Segregation
prevalence, causes, effects and possible solutions

A concept paper on segregation from the KAIROS project
produced by Birgitta Guevara, March 2014

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A concept paper produced as part of the project KAIROS, Knowledge about and Approaches to Fair and Socially Sustainable Cities

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This concept paper has been produced as part of KAIROS, a collaborative project in which practitioners and researchers from the City of Gothenburg, the University of Gothenburg, the County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland and Region Västra Götaland are working to produce knowledge and approaches for fair and socially sustainable cities.

The concept paper is a synthesis detailing some aspects of what we know about the prevalence, causes and effects of segregation, as well as some of the solutions that have been proposed by researchers and public authorities. The aim of this paper is to function as a basis for discussions within the project about segregation and the connection between segregation and the possibilities to work for fair and socially sustainable cities.

The aim of all the papers and interim reports produced within KAIROS is to bring about wide-ranging discussions and participation on various issues. The goal is for the final report to be as firmly grounded and concrete as possible. The authors of the papers produced are responsible for their content. It cannot be presumed that the conclusions in this paper will be the same as those reported in KAIROS' final report. The comprehensive picture, based on all of the interim reports and papers, as well as dialogue with various actors will govern the content of the final report.

The KAIROS project is part of Mistra Urban Futures, an international centre for sustainable urban development where knowledge is developed in close collaboration between practitioners and researchers. The centre has five regional platforms in Cape Town, Kisumu, Gothenburg, Manchester and Shanghai. Mistra Urban Futures is funded by the research foundation Mistra and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), together with a consortium consisting of: Chalmers University of Technology, the University of Gothenburg, the City of Gothenburg, the Göteborg Region Association of Local Authorities (GR), IVL Swedish Environmental Research Institute, the County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland and Region Västra Götaland, as well as the organisations that are jointly funding the various local platforms.

A range of different projects form the core of Mistra Urban Futures' activities. These are transdisciplinary and focus on a number of different areas within the field of sustainable urban development, primarily within the centre's theme of Fair, Green and Dense cities. Mistra Urban Futures strategy is to unite research and practice through joint production of knowledge and problem solving. This is used to bridge the traditional boundaries between academia and practice.

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SUMMARY

This concept paper has been produced within the project KAIROS - Knowledge about and approaches to fair and socially sustainable cities. Segregation, its expansion, causes and consequences are the focal points of the paper and the segregation in question is primarily based on socioeconomic background and/or class and ethnicity. Due to KAIROS design this paper focuses mainly on residential segregation and young people's living conditions. The development in these two areas is interconnected and consists of mutually reinforcing processes. The common starting point in the discussion is that residential segregation leads to differences in young people´s living conditions and between schools, since segregation causes people to live in different areas and near different schools. However, this also works the other way around, since the situation for children in a neighbourhood generally, and in schools particularly, often is a decisive reason when families with children move to or from a neighbourhood.

Focal points and definitions
The paper starts with a discussion of some relevant concepts: class, ethnicity, race, racialization, whiteness, intersectionality, public health, social- and system integration and place identity. Since the focal point in the paper is segregation due to class and ethnicity, these are the papers main concepts together with the discussion of place identity. Other hierarchical power structures in society are also relevant, for example sex/gender and age. These power relations as well as relevant aspects, as for example public health, will be discussed when considered relevant.

Residential segregation
The economic disparities in Sweden are increasing. According to the OECD, Sweden has fallen from 1st to 14th place in the ranking of how equal countries are. Sweden is also the country among the organizations members where the relative poverty rate has increased most in recent decades. Residential segregation has also increased based on both ethnicity and socioeconomic background. This is particularly evident in larger cities. At the same time segregation is a regional issue that needs handling between municipalities. The effects of, and the driving forces behind the increased segregation are discussed, as well as the importance of how the situation is described. The term "segregation", for example, is relational, while the term "exclusion" only focuses on one side of the segregation. What laws and conventions say about the right to housing is also highlighted.

Young people's living conditions
The disparities between children's living conditions are increasing. The proportion of children and young people living in households with low economic standards has increased from eight to twelve percent during the 21st century according to the National Public Health Institute. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education the gaps in educational results have increased both between schools and individual pupils. A report from the Swedish Schools Inspectorate from 2011, for example, states that the same education is not given all over city of Gothenburg, and links the differences to residential segregation. Attention is also drawn to the fact that young people are among the groups who have the greatest difficulties on the housing market. Furthermore, the high level of youth unemployment is discussed. 24 percent of the working force between 15 to 24 years of age was unemployed in 2012. An established way to describe young people's living situation is the international concept NEET:s (not in employment, education or training) and the proportion of young people who neither work nor study varies greatly between residential areas. Laws and conventions are also discussed, with focus on the right to education, health and living standards.

Possible Solutions

Steps, actions and ways of working to reduce segregation and its negative effects are presented. The starting point is a number of reports from researchers and authorities. The reports draw attention to the relation between "well-off areas" and "less well-off areas" and states that we cannot focus only on underprivileged neighbourhoods; we have to tackle segregation on an overall municipal level and regional level. It is also important to coordinate actions and increase collaboration between different levels of governance and political policy areas. The importance of embracing a cause-oriented instead of a symptom-oriented approach when analysing segregation is highlighted, as well as the need to focus both on "actual integration", such as employment, and "social integration", meaning the feeling of being integrated and belonging to the community. It is also necessary to reduce the "gap" between what is expressed in visions and overreaching plans, and the measures implemented. Several researchers highlight the importance of linking together the politics of economic growth with welfare politics and also the importance of involving the inhabitants in the process. Dialogue is needed both between policy makers and inhabitants, and between different parts of the civil society. The possibility of creating a national urban policy with sustainable development as the main premise is raised as well as the importance of social investment policies.

Overall conclusions

In the concluding chapter the problem of stigmatization is addressed. Both researchers and authorities refer to the problem of defining groups and individuals as deviant from "a social norm". The problem of stigmatization can be found in the discussion of ethnicity, class, racialization, discrimination and the increasing economic disparities; it is also seen in the discussion of actual integration and social integration, in the discussion of power and new strata between people, as well as in the discussion of "social housing". For young people stigmatization is also a reality in connection with the development in schools and on the labour market. These aspects, together with the rise of individualized explanatory measures, affect people's self-perception, possibilities and living conditions.

The way in which segregation affect the possibilities for residential areas and schools to develop is recognized, as well as the fact that different living conditions for young and adults between residential areas can lead to tensions in society. The fact that "well off areas" are as much a part of the problem as "less well of areas" is emphasized. In order to create socially sustainable cities, living conditions need to be more equal and an increased understanding between residents in different areas is needed. But segregation does not stop at municipal borders. To counteract segregation and its effects therefore require inter-municipal cooperation. One way to facilitate this, as well as the problem that matters are handled in different political policy areas, is the proposal to create a national urban policy for sustainable development.

The overall conclusion in this paper is that segregation affects boys' and girls' childhood conditions as well as men's and women's living conditions. But segregation do not only affect at the individual level but also at the residential level, the whole city level and at the regional level. Thereby it also affects the possibility to work for socially sustainable cities. How segregation and its effects are handled is a political issue where conflicting goals must be handled. In the papers' final section the possibility to use national laws and international conventions on human rights in the political discourse is highlighted, as these laws and conventions grant the right to, for example, education, health, living conditions and adequate housing.

SAMMANFATTNING

Det här kunskapsunderlaget om segregation är framtaget som en del i projekt KAIROS - Kunskap om och arbetssätt i rättvisa och socialt hållbara städer. Utgångspunkten i underlaget är segregationens utbredning, orsaker och konsekvenser, och den segregation det framförallt handlar om är segregation utifrån socioekonomisk bakgrund och/eller klass samt etnicitet. På grund av projektets utformning fokuserar underlaget främst på segregation kopplats till boendesegregationen och ungas uppväxtvillkor. Utvecklingen inom dessa områden är sammankopplad och består av sinsemellan förstärkande processer. Den vanligaste utgångspunkten i diskussionen är att boendesegregationen leder till stora skillnader i ungas uppväxtvillkor och mellan skolor eftersom människor lever segregerat och i närhet till olika skolor. Men påverkan är även den omvända eftersom situationen för barn och unga i ett område generellt och på förskolor och skolor specifikt ofta är avgörande när barnfamiljer flyttar till och från olika bostadsområden.

Utgångspunkter och definitioner

Kunskapsunderlaget inleds med en diskussion kring några relevanta begrepp: klass, etnicitet, ras, rasifiering, vithet, intersektionalitet, folkhälsa, social integration och systemintegration samt platsen som identitetsskapare. Eftersom utgångspunkten i underlaget är segregation utifrån klass och etnicitet, är dessa kunskapsunderlagets övergripande perspektiv ihop med diskussionen om platsens betydelse för människors identitet. Men även andra hierarkiska maktordningar i samhället är relevanta, exempelvis kön/genus och ålder. Dessa maktordningar liksom relevanta perspektiv, som folkhälsa, integreras i underlaget där så bedöms relevant.

Boendesegregationen

De ekonomiska klyftorna i landet ökar. Enligt OECD har Sverige halkat från första till 14:e plats i rangordningen över jämlika länder och Sverige är det land bland organisationens medlemmar där den relativa fattigdomen ökat mest de senaste decennierna. Boendesegregationen har också ökat de senaste decennierna både utifrån etnicitet och utifrån socioekonomisk bakgrund. Boende-segregationen har ökat särskilt i storstäderna men samtidigt är segregationen en mellankommunal och regional fråga. Effekterna av och drivkrafterna bakom den ökande segregationen diskuteras liksom betydelsen av hur vi beskriver utvecklingen. Begreppet "segregation" exempelvis är relationellt, medan begreppet "utanförskap" endast fokuserar på den ena sidan av segregationen. Vad lagar och konventioner säger om rätten till en bostad uppmärksammas också i detta avsnitt.

Ungas uppväxtvillkor

Skillnaderna i barns uppväxtvillkor ökar. Enligt Folkhälsoinstitutet har andelen barn och unga som lever i hushåll med låg ekonomisk standard ökat från åtta till tolv procent under 2000-talet och skillnaderna i skolresultat har enligt Skolverket ökat både mellan skolor och mellan enskilda elever. Skolinspektionen skrev exempelvis i en rapport 2011 att utbildningen i Göteborgs stad inte är likvärdig och kopplar skillnaderna till boendesegregationen. Det uppmärksammas att unga är en av de grupper som har det svårast på bostadsmarknaden. Den höga ungdomsarbetslösheten diskuteras också, 2012 var 24 procent av ungdomarna i arbetskraften mellan 15 och 24 år arbetslösa. Ett vedertaget sätt att beskriva ungas arbetsmarknadssituation är med det internationella måttet NEET (not in employment, education or training) och andelen ungdomar som varken arbetar eller studerar varier stort mellan olika bostadsområden. Även i detta avsnitt diskuteras innehållet i lagar och konventioner. Den här gången med fokus på ungas rätt till utbildning, hälsa och levnadsstandard.

Möjliga åtgärder

I det här avsnittet redovisas förslag på insatser och arbetssätt för att minska segregationen och dess negativa effekter. Utgångspunkten är ett antal rapporter från forskare och myndigheter. Sammantaget betonas i dessa rapporter vikten av att se det relationella i segregationen, det vill säga vikten av att se sambanden mellan utvecklingen i socioekonomiskt gynnade och missgynnande områden. Det innebär att vi bör lyfta diskussionen, men också arbetet mot segregation, från stadsdelsnivå till helastaden nivå och mellankommunal nivå. Angeläget är också att arbeta för en ökad samverkan och samordning mellan olika styrnivåer och politikområden. Betydelsen av att anamma ett orsaksorienterat istället för ett symptomorienterat förhållningssätt i analysen av segregationen framhålls, liksom vikten av att satsa både på systemintegration och på social integration. Det senare innebär att åtgärder bör fokusera både på "reell integration" som exempelvis arbete, och på "känslan av integration", alltså känslan av tillhörighet i samhället. Men det är också nödvändigt att minska "glappet" mellan det som uttrycks i visioner och beslut och de åtgärder som genomförs. Flera forskare uppmärksammar betydelsen av att koppla ihop tillväxt- och välfärdsfrågor och att involvera medborgarna i utvecklingen. Dialog behövs både mellan beslutsfattare och invånare samt mellan olika delar av civilsamhället. Möjligheten att skapa en nationell stadspolitik med hållbar utvecklings som utgångspunkt lyfts också samt vikten av att satsa på en social investeringspolitik.

