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Selective Migration in Swedish Distressed Neighbourhoods: Can Area-based Urban Policies Counteract Segregation Processes?

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ABSTRACT *Like many other Western European governments, the Swedish government has launched an area-based urban policy in order to solve the problems of the distressed neighbourhoods in the largest cities. However, in the current policy it is not clear whether the primary aim is to address the problems of individuals, or if the aim is to change the market position of the distressed areas. The intervention might be successful in terms of assisting residents in finding jobs and better education, but that might not improve the general position of the areas targeted, since people who make a socio-economic career very often move out of the areas, to be replaced by poorer and less well-established residents. By drawing upon a comprehensive and unique set of data the paper analyses the issues of residential mobility and selective migration, with special focus on distressed neighbourhoods in the Stockholm region. The results clearly indicate that the migration flows of these neighbourhoods are indeed selective. The people who move in are more likely to be unemployed and dependent on social benefits and have on average lower incomes than those who move out and those who remain in the neighbourhoods. This simultaneous outflow of relatively well-off residents and inflow of weaker and more marginalised groups has the effect of reproducing the distressed character of the neighbourhoods.*

KEY WORDS: selective migration, distressed neighbourhoods, area-based urban policy

Introduction

Just like elsewhere in the world, Sweden's largest cities have residential areas that can be labelled distressed neighbourhoods. Also like many other Western European governments, the Swedish government has launched an area-based urban policy in order to solve the problems of the distressed neighbourhoods. However, in the current policy it is not clear whether the primary aim is to address the problems of individuals, or if the aim is to change the market position of the distressed areas. It has been argued before that the intervention now taking place might be successful in terms of assisting immigrants in finding jobs and better education, but that this might not improve the general position

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of the areas targeted in the urban policy (Andersson, 2001). The reason is that people whose socio-economic circumstances improve very often leave the areas, to be replaced by poorer and less well-established residents. In some cases, area-based urban programmes might even run the risk of speeding up already existing processes of middle-class leakage and 'white flight'. This is a theme that has been raised and intensely discussed in the US literature (see for example Jargowsky, 1997, pp. 132–138; Massey & Denton, 1993, pp. 144–146; Wilson, 1987, ch. 2). By drawing upon a comprehensive and unique set of data this paper analyses the issues of residential mobility and selective migration, with special focus on distressed neighbourhoods in the Stockholm region. It will show how the distressed character of these neighbourhoods is reproduced by selective migration, which thereby undermines the overall policy aim of altering the position of the distressed residential areas in the housing market.

Distressed Neighbourhoods and Processes of Deprivation

Nearly all major cities in Western Europe have neighbourhoods or residential areas that can be referred to as distressed or deprived, at least in a relative sense. Different kinds of areas are affected. When the problem first came to attention, the labels were generally used with reference to inner-city neighbourhoods with a run-down, insufficiently maintained housing stock. In recent years, the focus has shifted somewhat, towards the problems of large-scale housing estates on the urban fringe. The geographical setting and the concepts used may vary, but the problems are very much the same: physical decay, low demand and high turnover rates, management problems, declining services, social and economic problems among the residents, including high levels of unemployment, high levels of benefit dependency, poverty, conflicts, crime, drug abuse, etc. (Hall, 1997; Power, 1996, 1997; Parkinson, 1998; Skifter Andersen, 2002)

In the Swedish case, the problem also has a distinct ethnic dimension, apart from the socio-economic one. Nearly all distressed areas have a large proportion of immigrants, often more than 50 per cent, but the areas are seldom dominated by a single nationality or minority group. On the contrary, the population generally consists of a variety of ethnic groups with very little in common, apart from the marginal position and the immigrant experience as such.

The process that causes deprivation is usually described as a combination of physical and social problems that reinforce one another, thus creating a spiral of decline. The initiation of the process is often believed to be related to low popularity and bad reputation. Initially, this is often due to physical conditions of the estate, and/or the peripheral or otherwise disadvantageous location. Low demand means empty flats and high turnover, and eventually the in-migration of families with little choice. More problems related to the more pronounced low-income character of the neighbourhood will appear, such as declining services, disturbance and accelerated physical deterioration due to vandalism and careless use. The low demand and the changes in residential composition will trigger a parallel process of increased maintenance problems, neglect and disrepair, when reduced rent income coincides with an increased need for repairs. The result is an even worse reputation and accelerated residential succession, and the spiral is in operation (Power, 1996, 1997; Skifter Andersen, 2002).

Residential turnover seems to be an inherent aspect of the problem complex affecting distressed neighbourhoods. The high turnover rates are part of the problem in at least two ways. First, many of the problems that constitute the distress can be related to residential instability, for example weak community links, lack of identification with the neighbourhood, anonymity, insecurity and crime. As has been shown in numerous studies, neighbourhood stability is related to social cohesion and collective efficacy through the development of locally based social networks (Kasarda & Janovitz, 1974; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Sampson *et al.*, 1997). Moreover, the density of friendship and acquaintance ties is influenced by length of residence at two levels, the level of the individual and the level of the neighbourhood (Sampson, 1988, 1991). It is obvious that if an individual stays only a short time in a neighbourhood it can be expected that (s)he will not develop a dense network of friends and acquaintances. It is equally obvious that if a certain neighbourhood experiences high turnover rates, those remaining in the area face the risk of losing their acquaintances, and the high risk as such might lead to reluctance in seeking relations with neighbours. Dense networks are not only a precondition for community attachment and social cohesion. Other studies have shown correlations between low stability and violence and crime (Shaw & McKay, 1942; Sampson & Groves, 1989; Sampson *et al.*, 1997). Instability affects the ability to maintain informal social control, by frustrating the development of friendship and acquaintance ties (see also Freudenburg, 1986).

Second, the high turnover is generally described as an inevitable part of the spiral of decline. High turnover rates can be seen as both evidence of the low attractiveness of the area, and as a key mechanism in the process. The high turnover, in combination with the selective character of the mobility, i.e. the exodus of the relatively better off and the influx of marginal people, drives the process towards decline. Several case studies of distressed neighbourhoods throughout Europe have shown that high turnover and selective migration are indeed key elements in the process of decline (Friedrichs, 1991; Power, 1997; Skifter Andersen, 2002).

The out-migration of residents with economic and social resources is therefore a serious problem for the neighbourhoods, but for those who manage to leave it will probably mean improved living conditions. Evidence from various mobility programmes that have been launched in the US to enable low-income families in poor residential areas to move to middle-class neighbourhoods shows that the participants' situation is improved in many ways. They feel more secure, their self-efficacy is increased, a large proportion do better on the labour market and the children do better in school (Goetz, 2002; Johnson *et al.*, 2002; Rosenbaum *et al.*, 2002). However, both Galster & Zobel (1998) and Johnson *et al*. (2002) have some doubts concerning the issue of self-selection for households moving to the mixed suburban environments.

There are thus at least two opposite interpretations of the effects of high turnover. On the level of the neighbourhood, and especially for distressed neighbourhoods, it is mainly negative. It is a testimony of the low attractiveness of the neighbourhood as well as a contributing cause in the process of its decline. On the individual level, on the other hand, it can be viewed as an indication of the fact that several residents manage to 'escape' to what is, it is hoped, a better environment.

