Dilemmas of diversity: Ethnic integration and segregation in the city

UPPSALA UNIVERSITET

http://www.ibf.uu.se/diversity/resprogr.html

Program summary

Welfare states in today's multicultural societies are confronted with several dilemmas: between the objective to promote equality and freedom for the individual, and to fulfill certain collective interests and goals; between policy strategies that are universal, and strategies that target only members of certain categories of the population; between the ambition of the state to promote integration within the community of citizens – *demos* – and to tolerate, or even promote, that citizens also enjoy membership in different ethnic communities – *ethnos.*

The focus of this research program, funded by the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research, is on concrete expressions of these dilemmas in an urban context. Key research themes include: residential segregation and integration; policies regarding settlement, dispersal and social mixing; urban governance and area-based interventions; neighbourhood effects; ethnic associations and political inclusion; theoretical and conceptual development.

This line of research at the institute is mainly represented by human geographers and political scientists, but the program group also includes economists, sociologists and an anthropologist. Over the years, this group has produced research on migration and ethnic diversity of high international quality within a series of important research projects funded by both national and European financing sources.

The present program will further strengthen this research by providing strategic funding for PhD students; giving opportunities for PhDs without a permanent position at the institute to develop new research projects; reinforcing multidisciplinary exchange and external collaborations through seminars, workshops and invited guest researchers; and promoting research dissemination.

NODES: Nordic Welfare States and the Dynamics and Effects of Ethnic Residential Segregation (2009-13)

NODES Research Team

- Four countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway & Denmark
- Six research institutes

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

Statens Byggforskningsinstitut
AALBORG UNIVERSITET

UPPSALA UNIVERSITET

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

NIBR
Norsk institutt for by- og regionforskning

- 14 researchers (7 professors/senior researchers & 7 postdoc researchers / PhD –students ; 9 females & 5 men)

The project focuses on four of the five larger Nordic countries (excl Iceland)

- Denmark : 5,6 M, (8 % foreign-born)
- Finland: 5,4 M, (4 % foreign-born)
- Norway: 4,9 M, (8 % foreign-born)
- Sweden: 9,4 M, (14 % foreign-born)

- Much higher immigrant concentration in the capital regions.

Examples of immigrant-dense n´hoods in Scandinavia

Copenhagen, suburban housing estate, social housing

Groruddalen, Oslo, suburban housing estate, condominiums

Husby, Stockholm, suburban estate, predominantly public housing

Overall Aim of the Project

- To capture the links between the welfare state policies and trajectories of social and spatial integration
  - the two main research questions are:
    - *How are the Nordic welfare states shaping the conditions for ethnic residential segregation and de-segregation?*
    - *How are the patterns and processes of segregation affecting the wider social and spatial developments in the different host societies?*

Comparative approach – Nordic Added-Value

The Nordic countries and their institutional structures are *sufficiently similar but suitably different to provide an excellent framework for a* comparative research from two specific aspects:

- First of all, the similarity of overall welfare structures reduces the contextual effects and ossify opportunities for conceptualising actual phenomena of segregation (however, a key aspect is that the countries have very different housing systems, especially Norway stands out).

- Secondly, the effects of varied but highly appreciated welfare policies can be critically compared and analysed in both national and cross-case Nordic settings.

Debates

– The (future of) Nordic welfare states & immigration heated topics – three (highly politicised) arguments:

¡ Sustainability of the welfare states & aging population – immigration as a solution to decreasing numbers in the labour force

¡ Lack of integration (low labour market participation & high levels of unemployment among migrants) – immigration as a threat to welfare state budget and social cohesion in general

¡ Welfare state policies patronize immigrants and generous welfare benefits hamper immigrants' own initiative – welfare state as a threat to integration

à implications for local policy context and for the dynamics and effects of residential segregation?