Övergripande slutsatser

I den avslutande diskussionen uppmärksammas problemet med stigmatisering. Både forskare och myndigheter pekar på problemet med ett utpekande av vissa grupper och personer som avvikande från ett slags "samhällsnorm". Problematiken kring stigmatisering kommer fram i diskussionen kring etnicitet, klass, rasifiering, diskriminering och de ökande ekonomiska skillnaderna, men det synliggörs också i diskussionen om systemintegration och social integration liksom i diskussionen om makt och nya samhällsgränser samt i diskussionen om "social housing". För unga tydliggörs det även i diskussionen kring utvecklingen i skolan och på arbetsmarknaden. Dessa aspekter tillsammans med ökningen av individualiserade förklaringsmodeller påverkar människors självuppfattning, förutsättningar och livsvillkor.

Det sätt på vilket boendesegregationen påverkar bostadsområdens och skolors utvecklingspotential uppmärksammas, liksom problematiken med att skillnaderna i livsvillkor och uppväxtvillkor mellan olika bostadsområden ökar eftersom det leder till spänningar i samhället. Att "innanförskapet" är en lika stor del av problematiken som "utanförskapet" betonas. För att skapa socialt hållbara städer behövs både utjämnade levnadsvillkor och en ökad förståelse mellan boende i olika områden. Men segregationen slutar inte vid kommungränserna. Därför behövs även mellankommunal samverkan. Ett sätt att underlätta samverkan mellan olika beslutsnivåer, men också samverkan mellan olika politikområden, är förslaget att skapa en nationell stadspolitik för hållbar utveckling.

Kunskapsunderlagets övergripande slutsats är att segregationen påverkar flickor och pojkars uppväxtvillkor liksom kvinnor och mäns livsvillkor. Men segregationen påverkar inte endast på individnivå, utan även på områdesnivå, på hela staden nivå och även på mellankommunal nivå. Därigenom påverkas också möjligheten att arbeta för en socialt hållbar stad. Hur segregationen och dess effekter hanteras är en politisk fråga där målkonflikter mellan olika intressen måste hanteras. I kunskapsunderlagets avslutande avsnitt uppmärksammas att människors rätt till utbildning, hälsa, levnadsvillkor och fungerande boende kan användas politiskt på olika nivåer eftersom rättigheterna finns både i nationell lagstiftning och i de internationella konventionerna om mänskliga rättigheter.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon and concept of segregation is a current topic of public debate. It is discussed politically and in the media, analysed at universities and has to be managed by our public-sector organisations. The debate focuses on such aspects as whether or not segregation is a problem, and if it is: why and in what way, and what should be done to combat segregation and its effects.

Even if not everyone views this issue in the same light, the majority agree that segregation is a challenge that needs to be dealt with. For example, the Delegation for Sustainable Cities includes the increasing segregation of cities as one of the fifteen barriers obstructing what it believes is a necessary transformation of Sweden's cities (Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012, pp. 14–15). It has also been noted internationally that segregation in Sweden is problematic. For example, in its fourth report on Sweden, the Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) recommended that Sweden adopt an action plan to combat residential segregation (ECRI 2012). For the KAIROS project, this concept paper is a way to gain a broader and more detailed understanding of the extent to which, and in what way, segregation is linked to the increasing differences in living conditions that appear in societies with greater inequality. But before discussing the prevalence and effects of potential solutions to segregation any further, we should define exactly what we mean when we use the term segregation in this paper.

What is segregation?

The Oxford English Dictionary defines segregation as "the separation or isolation of a portion of a community or a body of persons from the rest" (www.oed.com). It thus relates to certain categories of the population being separated from other categories of the population. The most common *categories* discussed are:

1. Socioeconomic segregation or class – between different income, professional or social groups.
2. Ethnic segregation – between groups with different nationalities, religions or ethnic origin.
3. Demographic segregation – between different age groups, types of household or gender.

Segregation exists in many arenas, for example the housing market, the labour market and in schools. This means that people with different characteristics live in different areas, go to different schools and work in different workplaces or in different occupations. But it is not only about the separation of these residential areas, schools, workplaces, occupations, etc. It is also a matter of them having different statuses and affecting people's living conditions in different ways.

In everyday language, but also within politics and the media, the term segregation is often used in relation to residential segregation and the term "segregated residential area" is frequently used synonymously with underprivileged residential area. The majority of researchers and many practitioners as well, have a more relational view of segregation and emphasise the relationship between "exclusion" and "inclusion", meaning that segregation is defined by the relationship between two polar opposites. It is not the district, neighbourhood or school that is segregated; it is the entire city or region. But the fact that segregation is relational also means that developments at the two poles influence one another. The situation in underprivileged residential areas is closely interconnected with developments in socioeconomically strong areas, and developments in schools with low results are linked to developments in schools with high results (cf. Andersson et al. 2009;

Bunar 2011 and 2012; Magnusson Turner et al. 2008; Molina in Broms Wessel et al. 2005; Sernhede 2013 a and b; Stigendal 2011 and 2012).

There is no consensus in the research in terms of an overall picture of the problems connected to segregation. One dividing line runs between those who place most emphasis on ethnic segregation and those who stress socioeconomic variables or class (cf. Magnusson Turner et al. 2008; Nordström Skans and Åslund 2009; Tedros 2008). Other researchers argue that segregation should be analysed based on critical race and whiteness research as our appearance affects our opportunities and how we are treated (cf. Hübinette et al. 2012; Molina in de los Reyes et al. 2005; Molina in Broms Wessel et al. 2005). Others believe that too much research has focused on who lives in different residential areas and not enough on the design of those areas and how different city areas are connected (cf. Legeby 2008 and 2010). In addition there are various interpretations of what it means for people to live and grow up in different residential areas. This aspect entails a discussion of neighbourhood effects and/or place identity (cf. Widigson 2013; Bunar 2011; Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010; Sernhede 2013 a and b). These dividing lines are described in more detail in the chapters on residential segregation and young people's living conditions.

The sociologist Mats Franzén highlights another dividing line and argues that there are two main ways to look at the issue: "What is the problem with segregation?" Franzén calls the first *the injustice syndrome*, with the main argument here being that segregation is a problem because it creates unfair conditions which are unworthy of a decent society. According to this outlook, segregation creates a barrier between established inhabitants on one side, who are seen and acknowledged, and excluded inhabitants on the other, who become invisible and disowned. Consequently, segregation can lead to worse conditions for the latter group than what they are entitled to. Franzén calls the second perspective *the danger outlook*; in which segregation is seen as a problem because it is perceived as a danger or a threat to the social order, the labour market's requirement for labour or the health and prosperity of those affected (Franzén in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 28). The latter outlook can be seen in the discussions about social risk and civil unrest that are pursued in conjunction with risk and vulnerability analyses. For example, the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency (MSB) has initiated a number of studies and reports in recent years, addressing issues relating to exclusion, civil unrest and civil protection. The MSB connects the term civil unrest with stone throwing, youth violence, vandalism and arson, especially of cars, in the suburbs of Malmö, Göteborg, Stockholm and Uppsala (www.msb.se).

But despite this discord, there is relative consensus surrounding certain aspects of the problem. The majority of researchers and practitioners stress the importance of raising the issue of segregation from the district or neighbourhood level to encompass the entire city and region, as well as the entire country. There is also relative consensus on the importance of raising the issue from the individual level to the structural level and the importance of coordinating initiatives within different policy areas. A number of proposed solutions that have emerged from studying the reports that form the basis of this paper are described in the "Possible solutions" section.

Focus – ethnicity and class connected to residential segregation and young people's living conditions

This paper focuses on segregation and its consequences, concentrating primarily on segregation based on socioeconomic background/class and ethnicity. If deemed relevant, other demographic aspects of segregation such as age groups, household types and gender will also be discussed.

Due to the design of the constituent projects that make up KAIROS, it is most relevant to discuss the causes and effects of segregation linked to residential segregation and young people's living conditions.[1] Consequently, this paper will have a specific focus on residential segregation and segregation linked to young people's living conditions. As the KAIROS project focuses on the situation in Gothenburg, the paper will emphasise the causes and effects of segregation in major Swedish cities in general, and in Gothenburg specifically.

Developments in residential segregation and young people's living conditions are connected and consist of mutually reinforcing processes. The most common basic premise of the discussion is that residential segregation leads to large differences in young people's living conditions and between schools because segregation causes people to live in different areas and near different schools. However, the impact is also the converse since the situation in different residential areas in general, and in preschools and school specifically, often is a decisive factor when households move to or from different neighbourhoods. Naturally, these approaches or strategies reinforce the differences between different neighbourhoods and schools. The cultural geographer Roger Andersson, for example, writes that:

> "This apparent separation of children in school is not simply the result of residential segregation. It is a key cause of ongoing separation processes and a reason for the reproduction and reinforcement of the ethnically divided city" (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, pp. 130–131).

What Andersson observes is that the existing differences between schools propel segregation, because families try to get away from areas with poorly performing schools and move to areas where the schools have better results. The free choice of school naturally also affects as it provides the opportunity to choose schools that are not in the immediate vicinity. However, as we will see in the "What happens in school" section of "Young people's living conditions", the free choice of school is problematic as this possibility primarily benefits resourceful and educationally motivated children and young people (cf. Swedish National Agency for Education 2012).

Aim and outline

The aim of this paper is to compile parts of what we know about the prevalence, causes and effects of segregation, as well as some of the solutions that have been proposed by researchers and public authorities. Thereby, the paper constitutes a basis for continued discussions within KAIROS

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[1] The constituent projects are: 1) Prospects for civil society's political participation. 2) Young people's co-creation and how this can be utilised and reinforced. 3) The dialogues role and design.

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concerning segregation, and above all on the connection between segregation and the possibility to work towards fair and socially sustainable cities.

The paper begins by discussing some relevant terms such as class and ethnicity. This is followed by a brief description of the current situation in research linked to residential segregation and to young people's living conditions. After that comes a description of various proposed solutions found in the analysis of a number of reports. The paper concludes by discussing the effects of segregation at the level of the individual, the neighbourhood, the district, the entire city and the region.

BACKGROUND AND DEFINITIONS

This concept paper focuses on segregation and its consequences, concentrating primarily on segregation based on socioeconomic background and/or class and ethnicity. Ethnicity and class, together with the discussion of place identity, thus constitute the overarching perspectives of the paper. However, other hierarchical power structures such as gender and age are also relevant. These power structures, along with factors such as public health, are integrated into the paper when found appropriate.

Class

Contemporary research into class has its roots in 19th and early 20th century Europe and two main traditions have laid the foundations for how we look at and understand social classes. The first is based on the theories of Karl Marx. Marx emphasised economic aspects and divided people into different classes based on their relationship to the production process. The second tradition is based on Max Weber, who widened the concept and incorporated aspects other than the economic, such as education and political influence. Weber preferred to talk about status groups rather than social class. A social class emerges through relationships between people with similar customs and values. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu also states that class is about more than just economic circumstances. Bourdieu talks about four forms of capital that permeate our everyday lives: the economic, the cultural, the social and the symbolic. When we talk in our day-to-day lives about class, we associate this with the same variables as researchers, i.e. poor and rich, poorly and highly educated and groups with different status and varying access to power (Mattsson 2010, Chapter 5; Oskarsson et al. 2010, Chapters 1 and 2).

