Nordic Council of Ministers

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Preamble

The Nordic countries are similar to each other in many ways. They are peripheral and sparsely populated welfare states where the urban structures are dominated by small and medium-sized cities. There are also similarities when it comes to residential segregation, which is some-thing that has been debated and is often referred to when discussing welfare, socio-economic inequality and immigration.

While it is possible to talk about a Nordic welfare model, there are differences in housing policy and post-war urban development, for example, that illustrate the significance of national and local politics and that make the Nordic context particularly interesting. Segregated cities challenge Nordic self-image and ideals.

This report is part of a section on segregation within the project Nordic collaboration for integration. The project aims to facilitate collaboration between the Nordic countries when it comes to the integration of refugees and migrants – an initiative from the Nordic Council of Ministers. The Nordic Welfare Centre is cooperating with Nordregio for the project and would like to give its profound thanks to the author Moa Tunström.

Eva Franzén, Director, Nordic Welfare Centre

Photo: Joakim K E Johansson

Please note that this publication is largely based on a previously published report from Nordregio, Segregated cities and planning for social sustainability - a Nordic perspective (Nordregio Working Paper 2016:3). Parts of the report have been abbreviated and edited. In addition, new maps have been made by Shinan Wang, Nordregio.

The original report was written by Moa Tunström, Timothy Anderson and Liisa Perjo at Nordregio, and can be downloaded from **www.nordregio.org**

Segregation as a challenge to the self-perception of the Nordics

In its most common usage, urban segregation refers to the separation of social groups at the residential level of an urban area. Issues related to segregation and integration are major responsibilities and challenges for cities, and a segregated urban environment can be understood as a symptom of wider social injustices. While demographic changes in European cities of course bring new skills, jobs, opportunities, and lifestyles, they also confront planners and public actors with challenges of discrimination and inequalities. People migrate as refugees from conflict zones, for work opportunities and better life chances, or from rural areas to urban areas within their own country.

In this brief overview of current research on residential segregation the focus is on structural reasons to segregation. This means that it is planning policies and tendencies in socio-economic development that are discussed, rather than specific social integration measures and projects. But, there is an obvious arena where these two approaches to segregation meet, and that is in the local community and its spaces for social interaction. This is important to keep in mind, that the integrated city is both a result of strategies and initiatives on a micro scale, in the neighbourhood and between individuals, and initiatives and development on a macro scale. It is also important to remember that strategies that has been considered successful in a particular city or urban district can be difficult to copy. Cities and districts are not exact copies of each other, and they are governed in different ways. This has implications on what kind of integration policy that is needed or considered successful.

The Nordic countries are similar in many respects. They are remote, sparsely populated welfare states that contain small and medium-sized cities and there are similarities with respect to patterns of urban segregation. Results from a range of studies indicate that urban segregation is increasing in the Nordics, and this is commonly understood as a hindrance to public service efficacy, economic growth and social sustainability.

In their overview of ethnic residential segregation in the Nordic countries excluding Iceland, Andersson et al (2010) note of Sweden: "ethnic residential segregation is a salient feature of all larger Swedish cities". They conclude that Sweden as a country is positive towards immigrants but that there is an ongoing debate about more restrictive policies and report the difficulties for new immigrants in, for example, finding housing and employment. A few years later, this statement must be seen in the light of how both global political developments and the public debate on immigration in Europe and Sweden have developed since 2010 and of the move from a debate on restrictive policies into a restrictive practice.

Cities and districts are not exact copies of each other, and they are governed in different ways. This has implications on what kind of integration policy that is needed or considered successful

With reference to Denmark, the same report highlights the increasing segmentation in the housing market over the past 30 years, where income levels and tenure forms correlate (Andersson et al 2010). In Norway, Andersson et al (2010) conclude that there is an "ethnic divide" in economic and social integration patterns. Finally, Finland is a slightly different case, because it is only in recent years that immigration has increased. However, this increase has coincided with the economic recession, resulting in "growing social differentiation, the aging of the population and increasing ethnic diversity" (Andersson et al 2010).

Segregation in Nordic cities challenges ideals of egalitarianism and justice often associated with this region, and presents Nordic urban planners with the complex task to navigate the different needs and desires of an increasingly diverse and dynamic population.

The many indicators

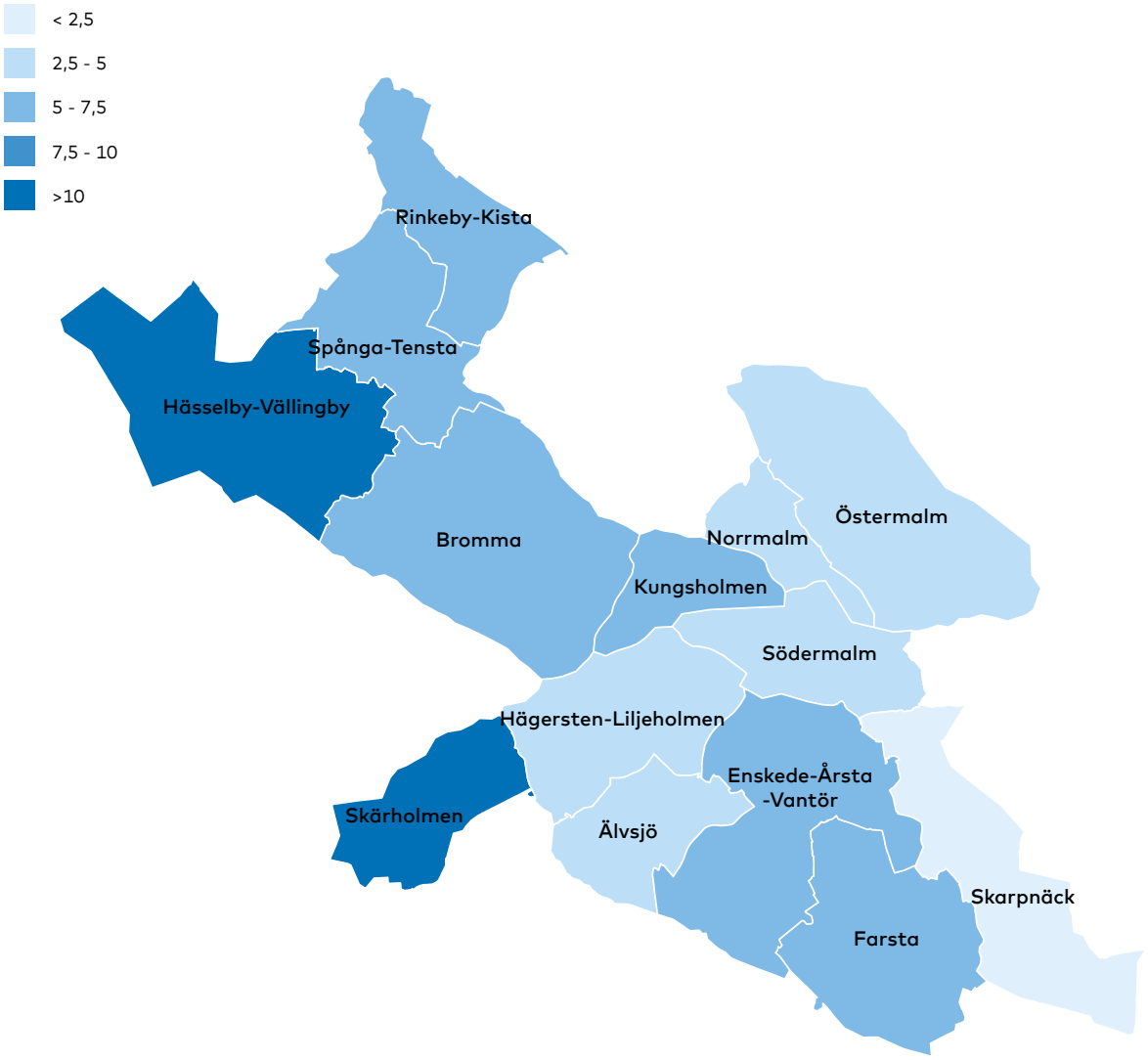
Because segregation is an inevitably complex, fluid phenomenon, it can be difficult to determine what scales and what variables are important for addressing the topic. For example, mapping share of population with foreign background at the regional level may reveal very different findings from mapping it at the district or neighbourhood level. Zooming out too far can obscure the most intense patterns of wealth and deprivation, while a narrow focus on one neighbourhood can miss wider urban or regional patterns. Moreover, defining what constitutes a minority group or relative poverty can be a contentious process. The maps in this publication illustrate the segregated Nordic cities using income and share of population with foreign background as indicators, on a district level. Both these indicators are common in the urban segregation policy and research context.

Exploring segregation in Copenhagen, Andersen (2010) measures the phenomenon through an analysis of the distribution of dwellings and neighbourhood types across income groups. This type of housing/income analysis is the most common.

