	32
5.1 The discriminatory effects of stigmatisation.....	32
5.2 The relation between ideas and practice	34
5.3 Segregational patterns	36
5.4 Why ethnic hierarchies in housing?	37
5.5 The relation between housing segregation and other living conditions.....	38
6. Strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racial/ethnic/religious/cultural discrimination in housing	39
6.1 The work in the Metropolitan Areas	39
6.2 Crime prevention activities in the 24 areas.....	40
6.3 The new act on a ban on discrimination.....	40
6.4 The work of interest organisations in the area of housing.....	40
6.5 Gardstensbostäder	41
6.6 Project Stockholm	42
6.7 Mentor projects	44
7. Summary and Conclusions	46
Bibliography	48
Annex.....	52
Immigration policies	52
Integration policies.....	53
The work to combat discrimination against national minorities	54
Table 1. Demography in 2002 according to birth country and citizenship	56
Table 2. The Swedish population divided by country of birth	56

Table 3. The five major groups foreign-born according to country of birth	57
Table 4. The five major groups according to citizenship.....	57
Table 5. <i>Permanent residence permits 2001-2002</i>	58
Table 6. Changes in percentage between 1998 and 2002 regarding occupation, unemployment, educational level, social benefit dependency and electoral participation in the 24 districts involved in the Metropolitan Work	59
Table 7. Average income, occupation rates and housing segregation for a selection of nationalities in the County of Stockholm 1995 and 1999 (2000).....	60

1. Glossary/definition of terms and concepts used¹

Foreign citizens: Persons who have foreign citizenship.

Foreign-born: A person who was born abroad.

Foreign origin: A person who has either migrated to Sweden or has at least one parent who has done so.

Immigrant: A person who has migrated to Sweden.

Native: A person who was born in Sweden.

Naturalized Swedish citizen: A person who is not a Swedish citizen from birth but has become Swedish citizen either as a child or as an adult.

Refugee: A person who has been granted permit as refugee according to the U.N. convention, or on other protective grounds and for humanitarian reasons.

A second generation immigrant: A person born in Sweden, with at least one parent born abroad. Recently, in some cases only people with two foreign born parents are included in this definition.

Ethnic discrimination: If a person experiences unbeneficial treatment and in his or her view believe it is because of his or her ethnic background.

Section 3 of the Prohibition of Discrimination Act (2003:307) stipulates the following definition of discrimination:

”In this Act discrimination has the meaning set out in this section:

¹ Please note that not all of these definitions of terms and concepts are “official” Swedish definitions. For example, while the concept of “second generation immigrant” is not used officially, it tends to permeate the media and the ongoing public discourse.

1. direct discrimination: that an individual is disadvantaged by being treated less favourably than some other individual is, has been or would have been treated in a comparable situation, if this disadvantaging is associated with ethnic origin, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability;

2. indirect discrimination: that an individual is disadvantaged by the application of provisions, criteria or practices that are apparently neutral but in practice particularly disadvantage individuals of a certain ethnic origin, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability, in so far as these provisions, criteria or practices cannot be justified by legitimate objectives and the means are appropriate and necessary for achieving these objectives;

3. harassment: conduct that violates a person's dignity and that is associated with ethnic origin, religion or other belief, sexual orientation or disability;

4. instructions to discriminate: orders or instructions to discriminate against a person as described in subsections 1-3 that are given to a person who is in a subordinate or dependent position relative to the person who gives the orders or instructions or who has committed herself or himself to fulfilling an assignment for that person.

2. Introduction

In the final report (SOU (1998:25) of the Government Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas (Storstadskommittén) on the economic status of different neighbourhoods, it was established that a housing policy for the three largest metropolitan areas (e.g. Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö) should promote development directed towards justice and equal opportunities in the metropolitan areas regarding employment, education, a good housing environment, good health and participation from a democratic perspective.² Today, five years after the Government Commission on Living Conditions in Major Urban Areas presented their final report the reality in the suburban areas has not changed much. The housing segregation is one of the foremost visible areas.

Nevertheless, housing segregation is a difficult area to analyse. Many factors are important. This is a visible pattern in most European countries and mainly in the metropolitan areas which are segregated in terms of socioeconomic conditions, class, ethnicity and so on. Sweden is not in any way an exception. When media, politicians and lobbyists are talking about segregation they are referring to the disadvantaged metropolitan areas as ethnically segregated, while the areas may be more segregated in socioeconomic terms than in terms of ethnicity. In such areas the absence of Swedes or at least Swedes with high income is most noticeable. This simplified debate may contribute to the process of further stigmatising these suburban areas.³

The main aim of this report is to look at housing segregation in nowadays Sweden, doing an effort to show its development in a historical perspective, as well as anticipating some future trends. The main sources used in the report are governmental and academic. In addition, a smaller case study regarding a visit to one of the metropolitan areas in Gothenburg will be presented at the end of the report.

² SOU 1998:25. Swedish Government. Ministry of health and social affairs. *Tre städer. En storstadspolitik för hela landet. Slutbetänkande av storstadskommittén.* (Stockholm 1998), p. 11.

³ Molina, I. 1997: *Stadens rasifiering (The racialization of the city)*, Doctoral thesis at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University; Ericsson, U., Molina, I., and P. Ristilammi. 2002: *Miljonprogram och media. (Million program and media)*, the Integration Board and Riksantikvarieämbetet,

Regarding the growing problem of social exclusion and marginalisation in many of the suburban areas of the main cities in Sweden, and the limited life opportunities that residents share, a public debate has been going on during the past few years and many academic scholars are involved. Concepts such as *racialization*, *structural racism*, *structural discrimination*, and *stigmatisation* are used to explain the development of these areas. The emerging question is if people voluntarily choose to live in racialised, stigmatised suburbs or if people's behaviour is conditioned by underlying structural discriminatory factors? Another question is the differences between those leaving these suburbs and those who stay? These questions will be further examined in the theoretical discussion.

3. Legislation and policies concerning the Housing sector of relevance for migrants and minorities

In this section the legislation and policies regarding housing for minorities are discussed.

3.1 A short introduction

During the last century housing has been a major concern for Swedish policymakers and politicians.⁴ During the First World War Sweden had a major shortage in housing. As a temporary solution people without housing were accommodated in gymnasiums and other facilities not very suitable for living. After the Second World War the politicians once again were facing the housing problem and sought new solutions. Thus they planned to build away the shortage, and succeeded in this task. This became a “success story” spread to other countries.⁵ The question is whether this focus on construction really was successful, in particular when facing the results of disadvantaged areas?

Between 1965 and 1975 one million modern dwellings were built in Sweden as a step in the governmental housing policy taken 1965. The policy followed the People's home (Folkhem⁶) vision that these apartment buildings and one-family-houses were to be modern, attractive and equipped with the latest technology. The low living standard of past times was to be a

⁴ Ulla Ekström von Essen, *Folkhemmets kommun* (Atlas Akademi 2003), pp. 249-290

⁵ *ibid* 2003, p. 263

⁶ Litt. translated as the “people's home”, generally referring to The Swedish Welfare State

memory. By this program Sweden became world-leading in rapid housing construction and left its place far down on the list of housing standard. The majority of the apartments in this time were set in multi-storey buildings built in the outskirts of the metropolitan areas of Sweden. These suburban areas are what we now call “Miljonprogramsområden” (the million program areas), and it is on these areas and their residents this report mainly will focus. On the other hand, segregated housing is more widespread and does not just apply to the areas mentioned.

However, the segregation in housing in Sweden is most visible in the suburban areas described above. Thus the authorities’ activities on segregated housing are mainly focused on these suburban areas. In the middle of the 1990’s the authorities started to realise that the situation in the metropolitan areas was increasingly getting worse. The situation in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö, had due to past years growing immigration of newly arrived immigrants resulted in divided cities, with the native population living in certain areas while the newcomers, mainly of West Asian (the Middle East) and African background, living in the million program suburbs in the metropolitan areas. Since the majority of Swedes have abandoned these areas for better housing or more pleasing environments elsewhere, only the people of foreign background stayed. The few Swedes staying were often people with social problems and were also often directed to these areas by the public authorities.

3.2 An unified Metropolitan Policy

In 1995 the Swedish parliament decided on a particular funding for immigrant dense suburban areas as an effort to break the expansion of housing segregation. This funding was called “*Blommanpengarna*”(the Blomman fundings). Two years later, a new integration policy was formed in a government bill 1997/98:16 that presented a new approach to integration.⁷ The main fundament in this bill was “*Equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, a community based on diversity and a society characterised by mutual respect and tolerance, in which everyone can take an active and responsible part, irrespective of background.*”⁸

⁷ Government bill 1997/98:16. *Sverige, framtiden och mangfalden - fran invandrarpolitik till integrationspolitik (Sweden, the future and the diversity – from immigration policy to integration policy)*

⁸ Government bill 1997/98:16, 2001/02:129, p. 6, in English
http://naring.regeringen.se/pressinfo/infomaterial/pdf/N2002_038e.pdf

Regarding housing, the government bill emphasised the importance of continued activities where the residents' own participation played a major part and also stressed the importance of an higher occupation rate. In 1998 three metropolitan municipalities, Botkyrka (outside Stockholm), Gothenburg and Malmö, received grants to find new methods to improve the living conditions in these areas and possibly become national examples.

In December 1998 the Swedish parliament adopted the bill "Development and justice – A policy for the 21st century" (Gov.Bill 1997/98:165).⁹ The metropolitan policy formulated two objectives for the future of the metropolitan areas:

- *to provide the foundations for sustainable growth in the metropolitan regions. In this way, metropolitan policy should be able to contribute to the creation of new employment opportunities in both the metropolitan regions and the country at large;*
- *to stop social, ethnic and discriminating segregation in the metropolitan regions, and to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living in the cities.*¹⁰

Central government, the regions, county councils and municipalities are to work together to create growth in vulnerable metropolitan areas. This new policy resulted in local development agreements between the Government and seven municipalities in the three metropolitan areas; Botkyrka, Gothenburg, Haninge, Huddinge, Malmö, Stockholm and Södertälje.¹¹ The main focus of these local agreements is on the disadvantaged and poorer housing districts of the mentioned municipalities, in total 24 districts, which partly was founded on the experiences of the Blomman fundings. The local agreements are in most cases running between 1999 and 2003 or longer, and for this period the government has decided on a funding on SEK 2 billion, and the municipalities are expected to contribute an equivalent amount.