Swedish Area-based Urban Policy

Sweden followed the example of many other European countries when a national area-based urban policy was initiated in 1999. The policy is officially called The Metropolitan Development Initiative (MDI) or The Local Development Agreement (LDA). (For more information about the policy, see Andersson, 2001 or the official website at <www.storstad.gov.se>.) In fact, the government launched a preliminary version of this policy in the mid-1990s and, with only minor differences in the selection of areas, the ones targeted in the present programme have been in focus for policy interventions for several years (Andersson, 1999).

One of the overall aims of the policy is to stop segregation and to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living in the cities. This aim is reformulated in eight specific goals addressing unemployment, welfare dependency, education, health and community participation. This paper also focuses on two goals targeting social exclusion and one goal addressing the ethnic dimension of the problem. In the policy documents (see <www.storstad.gov.se/delegation/politik/english.htm>) the goals are expressed thus:

- Employment rates should be raised for both men and women.
- Benefit dependency should be reduced.
- The position of the Swedish language should be strengthened among young people as well as adults.

In total 24 residential areas receive state support through the programme, 16 in the Stockholm region, 4 in Gothenburg and 4 in Malmö. The municipalities have had the primary responsibility for selecting and delimiting areas for the State MDI programme, and they have chosen somewhat different strategies; some have selected only the most distressed part of an estate, others have chosen a larger unit comprising both poor, immigrant-dense neighbourhoods and better-off middle-class areas. Even so, the targeted areas are 'distressed areas' by common definitions, especially when compared to most other neighbourhoods in Stockholm County. In the Swedish political vocabulary they are currently referred to as 'exposed areas'. The new concept should be seen as an attempt to avoid the negative connotation of the term 'immigrant dense' used in earlier programmes.

Data and Methods

One point of departure for this study is a process-oriented understanding of segregation that it shares with recent Swedish segregation studies (Andersson, 1998b, 2000, 2001). These studies seek to promote the understanding of residential segregation by introducing a dynamic approach, where processes rather than patterns are in focus, and where the migration decisions of individuals and households are seen as important forces in the formation and transformation of urban social space. Central to this analytical framework is the concept of selective migration, which refers to a situation in which the composition of out-migrants differs from the composition of in-migrants (and those staying in the area). The kind of 'middle-class leakage' (Friedrichs, 1991) that affects distressed neighbourhoods is just one example of selective migration.

Gentrification, which can be seen as the opposite process, is another. This way of addressing segregation goes far back into urban research history; the Chicago school sociologists, for instance, talked about succession and invasion (Burgess, 1925), and filtering processes (Firey, 1945; Hoyt, 1939). These concepts all intended to cover compositional change in urban neighbourhoods.

The main hypothesis in this paper is that distressed neighbourhoods tend to lose those households that are relatively better off, and that they are replaced by poorer and more marginalised households. If this is indeed the case, area-based programmes aiming to improve the life of people residing in distressed areas might not lead to any substantial change in the profile and position of a targeted neighbourhood, even though they might still be successful in terms of addressing individual-level problems. Theoretically, it might even be the case that the programmes make the problem worse by accelerating the process of residential succession. This fear has occasionally been expressed (Edwards, 1997; McGregor & McConnachie, 1995; Taylor, 1998), but it is thought that no empirical evidence has been presented that can confirm it. However, it is not the view here that current Swedish area-based intervention is harmful, only that there are severe doubts that it will fulfil its basic goal: to stop segregation. The risk that the extra financial resources put into the 'soft parts' of the public sector would aggravate social problems is not big, although, as proposed by Forrest (2000), area-based approaches might simply displace problems between different neighbourhoods.

The 16 distressed neighbourhoods in Stockholm County have been chosen for an in-depth study of selective migration. The data material used is a longitudinal set of information about all individuals residing in Sweden during the period 1990–2000 (GEOSWEDE00). In total, more than 10 million individuals are included. Of these, 2 227 979 have been registered in the County of Stockholm for at least one of the 11 years covered. Approximately 272 300 have been residents in the 16 distressed neighbourhoods. Some of these persons have died during the period; others have been born in the 1990s. Some have stayed in the same area or moved between different distressed areas, some have moved into one of the areas from other neighbourhoods within or outside the Stockholm region, and others have left the distressed areas. Although the study continues to refer to the county totals as a reference population, the focus is placed on these 272 300 individuals. For each one of the individuals, and for each year, there is information about year and country of birth, sex, family structure, education, income variables, employment status and neighbourhood codes for both housing and workplaces and many more variables. Only a small number of the variables are used in this paper, in particular information about demography, socio-economic profile and neighbourhood codes for the 10 years studied.

In relation to the socio-economic policy goals, employment levels and benefit dependency are compared for three groups, out-movers, in-movers and stayers, during two periods, 1990–95 and 1995–2000. As a further indicator of socio-economic differences between the groups a comparison of income levels is also made, although the policy goals do not address this specifically. However, it can be assumed that the overall aim of the policy, i.e. to work for equal and comparable living conditions for people living in the cities, also means raising income levels among residents of the distressed neighbourhoods. So, if the out-migrants are relatively better off than those who stay behind, and especially if they are better off than the in-migrants, then the hypothesis is confirmed. In a similar way, relating to the goal addressing language, years since immigration for in-moving,

Table 1. Distressed areas in Stockholm County: some key indicators

	Distressed areas			Stockholm County		
Key indicators	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000
No of statistical units	35	35	35	925	929	923
Population	138 218	137 813	147 495	1 641 637	1 725 682	1 823 210
Percentage females	50.3	49.9	49.8	51.5	51.3	51.1
Percentage aged 0–17	27.4	27.7	27.0	21.0	21.8	21.6
Percentage aged 65 +	7.6	8.7	8.9	15.6	15.1	14.2
Percentage born abroad	37.6	44.0	47.5	15.3	16.6	17.6
Percentage with foreign background	57.3	66.7	72.6	26.4	29.1	31.4
Percentage on social security	11.9	19.8	16.1	4.6	6.5	4.4
Perc. 18–64 employed	77.3	52.2	57.1	84.1	72.1	76.1
Perc. 18–64 females employed	76.2	50.4	53.1	84.0	71.8	74.7
Work-related income, 18–64 (1000SEK)						
1st quartile	42.9	0.0	0.0	75.4	31.4	55.9
Median	117.1	57.8	85.4	138.4	150.4	191.3
3rd quartile	158.8	164.9	194.6	186.6	215.6	274.1
10th decile	199.2	217.1	257.7	248.1	298.5	390.8
Disposable income, 18–64						
1st quartile	70.5	66.9	71.0	79.0	88.8	105.0
Median	96.1	103.1	116.0	106.8	125.6	152.9
3rd quartile	119.0	135.5	155.2	135.9	165.7	206.2
10th decile	142.8	167.8	193.0	169.7	214.6	284.8

Note: No adjustments have been made to compensate for inflation.
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

out-moving and staying immigrants are compared as an approximation of language skills. This last analysis is a very crude and indirect way of estimating knowledge in the Swedish language, but it can be argued that, at least at a group level, the time spent in Sweden correlates fairly strongly with the ability to understand and to speak the language.