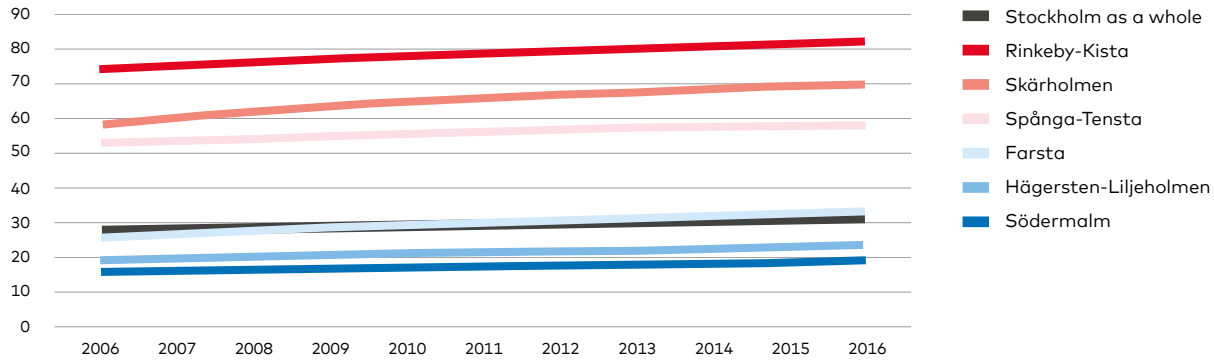
A number of studies on Nordic segregation instead address labour market mobility (Aldén & Hammarstedt 2014; Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2012; Wessel 2013) and immigration (Dhalmann 2013; Jørgensen 2015; Kauppinen 2002; Lödén 2008) as key issues that have consequences for residential divisions. One example is Wessel, who provides a critical analysis of the lopsided labour market in Oslo, concluding that "men rather than women, and Western immigrants rather than non-Western immigrants, converge towards employment in high-profit businesses" (Wessel 2013), trends that align with growing income inequality and segregation in the city. Furthermore, the segregation of schools is a growing problem, and a general movement towards increased school choice has had the side effect of enhancing this (Rangvid 2007; Trumberg 2011).

Indeed, in Copenhagen, Rangvid (2007) estimates that "[ethnic] school segregation … for some student groups [reaches] levels comparable to the extreme segregation typical for US cities". In Sweden's case, Bunar (2010) and Szulkin and Jonsson (2007) note that ethnic segregation in urban schools has been increasing, and they suggest a need for public policy to increase ethnic and social mix in classrooms. In contrast, Poikolainen (2012) finds that school choice and school segregation are less pressing concerns in Finland, where there remains a high level of trust in local comprehensive schools. However, results from more recent research projects point to the increasing school segregation also in Finland (Bernelius 2013; Seppänen 2015).

1. Change in share of population with foreign background* in Stockholm 2006-2016, in percent



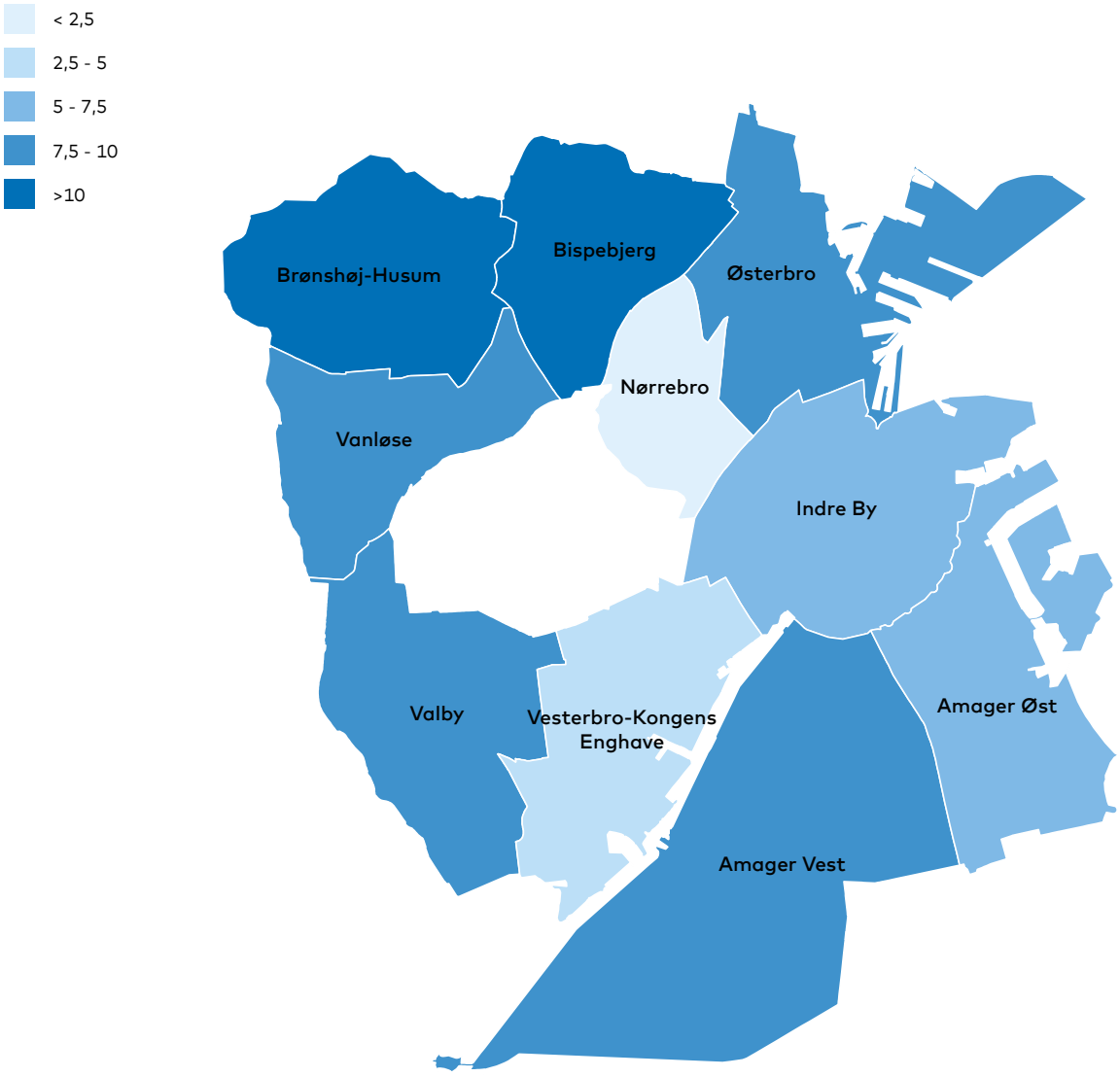
1.1. Share of the population with foreign background 2006-2016



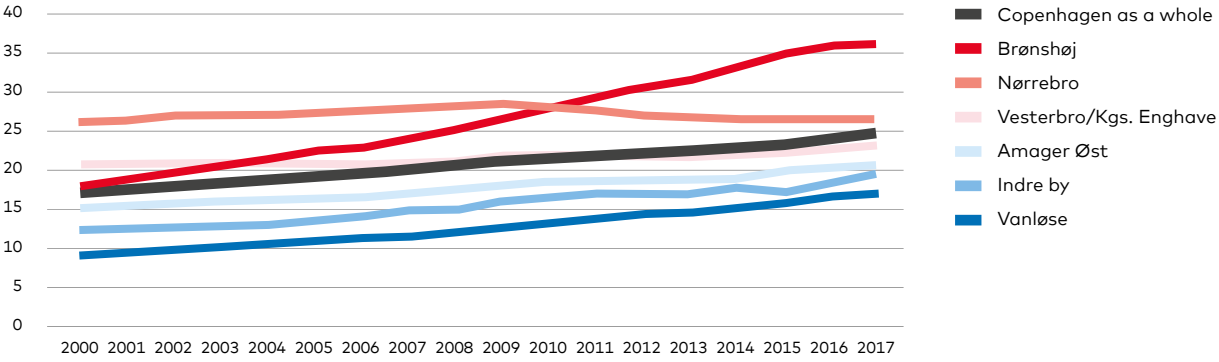
*The population consist of immigrants and Swedish-born with immigrated parents. Stockholm average: 5,1. Data source: Stockholms stad; Open data Stockholm. NR02306a © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart and chart, see page 34**