The concept of class became an important analytical concept in the 1970s, but the importance of class analyses has recently been toned down by a number of researchers and practitioners. According to one outlook, the concept has lost its importance in conjunction with changes to the structure of society and the increase in material security. Others have toned down the significance of class in favour of gender and ethnicity, and there are those who believe that working life has been altered in such a way that the concept of class has become altogether irrelevant (Mattsson 2010, Chapter 5; Oskarsson et al. 2010). In order to investigate whether the concept of class is still relevant, a number of researchers at the University of Gothenburg initiated an interdisciplinary project at the beginning of the 2000s with the aim of investigating whether class is relevant to people's living conditions, lifestyles and politics. The method used was a broad survey and the result was that: yes, class has a role to play. The researchers also establish that "based on the view that Sweden is one of the world's most equal countries, it can still be concluded that, despite everything, there are clear class distinctions" (Oskarsson et al. 2010, p. 227).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is about the feeling of affinity with a group and is often related to language, religion, customs and practices, as well as to nationality and culture. From an essentialist perspective, ethnicity is something stable that endures over time, while a constructivist interpretation sees ethnicity as something variable and context-bound. According to the latter outlook, ethnicity is a result of social processes and social interaction, rather than something static and defined once and

for all time. Individual and group identities change over time (cf. Hylland Eriksen 1993; Mattsson 2010, Chapter 6). The constructivist interpretation dominates research on ethnicity, but both outlooks appear in the public debate and the media.

The Swedish Discrimination Act defines ethnicity as an individual's national and ethnic origin, skin colour or another similar circumstance. The act also states that ethnicity is based on self-identification.

> "The act defines ethnicity as an individual's national and ethnic origin, skin colour or other similar circumstance. All people have one or more ethnicities. Anyone can therefore be subject to ethnic discrimination – Sami, Roma, people with Swedish, Somali, Bosnian ethnicity and so forth. Ethnicity is based on self-identification. It is thus the individual who defines their own ethnicity/ethnicities" (translated from the original Swedish on www.do.se).

Thus, according to the Swedish Discrimination Act, it is the individual who defines his or her own ethnicity/ethnicities. Problems arise though when people define themselves as "Swedish", but are not perceived as Swedish by the majority community. This problem has been observed within post-colonialism, which links the issue of ethnicity to globalisation and colonialism. Post-colonialism emphasises that the basis of our identity is largely external. According to this view, identities are constantly being created because we see ourselves as a reflection of others, and of cultural representations and stereotypes (Mattsson 2010, pp. 82–83).

Because the term "ethnicity" can be defined and used in different ways, it suffers from a vagueness that makes it hard to deal with in research. Ove Sernhede, for example, argues that it is unusable as an analytical category (Stigendal 2011, p. 38).

Racialization

In the 1980s and 90s, a new research field, *critical race theory*, emerged in the USA among researchers who observed that anti-discrimination legislation had not rectified the inequalities in society. Another research area, *whiteness studies*, appeared around the same time. This involved critically examining and reflecting on what it meant to belong to the white majority. These two fields are known collectively in Swedish as *kritiska ras- och vithetsstudier* (critical race and whiteness studies) (cf. Mattsson 2010, Chapter 6; Molina in de los Reyes and Kamali 2005; Hylland Eriksen 1993, pp. 13–15; Hübinette et al. 2012; Molina in de los Reyes (Ed.) 2010).

According to this theory, the term "race" has been transformed and reduced to a cultural phenomenon, which means that "race" has become synonymous with the term "ethnicity". The theory states that this transformation conceals power asymmetries, i.e. unequal power relationships created by racism, in society. Although researchers agree that the term "race" does not fulfil any academic function in explaining human social behaviour, it is regarded as a useful category when interpreting power relationships. In the same way, the term "whiteness" is considered a relevant analysis category because the privileged position of white people is not otherwise revealed. The authors of the anthology "*Om ras och vithet i det samtida Sverige*" [Race and whiteness in contemporary Sweden] illustrate their basic premise in the following statement:

> "The authors of this anthology believe that it is necessary to start talking about race, in spite of the word's historical baggage. The primary reason why we believe we have to start talking

about race is that a significant proportion of the Swedish population is discriminated against and systematically separated from what is considered Swedish precisely because of their alleged 'non-Swedish' features, skin and hair colours, i.e. their non-white bodies" (Hübinette et al. 2012, p. 17).

According to this theory, "race" is not simply a historically manufactured category, but is also a formative action, i.e. race is created through such descriptions as "non-Swedish appearance" or the term "visible minorities" that are used to denote "non-whites". The term "suburb" as a description of underprivileged areas is also an example of how "non-Swedishness" and "non-Swedish" places are created (Hübinette et al. 2012, pp. 24–25).

The term "racialization" is central to critical race and whiteness research. "Racialization" is the name used for the process that places different groups in fixed positions within the production process and which also maintains boundaries between different sections of the population. The power structures arising from racialization, according to cultural geographer Irene Molina, are one of the reasons why socioeconomically underprivileged residential areas are most often the focus of debates and analysis concerning segregation. According to Molina, analyses of segregation should be based on the theory of racialization, not only because it reveals power relationships in general, but also because power relationships in general and ethnic relationships in particular are decisive in terms of the options people have (Molina in Magnusson Turner et al. 2008).

Intersectionality

People's opportunities are affected by a wide range of factors such as gender, ethnicity, religion, age, sexual orientation, socioeconomic background, functional ability and place. All of these factors interact based on a hierarchy related to the prevailing norms of the society in which the individual lives. To consider these factors and how they interplay means constructing an intersectional perspective. The application of an intersectional perspective does not mean that all categories and grounds for discrimination have to be used at all times. Instead it means that focus is placed on those categories that are relevant to the current analysis (cf. Dahlen 2012; Mattsson 2010; Molina in de los Reyes and Kamali 2005; Hübinette et al. 2012; de los Reyes (Ed.) 2010).

The intersectional analysis was developed within feminism and post-colonial theories, and one of its premises is to challenge the dichotomies in which one party is defined as the norm and the other as divergent. However, the analysis also considers how these norms interact and thus create new power structures. One example of how ethnicity and class interact is the patterns of residential segregation common in Swedish cities.

According to the sociologists Lars Grönvik and Martin Söder, two ambitions can be identified in the intersectional analysis. The first focuses on power relationships and is primarily interested in studying and observing the conditions of subordinate and marginalised groups. The other is more interested in the intersection of the various power structures and how these shape our living conditions. Grönvik and Söder also state that those who are interested in how different power structures interact to create and recreate an unequal society use power relationships as their starting point. Those who are instead interested in how categories are created direct their attention to identities and the construction of identities. According to Tina Mattsson, this distinction reveals the

two key fundamentals of the intersectional form of analysis; power structures and construction (Mattsson 2010, p. 90).

Public health

Public health deals with the health of groups and entire populations, while *health* deals with the health of individuals. Public health deals with both the general level of health in a group and how health is distributed within that group. However, public health also deals with how the total sum of all individuals' health is affected by social gradients. The sense of participation in society and the sense of having power over one's own life is fundamental to good health (Marmot 2008). These basic prerequisites mean that differences in terms of health between different groups depend on systematic differences in economic, material and social circumstances. This also means that differences in health between different groups can be influenced politically (cf. Marmot 2004 and 2008; Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett have compared different countries, and the results show that countries with less income differences have smaller differences in health, but that countries with less differences in income also have better health in general (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010).

People's health in Sweden has generally become better if you look at the average, but the differences in health between different groups are increasing. For example, in Västra Götaland average life expectancy varies by nine years between the areas with the highest and lowest average income. The same difference is seen in Gothenburg. Those who live in Saltholmen live an average of nine years longer than those who live in Bergsjön. (Region Västra Götaland's Public Health Committee, www.vgregion.se).These geographical differences in average life expectancy show the connection between public health and segregation.

The best possible health is a human right.[2] Health also has a value in itself, both for the individual and for society. Good health makes it easier for individuals to cope with the demands of everyday life, to achieve personal goals and live a good life. For society, a healthy population means more people spending longer in education, more who can work, produce goods and services, save and invest. Inequality in health counteracts this and gives rise to unnecessary social costs. In other words, health can be regarded as both a consequence of a society's development and a highly significant factor for its future development. Consequently, public health has been increasingly tied to the discussion of general social development in recent years, and good health among the population is considered an

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[2] The right to health is included in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control." (www.manskligarattigheter.se)

The right to health is also included in Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health." There are also several other conventions focusing on specific groups, which include the right to health. For example, Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child states that: "States Parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health. States Parties shall strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to such health care services". (www.manskligarattigheter.se)

important factor in social and economic development (A more exhaustive description can be found in the paper on public health that will be produced as part of the KAIROS project).

Place identity

A place can be a significant arena for social processes, and living and growing up in a certain place is to be involved in a cultural web of human activities and relationships with shared local conditions. Places have their own identities and their own qualities, but they also constitute material and social landscapes that are connected to our circumstances and opportunities. But places are also created in relation to other places and to the society as a whole by what they are not (cf. Widigson 2013, pp. 61–62 and 111; Bunar 2011). Nihad Bunar describes the significance of the relationship to other places, but also the perception of the multicultural Sweden, when he describes Araby in Växjö.

> "When all is said and done, Araby's bad reputation and segregation is created in relation to something; other areas, the municipality, preconceptions about Swedishness, us and them, the social differences. But, above all, they are created in relation to the perception of the multicultural Sweden that is accepted on an ideological level, but which is avoided on the day-to-day and, above all, the personal level. Araby's position in Växjö is merely a reflection of the social and ethnic hierarchies that permeate Swedish society as a whole" (Bunar 2011, p. 73).

In this quote, Bunar reveals the relational aspect of segregation, but he also connects the situation to the division into us and them; "Swedes" and "non-Swedes". Bunar appears to be saying that many of us, who belong to the majority population, are ideologically opposed to segregation, but unwilling to do what is necessary in practice to reduce segregation; instead we are more interested in trying to avoid its effects. The Delegation for Sustainable Cities makes a similar assessment in its final report, which states: "Despite an awareness of increased segregation and increased socioeconomic differences, the incentives to turn these developments around are weak" (Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012, p. 8). Another manifestation of this ambiguity can be tied to the term nimby (not in my backyard); a term that describes residents opposed to planned construction projects in their neighbourhood, despite the fact that the projects may be regarded as necessary, just preferably somewhere else.

How great the significance of where we live is to our identity and our opportunities is disputed. We know that people who live in underprivileged areas live under worse conditions and that young people in socioeconomically exposed areas grow up in worse conditions and continue to have worse living conditions later in life than people in other areas. What is controversial is whether the worse living conditions are dependent on where we live, and in which case for whom, to what extent and why. The discussion about the impact of segregation at the individual level will return throughout the entire paper and will also be dealt with in the final discussion.

Social integration and system integration

The opposite of segregation is often described using the term "integration" and integration is frequently held up as a goal to work towards. According to *Nationalencyclopedin* (The National Encyclopaedia), integration is a process involving the unification of separate units. The Encyclopaedia goes onto say that it is a term used to describe things such as the processes through which a community is created and preserved. (www.ne.se).

Initially, the term "integration" was used in the public debate to describe unity among different groups and how people can build communities through their relationships to one another. Even so the term has increasingly come to be associated with ethnicity, in Sweden and within the EU, and despite integration policy being expanded organisationally, it is characterised, according to researchers like Martin Grander and Mikael Stigendal, by definitions of ethnicity (Grander and Stigendal 2012, p. 4).

According to both Mikael Stigendal and Roger Andersson, the term "integration" becomes more useful if you distinguish between social integration and system integration. Stigendal makes the following distinction between the terms:

> "Those who, for example, have a job can be said to be system integrated into the economic system. This can also be interpreted as actual inclusion. However, this does not necessarily mean feeling included. The sense of inclusion is part of "social integration" (Stigendal 2012, p. 12).

According to Roger Andersson, Swedish integration policy aims for system integration, i.e. for immigrants to be afforded equal conditions and representation in working life, politics, etc. However, Andersson states that the opportunity for system integration in modern society is strongly related to the degree of social integration (Andersson et al. 2009, p. 75). One example of this is the fact that many jobs are offered via contacts, making it important to have "the right contacts". Stigendal observes the inverse correlation between the two parts of integration when he says that the feeling of being integrated often is dependent on actual integration (Stigendal 2012, p. 34).