In the document *Integration policy for the 21st Century* the Government states that in the future the work will increasingly focus on giving the metropolitan areas good opportunities for long-term sustainable growth. Also stated is that a way to combat segregation is working

⁹ Government bill 1997/1998:165. *Utveckling och rättvisa – en politik för storstaden på 2000-talet (Development and justice – a policy for metropolitan areas in the 21st century)*

¹⁰ Homepage Commission on Metropolitan Areas <http://www.storstad.gov.se/english/index.htm> , original source Government bill 1997/1998:165. p.30

¹¹ Government Communication, 2001/02:129, p. 77

for economic growth, increased rates of occupation and an increased development of language skills.¹²

3.3 Legislation in the housing sector

On 1 July 2003, the new antidiscrimination legislation came into force, as an implementation of the two Council directives 2000/43/EC and 2000/78/EC. The new law *bans discrimination*¹³ in many areas of society, and one of the new fields covered is the housing sector. Protection against discrimination in housing, and many other areas, was before handled within the criminal law as an offence called *unlawful discrimination* (Penal Code 16:9). The new Act increases the possibilities to conduct legal proceedings, as the burden of proof is lowered compared to the law on unlawful discrimination, where a high burden of proof against the perpetrator was demanded to be able to obtain convictions.

The new Act also implies that the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination can carry out the legal proceedings on ethnic discrimination in housing. The tasks of the Ombudsman were earlier limited to discrimination in the labour market and higher education, such as universities and university colleges.

3.4 The reception of asylum seekers

In 1985 the Immigration Board, now the Migration Board, was the authority responsible for migration and also integration, while the municipalities were responsible for the main practical work of receiving asylum seekers.¹⁴ The same year the Immigration Board settled agreements with approximately 60 municipalities on reception of asylum seekers. This was a step to avoid that the majority of the asylum seekers settled in the cities, rather than to get a more even reception between the different municipalities. The following years the number of asylum seekers increased to a great extent, and the Immigration Board expanded their activities with the establishing of camps in several places in Sweden, while simultaneously reaching agreements with more municipalities, as a part of what was called "*Hela-Sverige-strategin*" (The Strategy of the whole of Sweden). This strategy was eventually abandoned in

¹² Government Communication, 2001/02:129, p. 75

¹³ Lag (2003:307) om förbud mot diskriminering (Act on a ban against discrimination)

¹⁴ Integration Board. *Att flytta eller inte flytta. Utvärderingsrapport om Projekt Sockholm*, pp. 6-7

1994 when a new law for the reception of asylum seekers was adopted – *LMA 1994*¹⁵. This new law implied a major change, as the asylum seekers now could find their own accommodation¹⁶ with relatives and friends. For housing the asylum seekers received a monthly allowance on 500 SEK (approx. 54 EUR) for one person or 1000 SEK (109 EUR) for a family. In two years time, almost 50 percent of the asylum seekers had chosen to find their own accommodation, and half of them choose to live in the metropolitan areas.

3.5 Allowances for housing

In Sweden people with high costs for housing can apply for a housing allowance. According to the law on housing allowance (1993:737) the right to housing allowance depends on income. When granted the allowance is paid on a regular basis. In 2002 about 215 000 households received a monthly housing allowance.¹⁷

The Social allowance (socialbidrag) also covers costs for housing. According to the regulations on public insurance (allmän försäkring) (1962:381), the individual's right to financial support should cover reasonable daily living expenses, which are decided through a normative amount for the whole country, also included are reasonable costs for housing. No specific amounts are defined for housing, and the handling officer must investigate the individual circumstances.¹⁸

Asylum seekers registered at the Migration Boards reception units, are also entitled to allowances according to the Act on reception of asylum seekers (1994:137). The daily allowance for an adult is 61 SEK, and the housing allowance which recently has been lowered is 500 SEK (54 EUR) per month for a family.¹⁹

¹⁵ LMA – Lagen om mottagande av asylsökande (Law on the reception of asylum seekers) 1994:

¹⁶ Eget boende reformen. (The reform on own accommodation)

¹⁷ The website of the National Social Insurance Board: www.rfv.se

¹⁸ Socialstyrelsen. *Socialtjänstlagen - Vad gäller för dig från januari 2002*

¹⁹ Before the amount of the housing allowance was 1000 SEK per month for a family. This is an effort from the Migration Board to try to make families choose other options than living with family and friends, e.g moving to refugee camps.

3.6 Monitoring bodies

The Ombudsman against ethnic discrimination (DO) is appointed by the Swedish government and was established in 1986. The tasks of the DO are to investigate and if necessary take cases to court and to oversee that employers actively work to create ethnic diversity in the workplace. The DO had until two years ago no jurisdiction outside the working sphere, but since last year the jurisdiction also covers the college and the university area, due to the new Act on Equality for Students. With the introduction of the new act on ban against discrimination the jurisdiction also covers several new areas, including housing. This implies an increased workload for the DO. In cases where the DO has no jurisdiction, paragraphs in the criminal law are applied and the cases on unlawful discrimination are investigated by the police.

The Swedish Integration Board (Integrationsverket) that was established in 1998 is responsible for the introduction and support of newly arrived immigrants in the Swedish society, and to work for equal opportunities and rights for everyone regardless of ethnic and cultural background. Also, the Board is responsible for preventing and counteracting racism and ethnic discrimination, as well as to evaluate the development of society based on ethnic and cultural diversity. The Integration Board was also responsible for the national evaluation of the work with local development agreements and is still responsible for the follow up of the development in the housing districts within the local development agreements.

A *Commission on Metropolitan Areas* has been appointed to develop and coordinate the national metropolitan policy. An important aspect of the work of the Commission should be coordinating responsibility for the different government measures aimed at improving living conditions in disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods. The Commission consists of State Secretaries from seven ministries and the Prime Minister's Office. The Chairman is State Secretary to the Minister for Metropolitan Affairs,. The primary task of the Commission is to achieve the metropolitan policy objectives, to develop and coordinate the national metropolitan policy and to prepare metropolitan matters for government decisions.

The agreements that the municipalities reach through dialogue must be presented to the Government for approval. Four reference groups are linked to the Commission: three regional groups and one central reference group representing public sector authorities. The evaluation of the local development agreements is further described in chapter 4.

The National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket) is the central authority in Sweden for planning, the management of land and water resources, urban development, building and housing. The Board participates in the central reference group of the Commission on Metropolitan Areas. The Board's contribution to the Commission on Metropolitan Areas is policy founding. On the other hand, the authority has not issued a central policy document on issues regarding integration or segregation at the Board.

4. Description and analysis of existing data and sources in the housing sector

In Sweden the authorities' activities regarding the housing sector are mainly focused on the million program areas in the outskirts of the three metropolitan cities; Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö and the 24 districts involved in the Metropolitan Work. The main part of the data collected and also existing data thus regards these areas. This is clarifying for this section of this report. Figures on employment, unemployment, socioeconomic standard, dependency on social welfare benefits, education and participation and health will be presented in this part while a closer look at the aims of the Metropolitan Work will be presented in the section on current strategies and initiatives.

4.1 Short demographic introduction

The Swedish population is growing larger every year, mainly due to migration. In 2002 the increase of the population amounted to 31 660 people, while the whole population amounted to **8 940 788**. The increase of the year is the largest since 1994 when the immigration from Yugoslavia contributed with more than 70 000 people.²⁰

²⁰ SCB, Statistics Sweden, Statistiska Meddelanden BE12SM0301.

Immigration amounted in 2002 to 64 087 people, an increase of 5,4 percent compared to 2001. Approximately 12 percent of the whole population in 2002 were foreign-born, while 21 percent were either foreign-born or had at least one parent born outside of Sweden. In 2002 the largest foreign-born population group in Sweden consisted of people born in Finland. This group consisted of 191 515 individuals or approximately 2 percent of the whole population and 18 percent of the foreign-born population (see Annex). The second largest group is much smaller and consisted of 74 418 persons born in former Yugoslavia.

4.2 The 24 districts of the Metropolitan areas

The Integration Board was the national authority responsible for the national evaluation of the the work with local development agreements within the metropolitan policy.

Figure 1. The seven municipalities and 24 housing districts in the Metropolitan areas²¹

Municipality	Districts in the municipality
Huddinge	Västra Skogas, Varby och Flemingsberg
Botkyrka	Alby, Fittja och Hallunda-Norsborg
Haninge	Jordbro
Stockholm	Ragsved, Skärholmen, Rinkeby, Tensta och Husby
Södertälje	Fornhöjden, Ronna, Geneta och Hovsjö
Malmö	Södra Innerstaden, Fosie, Hyllie och Rosengård
Gothenburg	Gårdsten, Hjällbo, Bergsjön och Norra Biskopsgården

In the evaluation report the Board describes the development in the 24 districts in the Metropolitan areas.²² The government has decided on eight goals to clarify the main objective to counteract segregation in the 24 districts involved.²³

These are:

- Employment rates in socially disadvantaged housing areas should be raised for both men and women.

²¹ Integration Board. 2002. *Pa rätt väg?*.

²² Integration Board. *Utvecklingen i storstadssatsningens 24 bostadsområden 1997-2001. Uppdatering av statistiken för år 2000 och 2001.*

- Benefit dependency should be reduced.
- The position of the Swedish language should be strengthened among both young people and adults.
- All school students should be given the opportunity to reach secondary school attainment levels. It is vital that no student leaves secondary school (up to 16) without an adequate knowledge of Swedish/Swedish as a second language, English and mathematics.
- The educational level of the adult population should be raised; those who have not completed their upper secondary schooling (up to 18) or equivalent should be given the opportunity to do so.
- All city neighbourhoods should be experienced as attractive and safe by the people who live there, and provide sound and healthy living environments.
- Public health should be improved, both as measured in terms of health statistics and subjective assessments.
- Democratic participation should increase in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

4.3 The development in the metropolitan areas

The *population* of the 24 districts in the 7 metropolitan municipalities continues to increase to a greater extent than in the rest of the country.²⁴ In four years the 24 districts have increased their population with a total of 7,8 percent. The areas in Gothenburg have the biggest increase, each with more than 10 percent.²⁵

The *occupation rates*²⁶ for residents in the metropolitan areas increased in 2000 with 3,3 percent compared to 1999. In some areas; e.g Fittja, Rinkeby, Husby, Hjällbo and Norra Biskopsgården, the increase was over 5 percent. In the whole country the occupation rate increased. Still only 52 percent of the residents in these areas in 2000 were employed. This is a huge difference compared to the rest of the country, where occupation rate is over 80 percent.

²³ Homepage Commission on Metropolitan Areas, <http://www.storstad.gov.se/english/index.htm>, original source Government Bill 1997/1998:165, p.31

²⁴ Integration Board. *Utvecklingen i storstadssatsningens 24 bostadsområden 1997-2001*, p. 10

²⁵ A major part of this section is a summary of the Integration Board report *Utvecklingen i storstadssatsningens 24 bostadsområden 1997-2001*

²⁶ The figures refer to people in the age brackets 20-64.