2. Change in share of population with foreign background* in Copenhagen 2000-2017, in percent

Nordregio

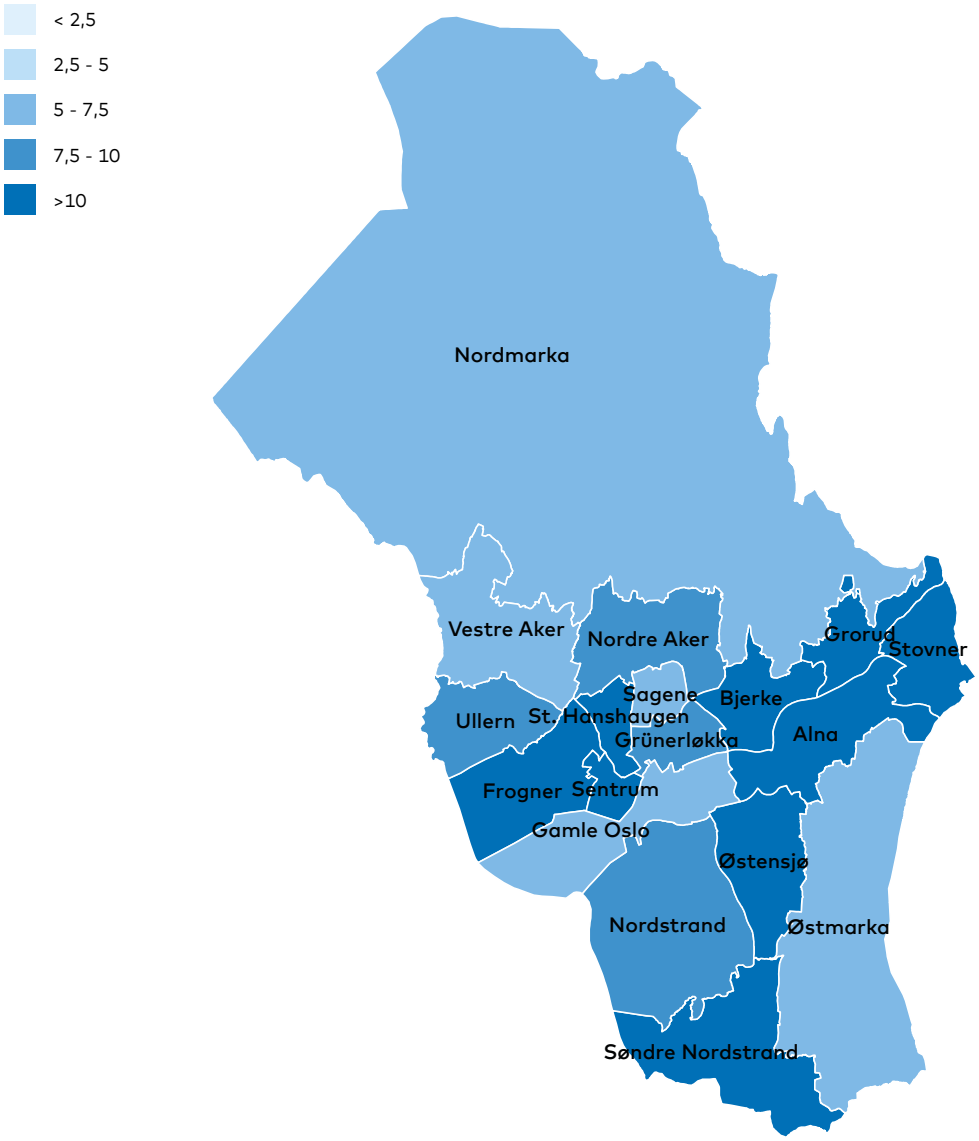


2.1. Share of the population with foreign background 2000-2017

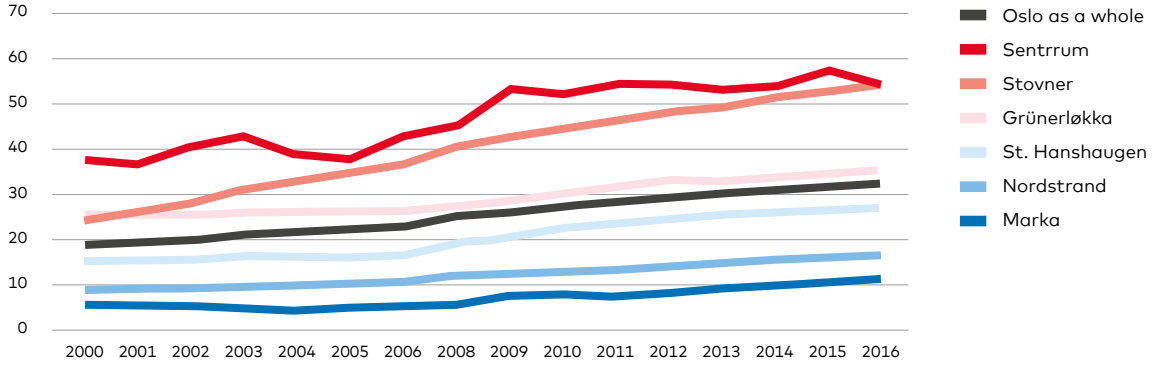


*The population consist of immigrants and Danish-born with immigrated parents. Copenhagen average: 7,3. Data source: Københavns kommune; Open data Copenhagen. NR02306b © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 34**

3. Change in share of population with foreign background* in Oslo 2000-2016, in percent

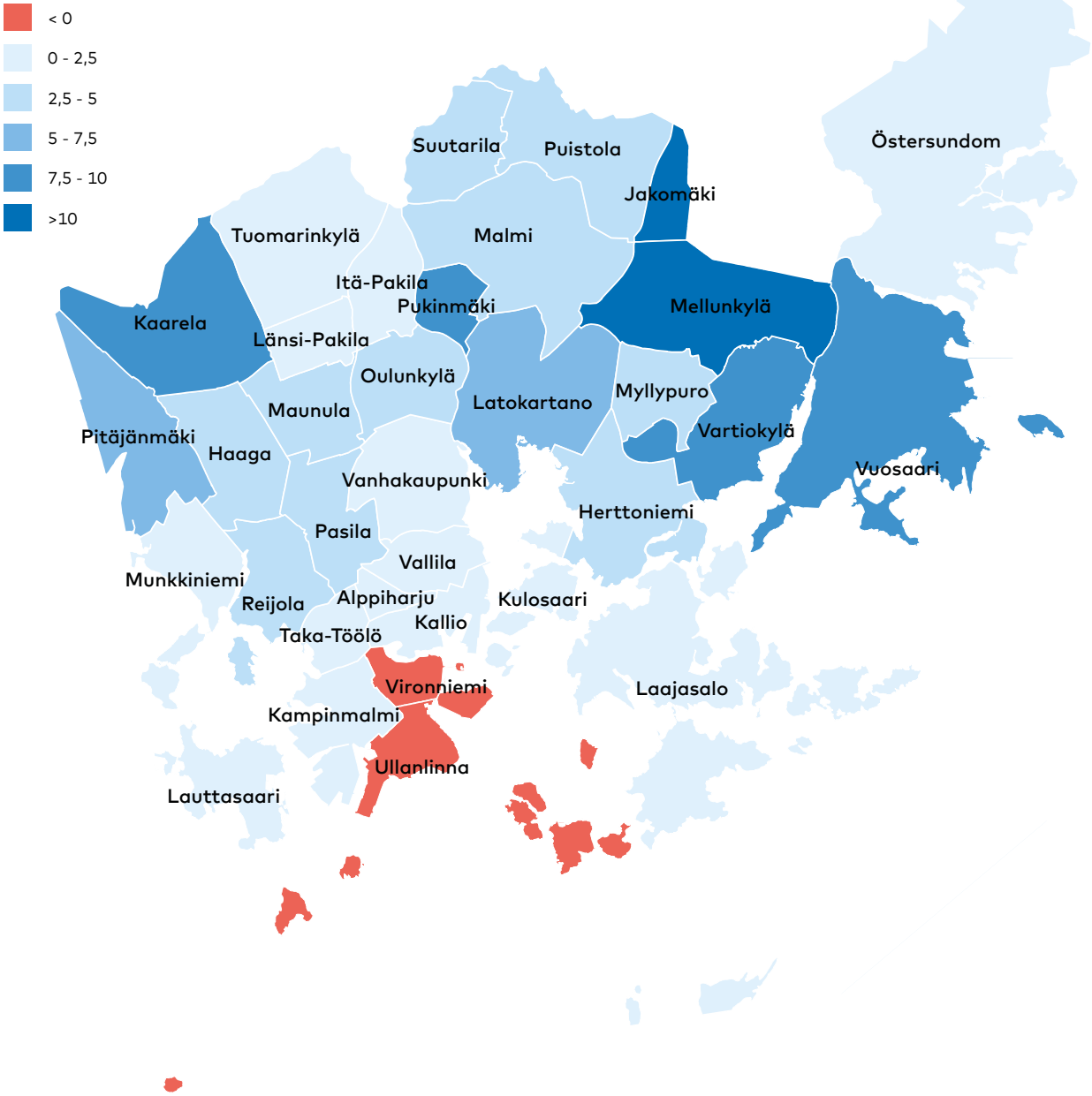


3.1. Share of the population with foreign background 2000-2016

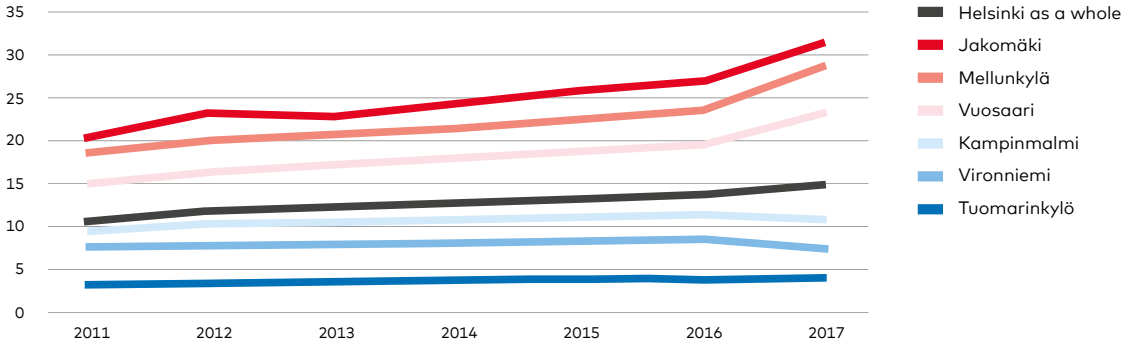


*The population consist of immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrated parents. Oslo average: 13,9 Data source: Oslo kommune; Open data Oslo. NR02306c © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 34**

4. Change in share of population with foreign background* in Helsinki 2011-2017, in percent



4.1. Share of the population with foreign background



*The population consist of immigrants and Finnish-born with immigrated parents. Helsinki average: 4,2. Data source: Helsinki alueittain; Map service of city of Helsinki. NR02306d © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 34**

Studies commonly focus on the concentrations of immigrants and ethnic minorities as indicators of segregation. Spatial isolation trends are most pronounced in Sweden among the Nordic countries, where ethnic residential segregation in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Malmö is among the most extreme in Europe (Östh et al 2015). Economic inequality is also rising in tandem with segregation in the Nordic countries (ESPON 2014). In Denmark, we can also see a high level of segregation between ethnic and socio-economic groups, particularly in Copenhagen (Andersen 2010). Several scholars have observed that this division is most notable when comparing residents of rental housing (and particularly social housing) with residents of owner-occupied housing (Andersen 2010; Christensen 2015; Jørgensen 2015). In addition to being spatially isolated from white Danes, those from an immigrant background from outside the EU and North America experience a notably higher rate of unemployment and relative poverty (Jørgensen 2015).