Framework

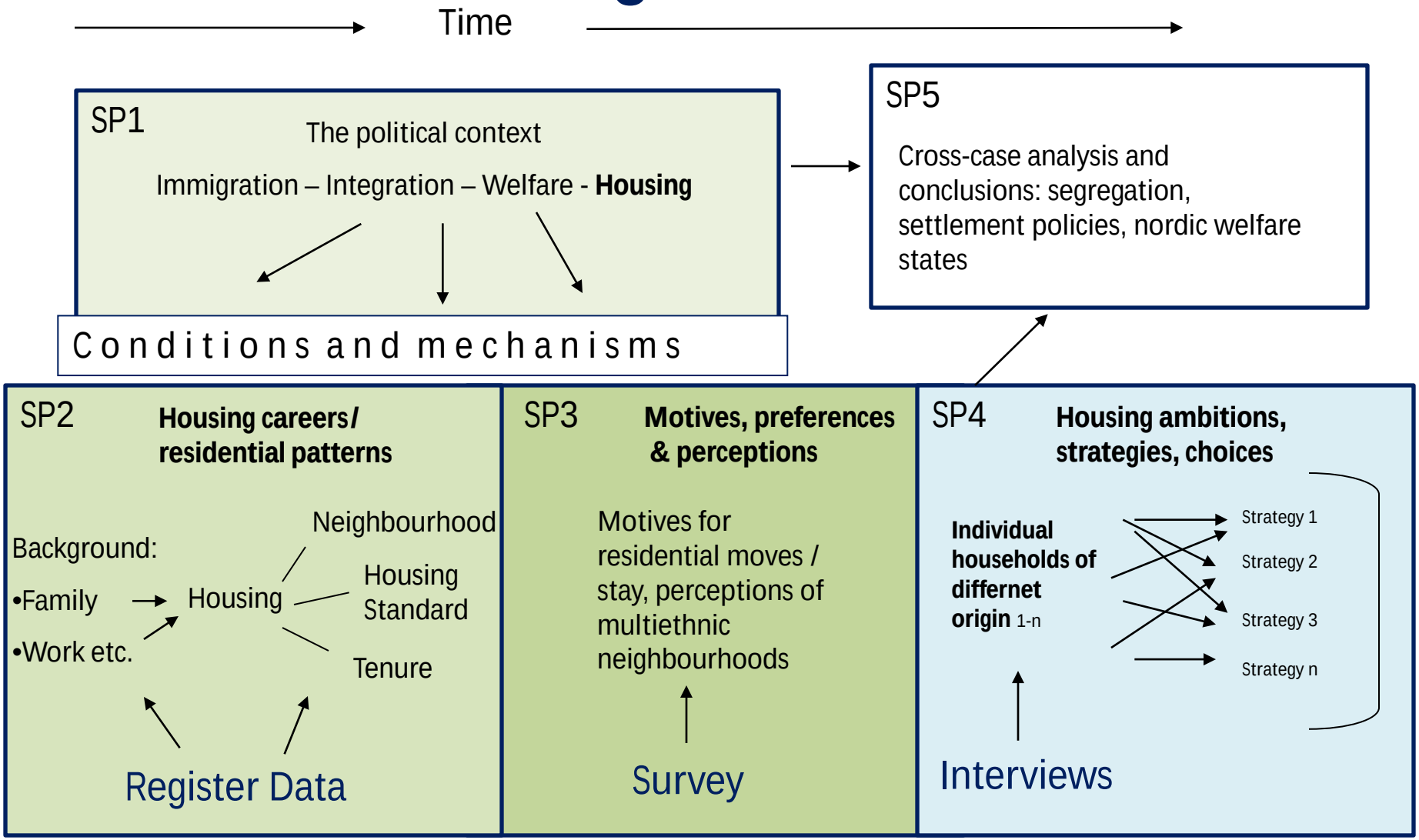
- Comparative analysis within the Nordic welfare state regime
  - Policies
  - Practices
  - Outcomes

- Spatial assimilation theories – do immigrants move out of multiethnic neighbourhoods when their socio-economic position improves?