The Distressed Areas of Stockholm County

Table 1 displays some key indicators for the distressed areas as well as corresponding values for the entire Stockholm County. The county is divided into 25 municipalities and all of these are further subdivided into neighbourhoods, normally following a concept of homogeneous areas (according to tenure form, age of construction, housing types). In total, the region is divided into approximately 925 statistical units. The 16 residential areas that will be examined in more detail comprise altogether 35 statistical units belonging to five different municipalities. The areas are: Västra Skogås, Vårby and Flemingsberg in the municipality of Huddinge; Alby, Hallunda-Norsborg and Fittja in the municipality of Botkyrka; Jordbro in the municipality of Haninge; Rågsved, Skärholmen, Rinkeby, Tensta and Husby in the municipality of Stockholm; Fornhöjden, Geneta, Ronna and Hovsjö in the municipality of Södertälje. Of these, all but

Rinkeby, Tensta and Husby are found in the southern part of the region. Some of the areas have been divided into two or more statistical units, normally because they have internal variations in terms of socio-economic composition and/or tenure forms. Although the 35 statistical units here called 'distressed areas' might include a few smaller rather well-off neighbourhoods, taken together they form a relevant sample of the most distressed areas in the Stockholm region. In political terms they constitute a complete coverage of such areas but as the selections made by the state and the municipalities do not strictly follow specified 'objective' criteria, the 35 units cannot be regarded as being the only distressed areas in the region.

Due to increased unemployment in the region between 1992–94, wages dropped substantially for the poorest households (1st quartile). The job losses affected most households in most occupations and economic sectors, but the poorer households in particular. During the period from 1990 to 1995 the median income of the distressed areas also dropped; indeed, it was reduced by 50 per cent compared to the level five years earlier. Although the government made reductions in the general level of welfare support during the employment crisis, the welfare system managed to compensate the poorest households somewhat for the loss of waged income (see disposable income data). In terms of economic standards, however, these households witnessed severe reductions.

As regards the demographic composition, the distressed areas have more children and fewer elderly people, and a substantially larger share of foreign-born residents. More than 70 per cent of the residents in 2000 had a foreign background, compared to 30 per cent in the entire county. As can be concluded from the figures, there has been a considerable reduction in the proportion of Swedish residents during the period. This dimension of the residential succession is analysed in more detail later on in the paper.

It has been shown before that the turnover rates are quite high in the Stockholm region, although of course they vary with tenure (Andersson, 2000). The average rate (measured as annual out-migration) at the neighbourhood level is 10.0 per cent for people who are Swedish-born and 10.9 per cent for people born abroad (Table 2). (Out-migration rate is defined as the number of out-migrants from an area between the end of year 1 and the end of year 2, divided by population at the end of year 1, where out-migrants are those who resided in a neighbourhood at the end of year 1 and who reside somewhere else at the end of year 2.) In distressed areas, the mobility intensity relation between Swedish-born and immigrants is reversed but generally also somewhat higher, 12.2 per cent for Swedish-born and 11.3 per cent for immigrants. The contrast between the Swedes and the rest of the population is even greater if immigrants' out-migration rates are compared to those who are Swedish-born with Swedish-born parents (15.4 per cent in distressed areas). The lowest rate of out-migration is found among second-generation immigrants (Sweden-born with foreign-born parents, 9.6 per cent), which could indicate stronger neighbourhood identity for this group, but it should probably be seen as caused by differences in the age structure (second-generation immigrants comprise mostly children). The overall pattern is very stable over time, even though the general mobility level tends to vary with the general situation on the housing market. The present very tight market has been visible since 1997–98, and this affects mobility rates, especially in the poorer residential areas where vacancies appear immediately if there is a housing surplus in the capital region.

Table 2. Annual turnover rates (out-migration frequencies; neighbourhood level)*

	Stockholm County Country of birth			Distressed areas Country of birth				
Year	Sweden	Abroad	Total	Sweden	Sweden with Swedish back-ground**	Sweden with Foreign back-ground	Abroad	Total
1990–91	10.8	11.4	10.9	12.7	16.0	9.5	11.1	12.1
1991–92	9.2	10.8	9.4	12.1	15.0	9.4	11.7	11.9
1992–93	10.0	11.9	10.3	13.5	16.5	10.7	13.3	13.4
1993–94	10.4	12.1	10.7	14.0	17.1	11.4	13.3	13.7
1994–95	9.8	11.0	10.0	12.0	14.6	10.0	11.5	11.8
1995–96	10.1	10.8	10.2	11.7	14.9	9.3	10.7	11.3
1996–97	10.4	10.7	10.5	12.0	15.5	9.5	10.8	11.5
1997–98	10.3	10.7	10.4	12.0	15.3	9.6	11.0	11.5
1998–99	9.9	10.0	9.9	11.6	15.1	9.1	10.1	10.9
1999–2000	9.4	9.4	9.4	10.0	13.7	7.5	9.0	9.5
Average	10.0	10.9	10.2	12.2	15.4	9.6	11.3	11.8

*Notes:** People who died in the following year are excluded from the population. For example, the 1990–91 population does not include people who died during 1991.

** Swedish background defined as having both parents born in Sweden.

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

In theory, it is possible to have a situation with sustained higher mobility in one neighbourhood compared to another and still find similar proportions of people that have resided for five or 10 years in the neighbourhoods. Theoretically there could be an annual turnover rate of 20 per cent without this affecting the remaining population. This would be possible if the exchange of dwellings were to occur in the same dwellings all the time. However, in practice this is not the situation in the Stockholm region. Areas with a high annual turnover rate turn out to have relatively fewer people who have stayed for five or more years in the same neighbourhood. As can be seen in Table 3, 43.6 per cent of the 1990 population in Stockholm County neighbourhoods were registered in the same neighbourhood in 2000. In distressed areas the level was 37.6 per cent. Some of these stayers have in fact been circulating between neighbourhoods during the period, so the actual share of stable residents is somewhat lower (see bottom row in Table 3).

As can be expected from earlier research on residential mobility, the rate at which people leave a particular neighbourhood is reduced with time. People who have stayed a longer time in a place tend to be better settled, are on average older and are less inclined to move than more recent in-migrants. While 11 to 13 per cent of the 1990 population moved out of the neighbourhood after one year, the rate drops to 7 to 9 per cent the second year, 6 to 8 per cent the third year and 5 to 7 per cent the fourth year. The rate of out-migrants is somewhat higher in distressed areas, especially during the second and third years, but the tendency is the same. People who have stayed more than five to six years in distressed areas seem to be just as stable as people living in other areas.

Table 3. Neighbourhood leavers in the Stockholm region, and in distressed neighbourhoods

	Stayers and out-movers of Stockholm County neighbourhoods 1990-2000					Stayers and out-movers of distressed areas				
	Year	Remaining population*	%	Moved out***	%***	Year	Remaining population**	%	Moved out**	%****
Population	1990	1 641 637	100.0	0	0.0	1990	138 218	100.0	0	0.0
	1991	1 441 303	87.8	184 490	11.2	1991	119 812	86.7	17 589	12.7
	1992	1 310 223	79.8	299 925	18.3	1992	106 510	77.1	30 064	21.8
	1993	1 194 318	72.8	399 905	24.4	1993	94 510	68.4	41 258	29.8
	1994	1 091 531	66.5	487 608	29.7	1994	83 921	60.7	51 047	36.9
	1995	1 009 568	61.5	553 771	33.7	1995	76 144	55.1	58 004	42.0
	1996	937 222	57.1	610 325	37.2	1996	69 793	50.5	63 522	46.0
	1997	870 829	53.0	660 926	40.3	1997	64 188	46.4	68 284	49.4
	1998	812 313	49.5	696 677	42.4	1998	59 292	42.9	72 274	52.3
	1999	760 578	46.3	739 392	45.0	1999	55 050	39.8	75 593	54.7
	2000	715 785	43.6	768 403	46.8	2000	52 003	37.6	77 728	56.2
All years*****	1990–2000	678 950	41.4	805 238	49.1	1990–2000	47 981	34.7	81 750	59.1