District, city and region

Because this is a concept paper, the definition of different terms may vary between the different researchers and public authorities that produced the raw data. However, the terms district, neighbourhood, city and region should be primarily interpreted in this paper based on the following explanations:

- District – Gothenburg is divided into ten districts. These are too large to function optimally as analytical subjects in relation to studies about segregation. Each district in Gothenburg is divided into 96 smaller primary areas. These are more suitable for use as analytical subjects connected to segregation. Details of what the districts are and what primary areas are included in each district are available on the City of Gothenburg's website (www.goteborg.se). In this paper the term neighbourhood is also used, it refers to residential areas smaller than districts and similar to primary areas.
- City or municipality – defined based on municipal boundaries. The City of Gothenburg encompasses over 450 km^2 and has about 526,000 inhabitants (www.goteborg.se).
- Region/county – Västra Götaland County or Region Västra Götaland comprises 49 municipalities and encompasses over 24,000 km^2. The county is home to 1.5 million people, 17 per cent of the Swedish population, and consists of one major city, medium-sized cities, small towns and sparsely populated countryside. The county is too large to be optimal in a discussion of the regional aspects of segregation. The Gothenburg region, consisting of 13 municipalities and a population of c. 950,000 people, is a more appropriate unit on which to base a discussion of the regional aspects of segregation. Further information about the Gothenburg region is available on the Göteborg Region Association of Local Authorities' website (www.grkom.se).

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Present state of affairs

The economic differences in Swedish society are increasing. This began with the crisis of the 1990s and the subsequent structural change that involved radical austerity in the public sector, aimed to balance the budget and reverse the trend of increasing national debt. The income differences in 2007 were the highest measured since Statistics Sweden began its measurements (Stigendal 2011, p. 38; Statistics Sweden 2014, p.281). According to the OECD, Sweden is the country in which relative poverty has increased most in recent decades. Sweden has plummeted from first to 14th place in the OECD's list of most equal countries (OECD 2013).

Poverty is commonly divided up into "absolute poverty" and "relative poverty". "Absolute poverty" denotes incomes or assets under a certain established, absolute level. "Relative poverty" denotes incomes or assets relative to another individual, group or state, and thus measures the differences between different groups or individuals in a society. According to the latter definition, a person is poor if, as a result of a lack of economic resources, they cannot have a life like that of others in the society in which they live. By using the term relative poverty, it is possible to measure individual experiences of poverty (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013).

> "Accordingly, this is not simply a matter of survival – having food for the day, clothes and somewhere to live – but also about having economic opportunities to be the equal of one's neighbours, to participate in social life and face your fellow human beings without shame. The social dimension accentuates the fact that it is not the lack of money that is important per se, but the lack of money means that a poor person (at least in the long-term) get stuck outside the social community, either by being excluded by others or by avoiding social situations themselves, for example due to a sense of shame." (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013, p. 10).

There are different ways to calculate relative poverty, which means that the figures indicating how many live in a vulnerable economic position or relative poverty vary. According to the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, the most common calculation used in Europe is based on income distribution and the boundaries normally used to define poverty by this method are disposable incomes lower than 50 per cent (OECD) or 60 per cent (EU) of the country's median income (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013, p. 13). For this criterion, Statistics Sweden uses "at risk of poverty" as a definition of a family that has an income, including benefits and income from capital, that is lower than 60 per cent of the median income in Sweden, calculated per household/consumption unit.[3]

There is a clear connection between the income distribution and Swedish or foreign background. Figure 1 reveals the increasing income differences between 1991 and 2011, while Figure 2 reveals that it is predominantly those born outside Sweden who has fallen behind in terms of income in the last two decades. However, the income distribution needs to be analysed on the basis of an

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[3] The consumption unit is a way to recalculate the incomes of different households to make them comparable with one another, regardless of their composition. In a consumption unit, those living alone and one adult in a cohabiting relationship are allocated one consumption unit, the next adult in a cohabiting relationship is allocated 0.51 consumption units, additional adults 0.6 consumption units, the first 0–19-year-old child 0.52 consumption units and subsequent 0–19-year-old children 0.42 consumption units (Source: Statistics Sweden – SCBDOK 3.2).

intersectional perspective that links factors such as foreign background, class, educational background, place and gender as all of these factors have a decisive significance.

Figure 1: Disposable income in Sweden in SEK (thousands), incl. return on capital, per household (consumption unit)[4] in deciles,[5] 1991–2011
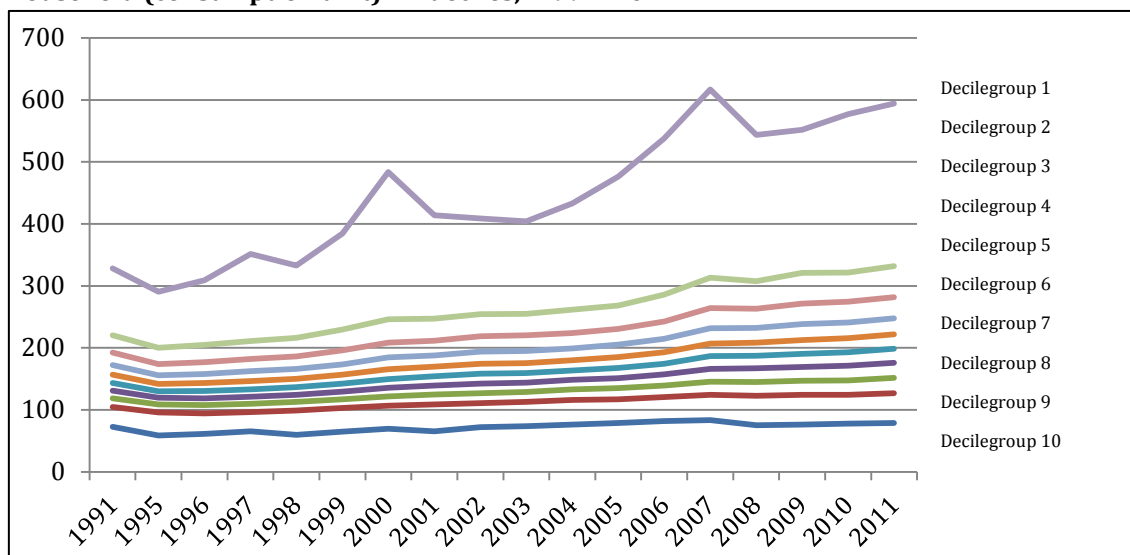
Source: Statistics Sweden (statistical database)

Figure 2: Proportion of people born in Sweden and outside Sweden, in households with low and high incomes, respectively, in relation to the median, 1991–2011, in per cent[6]
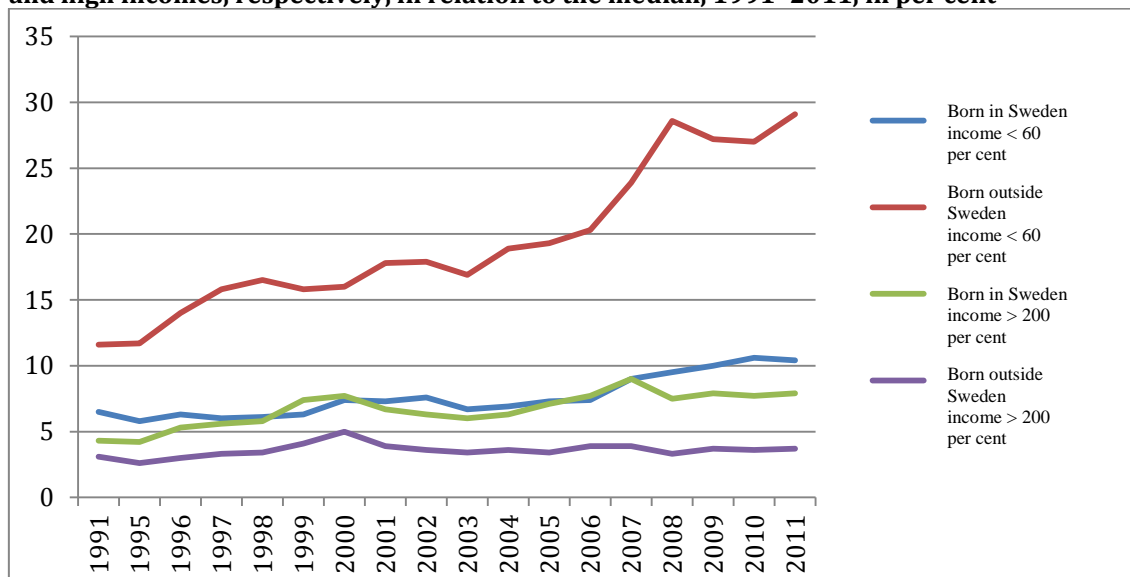
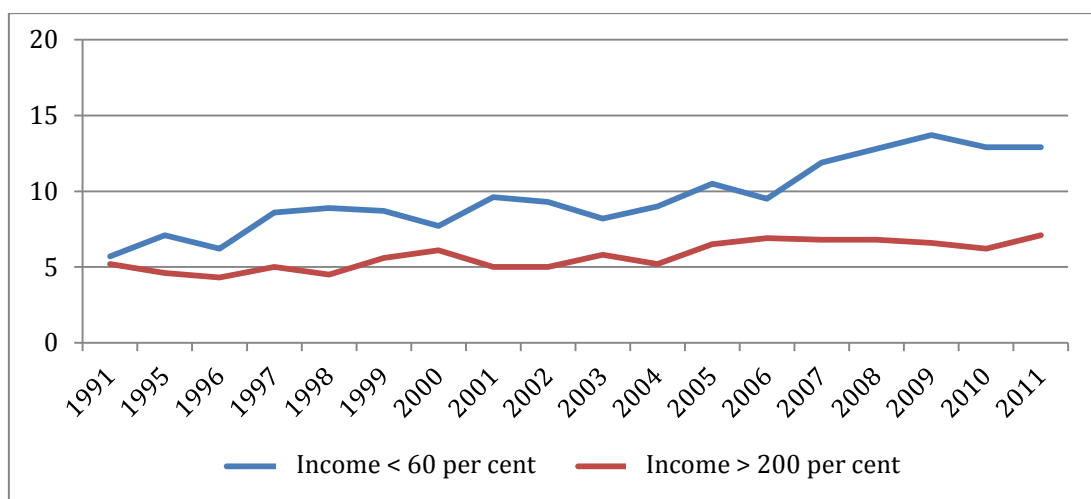*Source: Statistics Sweden (statistical database)*

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[4] Ibid

[5] Deciles are used to describe distribution in a population and involve the values being divided up into proportions of 10%.

[6] The figures are based on a sample survey. They do not show the exact numbers, but work when measuring over time.

The income differences have also increased in Gothenburg and the Gothenburg region. Figure 3 shows the difference over time between people in households in the Gothenburg region that respectively have an income 200 per cent higher and 60 per cent lower than the median value. Figure 4 shows the corresponding figures for Gothenburg.

Figure 3: Proportion of people in households in the Gothenburg region with low and high incomes, respectively, in relation to the median,[7] 1991–2011[8]

Source: Statistics Sweden (statistical database)

Figure 4: Proportion of people in households in Gothenburg with low and high incomes, respectively, in relation to the median, 1991–2011[9]
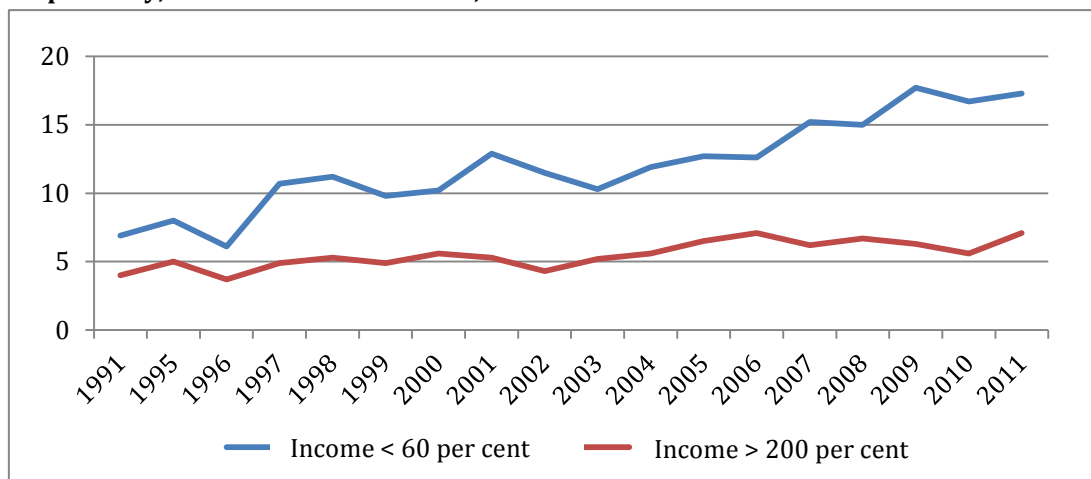
Source: Statistics Sweden (statistical database)

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[7] Statistics Sweden uses the term "Greater Gothenburg". Its definition of "Greater Gothenburg" includes the municipalities: Ale, Göteborg, Härryda, Kungsbacka, Kungälv, Lerum, Mölndal, Partille, Stenungsund, Tjörn and Öckerö. Since 2005, Alingsås and Lilla Edet have also been included. The same 13 municipalities constitute "the Gothenburg Region (GR)".