In Norway, research indicates that both ethnic and socio-economic residential segregation is an increasingly significant problem (Andersson et al 2010; Søholt et al 2012; Turner & Wessel 2013; Wessel 2015). In general, research has focused on Oslo, because the city has experienced a significant degree of demographic change and growing inequality compared with other urban areas of the country. Turner and Wessel (2013) note a "majority/minority [ethnic] gap in settlement behaviour", as many residents of a non-European background (particularly Somalis, Iraqis, and Moroccans) remain concentrated in rental housing and/or in generally poor districts of the city. In his most recent assessment of Oslo, Wessel (2015) contends that "income inequality and … ethnic segregation" have both increased significantly since 2005.

In Finland, residential segregation has not received the same attention as in Sweden or Denmark and segregation research mainly focuses on Helsinki. It is generally agreed among researchers that segregation in Helsinki is not as marked as in many other northern European major cities; however, it is still noted that socio-economic and ethnic segregation have been increasing since the economic crises that hit Finland in the 1990s (Vaattovaara & Kortteinen 2012; Vilkama et al 2014).

With respect to ethnicity, segregation in the Helsinki city-region started to intensify during the 2000s, when both the number of immigrants in Finland in general and the ethnic differences between areas grew (Vilkama 2011). Vilkama et al (2014) examine the changes in average incomes, the level of education of the native population, employment rates, and the proportion of foreign-language-speaking residents in the Helsinki city-region between 2002 and 2012. They report that in general, the average income and education levels of both the native population and the foreign-language-speaking population increased in nearly all neighbourhoods across the city-region. However, their results show differences in the "rate of change" (Vilkama et al 2014). As an example, they describe how average incomes and education levels increased most in neighbourhoods with already average or high income and education levels, which implies an increase in the gap between the well-off and socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods (Vilkama et al 2014). In other words, social mobility appears to be decreasing. Socio-economic deprivation is concentrated in specific areas and low incomes, low education levels, high unemployment rates, and high proportions of foreign-language-speaking residents are largely found combined in the same neighbourhoods (Vilkama et al 2014). Kortteinen and Vaattovaara (2007) note that in addition to socially excluded populations increasingly being concentrated in certain areas, the wealthiest groups are also increasingly concentrated in certain areas of the Helsinki city-region.

Iceland has only a small share of immigration but already shows patterns of spatial isolation among its immigrant/minority populations. Sindradóttir and Júlíusdóttir (2008) note that "the mapping of residential patterns indicates an emerging tendency towards segregation and [the] concentration of foreign citizens in the urban area [of Reykjavík]". They argue that this must be understood as an ongoing process that is unlikely to improve without intervention or redistribution of some kind in Reykjavík's housing market.

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Who are actually segregated?

It is important to note that despite our focus here on residents with a foreign background scholars are increasingly pointing to the fact that "the highest social strata appear to be the most segregated" in the Nordic capital cities (Marcińczak et al 2015). For example, Stockholm's poorer suburbs are quite ethnically diverse, incorporating both newly arrived and long-standing populations from south-eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, East Asia, and South America (Åslund et al 2010).

The most distinguishing characteristic of these populations is that they are not white Swedes, and partly because of this, they are cast within a narrative of difference that treats them as a uniquely problematic population. There is increasing evidence (see Andersson 2013; Östh et al 2015) that the movement patterns of the wealthiest and most advantaged groups play the largest role in shaping the housing market and demographic distribution throughout Nordic cities. Still, many articles on segregation focus on the plight of immigrants and ethnic minorities and little effort is made to problematize and assess the role of wealthier locals in contributing to segregationist patterns. Some exceptions to this trend include Rodenstedt (2014), who critiques "the socio-spatial reproduction of upper-middle class neighbourhoods in Malmö" and Andersson (2013), who has written about the potential role of *white flight* and *white avoidance* in creating spaces of privilege and homogeneity in Stockholm.

The movement patterns of the wealthiest and most advantaged groups play the largest role in shaping the housing market and demographic distribution throughout Nordic cities

In a study of mothers with small children in Örebro, Sweden, Lilja (2015) found that discourses of urban polarization and immigration as a problem influenced their choices of where to raise their children. Despite expressing a desire for their children to experience a "culturally and socially diverse neighbourhood, when the mothers disclosed concrete decisions regarding the upbringing of their children, they instead said that they avoided such neighbourhoods" (Lilja 2015).

The importance of housing policy

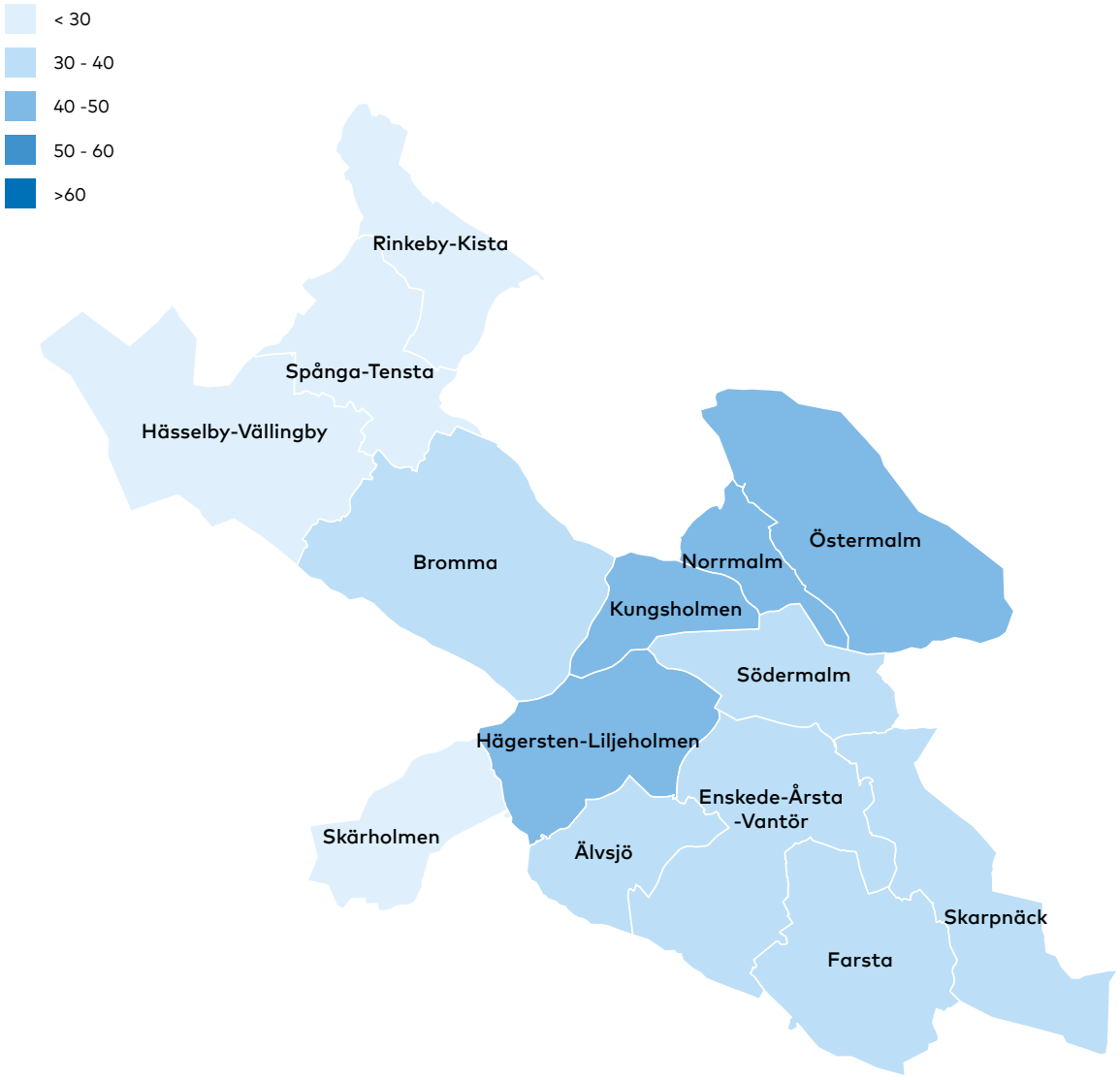
Despite having broadly similar welfare states, housing policy throughout the Nordic countries varies. The housing market refers to the buying, selling, and renting of different dwellings, as well as the cases in which there are combinations of buying and renting. Housing accessibility is of critical importance to urban integration. How does one enter the housing market as a newly arrived resident in a city in the Nordic countries? The answer to this is key to understanding segregation patterns, and the public housing companies – and other actors on the housing market – are key actors in the integration process. They have both local knowledge and local authority and can therefore influence the development in a neighbourhood to a high degree.

In Finland there are more tenure forms than in the other countries and these forms mix ownership and rental in various ways. In addition, social housing does not exist explicitly in Sweden, while in Denmark and Norway, the terms social housing and public housing refer to the same types of rent-subsidized dwellings. Public housing holds different positions in the respective countries, in short it is more or less stigmatized. The issue of who acts as landlord can also be important, because it indicates the relevant actors in the housing market. In Norway, private individuals are significant landlords; in Sweden, the municipal housing companies are key actors. Public housing in Sweden is municipal housing, whereas in Denmark and Finland, unions or non-profit organizations can act as public housing landlords.