- Selective migration theories – flight, avoidance, ethnic preferences

- Life-course theories – housing, work & family careers

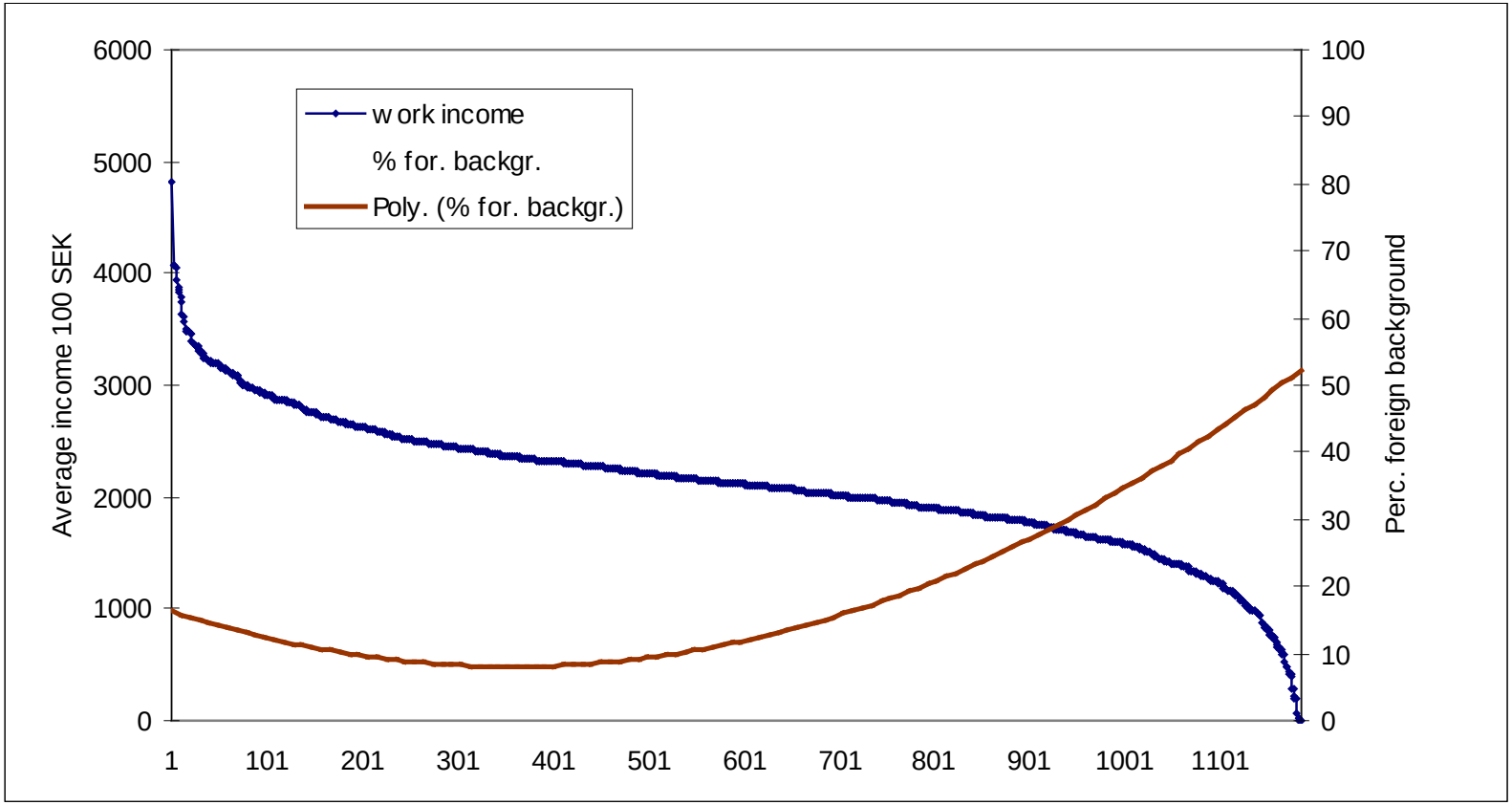
Research Design



Results

- Migration volumes and compositions: predominantly refugee migration but increasing efforts to expand labour immigration; still small numbers in Finland, big in Sweden.
- Welfare state & housing policy developments (liberal reforms, more market, work-fare, less generous welfare systems)
- Migration policies (very restricted Danish policy on refugee immigration; EU countries converging)
- Integration policies (multi-culturalism contested, more so in Denmark than in Sweden and Norway)
- Segregation patterns and counter-segregation policies (a relatively high degree of residential segregation in all countries despite different housing policies and tenure compositions: clear indications of ethnic hierarchies, following the degree of labour market exclusion; we will focus on the role of majority populations in reinforcing segregation (flight, avoidance, blocking strategies).