Within the 24 districts there are great differences in occupation rates between the Swedish-born and foreign-born inhabitants. While the Swedish-born men and women in 2000 had an occupation rate at 68 and 66 percent respectively, the foreign-born men and women had rates at 47 and 37 percent respectively. These figures regarding Swedish-born men and women, and foreign-born men are 11 and 12 percent lower compared to Sweden as a whole. For the foreign-born women in these 24 districts the occupation rates were 16 percent lower compared to Sweden as a whole. The over-representation of foreign-born in these areas is of decisive importance for the lower rates in these areas than for the country as a whole.

Between 1997 and 2000 the rates for all categories in these areas, both foreign-born and Swedish-born have increased somewhat, but from a low starting level.

Occupation in relation to educational level shows great differences in rates of occupation between the residents in the 24 districts in the metropolitan areas that have higher education or upper secondary school and those with lower education. An interesting fact is that occupation rates are higher for people with (at highest completed) no more than upper secondary school education than for those with further higher education. For those who have higher education than upper secondary school the rates in some areas are as low as 25 percent in Rosengård and rates are under 40 percent for highly educated residents in Hjällbo and Norra Biskopsgården. In some areas the rates of occupation for highly educated have even decreased.

Regarding *age in relation to occupation rates* in these areas, the younger residents have had a better development than the rest. For residents under the age of 40 the occupation rates have increased more than for this age group as a whole in Sweden.

All in all the *unemployment* has decreased in all 24 districts. However in 2001, the positive trend slowed down and in some areas the unemployment increased, e.g. Skärholmen, Husby and Hjällbo compared to 2000, contrary to Geneta and Hovsjö where unemployment decreased more than one percent.

The *dependency of social benefit* in these suburban areas has decreased in 2001, from 12,8 percent to 11,4 percent.²⁷ In the whole of Sweden the dependency on social benefits has decreased somewhat and is currently 1,6 percent.²⁸ In some areas in Stockholm, Fittja, dependency on social benefit decreased from 7 to 4 percent that is almost a 50 percent decrease. The decrease in other areas in Stockholm is more than 3 percent in all Metropolitan Work areas. Despite the fact that Rosengård in Malmö has decreased the percentage of long term social benefit dependency with more than 3 percent, it is the district in Sweden that has the greatest percentage (37,5 percent) of individuals receiving social benefits in 2001.

The *educational level* has increased in all areas between 1997 and 2001, but not at the same pace as the rest of the country. This implies an increased difference between the areas in the metropolitan areas and the rest of the country. In particular the Swedish born have increased their educational level. But the differences in educational level between the residents in these 24 districts and the general population are major.

Regarding the amount of pupils in the 9th grade receiving grades in Swedish, English and Maths there has been a decrease on 6,5 percent between 1998 and 2001 in the 24 districts. In 2001, 68,5 percent of pupils enrolled received grades. In comparison, there has also been a general decrease in the seven municipalities involved in the Metropolitan Work, but the pupils in the seven municipalities generally succeeded to a higher extent than pupils in the 24 districts involved, as in 2001 89,1 percent of the pupils reached the goals.²⁹

One of the indicators that are decisive for the socioeconomic and ethnic segregation is the *in and out migration* to and from these areas. There is a rather negative ongoing trend in these areas that Swedish born with a higher socioeconomic position in society tend to leave the areas, and foreign born and newly arrived immigrants with a worse position move in. However, in all areas concerned in Stockholm the figures show that more newly arrived immigrants had occupation, and also that a higher amount of in-movers had employment compared to out-movers. This is a positive sign that only could be found in the areas involved in the Metropolitan Work in Stockholm.

²⁷ This figure refers to residents in the age brackets 18-64.

²⁸ The Integration Board report *Utvecklingen i storstadssatsningens 24 bostadsområden 1997-2001*

In 2001, 2,5 percent of the total number of residents in all areas were newly arrived immigrants. On 31st December 2001, 11,1 percent of the newly arrived immigrants and 18,9 percent of the newly arrived refugees lived in the Metropolitan areas, which was a small decrease compared to the previous year. However, the percentage of foreign born in these areas increased to 11,9 percent of the population.

The *participation in the democracy* is both a method and a partial objective in the Metropolitan Work. The indicator used is an analysis of participation in the 2002 general elections compared to the elections in 1998. The statistics show that participation in the 2002 election increased in more than half of the 24 districts, while it decreased in the country as a whole. In Hjällbo in Gothenburg the greatest increase has been noted, which is 4 percent. Fosie in Malmö showed the greatest decrease with 2,2 percent compared to the participation of the election in 1998.³⁰

In 2001 the Integration Board, carried out a qualitative survey³¹ of the Metropolitan areas mainly due to the fact that some of the partial objectives are not measurable with quantitative statistics; e. g. public health, participation in a democratic perspective and safety and the areas' attractiveness. The focus in this survey is the residents' own perspective on the above mentioned issues.³² To be able to make comparisons the survey, apart from being directed at the residents in the involved metropolitan areas, also includes control groups, representing the population in the whole metropolitan regions, and the whole Swedish population.

Some of the conclusions drawn in that study give a fuller picture of living in these residential districts. The statistics on *participation* in elections show a very low participation in these areas. The report also brings up the aspect that many of the residents are newly arrived immigrants and thus do not have the right to vote and that some parts of the population choose not to become Swedish citizens, thereby abstaining from voting. Even though the picture of participation is very dark regarding statistics on general elections, the study also shows positive signs. The residents in the Metropolitan Work areas are active in political gatherings to the same extent as the rest of the Swedish population, and to a relatively high extent the residents also are involved in civil gatherings. The report emphasizes the lack that exists

²⁹ Integration Board. 2002. *Pa rätt väg? The summary.*

³⁰ Storstadsdelegationen. 2003:Årsrapport 2002, p. 18

³¹ Boendestudien (the Housing survey)

regarding participation in elections and that there is a correlation to the low socioeconomic status of the residents. The individual's personal power is greatly lacking in these areas. The indicator used is how many of the residents were able to make a written appeal on a decision made by the authorities. Both Swedish-born and foreign-born residents lacking these capacities are overrepresented compared to the two control groups.³³

Almost half of the residents (46 percent) participating in the study do not feel safe in their residential area. There are no significant general differences between Swedish-born and foreign-born, but there are differences on a local level.³⁴ Major differences are found regarding gender, since women feel more unsafe than men. In Gothenburg as many as 57 percent of the participating residents felt unsafe in their residential districts. Almost a third of the residents do not dare to go out in the evenings for fear of being attacked, robbed or assaulted in other ways.³⁵ Interestingly enough, socioeconomic status does not seem to play a part in the results. Foreign-born also seem less unsafe in the residential areas of the study than they do in the metropolitan regions as a whole. The aspect of a social network, to have friends in the same neighbourhood has also shown to be important for the residents' experience of feeling of secure.

Regarding indicators for attractiveness, indicators such as liking the residential district and willingness to move or stay are used. According to the study, 68 percent like their residential area. Swedish-born like it to a higher extent than foreign-born, and women more than men. Foreign-born men like their residential district the least. Almost half of the residents (46 percent) want to move from the area they live in, compared to the 54 percent that want to stay. Residents who only have lived in the area for a shorter period of time, such as 1-2 years, are to a higher extent inclined to want to move. 44 percent of residents who have lived in the residential district for less than a year would like to move.

Regarding general health, is it more unusual that the residents in the studied residential areas have a good health compared to the rest of the population in the metropolitan regions and the country as a whole. Women, foreign-born and elderly people have an increased risk of ill-

³² The results of this study are presented in the Integration Board's Rapport Integration 2002. pp.125-147

³³ *ibid*, p.145

³⁴ E.g. in Huddinge and Haninge, where the foreign born experience more insecurity, up to twice as much as the Swedish born.

³⁵ Integration Rapport 2002, p.134

health, but also people who are long-time unemployed, with low level of education, and those who are dependant on social benefits have higher risks than others. The study also shows that it is more common for the residents than for the rest of the population to abstain from seeking health care, even when they need it. An important reason is not being able to afford it, which is twice as common among the residents as for the rest of the country.

In table 6 in the Annex (p.44), figures on the development regarding occupation, unemployment, social benefits dependency, educational levels and participation in elections, of the 24 areas involved in the Metropolitan Work are presented.

4.4 Ethnic hierarchies in housing

Both Molina and Andersson bring up the dimension of an ethnic hierarchy in housing segregation.³⁶ Irene Molina has studied Uppsala, 80 km north of Stockholm, and the housing pattern for different ethnic groups, and found differences in where people of different origin live, and whether they are concentrated to certain areas. Molina has found that immigrants coming from European and Anglo-Saxon countries have the same diverse housing pattern as Swedish-born have, while people of African and East Asian origin are concentrated to what Molina calls typical working class areas, e.g. the Million program areas. For some groups the pattern varies, e.g. for people with origins from Bolivia and Chile, who tend to have a non-European housing pattern, while other people of Latin-American origin have an European one. People of Greek origin, and those from former Yugoslavia, have a non-European housing pattern, while people from South and East Asia have European housing pattern.³⁷ By a European pattern Molina means a spread settlement in contrast to a concentrated ethnic housing.

Roger Andersson sees the same pattern in Stockholm, but also is characterising other Swedish major cities such as Gothenburg and Malmö, where, what he calls “visible minorities”, Muslims from West-Asia and dark-skinned people from Africa differ in the housing pattern compared to the Swedish-born and people from the European countries that are close to Sweden. On the other hand he has found that during the 1990’s the ethnic concentration in

³⁶Molina 1997, Andersson 2002

³⁷ Molina 1997, p.127

housing has decreased for most groups, but not for people born in Somalia, whose extent of concentration to certain areas show an increase.³⁸

A visible ethnic hierarchy regarding employment/unemployment, income levels and housing can be seen in table 7 in the Annex (p.45).

4.5 Evaluations of the work with local development agreements

Since the start of the activities in the Metropolitan Work there has been an ongoing evaluation of the development. As stated before the Integration Board had the responsibility for the national evaluation and is still responsible for the follow up of the local development work statistics, while different research institutions are responsible for the local evaluations. In Stockholm, Mangkulturellt centrum (Multicultural Centre) evaluates the development in Botkyrka municipality and Södertörn University College are responsible for evaluating for example the residential districts in the municipality of Stockholm City.

The process of improving the situation for the residents living in these 24 districts, and counterweight the ethnic as well as the socioeconomic segregation is a long-time project, a fact that all participants are very well aware of.³⁹

In the Integration Board's final report of the national evaluation of the Metropolitan Work areas "Pa rätt väg"⁴⁰ the Board states that the Government's main goal to break segregation is not achievable since the activities are area based - which the majority of the measures are - and these local efforts can only to a very small extent effect the overall ethnic and socioeconomic segregation. The process of segregation is a structural problem and concerns the society as a whole, not just the involved residential districts in the metropolitan areas.⁴¹

The Integration Board brings out a number of factors that have not been very successful with the Metropolitan areas.