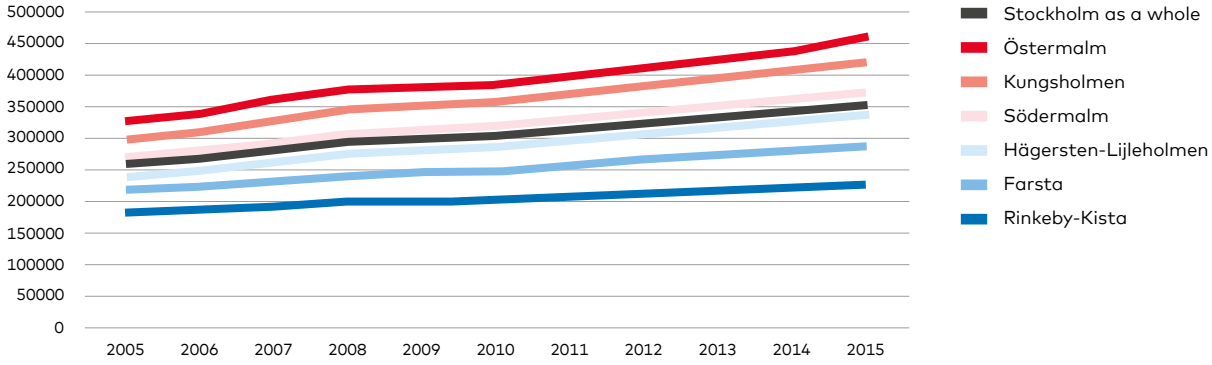
The structure and functionality of the housing market is of great importance in terms of where immigrants settle. Is the housing market dominated by ownership? Is there private renting or social housing? Settlement policies are also related to the responsibilities of the municipalities and thereby to the responsibilities of the public housing system. For example, the possibility of newly arrived migrants establishing themselves in the housing market in Sweden would be minimal if the public housing companies had strict demands on income or permanent employment, according to the Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning.

In relation to housing policy, a strong theme in the literature on Nordic segregation is market segmentation. Market segmentation occurs when "different tenures to a great extent are made available and attractive for different households, for example divided by income and family situation" (Andersson et al 2010). While low-income groups tend to cluster in public housing, high-income groups tend to cluster in owner-occupied housing. This tenure segmentation "often results in [the] spatial segregation of immigrants" (Andersen et al 2013). The policy response to market segmentation is often some kind of social mix policy, i.e. the mixing of tenure forms in housing.

5. Change in mean income*
Stockholm 2005-2015, in percent



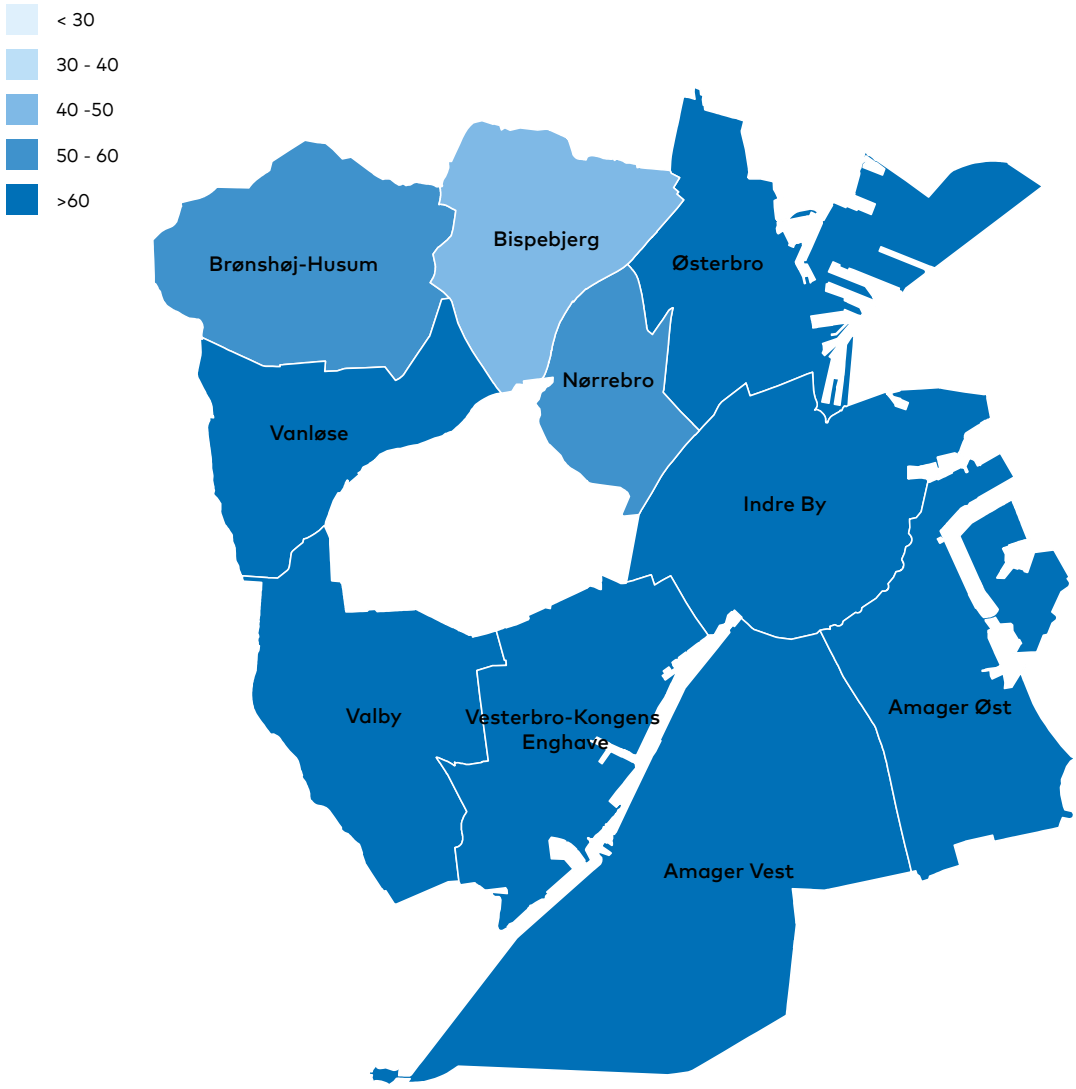
5.1. Median income in SEK of the population aged 16 and over, 2005-2015



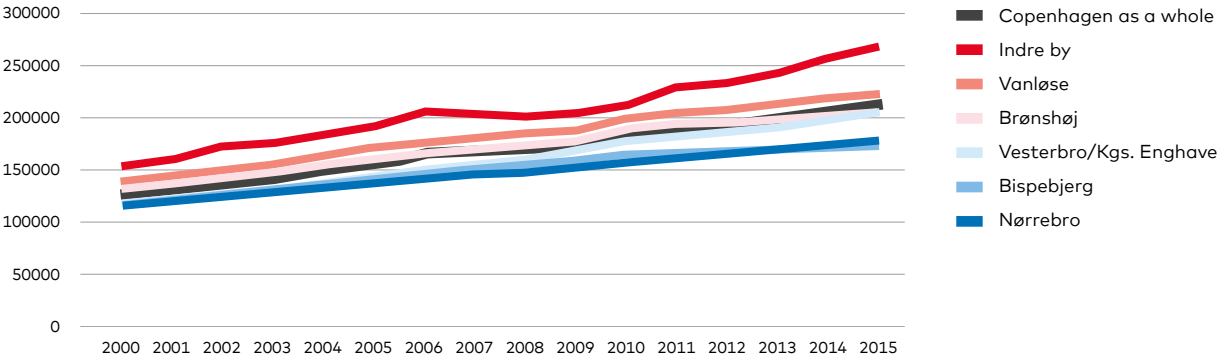
*Income refers to the total earned income. Stockholm average: 35,1. Data source: Stockholms stad; Open data Stockholm. NR0372a © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 35**