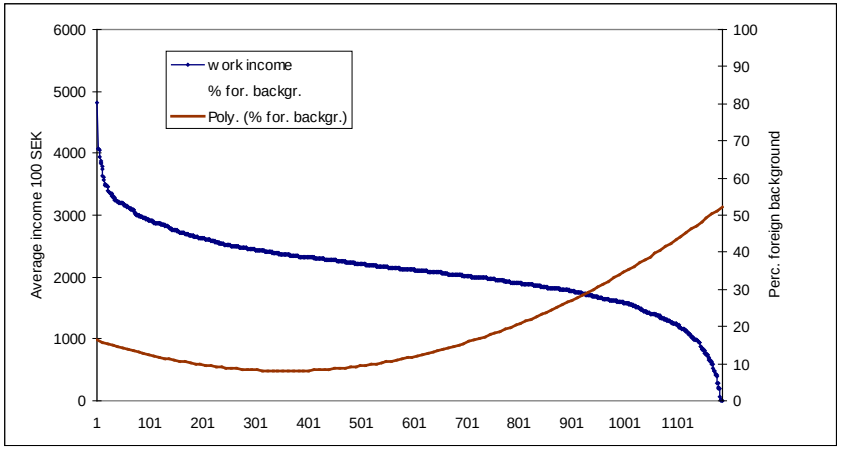
The distribution of mean work incomes and a poly-line for percentage residents w. foreign background in Gothenburg neighbourhoods, 2006.



Pearson correlation: -.64 (significant at .01 level).