[8] See Footnote 6

[9] Ibid

Who lives where?

People's incomes are closely related to where they live and residential segregation on the basis of both economic and "ethnic" variable has increased in recent decades. (cf. Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012, p. 14; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, Chapter 6; Nordström Skans and Ålund 2009). In *Social Report 2010* the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare summarise the development of residential segregation in the following quote in which it initially differentiates between ethnic and economic segregation:

> "Thus, ethnic segregation increased markedly in the 1990s, but the levels seem to have been stabilised during the 2000s. Economic segregation increased in the latter part of the 1990s, but then decreased up until 2003 only to then increase somewhat. Looking at this in the longer-term, there is a clear upward trend" (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 194).

In its description of socioeconomically underprivileged areas, the Board then notes that the majority of the population in these areas belong to what it defines as "visible immigrant groups". "Visible immigrant groups" is used by the Board to describe people originating from Southern Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America[10] (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 12).

> "One of the conclusions of Social Report 2006 was that poor, visible, foreign-born groups have replaced poor, native Swedes and to some extent poor, non-visible, foreign-born groups in the highly disadvantaged areas and this circumstance appears to endure. It can still be asserted that economic segregation has become increasingly synonymous with ethnic segregation. The difference in residential patterns between poor and rich has increasingly come to reflect differences between poor visible immigrants on the one hand and better-off natives and non-visible immigrants on the other" (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, pp. 194–195).

Despite segregation having increased in recent decades, it is still important to remember that this is not a new phenomenon. Many of the areas that are currently in the spotlight have been a feature of the Swedish segregation debate since the 1960s. Already when the large housing developments of the 1960s and 70s were being built (The million Programs), it was thought that their anonymous physical character would potentially lead to social vulnerability. What is new is the ethnic dimension. In addition, there is now a clear link between ethnic and economic segregation. The greater the proportion of immigrants, and particularly "visible immigrant groups", the greater the concentration of the economically disadvantaged (cf. Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 176; Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 126; Andersson et al. 2009, p. 6).

At the same time, the degree of segregation is dependent on how the area is subdivided. Subdivision into large geographical areas, e.g. municipalities, reduces the degree of segregation, while subdivision into blocks, for example, increases it. The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare subdivides the major cities into "neighbourhoods" (grannskap) in order to measure the degree of segregation. Neighbourhoods are often smaller than districts, but are larger than blocks.

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[10] The Board defines the term on page 12 of Social Report 2010 as follows: "The term visible immigrant groups is used in segregation research to denote immigrant groups whose appearance, behaviour, clothing, habits, customs and practices, religious practices or manner of speaking are perceived as foreign by the majority population. Visible minorities are also vulnerable minorities. These are the groups that generally constitute the main target of racism and discrimination. In Sweden, immigrant groups who originate in south-eastern Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America can be considered 'visible'."

In *Social Report 2010*, the Board classifies 15 neighbourhoods in Sweden as highly vulnerable. In 2006, these neighbourhoods were home to 3.5 per cent of the Swedish population. At the same point in time, they were home to 27 per cent of the country's "visible immigrants". The proportion of "non-visible foreign-born" in these areas decreased sharply between 1990 and 2006. In Gothenburg, from 20 to 11 per cent (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, pp. 176–195).

Because of the increasing differences between different residential areas, the Swedish Government has been implementing nationwide initiatives since the 1990s in order to tackle the situation in socioeconomically underprivileged neighbourhoods. A description of these initiatives is provided in the section "What has been done?" in the chapter "Possible solutions", on pages 50 to 51. Fifteen residential areas[11] chosen based on the variables high unemployment, long-term income support and low proportion of pupils eligible for upper secondary school are taking part in the current initiative[12]. In November 2013, the Government summed up developments in the 15 areas as follows:

> The gap to the municipal, county and national average is generally large. From a fifteen-year perspective, the change in employment rate is weakly positive and the rate of long-term income support is decreasing. This clearly shows a positive trend. On the other hand, the gender differences remain largely the same or increase, to the detriment of women. It is troubling that the figures for pupils' eligibility for upper secondary school have decreased, and that the proportion of young people who do not work or study remains high. It is also detrimental that the areas are characterised by great insecurity and instability in terms of moving in and out. However, there is great variation between the neighbourhoods. For the majority, developments are positive, particularly in the major cities" (Swedish Ministry of Employment 2013, p. 3).

Figures 5-8 on the following pages illustrate the large differences in living conditions between the country in general and the 15 residential areas selected in the urban development initiative. Figures 5-7 show the development in the 15 selected areas with respect to employment, long-term income support and eligibility for upper secondary school in relation to the national average from 1997 or 1999 to 2011. The figures for employment and long-term income support are distributed by gender. Figure 8 shows the proportion of 20–25-year-olds who do not work or study in the 15 areas from 1997 to 2011 in relation to the national norm, distributed by gender. The section "Unemployment and young people who neither work nor study" in the chapter "Young people's living conditions" on pages 43 to 46 describes the development for young people who do not work or study in more detail.[13] With regard to Figures 5 to 8, it is important to observe that the figures have different maximums on the Y-axis. For example, Figure 6 has a maximum of 20 per cent, while Figure 7 has a maximum of 100. This means that a quick glance may give the impression that the differences in

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[11] The selected residential areas are Rinkeby and Tensta in Stockholm, Ronna and Hovsjö in Södertälje, Araby in Växjö, Gamlegården in Kristianstad, Herrgården and Södra Sofielund in Malmö, Centrum-Öster in Landskrona, Hässleholmen in Borås, Kronogården in Trollhättan, and Gårdsten, Hjällbo, Norra Biskopsgården and Bergsjön in Gothenburg.

[12] The areas have been selected based on the following criteria: Employment rate lower than 52 per cent, Long-term income support higher than 4.8 per cent and Eligibility for upper secondary school lower than 70 per cent.

[13] Figures 5-8 are taken from the Swedish Ministry of Employment's statistical monitoring of the urban development areas. The statistical report contains an exhaustive description of developments in the 15 residential areas, divided up by employment, long-term income support, young people who do not work or study, pupils who are eligible for upper secondary school, movement in and out and security (Swedish Ministry of Employment 2013).

terms of income support are greater than those in terms of eligibility for upper secondary school, when in fact the situation is the opposite. The differences in income support between the country as a whole and the selected areas were less than 10 per cent in 2011, while the difference in eligibility for upper secondary school was over 25 per cent. [14]

Figure 5: Proportion of the population aged 20–64 years in Sweden and the URBAN 15 areas employed, by gender 1997–2011, in per cent *(max. proportion 90 per cent)*
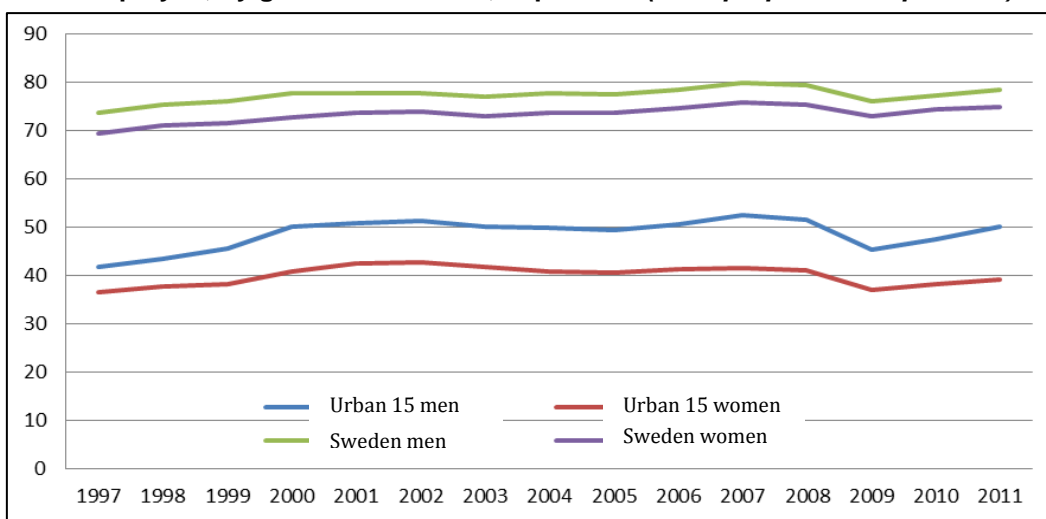
Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)

Figure 6: Proportion of the population aged 20–64 years in Sweden and the URBAN 15 areas receiving income support, by gender 1997–2011, in per cent *(max. proportion 20 %)*
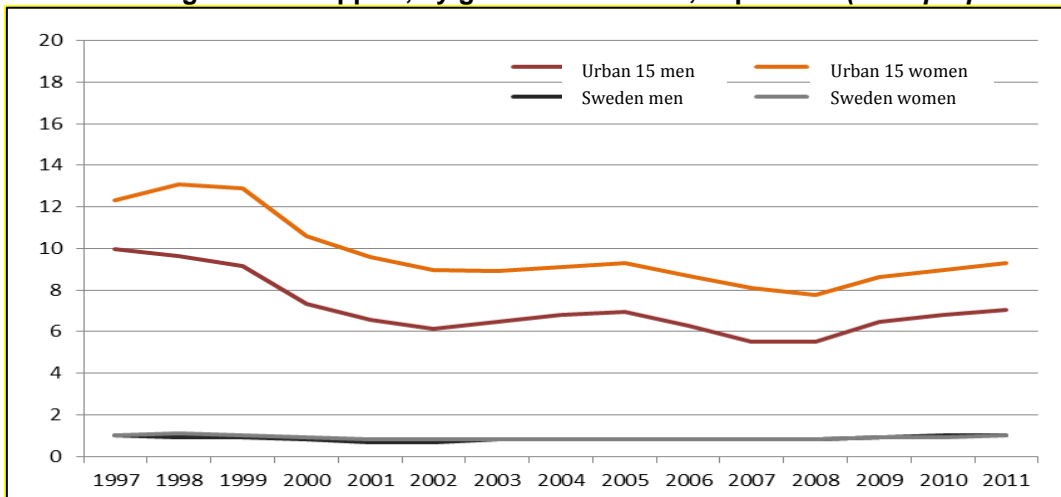
Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)

Figure 7: Proportion eligible for upper secondary school in Sweden and the URBAN 15 areas 1999–2012, in per cent *(max. proportion 100 per cent)*

[14] Ibid

Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)

Figure 8: Proportion of 20–25-year-olds in Sweden and the URBAN 15 areas do not work or study, by gender 1997–2011, in per cent *(max. proportion 60 per cent)*