³⁸ Andersson 2002, p. 103

³⁹ See e.g. the government bill 2001/02:129 and Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2002.

⁴⁰ Integration Board. 2002, *Pa rätt väg. The summary.*

⁴¹ See also Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2002 and Andersson 2001.

First, there are lacks in the *long-term planning*. The municipalities do not seem to have the financial resources needed to make successful projects permanent.⁴² Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi makes the same reflections in his evaluation report of the development in Botkyrka municipality, and has also seen that there seems to be a contradiction between applying for funding and making a project permanent. To be able to compete for the funding the projects are described as good as possible. However, this image fades when the time has come to make a project permanent. A similar paradox described by Hosseini-Kaladjahi is the so called projects that already are part of regular activities, but financed by project funding.⁴³

Regarding *the bottom-up perspective*, the Integration Board states in their evaluation report that even though it is important that activities have support among the residents, the work with participating in the democratic processes should be carefully planned and more supported within the municipalities. Also, in many residential areas they have tried to gather representatives, but these local gatherings have had no real influence, even though they in some areas have had influence over the resources of the Metropolitan areas.⁴⁴ The Integration Board points at the frustration and disappointment instead of the influence, due to lack of clarity of how the work with democracy really should be carried out.

Hosseini-Kaladjahi discusses the democratization process in terms of both good and bad. He mentions that the people responsible for the Metropolitan Work in Botkyrka have worked in many ways to increase knowledge on what the residents need and what priorities they have. This has been successful. In Botkyrka different methods have been used to get closer to the residents; they have arranged meetings for the residents, work groups, established relations between different organisations, arranged seminars, courses to increase knowledge on the on-going process among the residents and the local employees in the Metropolitan Work. They have also tried to make the participation permanent by creating a horizontal organisation in every residential area. Still, there have been difficulties with the voluntary participation, due to for example in and out migration, as this is higher in many areas and other kinds of instability due to the fact that many of the residents wish to move somewhere else. Also, there is a problem of homogeneity and complexity of the population due to people's different origins and life stories. Another problem is lack of language skills and low education; a fact

⁴² Integration Board. 2002, *Pa rätt väg. The summary*.

⁴³ Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2002, pp. 104-106

⁴⁴ Integration Board. 2002, *Pa rätt väg. The summary*.

that not only deteriorates communication but also puts the population on an asymmetric and humiliating level in relation to the politicians and employees. A decrease in confidence for politicians has been the result of the discrepancy between rhetoric and practice. There are inherent conflicts between paid and voluntary participation where residents compete with the employees for economical resources and the power over these resources, and the employees can try to exclude the residents from participation.⁴⁵ This is an exclusory mechanism to work for and not with the residents, thereby creating an “integration industry” set apart from the residents affected.

The idea of *cooperation* between the different parties in the Metropolitan Work areas is according to the Integration Board meant to give an overall picture of the areas’ and residents’ problems and potential, as well as to contribute to a better use of the local resources.⁴⁶ Despite the Metropolitan Work in stimulating collaboration, the municipalities find it hard to get the different parties, e.g. the county labour boards and the social insurance offices, to fully participate. In some municipalities the cooperation has worked well, whereas in others important cooperation partners such as the social insurance offices have not participated. The problems regarding the labour market has in some cases concerned difficulties in agreeing on a joint target group, and also problems regarding the form of the project. Cooperation in the labour market field may be problematic, according to the Integration Board, as the government’s different objectives counteract each other. Regarding cooperation on increasing the safety in the districts concerned, there have been problems in the collaboration with the police. An example given is that even though the government is granting resources on increasing safety in the areas, the police are withdrawing their local police from the same areas.

Hosseini-Kaladjahi uses⁴⁷ this citation to illuminate the difficulties with collaboration:

“Collaboration between different organisations is time-consuming. There is no time left for the main work when we are concentrating so much on collaboration. On one hand, there is a demand for quantitative results and reaching the goals – i.e. effectiveness –in the projects and on the other hand there is a demand of collaboration with different organisations”

⁴⁵ Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2002. pp.122-124

⁴⁶ Integration Board. 2002, *Pa rätt väg. The summary.*

⁴⁷ Hosseini-Kaladjahi 2002. p. 72

4.6 Discrimination in the housing area

Since the establishment of the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination, the Ombudsman has worked to combat ethnic discrimination in various areas in society, among others housing. Even though the Ombudsman does not have jurisdiction regarding the housing area, the office has recorded incoming complaints regarding ethnic discrimination related to housing. They have also been able to follow cases. From 1 July 2003 the Ombudsman can take legal action in these cases, which means that cases now can be taken to court, and since their mandate has expanded they can solve cases through conciliation.

During the years the cases regarding ethnic discrimination in society have markedly increased. In 2002 there has been an increase of 30 percent in complaints compared to the previous year.⁴⁸ The Ombudsman believes this increase is due to an increased knowledge on the antidiscrimination legislation and the authority, rather than an increased discriminatory behaviour in the various areas of society. On the other hand they know that there are very few that file a complaint. According to a survey carried out in 1999 approximately only 4 percent report complaints regarding discrimination.

In 2002, however, 379 complaints of ethnic discrimination in society in general except the labour market were recorded. 11 percent of the complaints concern the housing sector, which is an increase compared to the previous year. The majority of these complaints regard the housing-market. The Ombudsman notices an increase in complaints where the complainant has been subjected to harassments by the landlord or neighbours, which according to the Ombudsman can be seen as a harsher climate in society towards people of other origin than Swedish. Also, complaints regarding refusing the complainant housing due to his or her economic situation have increased, which the Ombudsman believes is the landlords' tendency to have higher demands on the individual's economic situation, something that inevitably strikes at many with foreign origin as they belong to the weaker groups in economic terms. The Ombudsman, however, believes that the use of economic arguments also could be a way to avoid certain ethnic groups as tenants.

⁴⁸ Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination, Annual Report 2002

During 2002 the Ombudsman has met with different housing companies for discussions, which have resulted in agreements that the representatives of the housing market should work for an increased knowledge on the antidiscrimination legislation among their employees and members.⁴⁹

The Ombudsman has also noticed that many complaints regard refusing people of foreign origin apartments while justifying it by such reasons as that the landlord wants to contribute to a decreased ethnic segregated area or better housing conditions. This is however illegal, whatever the reasons for refusing a person housing on ethnic grounds may be. Also, some politicians have encouraged the housing companies to solve the segregation in the above mentioned manner, which also is illegal, according to the legislation.⁵⁰ In some cases the landlord has requested some background information, for example on the tenant's religion and citizenship. Even though the information has not been used illegally, the tenant has experienced this as discriminatory. As stated before, some of the requirements stated for renting, such as being employed, may be experienced as discriminatory. In some cases of tenants exchanging apartments, there are no clear regulations or criteria, which can lead to a person experiencing ethnic discrimination. According to the Ombudsman this system may not be discriminatory but on the other hand the landlords may, sometimes, make arbitrary decisions.

4.6.1 Some cases of discrimination in the housing area

May 2001 - An autistic dark-skinned man was refused an apartment on the grounds of his colour of skin. The landlord referred to that the other tenants did not want any dark-skinned neighbours. The other tenants denied that they had expressed this opinion. The landlord was reported to the police.

2001 - A family applied to the internal exchange queue but after six months they were informed that other people, all of them ethnic Swedes, had been offered to change apartments, despite the fact that these people had not been in the queue for as long as the family had. After the investigation by the Ombudsman it appeared that the landlord had no specific queue system, but mainly considered other factor as important, as the interest shown by the tenant,

⁴⁹ Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination, Annual Report 2002

⁵⁰ Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination. PM om etnisk diskriminering på bostadesområdet. Dnr 81-2001.

the need of the flat, and the tenant's previous behaviour. The family was offered to get the next available apartment.

August 2003 – A housing company in northern Sweden required a deposit when non-Swedish citizen rented the company's flats. This case was paid much attention in local media. The Ombudsman has taken action and the case is closed. Since the Ombudsman received the complaint the local housing company has changed their regulations.

4.7 Methods used

The majority of the collected data is quantitative. The Integration Board processes its own statistics in the statistical database STATIV. The data originally is provided by Statistics Sweden (SCB). Regarding the situation in the 24 residential areas involved in the Metropolitan Work, the newest statistics available date from 2001.

The methods used by the economic and social geographers Irene Molina and Roger Andersson, are both quantitative and qualitative. The Institute for Housing and Urban Research at Uppsala University has a database which processes quantitative data. Irene Molina also uses qualitative research methods in her doctoral thesis, e.g. interviews.

4.8 Gap-analysis

First and foremost it is important to say that the existing information on housing segregation only comprises the residential districts within the metropolitan areas. Data on employment/unemployment, educational level, socioeconomic factors, etc. is difficult to find regarding the whole population. That would certainly imply the need for a major study. However, Irene Molina made such a study on Uppsala in her doctoral thesis. More such research would be helpful, as the analysis on housing segregation in Sweden today mainly focus the disadvantaged residential districts in the three metropolitan regions; Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

Regarding discrimination in the housing area, there is much to do. Previous legislation regarding housing demanded a great amount of evidence which made it difficult to proceed with cases of unlawful discrimination. Even though the new act also covers the housing area one may find loopholes in the legislation. One such loophole is that the act does not cover

discriminatory actions by private individuals – only by organisations, judicial bodies and institutions. This implies that if a private person selling an apartment is expressing discriminatory attitudes towards speculators of non-Swedish origin, there are still difficulties to take this to court since the actions of private persons are not covered by the new legislation, e.g. if a private person denies a person tenant-ownership because of ethnicity or religion.

The gaps also include that there are signs that discrimination in the housing market is occurring, while there is difficult to see how and when it occurs. The same gap can be found in discrimination in the labour market.

5. Analysis of direct and indirect discrimination

There are many theories that attempt to shed some light on the patterns of ethnic segregation in housing in Swedish society today. The areas that are referred to as segregated, are segregated in one way mainly, i.e. from a socioeconomic viewpoint, but not really in an ethnic perspective as in these areas resides a very heterogeneous and complex population consisting of people with different life stories and of different origins,⁵¹ both due to ethnicity, class, educational level, compared to upper-class residential areas, where the successful people live and the majority are Swedes.