Notes: *Data refer to the population of each specific neighbourhood in 1990 and the number of people who is found in the same neighbourhood in the following years.
** Data refer to the number of neighbourhood stayers in the category of distressed neighbourhoods.
*** Not including deceased persons.
**** The stayer and out-mover percentages do not sum to 100% due to deaths.
***** All years means that people have resided in the same neighbourhood at all 11 observation points. The difference between these figures and the ones for 2000 is due to the fact that the latter group includes out-movers that have later returned to the neighbourhood.
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

It is a well-established fact that migrants in general have a distinctly different age composition compared to non-migrants. Life-cycle related events such as leaving home, starting and finishing education, building a family or divorcing a spouse etc. are primary causes for a substantial part of migration in society, especially intra-urban migration. When people get older, migration frequencies drop. Figure 1 shows the age composition of distressed Stockholm neighbourhoods and the age composition of out-migrants from such neighbourhoods. As stated above, these neighbourhoods have a large proportion of children and few elderly people. The age structure of out-migrants, however, mirrors to a large extent more general migration propensities, showing a clear over-representation of neighbourhood leavers in the 18–24 and 25–34 age groups.

If the out-migrants are divided by age and sex (Figure 2) this profile comes out even more distinctly. Almost 1 in 4 residents in the 18–24 age group leave the distressed neighbourhoods. Figure 2 also shows that although the total balance of the sexes is fairly even, females seem to be over-represented among young adults leaving distressed neighbourhoods. This pattern confirms other studies that have shown females leaving the family home somewhat earlier.

Socio-economic Selectivity

This part of the study analyses the development in terms of employment, benefit dependency and work-related income in the distressed areas, thus relating to the policy goals aiming to increase employment rates and reduce benefit dependency. (The variable work-related income is chosen, rather than waged income, since it more accurately reflects differences between those participating in the labour force and those outside. Apart from waged income, the work-related income also includes incomes from business enterprises, payments for parental leave, payments during sickness etc.)

The outcome for two periods is calculated with economically different macro conditions, 1990–95 and 1995–2000. As was said before, the 1990–95 period saw one of the worst economic recessions that Sweden has experienced over the last 100 years. Unemployment quadrupled (from 2 to 8 per cent open unemployment), and employment was reduced by about 10 per cent in the Stockholm region. However, since 1998, and somewhat earlier in the Stockholm region, the economy has recovered. It is argued that having the opportunity to calculate the qualitative effects of selective migration during these two periods makes the results robust. If it can be proved that distressed areas experience a type of middle-class leakage, or at least a leakage of the relatively more well-off parts of their population, regardless of macro-economic context, it can be concluded that such a process is one of the key mechanisms in the reproduction of distressed areas.

For each period a comparison is made between three categories: in-movers, out-movers and stayers. The situation in each category is shown at the beginning of the period as well as the end. It should be noted that the figures for in-movers before the move are based only on those living in Sweden at that point in time. Since a considerable share of the actual number of in-movers has come directly from abroad (nearly 40 per cent during the first period, about 25 per cent during the second), these figures do not tell the whole truth. Similarly, the figures for the out-mover group after the move do not include those who moved out of the country, but they are comparatively few. The stayer groups consist of those residents that have stayed in the same distressed residential area during the

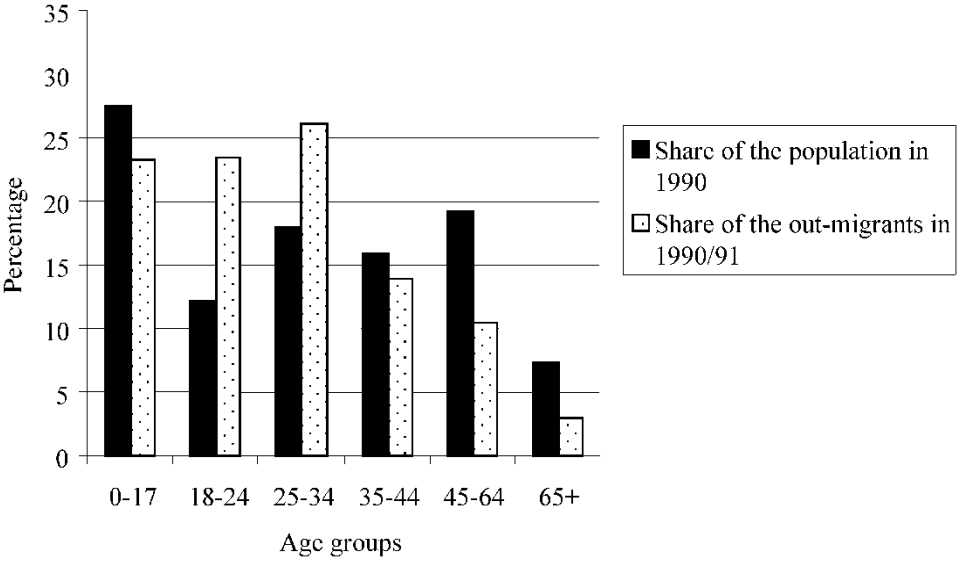

Figure 1. Population and out-migrants by age groups in distressed areas in Stockholm in 1990–91.
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

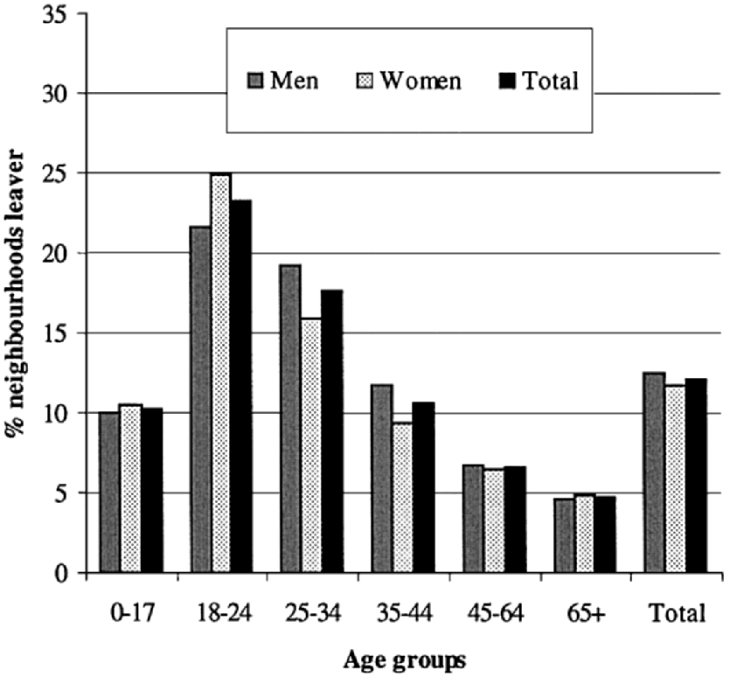

Figure 2. Propensity to move out from distressed neighbourhoods by sex and age groups, 1990–91.
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

period. Thus, the relatively few who have moved between different distressed areas are not included in any of the groups. Employment data refer to the situation in November each year, and benefit dependency rates include all individuals who received social benefits during the year in question, regardless of the amount.

The higher out-migration frequencies of the younger adult groups, combined with the fact that employment frequencies and incomes generally vary by age (top values around age 50), make it necessary to treat the age variable with care. Among the three categories that are focused on, both the mean and the median age value is highest for stayers (38 and 37 years respectively). In-movers comprise the youngest group (mean 33 and median 30 respectively), and out-movers are only marginally older than these (34 and 32 years). If stayers, in-movers and out-movers were socio-economically alike, stayers thus could be expected to have a slightly higher employment rate than the other two categories, because of the age effect.