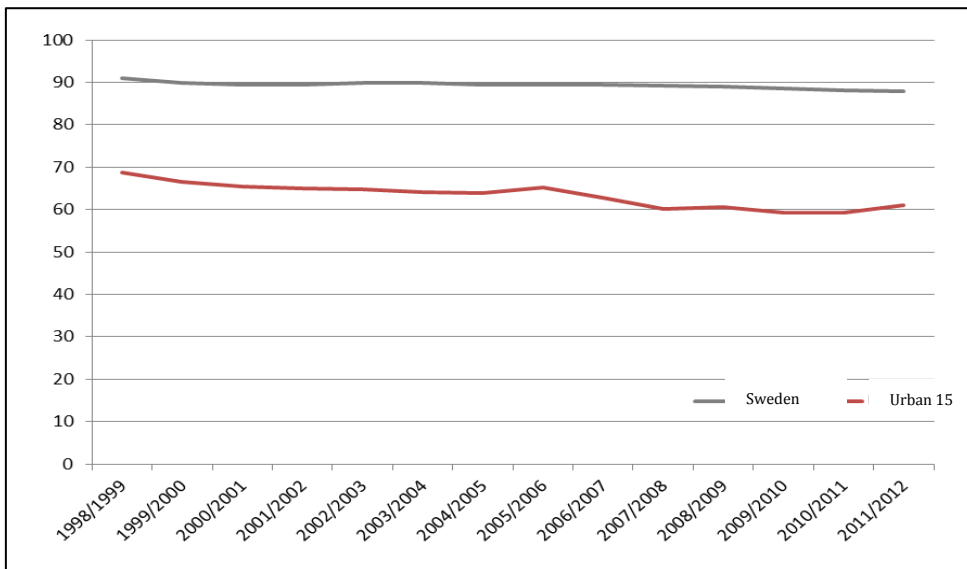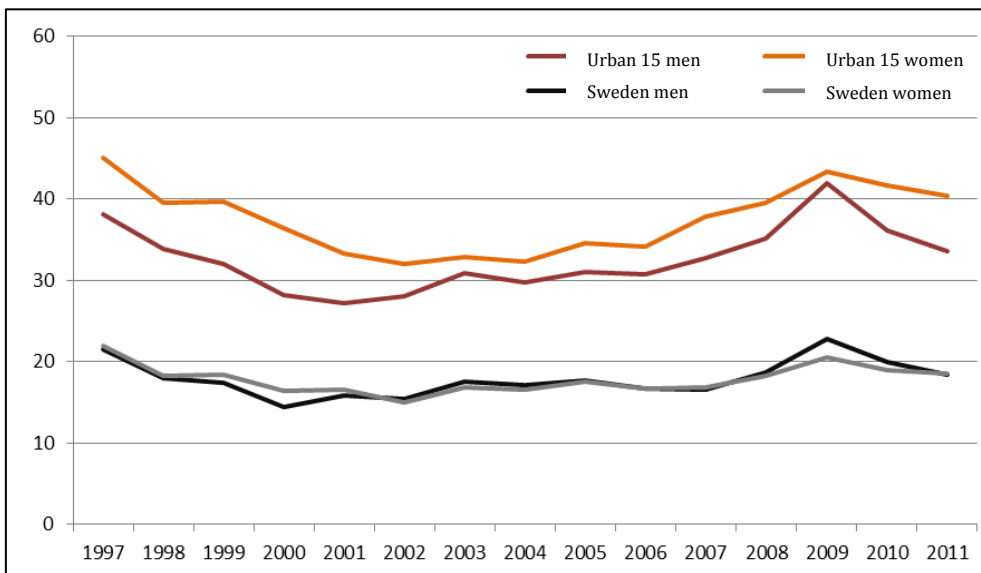*Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)*

Residential segregation has increased, particularly in the major cities (cf. Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 176; Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012, p. 14; Swedish National Agency for Education 2012; Swedish Schools Inspectorate 2012, 2013). One example of this is that 110 of the 144 areas in Sweden that Roger Andersson designated as "most sparsely populated with Swedes" are found in the major city regions (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 127). In

Gothenburg too, the living conditions vary in different parts of the city. Figures 9 and 10 show the income distribution for 2011 and the unemployment rate in October 2012 by district in Gothenburg.

Figure 9: Income distribution in Gothenburg by district 2011, 20–64 years of age, in SEK (thousands)[15]
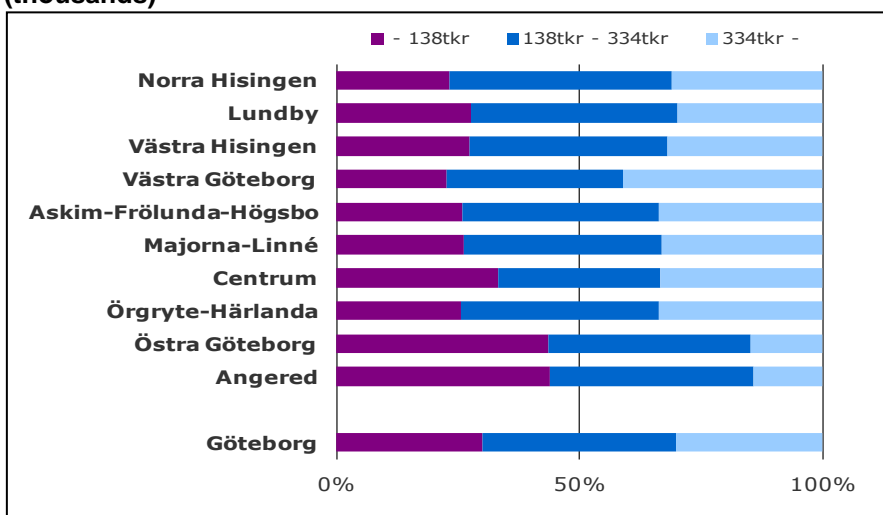
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Figure 10: Unemployment in Gothenburg 18–64 years by district in October 2012, in per cent[16]
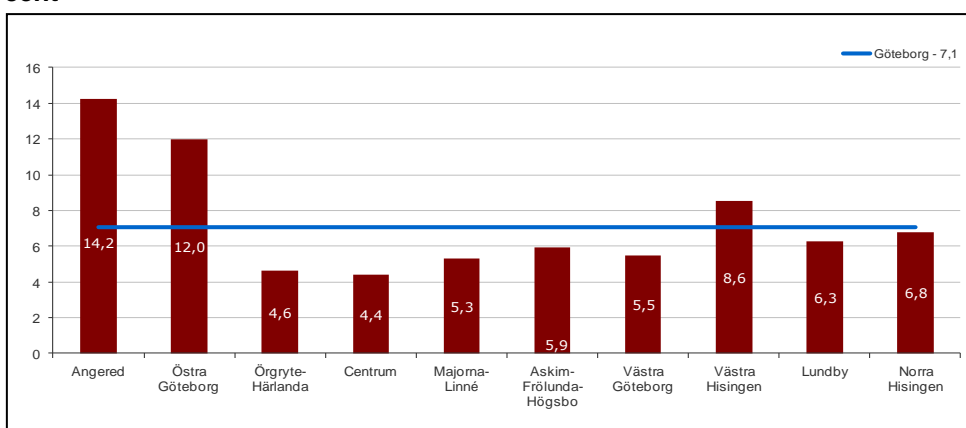
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

As described in the "District, city and region" section in the chapter "Background and definitions" (page 17), Gothenburg's ten districts are too large to function optimally as analytical subjects in relation to studies of segregation. Dividing the districts in to smaller so-called "primary areas" reveals that there are also large differences within Gothenburg's districts. To highlight this, Figures 11 and 12 show the differences in income distribution and educational level in two of Gothenburg's districts and

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[15] The income data consists of income from employment and income from business activity.

[16] Those who are openly unemployed and people who are involved in programmes with activity grants are counted as unemployed. The openly unemployed are those who are registered with the Swedish Public Employment Service in job-seeker categories 11, 96, 97 and 98.

Figures 13 and 14 reveal existing differences in rates of ill-health and employment in the Västra Hisingen district, distributed by gender. One example of the large differences is that 92.8 per cent of the men in Björlunda are in work, while the corresponding figure for the women in Norra Biskopsgården is 37 per cent.

Figure 11: Income distribution in Askim – Frölunda – Högsbo 2011, 20–64 years, in SEK (thousands)
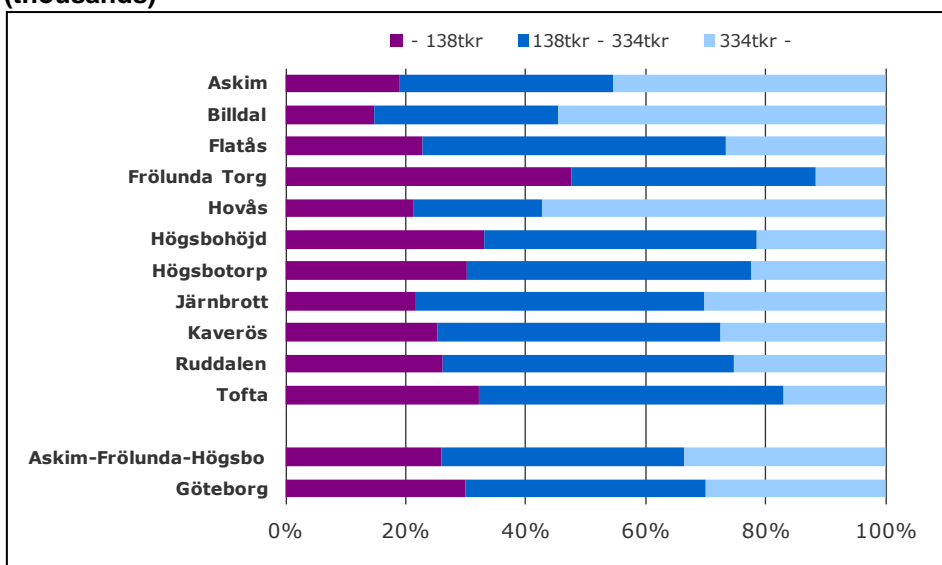
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Figure 12: Educational level in Östra Göteborg 2012, 25–64 years, in per cent
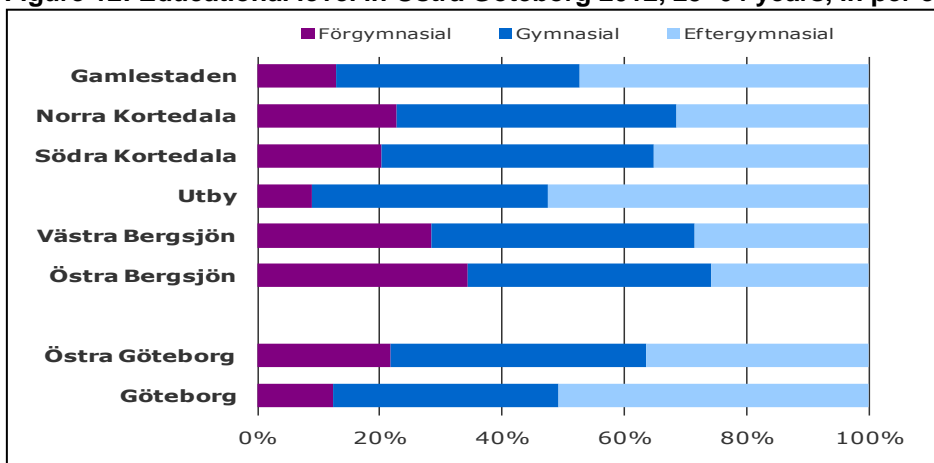
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Figure 13: Rate of ill-health in Västra Hisingen 2012, 16–64 years, in per cent[17]