6. Change in mean disposable income Copenhagen 2000-2015, in percent

Nordregio

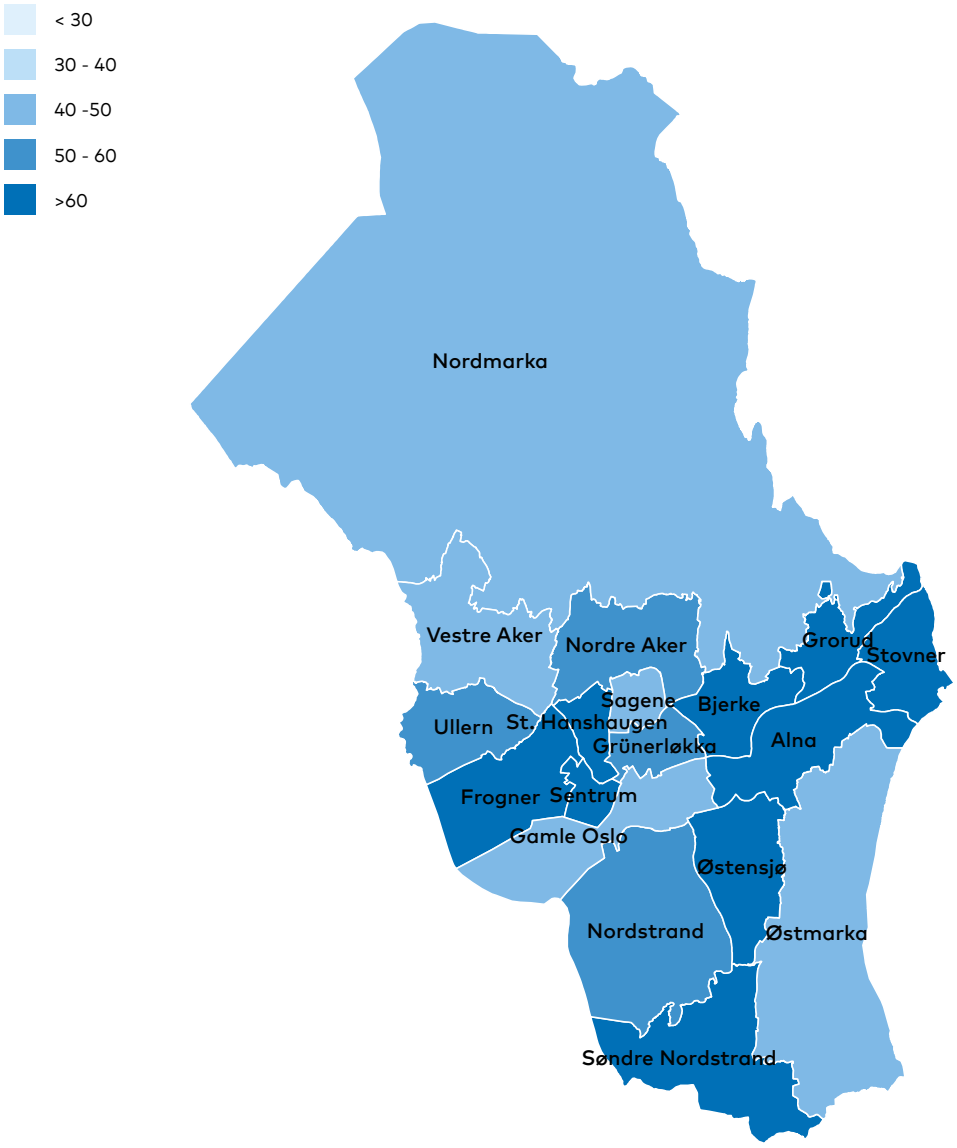


6.1. Mean disposable income in DKK, 2000-2015

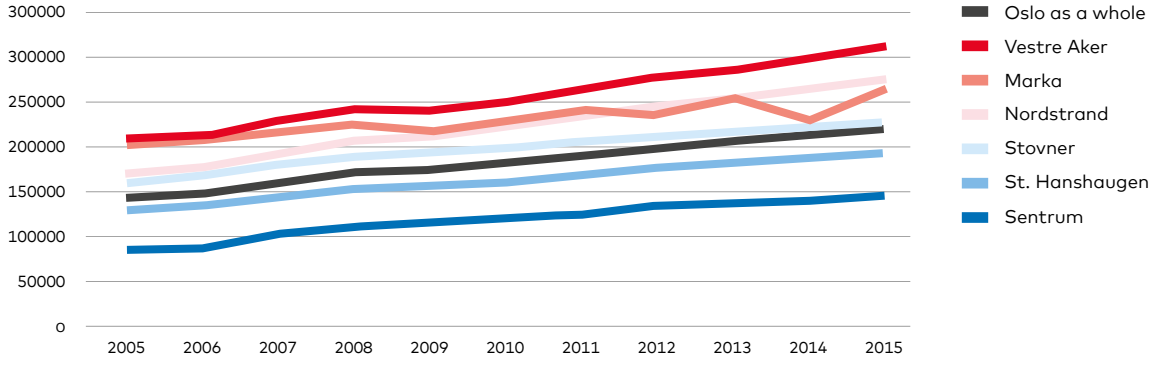


Copenhagen average: 65,4. Data source: Københavns kommune; Open data Copenhagen. NR0372b © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 35**

7. Change in median income*
Oslo 2000-2016, in percent

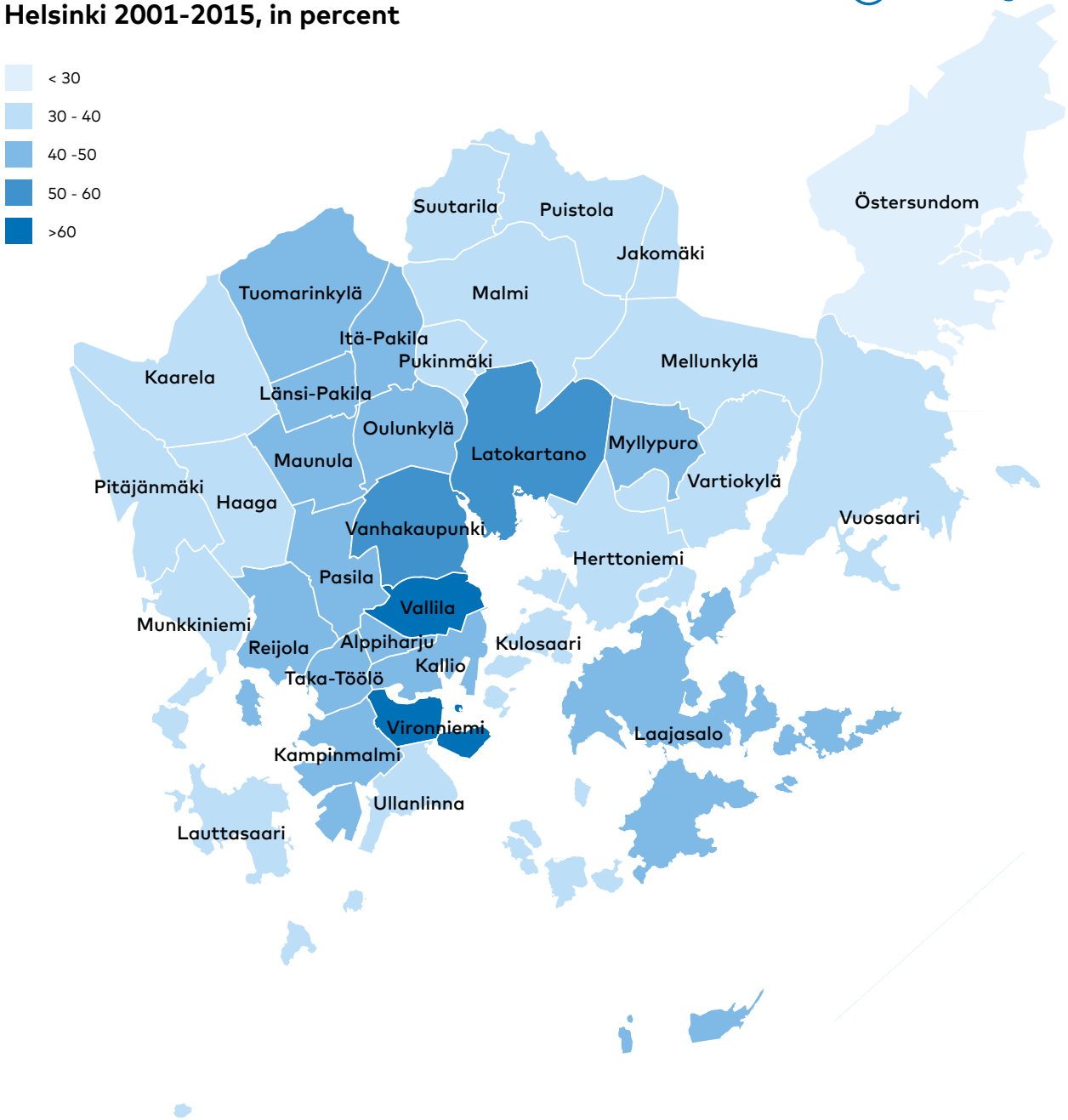


7.1. Median income in NOK after tax, 2005-2015

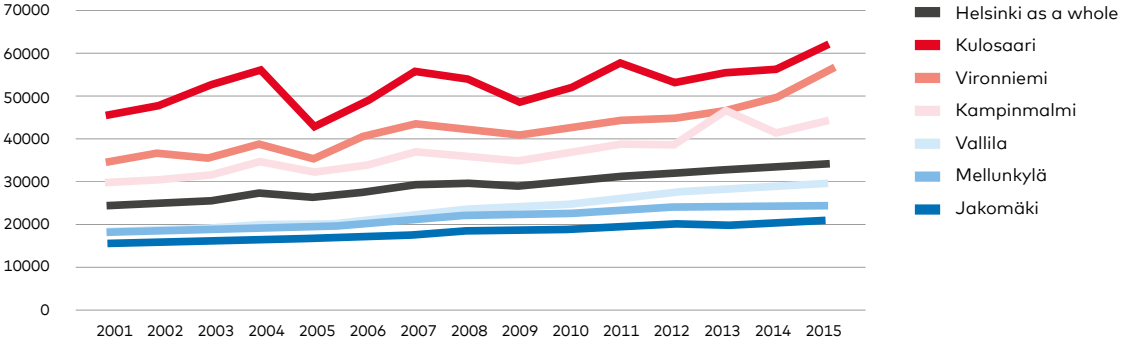


*Income after tax refer to the total income where tax and negative transfers are deducted. Oslo average: 54,2. Data source: Oslo kommune; Open data Oslo. NR0372c © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 35**

8. Change in mean income*
Helsinki 2001-2015, in percent



8.1. Mean income in euro of the population aged 15 years old and over, 2001-2015



*Income refers to earnings for the tax payer population aged 15 years old and over; Östersundom: data for 2008-2015. Helsinki average: 39,8. Data source: Statistics Finland; Map service of city of Helsinki. NR0372d © Nordregio & NLS Finland for administrative boundaries. **Description of map and chart, see page 35**

Tenure forms in the Nordic countries

Country	Tenure forms, apart from owner-occupancy	What is social housing?	Who are the main landlords in rental housing?
Denmark	Co-operative ownership, public and private rental	Low-cost rental public housing accessible for everyone	Non-profit organizations, unions, etc.
Finland	Public rental, private rental, a small share of part-ownership housing (rental that can become owner-occupancy), a small share of so called right of occupancy housing (a form of rental housing)	Public rental, needs-tested, and subsidized	Private (laypersons, small scale), municipalities, non-profit organizations, foundations
Iceland	A small share of public and private rental	Owner-occupied housing with affordable loans, and a small share of public rental housing	Municipalities, associations, private landlords (companies, laymen)
Norway	Private rental, a small share of public rental	Needs-tested public rental housing	Private (laypersons) landlords (companies, organizations, individuals), municipalities (small share)
Sweden	Co-operative ownership, public and private rental	1) Individual, needs-tested rent subsidies 2) Small share of rental housing with the municipality as contract holder, distributed to households on a trial basis. Needs-tested, with strict conditions	Municipalities, private landlords (companies, organizations, associations, laypersons)

The key differences between tenure forms that influence segregation patterns and relevant measures for increased integration in the Nordic countries. For an in-depth discussion about housing policies in the Nordic countries, see Bengtsson et al (2013).