To make sure age differences between categories did not interfere with the results, it was decided to undertake a more thorough investigation of the first variable, employment frequency, by comparing the groups over the whole age span (20–64 years at the beginning of each period). Guided by these results, and the fact that the highest migration frequencies were found among younger residents, it was then decided to limit the analysis of the remaining variables on people aged 25–44, where the influence of socio-economic selectivity is strongest.

Selective Migration During the Economic Crisis (1990–95)

The economic crisis affected both working class and middle class segments of the population, but due to the concentration of households having a weak position on the labour market in the distressed areas, these areas resulted in losing a lot more than did other types of neighbourhoods (Andersson, 1998b). However, it can be clearly documented that individuals who left the distressed areas in the 1990–95 period had a much stronger position in the labour market, before as well as after the move. As indicated by Figures 3 and 4, employment frequencies vary a great deal between the three categories, both at the start and the end of the first study period (1990 and 1995). In 1990, those who would become out-movers had a stronger labour market presence than stayers, especially in younger age groups. Above age 30, differences are small. The to-be in-movers have lower values than both of these categories throughout the age distribution, being most pronounced in age groups 27 to 40. In 1995, when the out-movers had left and the in-movers had settled, the differences are strongly pronounced (Figure 4). Out-movers and stayers have similar employment frequencies in age groups over 45, but below that age, differences are profound. At age 25, about 70 per cent of the out-movers were gainfully employed, compared with only 50 per cent of the stayers. As in 1990, in-movers had much lower employment frequencies in all age groups (10 to 30 percentage points lower), and only around age 50 does the level somewhat exceed the 50 per cent line.

It can be expected that the benefit dependency rate to some extent inversely reflects that of employment frequency. Especially for marginal groups, consisting of long-term unemployed and people who have never been employed for as long as is required to qualify for unemployment benefits, being unemployed will often mean being dependent on social benefits as well. Figure 5 shows that this

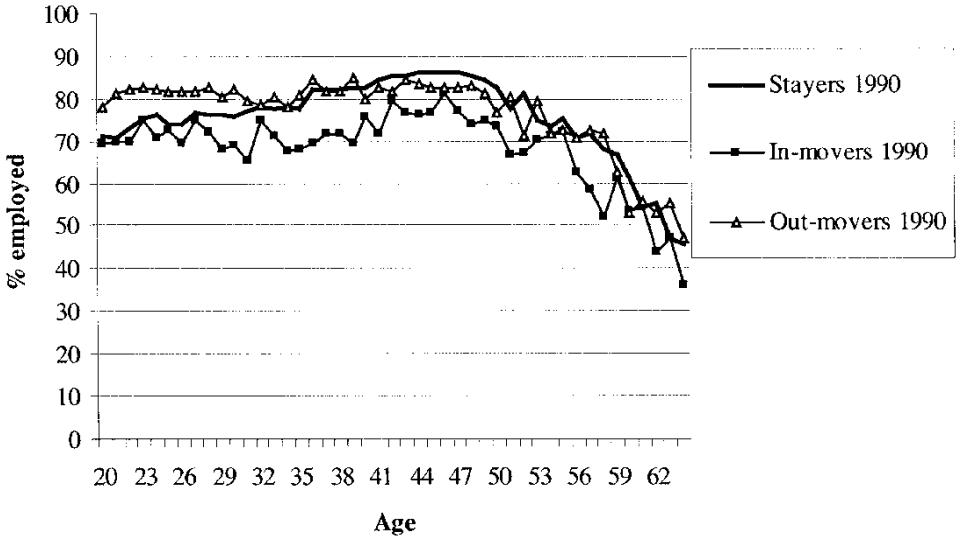

Figure 3. Employment frequencies by age in 1990 for people staying in, moving into, and out of distressed Stockholm neighbourhoods 1990–95 (age 20–64 in 1990).*

Note: *In-movers 1990–95 not resident in Sweden in 1991 have been excluded from the 1990 calculations.

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

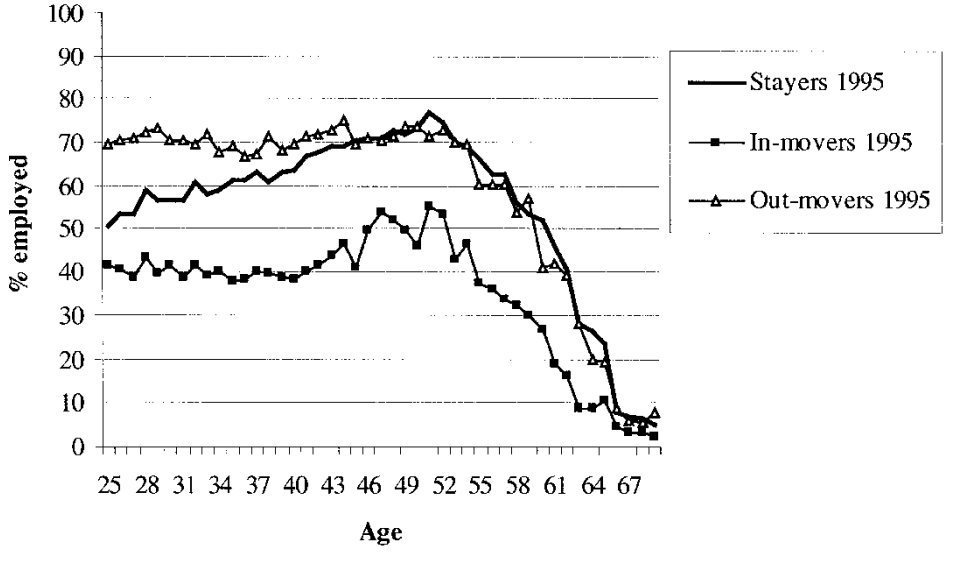

Figure 4. Employment frequencies by age in 1995 for people staying in, moving into, and out of distressed Stockholm neighbourhoods 1990–95 (age 20–64 in 1990).*

Note: *In-movers 1995–2000 not resident in Sweden in 1996 have been excluded from the 1995 calculations.

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

is also the case in the data here. The benefit dependency rate is considerably higher among in-movers than among out-movers and stayers, both before and after the move. It is clear that the distressed neighbourhoods have had an influx of residents with a very weak position in the labour market. Nearly 47 per cent of the in-movers aged 25–44 were dependent on social benefits at the end of the period.

A comparison of income levels between the groups gives further indication of the weak position of the in-movers (Figure 6). The median income is lower among the to-be in-movers already before the move, and after the move the differences are even more obvious. While income levels have increased somewhat for both out-movers and stayers, despite the recession, the median work-related income of the in-movers in 1995 is remarkably low.

Selective Migration During the Economic Recovery Period (1995–2000)

Figures 7 to 10 display results for the economic recovery period. Generally speaking, the differences in macro-economic condition are discernible, in the sense that employment levels and incomes are higher and benefit dependency rates lower in 2000 than in 1995, while the reverse situation was found for the 1990–95 period. However, the selectivity of the migration flows is just as obvious. Those who have moved into the distressed neighbourhoods generally have a lower income and are more likely to be unemployed and dependent on social benefits than those who have left the neighbourhoods and those who have stayed put during the period.