5.1 The discriminatory effects of stigmatisation

The stigmatisation of these suburban areas has, even if indirectly, discriminatory effects for the residents, in particular in meetings with the outside-world. Thus they are experienced as different and not normal. Sociologist Nihad Bunar says in an article on the limited life opportunities of the residents in Tensta, northern Stockholm that:

“Ethnicity has so to speak come to play an undeserved major role thus so far that most explanations (including the residents’ own) for the reasons of poverty, territorial

⁵¹ e.g. Hosseini-Kaladjahi’s description of the population in Botkyrka. 2002

*stigmatisation, the occurrence of criminality and so forth, are based on the pre-condition that immigrants' concentration in an area constitutes the problem".*⁵²

The process of stigmatisation in these residential areas is however not very new.⁵³ Since the building of the *Million Program* areas in the outskirts of Swedish cities, there have been tendencies to see the residents as different, in contrast to the "normal". However, since the sixties the population has changed, when the Swedes living there in the beginning have moved to other areas, being replaced and newly arrived immigrants have moved in, first the labour force immigrants then the refugees. This has reinforced the view of these suburbs as something "different". Media has played an important role in creating this stigmatisation.⁵⁴

Ethnologist Per-Markku Ristilammi has studied the discourse and media's role over the past years. In the beginning when the houses were brand-new, there was a focus on the Million program areas as different in a positive way, they were modern and thus separated from the rest of the society. Ristilammi states, that this positive discourse changed rather fast to symbolise the oppression in a class society, and now they were different in a negative way, as only poor people live there. In the 80's the discourse was further changed and the million program areas came to be associated with the non-Swedish residents, mostly described in negative terms.⁵⁵

Thus the stigmatised million program rather quickly became "problem areas" and eventually symbolised the Other, apart from the rest of the society. In the report "*Miljonprogram och media*" this process of ascribing the suburb as "the Other", has led to the stereotypes used when talking about these areas today. Characteristics of the immigrants have been included in these descriptions to exemplify different conditions in society.⁵⁶ Examples are the view on immigrants, immigrant women, and immigrant youth as subjected individuals to culture mainly to the patriarchal system that is a rather common and accepted notion about for example Middle Eastern countries. This can be seen in power oriented perspective.⁵⁷

⁵² Bunar 2000, p. 111

⁵³ Bunar 2000, Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi 2002, Ristilammi 1997

⁵⁴ See also Pripp 2002

⁵⁵ Ristilammi 1994, Ristilammi 1998

⁵⁶ Ericsson, Molina and Ristilammi 2002. p. 23

⁵⁷ Pripp 2002, see also Diana Mulinaris discussion on ethnocentrism and feminism in Mulinari 2003

An interesting aspect regarding stigmatisation that may be experienced as discriminatory are the terms used to describe these areas. They have been described as immigrant-dense, in contrast to the surrounding Swedish environment. This is however a great simplification as, has been stated before, the areas are not heterogeneous. The use of the wording immigrant-dense may also be a way to further increase the gap between “us and them”, a way to distance oneself from the other. Economic and social geographer Roger Andersson chooses to use the definition “sparse on Swedes” to illuminate the reality of these suburban areas.⁵⁸

Another important perspective on stigmatisation is the hierarchal. Nihad Bunar illuminates this process and its effects in the school system, which can be seen in differences in performance between students of Swedish origin and students of foreign origin.⁵⁹ The ethnic hierarchy implies that the schools in the segregated residential areas have lower status than schools in other areas, and are thus stigmatised.

5.2 The relation between ideas and practice

Economic and social geographer Irene Molina describes in her thesis the process of racialization of the city and the mechanisms that are affecting ethnic segregation in housing. She divides the process into four fields: the ideological, the discursive, the political and the socio-spatial.⁶⁰

To describe the *ideological field* Molina uses the historical discourse of the establishment of the Swedish Welfare State (Folkhemmet), the use of the social hygienic beliefs that was permeating the housing policy in the 1930’s and onwards. In those days the discourse ascribed several groups as “the Other”, e.g. Roma, mentally ill and even women. Molina says that even though the discourse has changed to a great extent there has been a shifting from the mentioned groups to new groups; the immigrants living in the Million Program Areas.

The *discursive field* is according to Molina, the ideas of the Other, the use of the “us” and “them” dichotomy. She says that there is a tendency in Swedish society to blame the

⁵⁸ Andersson 2001.

⁵⁹ Bunar 2001

⁶⁰ Molina 1997, pp. 220-226

immigrants for the housing segregation due to a very limited way to look upon the definition of culture.

*“Immigrants are striving for living close to each other in order to keep the cultural traditions”, is expressed recurrently in investigations and media debates. Indirectly, thus the immigrant families from “strange cultures” are explained as being guilty for creating segregation. This cultural discourse on immigrants, on “the Other”, is thus legitimatising the hierarchy in housing.”*⁶¹

The discursive field also regards the stigmatisation of spatial representations that are transferred through media but also mouth-to-mouth, which indirectly may be discriminatory for the residents, as it stigmatises them as deviant and excludes the residents from the society as a whole. Molina exemplifies with the work to combat criminality in the wealthier neighbourhoods (Grannsämjan mot brott), which may be seen as one way to geographically separate areas with the dichotomisation of “us and them”.

The third field Molina uses to explain the racialization of the city is the *political field*. The concerned area here is the housing policy as this has major effects on the immigrants’ position on the housing market. The kinds of housing people live in is decisive for the patterns of housing in society. In Sweden there are three common kinds of housing; home ownership/owner occupation, tenant-ownership and rental housing. The fact that these three kinds of housing are geographically separated, has according to Molina, also had effects on processes that have led to a city’s racialization, which is illuminated by immigrants being directed to the blocks of tenement buildings in the Million program areas. According to Molina the authorities actively or systematically direct immigrants to the segregated areas which may be seen as discriminatory, which also may be due to the fact that people on some occasions have experienced this directing to specific areas as compulsory. Molina sees the concentration of immigrants in specific areas as a sign of the authorities’ passive acceptance of the conditions of the housing market and their lack of a long-term planning.

The final field Molina uses is the *spatial*. This field regards the social interaction between the residents and is further affected by both physical environment and the composition of the

⁶¹ *ibid*, p. 222

residents in the areas. The residents in the Million program areas are mainly immigrants from certain non-European countries who in a socioeconomic perspective have the lowest position in society. The other residents directed to the tenement apartments in the million program areas are socially marginalised due to drug abuse, mental illness. According to Molina this is experienced as a problem making the residents feel insecure. Some do not dare to go out in the evenings and are careful to lock their doors etc. She also refers to social interaction between neighbours, as something rather positive for the comfort in the areas, but also as a factor of social interaction that might be the most important in leading to collective activities and a mobilisation to improve the conditions for both living and housing in these areas.

5.3 Segregational patterns

As stated before, the migration pattern regarding the segregated residential areas has been characterised by newly arrived immigrants moving into the areas and Swedish-born people moving out. This also regards socioeconomic factors. Immigrants with employment can leave for better living conditions elsewhere, and immigrants without employment and thus having no choice are directed to apartments in these areas. Roger Andersson has divided this process of ethnic segregation into four types of migrations.⁶²

The first phase regards the phenomenon when the Swedish-born leave the areas and foreign-born move in, which he calls *generating segregation*. He estimates that there is a greater risk for ethnic segregation when the in-movers have origin in a country which is perceived as a Third World country, and if the housing area is in a large city and is dominated by apartment housing blocks. This picture is rather illustrative for the Million program areas in the Metropolitan regions.

Andersson calls the second phase *generated segregation*, which implies migration due to the segregation process reckoned in the first phase. This migration phase is generated by the stigmatisation process of the segregated residential areas and their residents, as well as by the situation in schools regarding language tuition and language development, and whether people feel secure and comfortable and have access to service in their respective areas.

⁶² Andersson 2000, pp. 125-133

The third phase regards the effect that institutions and their policies have on the migration pattern, and thus Andersson calls the phase *institutionally generated segregation*. One of the most illustrative examples of this phase is actually the housing policy in 1965, which led to the building of tenement blocks in the Million program areas in the outskirts of the metropolitan regions. These areas have during the past years become the main focus of authorities and researchers regarding housing segregation.

The fourth and final phase Andersson describes is the *network generating migration*. This phase regards the phenomena when people move closer their relatives and friends. The importance of this phase is often exaggerated (see Molina 1997).

5.4 Why ethnic hierarchies in housing?

Roger Andersson separates between active and passive elements in housing to explain segregation.⁶³ An example of the active element are the efforts to stop “people who are not wanted” to move into an area by excluding them from neighbourhood relations. The passive element may be to move when the surrounding environment is not tolerated. Both strategies are discriminatory, even though the first one is more explicit.

Andersson shows relations between housing, ethnicity and socio-economic factors. The immigrants from West Asia and Africa are the most vulnerable in a socio-economic perspective⁶⁴, one of the factors being their short residential time. There are also studies supporting this theory showing that differences in housing patterns decrease with residential time as well as the kind of areas where immigrants live. Andersson partly agrees with this, but still finds the decrease for the above mentioned groups to be minor and thus draws the conclusion that it may be true for some groups but not all. Others try to explain the ethnic hierarchy with regard to housing in cultural terms.

The economical factor may on the other hand be decisive, as people tend to move from the areas when a better private economy provides new alternatives, while the groups remaining in the segregated areas are economically weak.

⁶³ Andersson 2000, p. 135

⁶⁴ People born in west Asia and Africa are also the groups in the labour market that have the highest unemployment and lowest occupation rates.

5.5 The relation between housing segregation and other living conditions

There are studies showing relations between housing segregation and other important factors with regard to living conditions.

The place where a person lives is most probably decisive for the socialisation and interaction for children but also for adults.⁶⁵ It effects on what preschools and schools the children can attend. Since there are great socio-cultural differences, it may entail differences in the socialisation process. This may lead to the development, where parents try to find other schools outside the residential area, which eventually may imply that the only children left are the ones whose parents cannot find alternative solutions. For adults, who are newly immigrated, the integration process cannot be carried through in a segregated area as few people belonging to the majority population are living there. Also, living in a segregated poor area with people sharing the same social weak positions may imply a lack of social networks and in a power and resource perspective that is needed to compete on the labour market.

Roger Andersson has studied the effects the neighbourhood has on a person's life opportunities in the segregated metropolitan areas.⁶⁶ He has found that people, irrespective of nationality, educational level, age and sex, living in these areas in 1990-1995, had a lower development regarding occupation rates and wages. The differences in wages amount to an approximately 10 percent lower development.

⁶⁵ Andersson 2000, p.141

⁶⁶ Andersson 2000, p. 139

6. Strategies, initiatives and good practices for reducing racial/ethnic/religious/cultural discrimination in housing

There are many initiatives and activities taken by the authorities with regard to segregation in housing. The discussion on whether they are good would however take an enormous effort to carry out.

6.1 The work in the Metropolitan Areas

The authorities' major initiative is most likely the activities carried out in the Metropolitan Work for the 24 Metropolitan residential districts. These activities contain an enormous amount of measures, mainly with regard to employment and occupation, but also projects aimed at other areas which have been decided as part objectives.