In Stockholm, low-income, marginalized areas are dominated by public rental apartments (Christophers 2013). Needs-tested social housing of the kind found in Finland and Norway does not exist in Sweden; instead, there is a system of needs-tested welfare payments that are distributed to the households (bostadsbidrag). Christophers (2013) calls the modern Swedish housing regime a "monstrous hybrid" that fuses egalitarian legacy with potent Anglo-American neoliberalism. He contends that this movement towards neoliberalization reveals the "pivotal role currently being played by the Swedish housing system in the creation, reproduction, and intensification of socio-economic inequality" (Christophers 2013). The shrinking of the Swedish rental sector, particularly in Stockholm's inner city, has been important for the gentrification process, cultivating an inner-city population that is overwhelmingly wealthy and white (Andersson & Turner 2014). However, public rentals (and private rentals to a lesser extent) remain dominant in Sweden's poor, peripheral suburbs (Andersson et al 2010; Lind 2015; Öresjö et al 2005). However, it should be noted that segregation and stigmatization do not necessarily correlate with poor-quality housing.

In Denmark, Christensen (2015) notes that "housing policy has contributed significantly to [urban] segregation". Rental housing comprises about 40 percent of the total housing stock and is split relatively evenly between social housing (which is explicitly subsidized and rent controlled although not reserved only for low-income groups) and private rental housing (Andersen 2010). Great pressure has been placed on the social housing sector, particularly in Copenhagen, and because of the lengthy waiting lists, it is extremely difficult for immigrants and low-income groups to access these homes. Moreover, there has been a steady increase in the difference in average household incomes between the owner-occupied and the rented sectors (Christensen 2015). Christensen (2015) points to the tax subsidies given to residents of owner-occupied housing as a mechanism that exacerbates this increasing inequality in the housing market. In principle, while being subsidized, Denmark's social housing is open to all residents. However, incomes are lowest, by a large margin, for those who live in social housing (Andersen 2010; Andersen et al 2013). In addition, those in social housing often struggle to enter the private market, and this difficulty in the housing market correlates with unemployment and relative economic deprivation (Andersson et al 2010).

In contrast to Sweden and Denmark, most housing in Norway is deregulated, and the country holds only a very small share of public rental housing, functioning as social housing. The total rental sector only makes up approximately 23 percent of the housing stock, and social housing makes up less than 5 percent of the total. Home ownership has been politically emphasized as "the most desirable kind of housing for all" (Andersen et al 2013). This indicates that Norway has the most stratified housing market of any of the Nordic states and housing mobility is low. Andersen et al note that this provides a "fertile environment for discrimination", as immigrants and ethnic minorities struggle to access housing and frequently settle for overcrowded or economically exploitative living conditions (Andersen et al 2013).

In Finland, research on migration between Helsinki city-region neighbourhoods in the 2000s (e.g., Dhalmann et al 2013; Vilkama 2011; Vilkama & Vaattovaara, 2015) shows that the new geographical structure established in the Helsinki city-region in terms of social and ethnic differences relates to migration within the region. Indications of selective migration have been observed, and the reasons behind the decisions of the native middle-class population to leave or stay in socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods have been studied (Dhalmann et al 2013; Vilkama & Vaattovaara 2015). The residential preferences of immigrant groups have also been investigated (e.g., Dhalmann, 2013). As in the other Nordic capital cities, Helsinki's foreign-background population is concentrated in low-income areas with a high share of rental housing (Vilkama, 2011).

In contrast to Sweden and Denmark, most housing in Norway is deregulated, and the country holds only a very small share of public rental housing, functioning as social housing

Writing in 2002, Kauppinen hypothesized that "social housing [could] explain [immigrant] settlement patterns" in the city, warning of an apparent dependence on subsidized housing that could grow more severe with time (Kauppinen 2002). Vaattovaara and Kortteinen (2012) point out that Helsinki differs from other European cities in that poverty and social exclusion are frequently concentrated in specific buildings or blocks instead of entire neighbourhoods. They see this as a consequence of the systematic policy of mixing tenure forms that the City of Helsinki has been implementing since the 1960s. Instead of being a reactive desegregation policy, this mixing policy is considered to be more preventive in nature (Dhalmann & Vilkama 2009).

Housing for refugees and asylum seekers

An additional housing policy that is of importance for residential segregation concerns settlement policies for refugees and asylum seekers, and whether and how housing is distributed to those receiving residence permits. According to Andersson et al (2010), there are a few decisive differences. One consequence of the Swedish system where refugees and asylum seekers can settle where they want if they can arrange their own housing has been that many immigrants have moved to the larger cities and live in crowded conditions (Boverket 2015; Myrberg 2012). The system has turned out to be very dependent on such as lodging with relatives and illegal subletting (Boverket 2015). Clearly, this is an issue that is believed to influence urban social sustainability in the long term. In 2015, the Swedish Board of Housing, Building and Planning published a report on housing conditions for newly arrived migrants and asylum seekers who arrange their own housing (Boverket 2015). Based on municipal case studies, they conclude that the social consequences are very negative in many cases and that changes are needed, with respect to both the policy on the right to arrange your own housing and more broadly concerning the role of the state in securing affordable housing. In an investigation submitted to the Swedish government in 2018 it is proposed that the policy on the right to arrange your own housing should become more restrictive (SOU 2018:22).

One consequence of the Danish and Finnish systems is that immigrants are concentrated to a high degree in social housing

In Norway, the system is similar to Sweden in the sense that immigrants are free to settle where they want if they can support themselves and find housing (Andersson et al 2010). However, they risk losing their economic support if they settle in a municipality other than the one they were placed in.

In Denmark and Finland, asylum seekers who have received residence permits are allocated to certain municipalities to create an equal distribution rather than a concentration in certain cities, municipalities, or districts. The Danish local authorities are then obliged to assign a permanent dwelling for the refugee, often social housing (Andersson et al 2010). Compared with Sweden then, Finland and Denmark exercise stricter control of the municipalities, but this also means a more restricted situation for the individual. One consequence of the Danish and Finnish systems is that immigrants are concentrated to a high degree in social housing (Andersson et al 2010).

Neighbourhood effects and the built environment

In Sweden Legeby (2010; 2011; 2013) has written at length about the challenges regarding the built environment and geographical access to jobs and services in poor areas. Her work focuses on visible, physical factors and she utilizes space syntax theory in combination with a spatial analysis and information from questionnaires and observations. More specifically, her work shows that the poorest areas in Stockholm are located far from high-level employment opportunities, far from the city centre, and often far from spaces for community activities, leading to a "negative effect on the local public life" (Legeby 2011). Along with spatial mismatch, much of the literature on segregation in spatial planning relates to neighbourhood effects. This term refers to the effects that living in a particular type of neighbourhood can have on residents. If living in a particular neighbourhood can hinder opportunities for employment, education, and social mobility, then segregation and social isolation can reinforce and perpetuate each other. In contrast, upper- and middle-class neighbourhoods of course can perpetuate themselves likewise, growing more homogeneous and wealthier with time.

Assessing neighbourhood effects in the Icelandic context, Valdimarsdóttir and Bernburg (2015) use a population survey to determine the influence of neighbourhood-level social ties on crime and adherence to social norms. Their results indicate that "adolescents living in neighbourhoods characterized by concentrated disadvantage are more delinquent, net of individual-level (household) characteristics" (Valdimarsdóttir & Bernburg 2015). However, using a multilevel statistical analysis of educational neighbourhood effects in Helsinki, Kauppinen (2007) came to a different conclusion, indicating that "there [were] no neighbourhood effects on the probability that young people will complete secondary education in Helsinki" (Kauppinen 2007). He instead identifies the concentration of affluence as the most significant factor.

In a case study of the Oslo suburb of Sandvika, Norway, Røe (2014) attempts to articulate the link between physical urban planning and the more abstract 'place-making' that occurs in metropolitan neighbourhoods. Røe (2014) attests that planners overlooked the significant socio-cultural aspects involved in place-making, because municipal plans resulted in a "very strong emphasis on physical design and [a] lack of public participation". Even though accessibility to local services of course is important, this focus on the physical, visible aspects as a means to "achieve social equity and sustainability" brings with it several risks (Røe 2014). Most notably, by approaching complex issues such as segregation as one related to attractive places or architectural structure, there is a risk of encouraging gentrification and intensifying segregating movement patterns. Similarly, Dhalmann and Vilkama (2008) note that in Finland and in Finnish policy documents, "[the] residential segregation of immigrants is viewed mainly as a spatial

problem". In their estimation, this has "diverted attention away from different structural impediments that may restrain immigrants' capability to improve their own housing situations" (Dhalmann & Vilkama 2008). Despite the acknowledgement from within Finnish planning that ethnic and socio-economic segregation is a problem, there has thus far been a more limited recognition of the role of discrimination and structural disadvantage. Reflecting on an ambitious urban renewal project in

The poorest areas in Stockholm are located far from high-level employment opportunities, far from the city centre, and often far from spaces for community activities

a relatively poor neighbourhood in Copenhagen (Inner Vesterbro), Denmark, Larsen and Hansen (2008) question the good intentions of an urban development project with a sustainability profile. Uniquely, their case study involved a project "[explicitly] concerned with social issues", a re-development strategy work where residents assisted in drafting new plans (Larsen & Hansen 2008).

However, the result was a strong trend towards gentrification in the area. Housing prices increased dramatically in Vesterbro in line with the renewal, and many of the original dwellers were forced to move out by the change in housing prices.