In terms of employment frequencies (Figures 7 and 8), the outcome is comparable to that of the recession period, but it is even more obvious that younger stayers in distressed areas are socio-economically quite similar to in-movers (having a very low employment frequency), while older stayers (40 +) are performing much like the out-movers (with higher employment frequencies). But like the recession period, values are more divergent at the end of the period than at the start. If Figures 4 and 8 are compared, it can be noted that although the relation between the three main groups (stayers, in-movers and out-movers) is similar, differences are smaller at the end of the recovery period (2000) compared to the end of the recession period (1995). This might be interpreted as a period (macro-economic) effect, but it could also, at least in theory, be due to successful political efforts to combat unemployment in distressed areas.

For the other variables also (Figures 9 and 10), the relation between in-movers, out-movers and stayers is largely the same as in the first period. The out-mover group is better off, both before and after the move, than the in-mover group, with the stayer group somewhere in between. The out-movers have also had the largest improvements in benefit dependency rates, and the in-movers have had the least. However, the relation is reversed in terms of relative gain in income; the out-movers have had the least increase and the in-movers the largest, but from an extremely low level. The median work-related income in 2000 is still very low for this group. On the whole, however, the differences between stayers and out-movers are even more obvious for this period and these cohorts than for the recession period, with lower dependency rates and higher median incomes among out-movers. Therefore, it is more obvious that the out-movers constitute the socio-economically strongest group.

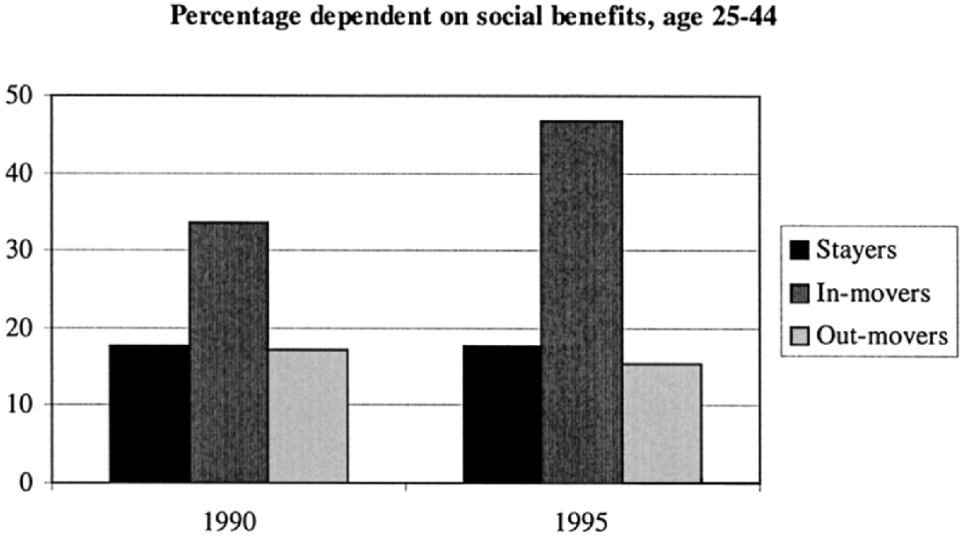

Figure 5. Benefit dependency rates for stayers, in-movers and out-movers of distressed neighbourhoods 1990–95 (age 25–44 in 1990).
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

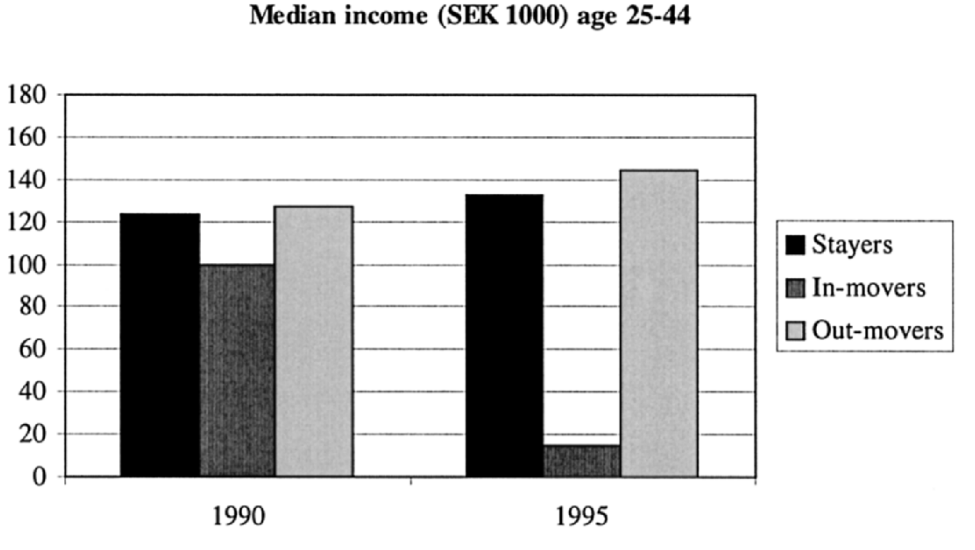

Figure 6. Median work-related income for stayers, in-movers and out-movers of distressed neighbourhoods 1990–95 (age 25–44 in 1990).
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

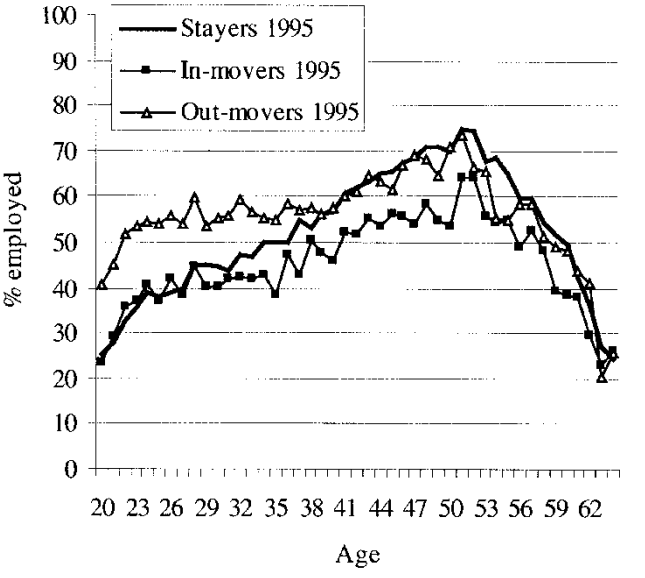

Figure 7. Employment frequencies by age in 1995 for people staying in, moving into, and out of distressed Stockholm neighbourhoods 1995–2000 (age 20–64 in 1995).

Note: *In-movers 1995–2000 not resident in Sweden in 1996 have been excluded from the 1995 calculations.

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

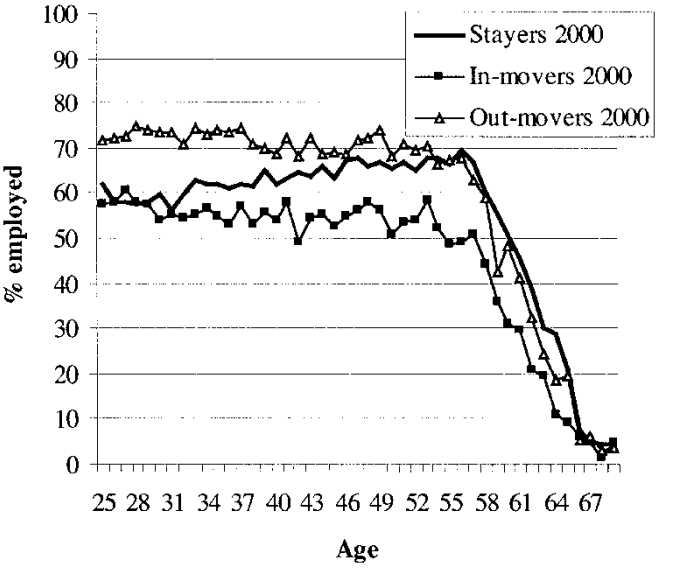

Figure 8. Employment frequencies by age in 2000 for people staying in, moving into, and out of distressed Stockholm neighbourhoods 1995–2000 (age 20–64 in 1995).