This initiative is however only directed towards the residents in the disadvantaged housing areas in the Metropolitan regions, not to society as a whole.

In a future perspective, the work with the local development agreements will continue and the Government has in 2003 decided to develop the local development agreements without extra funding based on implementing the successful measures and methods within the ordinary governmental structures and intensify the coordination of the metropolitan policy on the national level.⁶⁷

In Malmö new working methods in schools have been developed. First, all schools should work from a multicultural perspective. Secondly, it is important to develop children's real bilingualism. Therefore the mother tongue tuition will be strengthened.⁶⁸

In 2003, the collaboration with the enterprises will further be strengthened through engaging BRG (Business Region Göteborg) to develop the local entrepreneurship in the disadvantaged areas that are part of the Metropolitan Work areas in Gothenburg.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Swedish Government, the Department of Justice.

⁶⁸ Swedish Government, Ministry of Justice, Press release 2003-06-05

⁶⁹ Swedish Government, Ministry of Justice, Press release 2003-06-18

6.2 Crime prevention activities in the 24 areas

In 2003 the National Council for Crime Prevention in a report describes the development and the work on crime prevention in the 24 areas involved in the Metropolitan Work. The positive aspect in many of the areas is that because of the local development agreements many local crime prevention councils have been established.⁷⁰ The report also brings up the aspect of partnership, and states that many of the activities have been part of co-operation between schools, social offices, and the municipal bodies that work with police and local enterprises. There is however difficult to see a common development since the crime prevention work has proceeded differently in all areas concerned.

6.3 The new act on a ban on discrimination

Regarding the society as a whole, the main event in 2003 was the expanded anti-discrimination legislation, in particular with regard to discrimination in the housing area, which before the new act was difficult to proceed legally. The new act implies a heavier burden mainly on the Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination that increased activities by employing new staff to meet with the expected workload following the new act.

6.4 The work of interest organisations in the area of housing

One of the major interest organisations in housing is the Tenant's Union. Their main aim is to help and work for the tenants' rights in relation to the housing companies. As abovementioned the majority of the immigrants in the million program areas are tenants, and do not own their accommodations. The Tenant's Union have in policy documents formulated the importance to combat segregation and work for integration, mainly regarding participating in their local developmental work in the housing areas. Still, the Tenant's Union doesn't have many people of foreign origin engaged in the disadvantaged residential areas. The majority of members in the union are of Swedish origin, even in the disadvantaged areas. The Tenant's Union are aware of this situation and are striving to increase the participation of people of foreign origin.

⁷⁰ The National Council for Crime Prevention 2003

In Hjällbo in Gothenburg, the Tenant's Union carried out a project, *the Hjällbo project*, to increase the knowledge and participation in the Tenant's Union among people of foreign origin. The project was aimed at women and was originally to be carried out between 1998 and 2000, but eventually it has been made permanent.⁷¹

In addition, the Tenant's Union have *an active anti-racist policy*, which implies that persons who are active in racist organisations or actively expressing racist opinions cannot be members in the Tenant's Union. In recent years, three people have been excluded from the union due to this policy.⁷²

6.5 Gardstensbostäder

There are however, some areas in the Metropolitan areas, which have been discussed in more positive terms than others, for example two residential areas in Gothenburg, Gardsten and Hjällbo.⁷³

In these two areas the housing companies have taken a greater social responsibility than in the other areas concerned in the Metropolitan Area. The local housing company in Gothenburg is called AB Framtiden and has been given a central position in the combat against segregation. The local housing companies in for example Stockholm have not any such common objectives.⁷⁴

In 1997, AB Framtiden decided to establish a new housing company; *Gardstensbostäder*.⁷⁵ The aim of this housing company was only to work with the development of Gardsten, a million programme area built between the 1960's and 1970's in the outskirts of Gothenburg. In 2002, Gardsten had approximately 6 700 residents. In the 1990's Gardsten suffered from outward migration and had been neglected for many years. The access to social services was limited. For a short while Gardsten did not have a food-store, and there was a lack of other

⁷¹ Evaluation report available at www.hyresgastforeningen.se

⁷² Interview with Peder Palmstierna at the Tenant's Union.

⁷³ Andersson 2002, SOU 1998:25

⁷⁴ Andersson 2002, p. 107

⁷⁵ This section is based on interviews with Stina Fransson, MD for Gardstensbostäder and Salma Nazzal, project leader at Gardstensbostäder, and also information material provided by Gardstensbostäder: *Förvandlingen av Gardsten (The changes in Gardsten)*, Gothenburg, 2001

kinds of services. Like many of the areas built in the same period, the houses and living conditions for the residents were inferior. Gardstensbostader has since its establishment worked with refurbishing the houses, and planting green areas. The aim was to make Gardsten attractive, an area the residents could be proud of. One of the greatest ambitions has been to develop sustainable housing solutions. As a part of this work; some of the houses were equipped with solar energy conservation techniques, greenhouses were built and an individual measurement of electricity was introduced. The housing company has also arranged social activities. The major example is that they have established a local employment agency, *Gardstensbyran*, independent from the states National Employment Agency. Between 1998 and 2002 this agency supplied 474 jobs to the residents. During these years the agency has arranged vocational training courses for the residents, e.g. in cleaning, construction, management of parks and work in retail business. The majority of the participants in these vocational training courses have been employed afterwards. Recently, through lobbying, a direct public transportation between the city of Gothenburg and Gardsten has been established. Also a cash dispenser has been placed in the area, which is an important social service function that many disadvantaged areas lack.

A democratic perspective for the residents is also of importance for Gardstenbostader. One of the major aims is to create a living environment characterised by real influence and to create meeting-places for the residents. In every neighbourhood a house manager has been appointed, being partly responsible for the maintenance of the buildings and following up on the residents' demands for improvements and adjustments. When planting the green areas, the residents' opinions on what was needed were of major importance in the solutions decided.

6.6 Project Stockholm

One of the problems discussed regarding the housing segregation is the in- and out migration from the areas. The economically strong households leave the areas making room for socially and economically weak households to move in. These households are often constituted by newly arrived immigrants, in many cases asylum seekers and their families. With regard to the legislation discussed in the chapter on legislation, the policy regarding accommodation for asylum seekers and their families changed in 1994 due to a new act, which implied that it was easier for asylum seekers to stay with family and friends than wait for the decision on the residential permits. This has implied a heavy burden for many of the already disadvantaged

and poor areas and municipalities in the outskirts of the metropolitan regions.⁷⁶ When permits were granted the families have stayed in the areas in the metropolitan regions, although in many cases these regions have suffered from housing shortage. This situation has not been good for either the asylum seekers or the municipalities.

According to the Integration Board's annual report there has been a decrease in 2002 of refugees moving to the metropolitan regions.⁷⁷ The three major cities, Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö in 2000 received 34 percent of all refugees that were included in the reception, while in 2002 the number had decreased to 25 percent.

With respect to this development and the difficult situation for individuals who had been granted residential permits and living with relatives and friends, *Project Stockholm* was initiated.⁷⁸ The aim of the project was to inform the target group abovementioned about moving to alternative municipalities to Stockholm to get a better integration and also where the housing could be supplied. This project was a collaboration between the municipality of the City of Stockholm, the Integration Board and the Migration Board. The project started in 2001 and was concluded in 2002. The co-operation partners originally signed agreements with eight municipalities; Eskilstuna, Fagersta, Lidingö, Nyköping, Sandviken, Strängnäs and Västerås.⁷⁹ However, another 15 municipalities signed agreements on receiving refugees living in Stockholm.

According to the evaluation report on the project, both qualitative and quantitative objectives were reached, as a majority (90 percent) of the interviewed found the transfer positive, although they had left Stockholm more or less on an involuntarily basis.⁸⁰ The main opinion was that the housing situation for the household was better in the new municipality, and they had been given a better reception by the authorities. Many of the interviewed found that moving to a smaller town had resulted in better conditions for their children. However, many thought that job opportunities would be greater in Stockholm. Another positive outcome of the project is that no family has moved back to Stockholm. Similar projects have previously been carried out, for example Project Mälardalen. 322 individuals (82 households) moved

⁷⁶ Hosseini-Kaladjahi discusses this in his evaluation from 2002, p. 67.

⁷⁷ The Integration Board's annual report regarding 2002

⁷⁸ Integration Board 2003, *Att flytta eller inte flytta*. Utvärdering av projekt Stockholm.

⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.9

⁸⁰ *ibid*, p. 66

from Stockholm to one of the collaborating municipalities outside Stockholm. The original aim was that 250 individuals with the help of information from all involved parts would choose the alternative municipalities. This objective was reached well beyond expectations. The Stockholm Project shows what good collaboration between the official bodies and municipalities can result in.

6.7 Mentor projects

Housing segregation can, as mentioned before, be related to a number of correlated factors that are decisive for the individuals' life conditions. Among these are children's schooling and that fewer of the children in the segregated residential areas choose higher education compared to the population in general. In Sweden there are many ongoing projects that involve the use of mentors. *Transfer* is one of those.

Transfer is a project for transferring knowledge between the world of enterprisers and schools. Among the activities Transfer carry out are: lecturing in schools and offering mentors. The idea is that members in Transfer should work as mentors both for pupils and teachers. Transfer works mainly on an individual level, but also on a group level e.g. for a class or a group of teachers. The aim of the project is that both mentors and novices should experience the mentorship as positive for their personal development but also that it is something that could contribute to the overall goal of Transfer, i.e. to bridge the information society gap. This project is not entirely aimed at children with foreign background, but since many of the schools that participate in this project are situated in segregated areas of Stockholm, many children are of foreign origin.

Another project of a similar kind is *Näktergalen (The nightingale)*. This project was initiated in 1997, but is still ongoing. It is a collaboration between the Teachers' College at Malmö University College and schools in segregated residential areas in Malmö. In this project the pupils in the involved schools are offered a mentor, an adult friend, a person who is studying at Malmö University College. The aim is that the children should gain new knowledge and experiences. The thought behind the mentor project is that the mentor through a personal relationship will serve as a positive model for the child and give attention and support. In the school year 2002/2003 five schools in the Malmö region are participating.

Another interesting method was developed a few years ago by the Red Cross Youth. It is called *Vaga mötas*, (Dare to meet) and is used to integrate pupils from areas with different socio-economic status.