The studies discussed above point to one of the main conflicts faced by urban planners in attempting to counteract segregation. By aiming to make areas attractive there is a high risk of making segregation and inequality more intense. This could be an argument for more small-scale and socially oriented interventions, if not replacing long-term urban development at least complementing it. For example, to counteract gentrification it is possible to choose to focus on creating non-commercial spaces – spaces for cultural exchange, education etc.

Discrimination and stigmatization

Katisko (2015) argues that "immigration policies should also be urban development policies", noting the close link between immigrant disadvantage and urban policy. This idea may initially seem provocative, but it is based on an understanding that different groups have fundamentally different experiences and advantages in urban space. For example, both Legeby (2013) and Schierup et al (2014) point out that segregation was a prime factor behind the outbreaks of rioting in Stockholm in 2013. Immigration, discrimination and stigmatization are also closely intertwined with segregation. This is partly because many disadvantages are concentrated in immigrant-background populations and also partly because there is a lack of problematizing of the actions of wealthier or more privileged groups. Moreover, the refugee crisis and the general movement towards stronger right-wing parties in most Nordic countries have created a discourse where immigrants and non-white populations are frequently stigmatized as undesirable or a burden for society (Andersson 2013; Hübinette 2014; Hübinette & Lundström 2014; Jørgensen 2015).

Writing about Copenhagen, Denmark, Larsen and Hansen (2008) note a troubling discourse that pervades discussions of immigrants and minorities in the city. Low-income groups, and especially those of a foreign background, are informally referred to as 'the trash' of the city, and there is a tacit linking of foreigners with problems.

In addition, there are housing areas in Denmark that are referred to as 'ghettos' in public discourse. The Danish government have established a so called 'ghetto list' that is updated every year, and ion the list are housing areas with a high share of residents that are unemployed, have low education and income, criminal records and non-western ethnic background. Jørgensen (2015) contends that this policy interpretation of low-income areas as ghettos is stigmatizing and irresponsible and reinforces existing patterns of segregation and discrimination.

Low-income groups, and especially those of a foreign background, are informally referred to as 'the trash' of the city, and there is a tacit linking of foreigners with problems

In both the Swedish and Norwegian housing markets, there is evidence that ethnic discrimination constrains the choices available to minorities (Ahmed & Hammarstedt 2008; Bengtsson et al 2012). Highlighting the link between structural racism and segregation in Sweden, Hübinette and Lundström (2014) argue that a powerful discourse

in the country prevents "the disentanglement of Swedishness from whiteness". They argue that some of the labour market difficulties and segregation in Swedish cities can be explained by exclusionary and discriminatory practices in Swedish society. In addition to facing discrimination in the housing and labour markets, some immigrants experience a general hostility from natives that may motivate them to self-segregate (Dhalmann & Vilkama 2008).

Finally, there are tendencies of a US style *white flight* that contribute to both ethnic and socio-economic segregation. Aldén et al (2014) identify tipping behaviours in demographic movements in Sweden when "native [Swedish] population growth in a neighbourhood discontinuously drops once the share of non-European immigrants exceeds the identified tipping point" (Aldén et al 2014).

These results imply that area-based measures targeting 'problem areas' and disadvantaged populations may not be enough to counteract the movement biases of native Nordic groups and that the issues of segregation must be discussed on a whole-city level. However, even if area-based measures and "neighbourhood effects" in research is approached with some scepticism (see also Urban 2017), in an integrated city there must be spaces for integration – as in public spaces, local communities and rooms for interaction. The planning of the local built environment therefore definitely matters.

But, there needs to be awareness of the difference between local problems, local solutions, and the problems and solutions that must be approached from the city or the society as a whole – approaching legal structures, policies and long-term urban development.

The city as a whole is segregated

This overview has mentioned several ways to understand segregation in Nordic cities, and it has pointed to specific areas where work needs to be done – and already is being done. They concern housing policy where it is necessary to lower the barriers on the housing market and increase the access to affordable housing, they concern local urban planning that can contribute to the creation of community spaces that reduce the effects of physical, economic, cultural or social barriers between individuals and groups, and finally they concern problems of discrimination of people and stigmatization of places.

In the beginning of this overview we mentioned the importance of the local neighborhood. It is in the neighborhood that housing policy and segregation patterns become visible, and it is there citizens need service, education, public spaces etc. But, in research there is quite a lot of skepticism to the effectiveness of the many local integration strategies and measures.

It is in the neighborhood that housing policy and segregation patterns become visible

Rather, it is emphasized that we need to work on the city level, and also include the social groups with resources in the equation, as well as the problem of gentrification. Finally, we can also conclude that in the work for more integrated cities, there are many actors – municipalities, housing companies, local associations and businesses.

Description of maps and charts

PAGE 9

1. The map shows the change in share of population with foreign background in Stockholm on a district level. The shading represents the increase in share of population with foreign background in percent over 2003-2016, with darker colours showing larger increase in share of population with foreign background and lighter colours showing smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the largest increase in the western districts (Hässelby-Vällingby and Skärholmen) and the smallest increase in the inner city and the east. The average increase in share of population with foreign background in Stockholm municipality is 5.1 percent.

1. 1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between Stockholm's districts with highest share over 70 percent (Rinkeby-Kista) and lowest share below 20 percent (Södermalm) in 2016, although the continuous increasing trend has been witnessed by all the districts.

PAGE 10

2. The map shows the change in share of population with foreign background in Copenhagen on a district level. The shading represents the increase in share of population with foreign background in percent over 2000-2017, with darker colours showing larger increase and lighter colours showing smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the largest increase in northern Copenhagen (Brønshøj-Husum etc.) and the smallest increase in the central district Nørrebro. The average increase in share of population with foreign background in Copenhagen municipality is 7.3 percent.

2.1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between Copenhagen's districts, although the continuous increasing trend is city wide.

PAGE 11

3. The map shows the change in share of population with foreign background in Oslo on a district level. The shading represents the increase in share of population with foreign background in percent over 2000-2016, with darker colours show larger increase in share of population with foreign background and lighter colours show smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern with the largest increase in eastern and southern Oslo and the smallest increase in Gamle Oslo. Nord- and Østmarka are dominated by vast nature areas and have very few residents and dwelling opportunities. The average increase in share of population with foreign background in Oslo municipality is 13.9 percent.

3.1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between the districts with highest share around 50 percent and lowest share around 10 percent in 2016, although the continuous increasing trend is city wide.

PAGE 12

4. The map shows the change in share of population with foreign background in Helsinki on a district level. Red represents a decrease in share of population with foreign background in percent over 2011-2017. While blueish shading represents an increase, with darker colours showing larger increase and lighter colours showing smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the largest increase in the western districts (Jakomäki and Mellunkylä) and the smallest increase in the inner city and a decrease in the south (Vironniemi and Ullanlinna). The average increase in share of population with foreign background in Helsinki municipality is 4.2 percent.

4. 1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between Helsinki's districts with highest share over 30 percent (Jakomäki) and lowest share below 5 percent (Tuomarinkylä) in 2017.

PAGE 19

5. The map shows the mean income change in Stockholm municipality on a district level from 2005-2015. Income refers to the total earned income. The shading represents the increase rate over a decade, with darker colours showing larger increase of mean income and lighter colours showing smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the highest rates in central districts (Norrmalm etc.) and the lowest rates in outer districts. The average increase rate in mean income in Stockholm municipality is 35.1 percent, and the increase rates in southern Stockholm districts are close to the average value.

5.1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between districts, although the continuous increasing trend has been witnessed by all the districts.

PAGE 20

6. The map shows the mean disposable income change in Copenhagen municipality on a district level from 2000-2015. The shading represents the increase rate over the time period, with darker colours showing a larger increase rate of mean disposable income and lighter colours showing a smaller increase rate. The map shows a spatial pattern, with the highest rates in south-eastern Copenhagen districts and the lowest rates in the northern Copenhagen districts. The average increase rate in mean disposable income in Copenhagen municipality is 65.4 percent.

6.1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between Indre By (highest income level) and other districts, although the continuous increasing trend has been witnessed by all the districts.

PAGE 21

7. The map shows the median income change from 2005-2015 in Oslo municipality on a district level. The shading represents the increase rate, with darker colours showing a larger increase of median income and lighter colours showing a smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the highest rates in inner city districts and the lowest rates in outer districts. The average increase rate in median income in Oslo municipality is 52.4 percent.

7.1. The chart on the bottom highlights large discrepancies between the centre and other districts, although the increasing trend is city wide.

PAGE 22

8. The map shows the mean income change from 2001-2015 in Helsinki municipality on a district level. The shading represents the increase rate over the time period, with darker colours showing a larger increase of mean income and lighter colours showing a smaller increase. The map shows a clear spatial pattern, with the highest rates in inner city districts and the lowest rates in outer districts. The average increase rate in mean income in Helsinki municipality is 39.8 percent.

8.1. The chart on the bottom shows an increasing trend that is city wide, and highlights large discrepancies between districts. Some districts were more influenced by the economic crisis in 2008. Note that the data for Östersundom are from 2008-2015.

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The segregated city

Issues related to segregation and integration are major responsibilities and challenges for cities, and a segregated urban environment can be understood as a symptom of wider social injustices. In this brief overview of current research on residential segregation the focus is on structural reasons to segregation.

This means that it is planning policies and tendencies in socio-economic development that are discussed, rather than specific social integration measures and projects. But, there is an obvious arena where these two approaches to segregation meet, and that is in the local community and its spaces for social interaction.

This is important to keep in mind, that the integrated city is both a result of strategies and initiatives on a micro scale, in the neighbourhood and between individuals, and initiatives and development on a macro scale.

This report is part of a theme on segregation within the Nordic collaboration programme for effective integration and inclusion of refugees and immigrants in the Nordic countries. Read more at **www.integrationnorden.org**