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

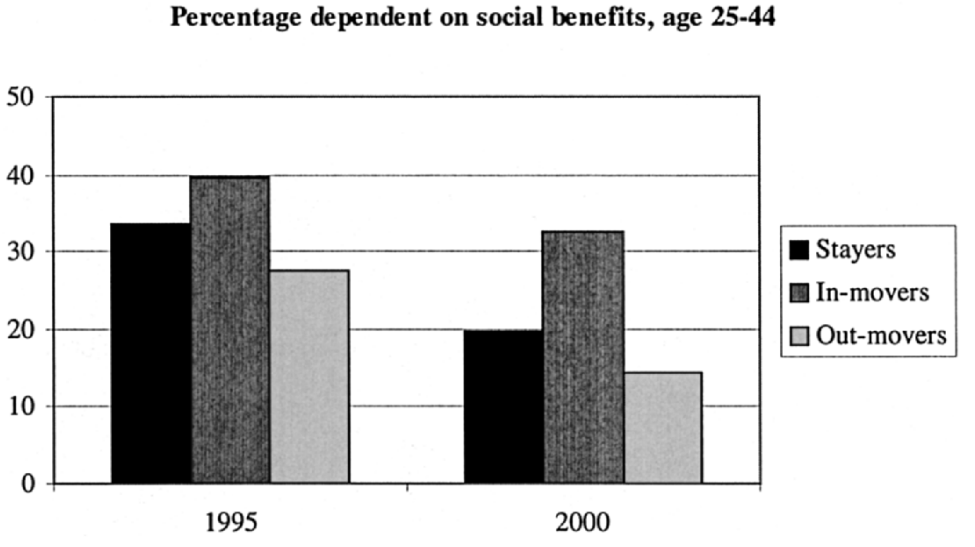

Figure 9. Benefit dependency rates for stayers, in-movers and out-movers of distressed neighbourhoods 1995–2000 (age 25–44 in 1995).
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

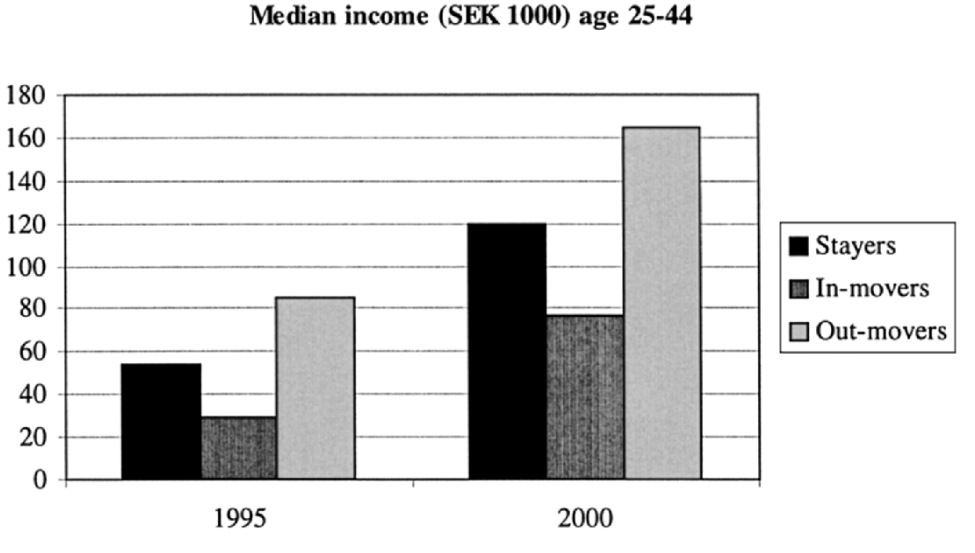

Figure 10. Median work-related income for stayers, in-movers and out-movers of distressed neighbourhoods 1995–2000 (age 25–44 in 1995).
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

Ethnic Selectivity

As mentioned earlier, in the Swedish case nearly all distressed neighbourhoods have a large proportion of residents born abroad. Until a few years ago this was considered 'the problem' of these residential areas. In fact, the previous version of the area-based policy was especially targeted towards 'immigrant-dense residential areas' (Andersson, 1999). The lack of native Swedes, combined with other problems associated with distress, is assumed to be a major obstacle to the integration of immigrants into Swedish society. With this in mind, it is easier to understand why one of the goals of the current urban policy is to "strengthen the position of the Swedish language". But there is undoubtedly a very practical side to the policy goal as well. For the individual immigrant, it is very important to understand and be able to use the new language in order to get a job and manage in society at large. The concentration of immigrants in certain residential areas is believed to be unfavourable for the acquisition of language skills, since these neighbourhoods offer few opportunities for using the Swedish language in everyday situations. The Swedish-teacher is in many cases the only Swedish-speaking person the immigrant meets. (This is discussed in two government Bills that preceded the MDI/LDA programme: Regeringens proposition 1997–98:16 Sverige, framtiden och mångfalden—från invandrarpolitik till integrationspolitik; Regeringens proposition 1997/98:165 Utveckling och rättvisa—en politik för storstaden på 2000-talet.)

However, if the overall policy aim is to change the profile of the neighbourhoods, this particular goal runs same the risk of failing as do the goals addressing social distress, if the immigrant-dense character of the neighbourhoods is reproduced by selective migration flows. This will be the case if Swedish residents move out and are replaced by immigrants, and/or if immigrants with relatively good language skills leave and are replaced by immigrants with weaker Swedish language skills.

In the subsequent analysis, an attempt is made to investigate the development of the distressed neighbourhoods in this respect. Although a very comprehensive dataset is available, there are no variables measuring language skills *per se*. Therefore, number of years since immigration is used as an approximation, based on the general assumption that, at least at the group level, language skills increase with the number of years spent in the new country. The analysis is structured in much the same way as the previous one. The same periods, 1990–1995 and 1995–2000, are analysed, and the groups compared consist of foreign-born in-migrants and out-migrants of the distressed neighbourhoods, and foreign-born residents who have stayed in the same distressed neighbourhood for the whole period. The median is used as a measure of central tendency for years spent in Sweden. (The median was considered a more appropriate measure than the mean, since all distributions were positively skewed.)

However, first there will be a description of the overall changes in the ethnic composition of the distressed areas in the 1990s, and especially the balance between immigrants and native Swedes.