In Eksjö in Småland in southern Sweden, the local branch of Youth against Racism (Ungdom mot Rasism) initiated and held a successful project illuminating how important it is to combat segregation on a local level.⁸¹ The background is that Eksjö in the mid 90's experienced a great amount of racist activities and xenophobic opinions after having received many refugees. A few years ago the municipality received a great number of asylum-seeking families that would stay in Eksjö during the asylum process. Youth against Racism feared the same scenario of racist expressions as in the mid 90's. Thus they initiated a project aimed at the youngsters in the asylum seeking families. The work was divided into several steps. First, it was to see to that the youth could go to the ordinary school, simultaneously as they studied at Swedish for Immigrants (SFI). The second step involved integrating the asylum seeking youth in leisure-time activities. Youth against Racism arranged that the girls and boys could join the different sports associations that were active in Eksjö. Thus they became friends with the local youth. Another step regarded housing. To increase the understanding of similarities between people, the youth could choose a friend, and they were to live at each other's homes for a while. This phase also included photographing each other's home. The final step was to have an exhibition about these experiences that all the youth involved had got. The outcome of this project was in several ways positive. The racist scenario that Youth against Racism feared was not repeated. Also, an important aspect was that the youth in the asylum seeking families were feeling well during the asylum process.

⁸¹ Based on an interview with Pedram Kouchakpour, chairman for Youth against Racism in Sweden.

7. Summary and Conclusions

It is not easy to find solutions to problems of housing segregation. Perhaps, it is more difficult than solving other related problems in society, e.g. discrimination in the labour market.

There are a number of manifestations of segregation in Sweden. Many socially and economically deprived people live in disadvantaged and marginalised residential areas, that mainly is part of the largest Swedish housing project ever – the so called “Million Program” areas. Partly this housing programme was successful, in particular since it so effectively reduced the housing shortage. The apartments were also fully equipped with the latest technology, in opposition to the rest of the housing standard that put Sweden very far down in comparison with other countries. The success, however, ended rather quickly. These suburbs became stigmatised and only the poorest without other choices moved there. Rather soon the perspective of ethnic segregation became more prominent. As newly arrived immigrants moved in to these residential areas the natives moved out to other suburbs. This trend seems to be never-ending, due to several policies on migration and integration making asylum seekers and their families today find their housing in the disadvantaged residential areas, in particular in the Metropolitan regions; Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö.

However, Sweden was suffering from a major economic crisis in the mid 1990's; at the same time Sweden received many new immigrants, due to war and instability in the world. In the 21st century the situation looks brighter, and the unemployment has decreased for all groups in society. This tendency is also verified in the disadvantaged areas. Also, the expected labour shortage may contribute to the positive development. The positive development in the housing areas involved in the Metropolitan Policy's local development agreements includes lower unemployment, higher rates of occupation and a decrease in long-term dependency of social benefits.

The question is whether it is the economic development or the local development agreements signed within the framework of the Metropolitan Policy that are the main reason for this rather positive development. This is however only the beginning since such a major project

takes time, and the obstacles are many. Thus, it may be understandable that sociologist Hassan Hosseini-Kaladjahi chooses to call his evaluation report “Big fish still eat small fish”. The bottom-up approach is not easy to achieve when the politically, socially and economically important participants are higher up in the hierarchy, and the small disadvantaged, socio-economically poor people wield less power and simultaneously are the target group for the whole project.

Apart from the development, the people living in these areas are on the lower social strata, and there is a clear ethnic/racial dimension to this. People from West Asia and the Middle East and Africa are the most vulnerable. They have higher unemployment rates, and are also the people that to the highest extent live in the disadvantaged areas.

It is important to add the need for talking about these issues in a more positive way, instead of further stigmatise the areas by discussing them in terms of immigrant-dense, deviant, disadvantaged etc. Many people living there are proud residents, but their life conditions should be better.

Finally and most importantly is the need to see housing segregation as a structural problem not as related to local areas. Society has to be better at finding solutions for its behaviour and attitudes of excluding and stigmatising certain groups.

Bibliography

Andersson, R. 2002: *Boendesegregation och etniska hierarkier. (Housing segregation and ethnic hierarchies)* in *Det slutna Folkhemmet (the secluded people's home)*, ed. I. Lindberg and M. Dahlstedt, Agora, Stockholm

Andersson, R. 2001: *Skapandet av svenskglea bostadsomraden (The creation of Swedish sparse housing districts)* in *Den delade staden (The divided city)*, ed. L. Magnusson, Borea, Umea

Bunar, N. 2001: *Skolan mitt i förorten. Fyra studier om skolan, segregation integration och multikulturalism*, Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion, Eslöv

Bunar, N. 2000: *När jobben kommer tillbaka (When the jobs reappear)* in *Den glömda krisen. (The forgotten crisis)*, ed. I. Lindberg, Atlas, Stockholm

Ekström von Essen, U. 2003: *Folkhemmets kommun (The municipality of the Folkhem (People's home))*. Doctoral thesis at the Department of History of Ideas, Stockholm University, Atlas Akademi, Stockholm

Ericsson, U., Molina, I., and P. Ristilampi. 2002: *Miljonprogram och media. (Million program and media)*, the Integration Board and Riksantikvarieämbetet,

Gardstensbostäder. 2001: *Förvandlingen av Gardsten (The changes in Gardsten)*, Gothenburg

Hosseini-Kaladjahi, H. 2002: *Stora fiskar äter fortfarande sma fiskar. (Big fish still eat small fish)*, Mangkulturellt centrum. 2002:4, Mangkulturellt centrum, Botkyrka

Integration Board. 2003: *Utvecklingen i storstadssatsningens 24 bostadsomraden 1997-2001. Uppdatering av statistiken för år 2000 och 2001. (The development of the Metropolitan*

Initiative areas of 24 districts 1997-2001. A of the statistics regarding year 2000 and 2001), Integrationsverkets stencilserie. 2003:4, Norrköping

Integration Board. 2003: *Rapport Integration 2002*, Norrköping

Integration Board. 2003: *Årsredovisning för 2002 (Annual report regarding 2002)*, Norrköping

Integration Board. 2003: *Att flytta eller inte flytta. Utvärderingsrapport om Projekt Sockholm. (To move or not to move. Evaluation report on Project Stockholm)*, Integrationsverkets stencilserie 2003:03, Norrköping

Integration Board. 2002: *Pa rätt väg? Slutrapport från den nationella utvärderingen av storstadssatsningen (On the right track? Final report from the national evaluation of the metropolitan areas)*, Integrationsverkets rapportserie 2002:05, Norrköping

Integration Board. 2001: *Malomradesanalyser och indikatorer. Den nationella utvärderingen av storstadssatsningen*. Integrationsverkets rapportserie 2001:06, Norrköping

Molina, I. 1997: *Stadens rasifiering (The racialization of the city)*, Doctoral thesis at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, Uppsala University

Mulinari, D. 2003: *Teorier för en antirasistisk feminism – dialoger (Theories on an antiracist feminism – dialogues)* in *Mer än bara kvinnor och män. Feministiska perspektiv på genus (More than only women and men. Feminist perspectives on gender)*, eds. D. Mulinari, K. Sandell and E. Schömer, Studentlitteratur, Lund

National Council for Crime Prevention (BRA). 2003: *Brottsförebyggande insatser i utsatta områden. En studie av storstadsarbetet (Activities of crime prevention in disadvantaged areas. A study of the work in the Metropolitan areas)*, Stockholm

Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination. 2003: *Annual Report 2002*

Ombudsman against Ethnic Discrimination. 2001: *PM om etnisk diskriminering på bostadsområdet*. Dnr 81-2001.

Pripp, O. 2002: *Mediabilder och levd erfarenhet (Images in media and experienced experiences)* in *Fittja, världen och vardagen (Fittja, the world and the everyday)*, eds. I. Ramberg and O. Pripp, Mangkulturellt centrum, Tumba

Ristilammi, P. 1998: *Den svarta poesin (The black poetry)* in *Mörk magi i vita medier (Dark magic in white media)*, ed. Y. Brune, Liber Förlag/Allmänna förlaget, Stockholm

Rooth, D. 1999: *Refugee Immigrants in Sweden, Educational Investments and Labour Market Integration*, Lund Economy Studies number 84, Lund

Scott, K. 1999: *The Immigrant Experience: Changing Employment and Income Patterns in Sweden, 1970-1993*, Lund Studies in Economic History 9, Lund University Press, Lund

Swedish Government. 1998: Government bill 1997/98:16. *Sverige, framtiden och mangfalden - fran invandrarpolitik till integrationspolitik (Sweden, the future and the diversity – from immigration policy to integration policy)*

Swedish Government. 1998: SOU 1998:25. Swedish Government. Ministry of health and social affairs. *Tre städer. En storstadspolitik för hela landet. Slutbetänkande av storstadskommittén. (Three cities. A Metropolitan policy for the whole country. Stockholm 1998*

Swedish Government. 2002: Government bill 2001/02:129. *Integrationspolitik för 2000-talet (Integration policy for the 21st century)*

Swedish Government. 1998: Government bill 1997/1998:165. *Utveckling och rättvisa – en politik för storstaden på 2000-talet (Development and justice – a policy for metropolitan city for the 21st century)*

Swedish Government. Storstadsdelegationen. 2003: *Årsrapport 2002*

Commission on Metropolitan Areas, <http://www.storstad.gov.se/english/index.htm>

Swedish Government.2003: Lag (2003:307) om förbud mot diskriminering (Act on a ban on discrimination)

SCB, Statistics Sweden. 2003: Statistiska Meddelanden BE12SM0301 (Statistic messages)

SCB. 2003: *Befolkningsåret 2002 (The year of demography 2002)*

Socialstyrelsen. The Board for Health and Welfare. 2002: *Socialtjänstlagen - Vad gäller för dig från januari 2002*

Annex

Immigration policies

During the two World Wars Sweden had a restricted immigration policy towards non-Nordic citizens. When immigration started to increase in the 1930's, the main group was actually Swedish emigrants returning from America. The Swedish economy expanded during these years, which led to a labour shortage and a liberalised immigration policy.⁸²

In 1951 Sweden signed the Geneva Convention, followed by the Aliens Act of 1954, which implied an increased possibility for refugees to obtain residence permit. The same year, in 1954, an agreement on a common Nordic labour market was made. Thus, the Swedish borders were opened to large groups of labour immigrants from the Nordic countries. In addition, a large number of labour immigrants arrived to Sweden from the Mediterranean countries, such as Greece, former Yugoslavia, Italy and Turkey, through a system for organised collective labour immigration, which was instituted by the Swedish Labour Market Board.⁸³

Labour immigration continued throughout the 1960's but decreased when, in 1967, the immigration rules were changed due to criticism from the Swedish labour unions.⁸⁴ Thus it became more difficult for non-Nordic citizens to receive residence permit. The restricted immigration policy came into force in March 1967. This did not, however, change the number of labour immigrants; on the contrary, Sweden received 100 000 immigrants from the Nordic countries between 1968-1970, since they were not affected by the new regulations.⁸⁵

Relatively large groups of refugees came during and after the Second World War, mainly from the Baltic and the Nordic countries, and about 45 000 refugees were rescued from the German concentration camps.⁸⁶ In the 1970's the characteristics of the immigrants changed. From 1975 and onwards the immigrants mainly came from non-European countries, the majority were refugees escaping from wars, military coups and political instability in

⁸² Rooth 1999, p. 20

⁸³ Rooth 1999, p. 20

⁸⁴ Scott 1999, p. 39

⁸⁵ Swedish Migration Board 2001, p. 3.