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[17] The rate of ill-health is calculated by adding together the number of days of sickness benefit, work injury benefit, rehabilitation compensation and activity and sickness compensation (formerly sickness pension). This sum is then divided by the population aged 16–64 years.
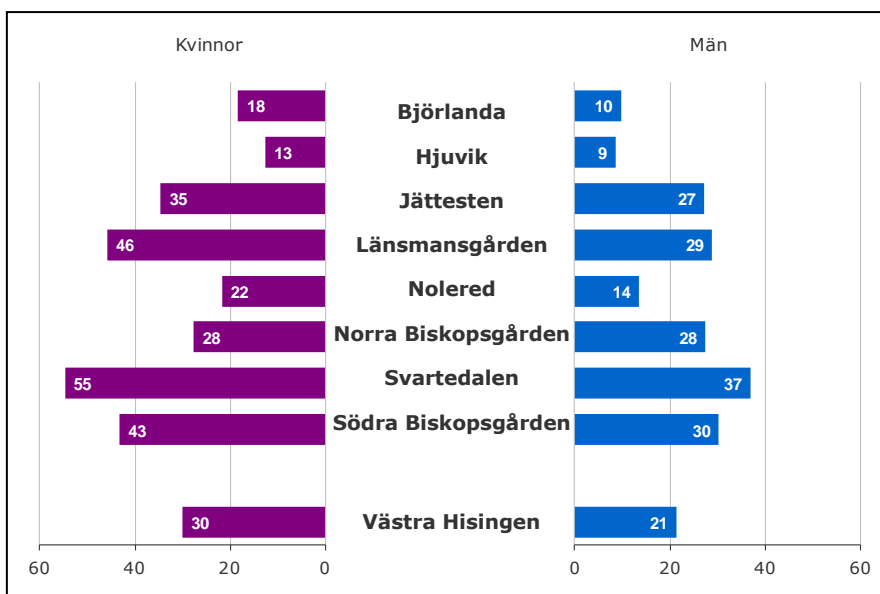
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Figure 14: Employment rate in Västra Hisingen 2011, 25–64 years, in per cent[18]
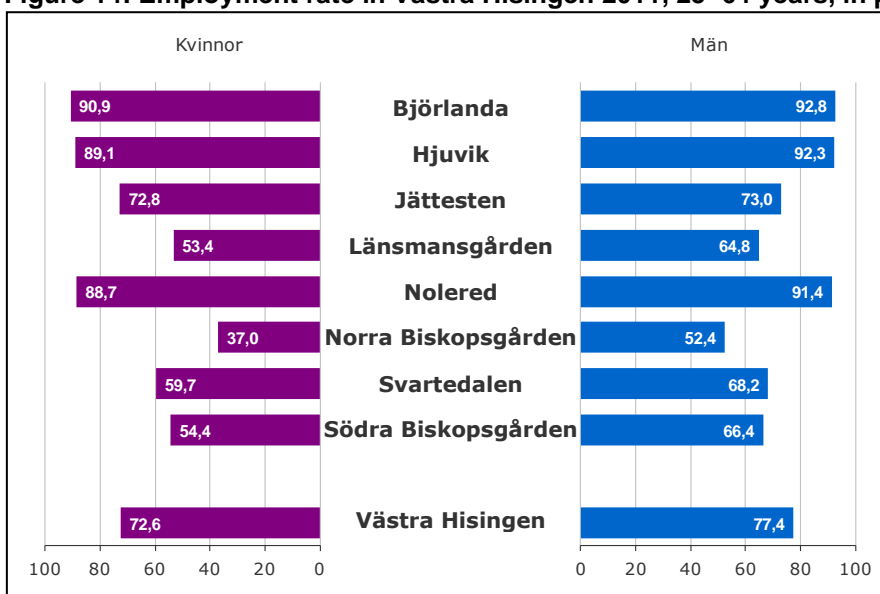
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Residential segregation does not end at the municipal boundary. Roger Andersson's study from 2009 shows that segregation in Gothenburg is a regional problem and that different parts of the region take on different roles in the housing market. Gothenburg's neighbouring municipalities contain many

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[18] The employment rate is calculated as the proportion of the population who undertook at least one hour's work per week in November 2011. Those who were temporarily absent due, for example, to illness are included as employed.

areas with detached houses that attract well-off families, while the majority of the population of Gothenburg live in apartment buildings. According to Andersson's study, half of the residential areas in the Gothenburg region are "very uniform and consist of more than 90 per cent of one form of tenure; the majority of these being areas where people own their own homes". Andersson's study also shows that just under 30 per cent of the population of Gothenburg own their own home, while the proportion in the surrounding municipalities, with a few exceptions, is up around 70 per cent or more. In addition, the study shows that the greater the proportions that live in their own homes, the higher the average income and employment rate and the lower the proportion of people with a foreign background (Andersson et al. 2009, p. 74).

The results of Andersson's study reveal both the relational aspects of segregation and that segregation is a regional problem that does not end at the municipal boundaries. The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning also promotes the regional perspective on residential segregation. At the same time, its assessment is that the regional level is hard to manage in Sweden.

> "In the major city areas there is a residential segregation that is also apparent when looking at things from a regional perspective; different parts of the region take on different roles in the regional housing market. There is also an ongoing discussion at the regional level in all three major city regions, but the question is how the social consequences can be taken into account at the regional level when implementing planning measures or changes to the physical structure". (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010, p. 14)

In conjunction with the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning observing the difficulties of governance linked to segregation at the regional level, it refers to an international overview that shows that regulations in many other countries involve stronger governance at the national and regional level, even in terms of the development of individual districts (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010, p. 14). Christophe Foultier, who conducted the international survey, points out that in many countries, the national or federal authorities are the ones to initiate, adapt and also partly finance urban renewal plans. For example, regional governments in the German states are tied to renewal processes and in France the metropolitan councils, *Communautés d'Agglomération*, have a significant role through co-financing or by coordinating regional and local politics (Foultier 2010, p. 15).

What are the effects?

People who live in underprivileged areas have a lower socioeconomic standard, and girls and boys who grow up in disadvantaged areas continue to have worse conditions later in life (cf. Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, Chapter 6; Andersson et al. 2009; Bunar 2012; Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013).

According to the *theory of neighbourhood effects*, the worse living conditions are partly due to effects that arise when an individual's attitude and behaviour is affected by those of their neighbours. Research into neighbourhood effects has mainly been conducted in North America and is relatively new to Sweden. There is evidence for neighbourhood effects in North America (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 122). However, according the Swedish National Board of Housing,

Building and Planning and the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, there is little evidence for neighbourhood effects in Sweden and the effects that have been observed are primarily linked to young people's living conditions. The underlying cause of existing differences are instead largely explained, according the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning and the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, by the different areas' social and economic structure, i.e. the presence of less well-off groups (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010, p. 10; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, Chapter 6).

Roger Andersson broadens the significance of neighbourhood effects to encompass three theories: *The socialisation theory*, according to which neighbours and the surroundings affect our strategies and behaviour; *the network theory*, which means that we are disadvantaged if we do not have a contact network with plentiful resources; and *the stigmatisation theory*, according to which certain groups or residents in certain areas are subject to favourable or negative discrimination. Andersson's assessment is that the neighbourhood effects have an impact on both young and old (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, pp. 146–147).

When it comes to young people's living conditions, there is a broader consensus concerning the significance of neighbourhood effects. Where girls and boys grow up and which school they go to have an impact on their future living conditions (cf. Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, pp. 144–145; Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 177, Sernhede 2013a, 2013b; Widigson 2013; Bunar 2011, 2012, pp. 28–31). Nihad Bunar draws attention to quantitative research indicating links between residential areas and young people's self-image.

> "The area's bad reputation and low status can force young people to approach and deal with the stigma and the expectations of others in various ways, from living up to the low expectation and distancing themselves from mainstream society, to pragmatically handling the image of their area and school and thus crossing the artificial boundaries between us and them, between immigrants and Swedes and between suburb and city centre". (Bunar 2012, p. 29)

In other words, stigmatisation is an influential factor. When neighbourhood or schools are labelled as vulnerable or problematic, they are also labelled as different. (cf. Andersson et al. 2009; Tedros 2008; Sernhede 2013a, 2013b; Bunar 2012). This results in young people growing up in underprivileged areas often having a conflicted relationship with the place where they life. Many get on well, but even those who do are annoyed by the bad reputation. (Widigson 2013, pp. 139–142; Bunar 2011, p. 62)

The term "placeism" is one way of describing this stigmatisation and its effects. According to Adiam Tedros, the discursive de-ethnification of underprivileged areas, which means they are now described as "excluded" instead of "immigrant dominated" areas, has led to "the establishment of placeism" in which these underprivileged areas are described as chaotic, passive and dominated by misery (Tedros 2008, pp. 173–178). Ove Sernhede also highlights the term "placeism" and believes that segregation has led to a placeism that has turned the place you live in to a vital marker of who you are. Addresses mark you out as a winner or loser before you have been allowed to show who you are and it happens that people change address in order to increase their chances of finding work. Sernhede also argues that segregation in schools has psychological consequences (Sernhede 2013a, 2013b).

"Many perceive that school is not for them, that school is a part of Sweden they do not have access to. For some, this is a challenge they decide to take on. Others, far too many, accept their assigned role of losers" (Sernhede 2013a).

Irene Molina argues that the ethnic dimension has altered the discourse surrounding residential segregation. In the 1960s and 70s, the situation was seen as a social problem for the society. Today it is no longer considered "everyone's problem" in the same way; instead it is "an immigrant problem". Molina argues that those who used to live in these areas were considered to have been affected by social vulnerability, while "the immigrants" who now live in the residential areas are regarded as being the cause of their own social vulnerability: "Those who live there are no longer the victims – instead they are the cause of the problem" (Molina in Broms Wessel et al. 2005, p. 106).

However, the effects of segregation are not only seen at the individual level but also at the neighbourhood level. The proportion of well-off and less well-off inhabitants impacts on an area's character and development potential, as high income goes hand in hand with further education, improved social skills and an increased ability to cater to one's needs. Well-off households demand a certain level of service and place demands on public and commercial activities in the area where they live. Similarly, well-off parents put greater demands on their children's schools and the quality of their children's education compared with less well-off parents. This means that well-off households constitute an important factor for the development of an area (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008).

Furthermore, these significant disparities between residential areas can lead to tensions in society, as people in different parts of the city are living in different worlds. This problem is often brought up in relation to less well-off areas. But the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare, among others, stresses that the tension depends as much on the situation in well-off areas:

"The tension arises, however, because the other pole also exists, namely neighbourhoods where almost all the inhabitants are either born in Sweden or non-visible immigrants. In these neighbourhoods it is rare to find poor, unemployed people receiving financial assistance as well as people with a different look or dress." (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 220).

The fact that economic and ethnic segregation coincide to such a high degree, and are largely area-specific, worsens the situation, as this can lead to the majority population perceiving people living in socially underpriviliged areas as foreign in the double sense, both economically and ethnically. Similarly, there is a risk that people living in socioeconomically underprivileged areas perceive such a large distance between their standard of living and the general standard of living in the country that they do not experience a sense of belonging in society. This development counteracts the possibilities of creating a socially sustainable city (cf. Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, pp. 220-1 and Stigendal 2011). Stigendal describes the development in the following way:

"If differences in real inclusion become too great, this makes it difficult to achieve a common feeling of participation. This may result in people turning away from society. This means that the social cohesion is weakened." (Stigendal 2011, p. 36).

Overall, the discussion on the effects of residential segregation occasions caution when it comes to describing different neighbourhoods. There is a risk that words like "exclusion" and "exclusion areas"

masks both the causes of the segregation and the relational aspects of the situation. Instead, the cause of the problems risks being attributed only to certain residential areas, and the individuals who live in underprivileged areas risk being blamed for their own vulnerability and the problems of the areas (cf. Stigendal 2012, pp. 40-1 and Tedros 2008, pp. 173-84). Stigendal highlights the terminology's importance related to the terms "segregation" and "exclusion". While the term "segregation" is fundamentally relational, the term "exclusion" only focuses on one side of segregation (Stigendal 2011, p. 38). This is particularly problematic because it ignores the driving forces of the "inclusion" and the mechanisms that create "exclusion".

What are the driving forces?

Segregation can be voluntary or involuntary (cf. Stigendal 2011, p. 38; Molina in Magnusson Turner 2008 and the Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012, p. 14). In the first case, people seek out other people of the same age, the same nationality, similar socioeconomic conditions, etc. by their own free will. But if enough people seek out each other by their own "free will", the possibilities to choose become limited for other groups. Not everyone has the same choices either. Economic resources are limiting, and so are factors such as knowledge, contact networks and discrimination. According to several researchers, it is the choices of advantaged groups in particular that cause segregation by creating conditions that cause exclusion and reinforce inclusion (cf. Andersson et al. 2009; Molina in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 51 and Stigendal 2012).

As described on page 14 in the section on "racialization", the cultural geographer Irene Molina emphasises that power relations in general, and ethnic relations in particular, are determining factors for people's choices in the housing market. The Equality Ombudsman (DO) makes a similar assessment. According to their experience, research on segregation and studies on discrimination along with the Equality Ombudsman's local work reveal that certain groups in Sweden have fewer opportunities because of their ethnicity. Some, among them Roma, are especially vulnerable. The argument can be related to the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare's reasoning on the situation of "visible immigrant groups", that is, people with origins in southern Europe, Asia, Africa or Latin America.