It was mentioned previously that the share of immigrants increased in the distressed areas of Stockholm in the 1990s. Table 4 gives a more detailed description of the changes in the ethnic composition. The loss of native Swedes is clearly noticeable. While the Swedish-born population has been reduced by 8800, the total number of immigrants has increased by more than 18 000, leading

Table 4. Country of origin for people residing in distressed areas in Stockholm 1990-2000

Population category	1990 Number	%	1995 Number	%	2000 Number	%	Change 90–00
Born in Sweden	86 231	62.4	77 186	56.0	77 431	52.5	− 8800
Thereof with Swedish-born parents	42 647	30.9	33 487	24.3	30 785	20.9	− 11 862
2nd generation immigrants	27 181	19.7	31 263	22.7	37 071	25.1	9890
Born abroad	51 987	37.6	60 627	44.0	70 064	47.5	18 077
Total foreign background	79 168	57.3	91 863	66.7	107 135	72.6	27 967
Total	138 218	100.0	137 813	100.0	147 495	100.0	9277
Largest immigrant categories (rank in 1990):							Change 1990–2000
Finland	10 995	21.1	8457	13.9	7289	10.4	− 3706
Turkey	8802	16.9	9191	15.2	9369	13.4	567
Chile	3998	7.7	3751	6.2	3578	5.1	− 420
Greece	2689	5.2	2258	3.7	1953	2.8	− 736
Iran	2646	5.1	3433	5.7	3743	5.3	1097
Syria	2417	4.6	3454	5.7	3920	5.6	1503
Yugoslavia	1962	3.8	2461	4.1	2576	3.7	614
Poland	1901	3.7	1784	2.9	1704	2.4	− 197
Lebanon	1667	3.2	2016	3.3	2097	3.0	430
Iraq	1144	2.2	3570	5.9	7546	10.8	6402
Ethiopia	911	1.8	2020	3.3	2452	3.5	1541
Somalia	120	0.2	1709	2.8	3532	5.0	3412
Bosnia-Herzegovina	17	0.0	1620	2.7	1974	2.8	1957
Other	12 718	24.5	14 903	24.6	18 331	26.2	5613
Total immigrants in distressed areas	51 987	100.0	60 627	100.0	70 064	100.0	18 077

Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

to an overall population increase of nearly 9300. In fact, the relative reduction of people with a Swedish background has been somewhat greater than is indicated by these figures. The number of residents having Swedish-born parents has declined by nearly 12 000, indicating an increase both of immigrants and second-generation immigrants.

The selective out- and in-migration has not only affected the general balance between Swedish- and foreign-born residents; it has also altered the ethnic composition among immigrants. Along with Swedish-born households, Finns, Greeks, Chileans and Poles are also fewer in 2000 compared to the situation 10 years earlier, while people originating in Iraq, Somalia, Bosnia, Ethiopia, Syria and Iran, all being recent refugee immigrants to Sweden, have each increased by

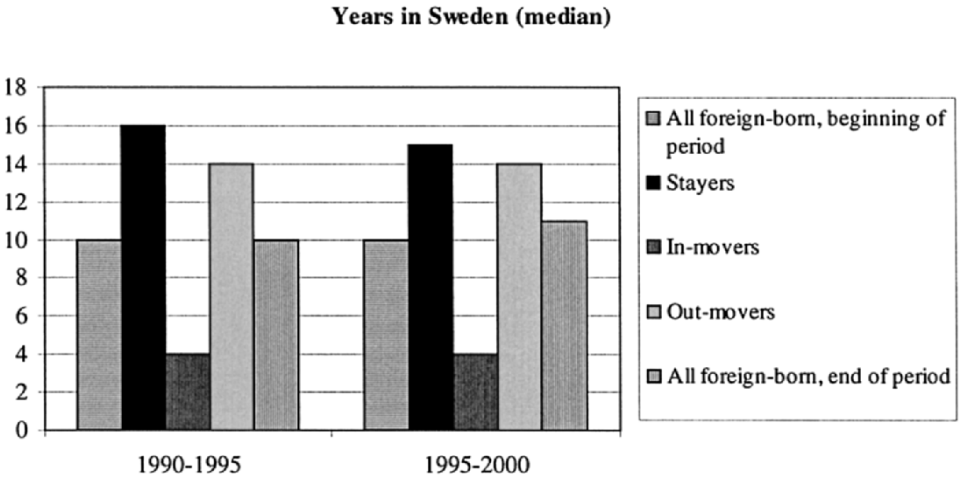

Figure 11. Years since immigration (median) for the immigrant population of the stayer, in-mover and out-mover groups of the 1990–95 period and 1995–2000 period respectively.
Source: GEOSWEDE00. Institute for Housing & Urban Research, Uppsala University.

more than 1000 during the decade. This alone seems to indicate that relatively well-established immigrant groups are leaving the areas, to be replaced by more recently arrived groups.

That this is indeed the case can be seen in Figure 11, where the median number of years in Sweden is compared for the immigrant part of the stayer, in-mover and out-mover groups. First, it can be seen that the pattern is relatively stable over the two periods. The median for all immigrants in the distressed areas is stable at around 10–11 years during the 10-year period, despite high residential turnover. The changes are also relatively small for the mover/stayer groups. The difference between the stayers and the out-movers, on the one hand, and the in-migrants, on the other, is salient. On average, the in-movers have been living in Sweden for only four years at the end of each period. It is of course only natural that the figures for the stayer and out-mover groups are relatively high; to belong to one of these groups one must have spent at least five years in Sweden, but that does not imply that the figures for the in-movers have to be lower. They could, hypothetically, be higher in this group if it consisted of immigrants moving into the distressed neighbourhoods from other residential areas (increased ethnic clustering). In this case, however, the only reason for these very low figures is an inflow of new immigrants coming directly from abroad.

Therefore, it can be concluded that there are two processes working against the political aim of increasing integration by improving language skills. The share of native Swedes is decreasing, as residents with a Swedish background move out and are replaced by first- and second-generation immigrants. At the same time, immigrants who move out have spent a relatively long time in Sweden, and it can therefore be assumed that they are fairly well integrated and

have quite good language skills, while a large proportion of the in-moving immigrants come to the distressed neighbourhood directly on, or soon after, entry into Sweden.

Conclusions

To sum up, the analysis clearly indicates that the migration flows of the distressed neighbourhoods in Stockholm are indeed selective. The people that moved in during the 1990s are more likely to be unemployed and dependent on social benefits and on average have lower incomes than those who have moved out and those who have remained in the neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the in-migrants are generally more recent immigrants to Sweden than the other groups, and are thus assumed to be less well integrated into Swedish society. The simultaneous outflow of relatively well-off residents and inflow of weaker and more marginalised groups has the effect of reproducing the distressed character of the neighbourhoods. Consequently, the character of the migration flows poses crucial problems for the area-based intervention insofar as the overall aim is to stop segregation. It may very well be the case that the policy succeeds in countering the effects of segregation for individual households (who move out to 'better' local contexts), but it is unable to make an imprint in the structural hierarchy of residential areas that tend to be reproduced by socio-economically and ethnically selective flows of residential migration. Some of the areas studied were already receiving support during the later half of the 1990s, through the previous version of the area-based programme. Although no attempt has been made to differentiate between these areas and those that were not targeted, it is likely that the selective migration has continued, despite the policy intervention. That this is in fact the case is shown by the national evaluation of the Metropolitan Development Initiative (Integrationsverket, 2001, 2002).

It might seem a paradox that neighbourhoods that are very unstable at the individual level are at the same time highly stable at the structural level, but it can be argued that this condition is not unique to distressed neighbourhoods. For future research it is crucial to be aware of the dynamics occurring in different spheres of social life. Researchers have had a tendency to overlook the fact that structural stability (for instance in levels of residential segregation, employment levels and household structure) can be the case even if the lives of individual citizens are highly dynamic. The use of longitudinal data offers an escape from some of the problems facing researchers trying to understand social structures and processes.

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