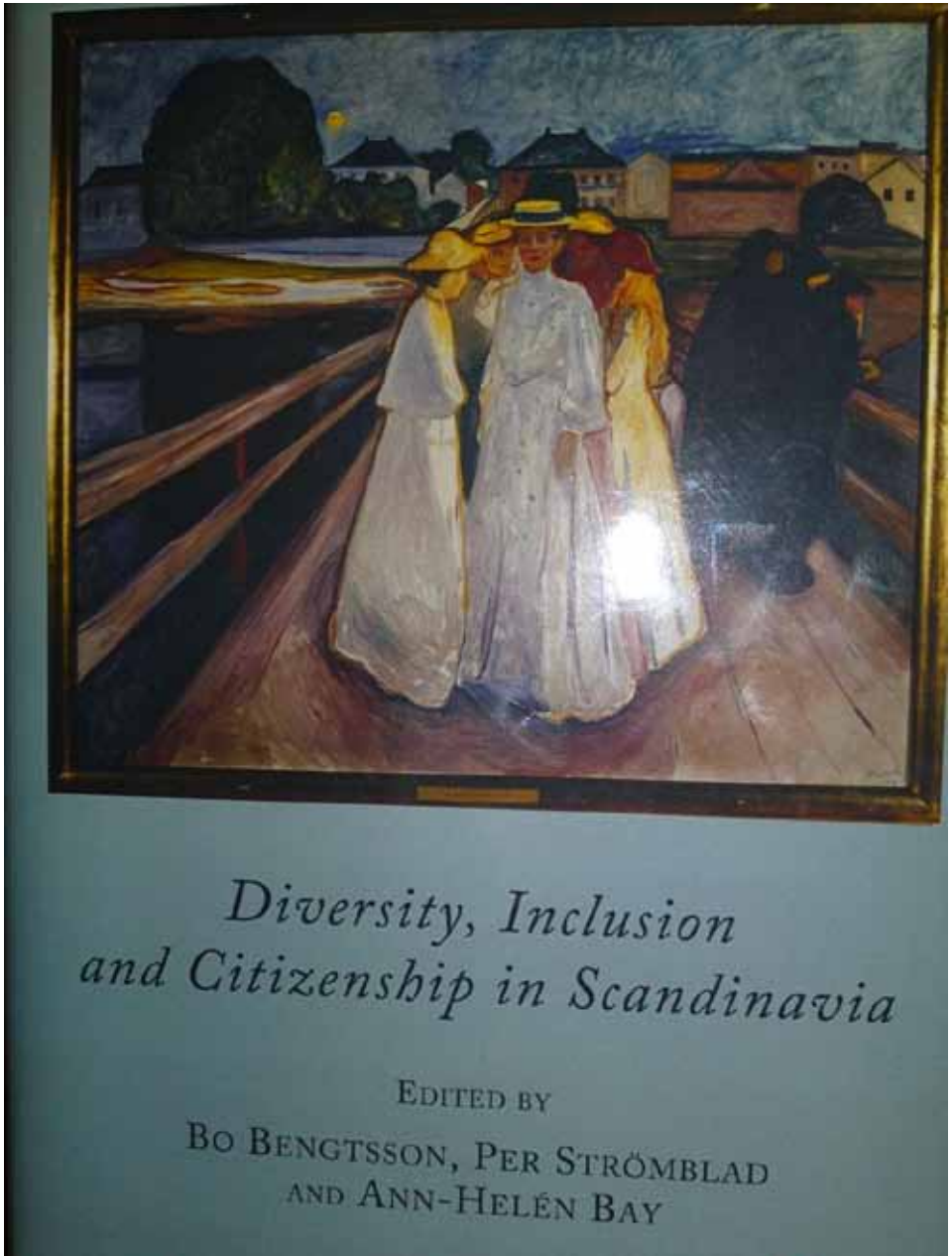
Source: Andersson, Bråmå, Holmqvist (HS/2010).

Segregation and welfare state policies



- The re-distributive function of the welfare state affects the gradient of the income segregation line (ambitions of a full employment economy, effective re-training labour market programmes, progressive tax systems, etc)
- Housing and social mix programmes are introduced by municipalities in order to decrease the level of class-based n'hood sorting (different types of programmes in the Nordic countries).
- Urban area-based programmes aiming at improving (employment) conditions in low income immigrant-dense n'hoods (not very effective due to on-going selective migration; more resource-full households leave the areas)
- Refugee dispersal programmes are pursued in all countries to avoid further concentration of newly arrived immigrants in the poor housing estates of major urban regions.

New book



Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010

Borevi: Dimensions of Citizenship: European Integration Policies From A Scandinavian Perspective

Borevi:
Ideal-typical integration policy options

		Active recognition of ethnic subgroups	
		No	**Yes**
General	**Ethnos**	1. Ethnic	2. Ethnic
understanding		assimilation	segregation
of national	**Demos**	3. Civic	4. Multi-
identity		integration	culturalism

Borevi: Integration; rights and duties

	Rights-line	**Duty-line**
1. Main responsibility	Society	Individual
2. Main instrument for governance	Resources	Incentives
3. Source of legitimacy	Universal system: minimum or individual control, general rules	Selective system: Individual control and eligibility rules

Example: permanent residency and citizenship

		Duty to pass a test?	
		Yes	**No**
Duty to participate in introduction programme?	**Yes**	Denmark	Norway
	No	Netherlands	Sweden

Research Qs

- *How are the Nordic welfare states shaping the conditions for ethnic residential segregation and de-segregation?*

  Should perhaps in theory be able to combat non-volunteer ethnic segregation but, facing reality, one might hypothesize that neighbourhood sorting has less to do with institutional regulation and the capacity of the welfare state. However, the capacity to compensate for long-term negative n´hood effects is high.

- *How are the patterns and processes of segregation affecting the wider social and spatial developments in the different host societies?*

  Both regional and local effects; still too early to assess.