⁸⁶ Statistics from the Migration Board available on their webpage; www.migrationsverket.se

countries in the Middle East, Africa and South America. In 1993 and 1994 the number of European refugees escalated due to the war in former Yugoslavia. In one year, 1994, approximately 40 000 refugees from Bosnia obtained Swedish permanent residence permit.⁸⁷

Another important group of immigrants not to be forgotten, is the tied movers, e.g. someone who has a close relative living in Sweden, and therefore obtains a Swedish residence permit. Sweden has not restricted the regulations for tied movers in the same way as for the other categories of immigrants. Although some restrictions have been made, e.g. today only the nuclear family, excluding children over 18 years of age, are granted permits. Still, the majority of granted permits are because of tied moving.

The changes of regulations regarding immigration follow the ups and downs of the Swedish economy. When there has been an economic upswing, the policy has been liberalised and during economic depressions restrictions have been made.

Integration policies

Between 1968 and 1975 the Swedish Parliament formulated three goals for the Swedish immigration policy. They were the principles of equality, freedom of choice and co-operation. The first one, the principle of equality, states that the immigrant has the same rights, obligations and opportunities as a Swedish citizens have. This principle was formulated in 1968 and was meant to serve as a primary goal. The second principle, freedom of choice, gives the immigrants a choice to decide to what extent they want to assimilate and to what degree they want to maintain their own cultural background and language. It was formulated in 1975, as well as the third principle, positive co-operation. This goal implies that there should be a co-operation between immigrants and Swedish citizens, giving the immigrants an opportunity to participate in the development of society.⁸⁸

The old Swedish immigration policy could be seen as two-folded. On one hand it eased the adaptation process for people migrating to Sweden, on the other hand the immigrants had the possibility to maintain their own cultural background and develop their mother tongue.

⁸⁷ Swedish Migration Board 2001, pp. 3-4

⁸⁸ Rooth 1999, pp. 28-29

In 1997 the Swedish parliament decided on a new policy regarding immigrants, which changed the direction of the former immigrant policy to become an “integration policy”.⁸⁹ The argument for abandoning the old policy was that it made the immigrants visible in society as a homogeneous group of people that differed from the natives, even if a majority had lived in Sweden for a long time and some even were born in the country. The old policy strengthened the feeling of “us and them”, thus, increasing the immigrants’ and their children’s feeling of social exclusion.

The goals formulated in 1997 for the new integration policy were that all people living in Sweden, irrespective of ethnic or cultural origin, should have the same rights and opportunities, a mutual society with the diversity of society as a basis.⁹⁰ In addition, it was decided that the society should be characterised by mutual respect and tolerance and that all people, irrespective of origin, should participate and share the responsibility of the development of society.

The work of the integration policy should be aimed at supporting individuals with economical support and participation in society, as well as protecting the fundamental democratic values, working for equal rights and possibilities for men and women and counteracting discrimination, xenophobia and racism.⁹¹

The work to combat discrimination against national minorities

In November 2001, the Ombudsman against Ethnic discrimination was commissioned by the Government to actively work against discrimination of the Roma population.⁹² The work of the commission will be presented in a report latest in February, 2004. The project shall among other things, illuminate the extent of discrimination against the Roma population, develop methods and strategies to prevent discrimination of the Roma and increase the knowledge on the law against ethnic discrimination among the Roma population. In May 2002 the Ombudsman also established a referee group consisting of Roma representatives from different Roma organisations. The aim is to exchange and develop knowledge on discrimination against the Roma population.

⁸⁹ Written Government Communication 2001/02:129, pp. 6-7

⁹⁰ Written Government Communication 2001/02:129, pp. 6-7

⁹¹ Written Government Communication 2001/02:129, pp. 6-7

⁹² <http://www.do.se/o.o.i.s?id=1575>

In the beginning of 2003 a Council for Roma issues was established.⁹³ A majority of the members is of Roma origin. The main assignment for the council is to be an advisory body for the democracy and integration minister Ms Mona Sahlin and the Government regarding issues to improve the situation of the Roma population in Sweden.

⁹³ Press release from the Ministry of Justice dated 2003-02-19

Table 1. Demography in 2002 according to birth country and citizenship⁹⁴

	Swedish citizen	Foreign citizen	Total
Foreign born	653 994	399 469	1 053 463 (12 %)
Born in Sweden by			
<i>Two foreign born parents</i>	255 984	48 767	304 751 (3%)
<i>One foreign born parent and one native born parent</i>	533 794	19 978	553 772 (6%)
<i>Born in Sweden by two native born parents</i>	7 022 917	5 885	7 028 802 (79%)
Total	8 466 689	474 099	8 940 788 (100%)

Table 2. The Swedish population divided by country of birth

Country Region	Number
Sweden	7 887 325
The Nordic countries except Sweden	279 570
EU15 except the Nordic countries	100 673

⁹⁴ All statistics regarding population are from SCB, Befolkningsåret 2002 (The year of demography 2002), Chapter 18, 2003

Europe except EU15 and the Nordic countries	243 109
Africa	59 507
North America	25 450
South America	53 315
Asia	280 916
The Pacific	3 285
The Soviet Union	7 285
Unknown	353

Table 3. The five major groups foreign-born according to country of birth

Country	Number
Finland	191 515
Yugoslavia	74 418
Iraq	62 751
Bosnia-Herzegovina	52 948
Iran	52 721

Table 4. The five major groups according to citizenship

Country	Number
Finland	96 306

Iraq	40 146
Norway	34 672
Denmark	28 091
Yugoslavia	20 087

Table 5. Permanent residence permits 2001-2002⁹⁵

	2001	%	2002	%
Refugees and others	6 852	20	7 451	17
Quota refugees	1 089	3	1 042	2
Relatives	24 445	50	22 247	50
Other	79		99	
Labour market grounds	442	1	403	1
Guest students	3 989	7	4 585	10
Adopted	758	2	869	2
EEA-agreem.	6 851	16	7 968	18
Labour market	2 352		3 074	2
Students	1 952		501	
Total	44 505	100	44 664	100

⁹⁵ Swedish Migration Board, Table 5, 2002, available on www.migrationsverket.se.

Table 6. Changes in percentage between 1998 and 2002 regarding occupation, unemployment, educational level, social benefit dependency and electoral participation in the 24 districts involved in the Metropolitan Work

Residential areas	Occupation rates 1998-2000 (%) ⁹⁶	Number of unemployed/in programs ⁹⁷ 1999-2002 (%)	Upper secondary school 1998-2001 (%) ⁹⁸	Social benefit dependency 1998-2001 (%) ⁹⁹	Electoral Participation in general elections 1998-2002 (%)
Alby	+7	-34	+6	-4	-2
Hallunda/Norsborg	+2	-32	+4	-2	-2
Fittja	+8	-45	+5	-7	+3
Bergsjön	+4	-17	+5	-2	+3
Gardsten	+4	-19	+5	-2	+2
Hjällbo	+8	-16	+3	-8	+4
Norra Biskopsgården	+11	-20	+5	-10	-
Jordbro	+5	-24	+4	-2	-
Västra Skogås	+3	-11	+5	-3	-
Varby Gard	+4	-24	+6	-1	-1
Flemingsberg	+4	-29	+5	-2	-1
Södra Innerstaden	+4	-17	+10	-1	+3
Fosie	+3	-23	+7	0	-2
Hyllie	+3	-14	+5	-2	0
Rosengård	+4	-14	+2	-3	-1
Ragsved	+5	-25	+6	-5	0
Skarholmen	+6	-22	+4	-7	-2
Rinkeby	+9	-40	+2	-11	+2
Tensta	+7	-42	+2	-10	-1
Husby	+7	-41	+4	-8	+1
Fornhöjden	+4	-13	+6	-4	+3
Geneta	+3	-21	+6	-2	0
Ronna	+3	-21	+5	-3	+2

⁹⁶ Refers to age brackets 20-64 years of age.

⁹⁷ Programs refers to the programs that the employment agencies offer the unemployed, when they still are registered at the employment agencies.

⁹⁸ Refers to changes with regard to completed upper secondary school education regarding age brackets 24-64 years of age

⁹⁹ Refers to age brackets 18-64 years of age.

Hovsjö	+3	-21	+6	-2	-2
--------	----	-----	----	----	----

The Office for the Metropolitan Areas ; Annual Report 2002, p.19

Table 7. Average income, occupation rates and housing segregation for a selection of nationalities in the County of Stockholm 1995 and 1999 (2000)¹⁰⁰

Country of birth	Average income ¹⁰¹ 1995	Average income 1999	Occupation rates ¹⁰² 1995	Occupation rates 2000	Geographical difference ¹⁰³ index 1995	Geographical difference index 2000	Salary rank 1999	Occupation rank 1999	Segregation rank 1999
Sweden	161	198	77,5	80,5	0,00	0,00	1	1	Comparison group
Norway	142	181	67,3	70,5	0,16	0,16	2	2	1
USA	122	153	52,9	56,2	0,27	0,27	3	7	5
Germany	132	151	64,6	64,8	0,17	0,16	4	4	2
Finland	122	149	68,1	70,2	0,23	0,22	5	3	3
Estonia	127	135	57,0	55,3	0,26	0,26	6	8	4
Poland	94	120	55,3	59,2	0,30	0,28	7	6	6
Chile	78	107	53,0	62,5	0,54	0,51	8	5	10
Yugoslavia	65	90	44,7	52,7	0,42	0,42	9	11	7
Ethiopia	65	90	45,5	55,1	0,61	0,62	10	9	11
Bosnia-Herzegovina	10	89	9,0	53,6	0,66	0,64	11	10	12
Iran	52	86	37,9	50,4	0,54	0,50	12	12	9
Greece	56	71	37,8	40,8	0,53	0,50	13	15	8
Lebanon	38	61	35,4	45,4	0,67	0,65	14	14	13
Turkey	42	57	40,2	46,7	0,69	0,67	15	13	15
Syria	31	45	32,3	39,5	0,76	0,73	16	16	16
Iraq	26	40	20,7	27,7	0,63	0,65	17	17	14
Somalia	14	31	11,2	21,7	0,75	0,80	18	18	17
Total	146	179	72,4	75,4	0,28	0,30			

¹⁰⁰ Andersson, 2002, p.101.

¹⁰¹ The average income refers to annual income from employment for people in the age brackets 20-65 years of age.

¹⁰² The occupation rates refer to the population in ages 20-65.

¹⁰³ The total refers to an index for foreign-born. All nationalities are separately compared to the Swedish-born.