According to the Equality Ombudsman, discrimination is prevalent in the housing market, both at the structural and individual level[19] (DO 2008: p. 47). Irene Molina, Roger Andersson as well as Oskar

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[19] One way to investigate the presence of discrimination in society is to use the practical method of situation testing. Simplified, the method involves two people of, say, different ethnicity, who separately apply for the same thing based on identical qualifications. In Sweden, the method has been used to a limited extent, but there are few studies related to the housing market. The Swedish Union of Tenants conducted an investigation where a housing applicant with a Swedish-sounding name and a person with a foreign-sounding name contacted a large number of private and municipal housing companies by telephone. The analysis of the study which the Swedish Union of Tenants presented in 2007 revealed a clear pattern of discrimination. In 2007, Linnaeus University conducted a similar study in which three fictional characters named Erik Johansson, Maria Andersson and Muhammed Rashid applied for available rental apartments to 500 individuals and companies. The only thing that was filled out differently on the online form was the applicant's name and gender. The result from the batch sent to the private rental companies was that Maria received answers to 71% of her inquiries, of which 8% resulted in an offer to look at an apartment. Erik received a response to 60% of his inquiries, with an offer of a viewing in 8% of the cases. Muhammed's response rate was much lower with only 44% responding, and in 2% of these cases he was offered a viewing. The response rate and outcome for the three test subjects clearly show that private companies tend to prefer ethnically Swedish women and men before a male applicant with an Arabic/Muslim name. When it comes to individuals

Nordström Skans and Olof Åslund point to discrimination as a factor affecting segregation in the housing market (Nordström Skans and Åslund 2009, p. 62 as well as Andersson and Molina in Magnusson Turner 2008 and Andersson et al. 2009, p. 55 and 65). The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare also draws attention to the problem of discrimination linked to certain groups:

> "Everything indicates that in Sweden, like other places, visibility rather than origin is the more important factor when it comes to discrimination, participation in the labour market or housing conditions." (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 184)

At the same time, the debate indicates that people with foreign backgrounds seek each other out and that this is one of the reasons for the increasing ethnic segregation. According to Irene Molina and Roger Andersson, among others, this assumption is a simplification of reality since people make choices based on the obstacles and opportunities that are available to them and these obstacles are ethnically and socioeconomically selective in nature (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, pp.137 and 143 and Molina in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 51). Andersson describes the lack of choice in the following way:

> "When a significant portion of the immigrants are dependent on social assistance and generally have very low incomes, as is the current situation, it is simply not credible to argue that large groups of them make a free choice in the housing market." (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 143)

Mikael Stigendal links segregation to a question of power and points to the problem of new social boundaries emerging in the cities:

> "The general problem is particularly serious as the division between inclusion and exclusion has come to coincide with segregation. This has led to the emergence of new social boundaries in the cities. It is primarily a matter of great disparity in power and those who find themselves outside these boundaries do not have many of the rights that others take for granted." (Stigendal 2012, p. 50)

The rapid pace of urbanisation also affects development. Immigrants generally show a higher degree of urbanisation than the rest of the population, and newly arrived refugees in particular often end up in socioeconomically underprivileged areas (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 220). However, Roger Andersson, among others, stresses that it is not the immigration that causes segregation.

> "It is not an increase in immigration that causes segregation. The underlying causes are socio-economic, such as price formation in the housing market, the composition of the housing stock, and the economic resources for the households and the possibility to choose where one wants to live. However, the increased pressure on the housing market does contribute to a more powerful manifestation of segregating mechanisms. Generally speaking, segregation breeds segregation. This means that the larger the socioeconomic differences between areas in an

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offering to rent out apartments, Maria got to view 20% of the places, Erik saw 10% and Muhammad saw 4%. (The Equality Ombudsman 2008, pp. 34–35).

urban system, the stronger the impulses to segregation-generated migration." (Andersson et al. 2009, p. 74)

Relocations also have an impact and socioeconomically underprivileged areas are often characterised by a situation where those who achieve a greater degree of success, Swedish-born and "non-visible immigrants groups" move out. Between 1990 and 2006, the number of "Swedish households" in neighbourhoods with large concentrations of "visible immigrant groups" was halved (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 201). In other words, the composition of the population is equally affected by the people who move out of these areas as by those who move in. According to Roger Andersson, about half of those living in a Million Programme area (the large housing developments from the 1960s and 70s) leave the area within five years (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p. 144). However, the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare's report from 2010 shows that population stability generally increased during the period 2000–2007 compared to 1990–1997, with the largest change being in "neighbourhoods with large or very large concentrations of visible immigrant groups" (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 176).

In some areas there is another trend, where individuals with high socioeconomic status are moving to neighbourhood that have traditionally been predominantly inhabited by individuals from lower social classes or ethnic minorities. The process has been described by Irene Molina as a kind of renewal and status-raising of urban space which often implies a social exchange of people from poor to wealthy residents (Molina in Kamali 2005).

This social transformation, or gentrification, can be linked to the renovation that must be done in many Million Programme areas. In some areas, such as Pennygången in Gothenburg, there are plans for necessary pipe replacements to be supplemented with raising standards significantly, which could result in large rent increases that many of the residents would not be able to afford (www.pennygangen.se). The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's assessment when it comes to area renewal is that the changes should be based on the needs and wishes of the residents. Ann-Sofie Jeppson and Anna Olsson also emphasise the importance of tenant influence during area renewal and reconstruction. Jeppson and Olsson also stress the importance of the residents being involved from the beginning and that the collaboration is "for real". (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010 and Jeppson and Olsson 2010)

Of course, segregation is also influenced by price formation in the housing market and the housing stock's composition, i.e. the location of vacant and available housing for different population groups. In this context, the costs for housing construction, regulations relating to housing and housing planning, as well as economic incentives to build cheaper, are determining factors (Andersson et al. 2009's 6 and 74). All these factors can be affected politically, which means that the degree of residential segregation is subject to political influence.

In our complex and globalised time, there is however conflicting goals between investments in accommodation for groups who live in the city and have difficulties entering the housing market, and efforts to attract a highly-skilled workforce to settle in the city, thereby increasing the city's attractiveness. (For a more detailed discussion on this and other conflicting goals when the local is intertwined with the global, see the KAIROS Comprehensive project documents and Abrahamsson 2013) It should also be mentioned that certain communities and businesses have major economic

interests in maintaining the price formation in the housing market. However, this aspect of the housing market will not be developed in this paper.

What do laws and conventions say?

The right to housing is defined as a human right. The right is contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 25) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article 11). The right to housing is also defined in the revised European Social Charter (Article 31).[20] National legislation also contains the right to housing. The Swedish Constitution states that public institutions shall secure the right to employment, housing and education, and shall promote social care and social security, as well as favourable conditions for good health (Chapter 1, § 2). The Social Services Act states that the Social Welfare Board shall, in its activities, "promote the individual's right to employment, housing and education", and the Discrimination Act contains regulations against discrimination. The Planning and Building Act's preamble states that the provisions of the Act aim to "promote social development with equal and good social living conditions" for people today and for future generations. This implies planning based on people. The Swedish Housing Supply Act's preamble states that:

> "1 § Each municipality shall plan for housing provision in the municipality through guidelines. The purpose of the planning shall be to create conditions for everyone in the municipality to live in decent housing and to promote the preparation and implementation of appropriate measures for housing provision.
>
> In the planning of housing provision, the municipality shall consult with affected municipalities and give the county administrative board, the actor responsible for regional growth work in the county and other regional bodies the opportunity to express an opinion.
>
> Guidelines for housing provision shall be adopted by the municipal council during each term. If the conditions for the adopted guidelines change, new guidelines shall be drawn up and adopted by the municipal council." Act (2013:866).

What then, do these laws and the fact that that housing is a human right entail in practice? At the international level, the relationship between civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, social and cultural rights on the other hand has been controversial ever since the UN General Assembly in 1948 adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During the Cold War, the West

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[20] Universal Declaration, Article 25: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control."

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Article 11: "The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent."

The revised European Social Charter, Article 31: "The right to housing. With a view to ensuring the effective exercise of the right to housing, the Parties undertake to take measures designed: 1. to promote access to housing of an adequate standard; 2. to prevent and reduce homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination; 3. to make the price of housing accessible to those without adequate resources."
(www.manskligarattigheter.se)

pushed hard for civil and political rights, while the Soviet Union and most third world countries pointed to the importance of economic, social and cultural rights for equal life chances. In 1966, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (the ESC Covenant) were adopted, but it was only at a UN conference in Vienna in 1993 that both types of rights were established as indivisible and carrying the same weight. However, several countries to this day express criticism of the fact that the economic, social and cultural rights have been evolved into ambitions, rather than basic, universal rights. The criticism is based on the fact that the states that ratify the Covenant only undertake to use available resources to progressively realise these rights.

Several of the UN human rights conventions have additional protocols, and some of these give individuals the right to have their rights examined within the UN. The Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has for a long time had such an additional protocol. Since December 2008, there is also an Optional Protocol for the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, but it must be ratified by 10 countries to enter into legal force. Currently, three countries have ratified the Optional Protocol and some thirty countries have signed it. Sweden has neither ratified nor signed the Optional Protocol. However, Sweden has signed the ESC Covenant, although it has not been incorporated into Swedish law. Instead, Sweden has found that the wording of the Covenant is consistent with Swedish law, i.e. that "norm harmony" prevails, for example, through what is prescribed in the national laws as outlined in the introduction to this section.

So the question remains, what does this right mean in practice? The fact that Sweden has not signed the Optional Protocol for the economic, social and cultural rights or incorporated them into the national legislation makes them to a large degree "legally meaningless". But these human rights are not just legal issues. They exist because we humans as a group have decided that they exist, both at the international and national level, and have documented these rights in various conventions and enactments. If a right such as the right to housing is a human right, then the government and other decision-makers are failing if the right is not fulfilled. This means that even if the right to housing in the legal sense is quite meaningless, it is not politically or socially meaningless. Nationally, regionally and locally, but also at the international level, politicians, debaters and officials can invoke the right to housing, via budget allocations and in other contexts, as a means to prioritise housing construction and the right of everyone to adequate housing.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS

Present state of affairs

As shown in the section "Present state of affairs" in the chapter on "Residential segregation" on pages 18 to 20, the economic disparity in Sweden has increased. This obviously affects children and young people's living conditions. According to the Swedish National Institute of Public Health, the proportion of children and young people living in households with a low economic standard has increased in the last ten years, and the disparity in living conditions for children has increased (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 9). The Swedish National Institute of Public Health uses the definition of low economic standard as a disposable income below 60 per cent of the median value and, according to the Institute, "the proportion of parents in households with a low economic standard has increased from eight to twelve per cent over the course of the 2000s" (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 47). The Swedish National Institute of Public Health calls particular attention to the fact that, to a greater extent than before, the parents' level of education and country of birth impacts on the potential of children and young people to achieve good results at school and their ability to establish themselves in the labour market. According to the Swedish National Institute of Public Health, this impairs the young people's chances of good life-long health (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 10).

According to Save the Children Sweden, the increase in income inequality has led to a sharp increase in child poverty. The term "child poverty" has been criticised, but as used in the reports of Save the Children, it does not refer to poverty in absolute terms, but to relative poverty. On page 18 in the chapter on "Residential segregation", there is a more detailed definition of the terms "absolute poverty" and "relative poverty", but simply put "relative poverty" means that people are poor if they, due to a lack of economic resources, cannot live the same life as others in the community in which he or she lives. On the same basis, the concept of child poverty encompasses children who, due to a lack of economic resources, cannot participate as equals in their social context (Save the Children 2012 and the Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013).

Save the Children is particularly attentive to the situation in the three largest cities in terms of economic disparities where, according to the organisation, over 50 per cent of children in certain neighbourhood live in relative poverty. In particular it is families with an immigrant background who are lagging behind economically. Nearly one in three children with a foreign background, 31.9 per cent, live in relative poverty. The corresponding figure for children of parents born in Sweden is 6.3 per cent. Children of single parents are another vulnerable group where 28.2 per cent are living in relative poverty. Among children of single parents with an immigrant background, the majority live in relative poverty, 53.3 per cent (Save the Children 2012). The situation of single parents affects women more than men, as the majority are women. According to the Swedish National Institute of Public Health, in 2010 around 77 per cent of nearly 300,000 single parents were women (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 47).

The Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare provides a more positive picture of the trend. According to their assessment, child poverty in Sweden, regardless of how it is measured, is very low by international standards. Nor does the National Board of Health and Welfare observe any upwards

trend in child poverty in Sweden. The board, however, see problems relating to the stagnant incomes of those living below or near the poverty line and the increasing economic disparities. The increase in disparities also means that children living in economic vulnerability fall further behind the standards enjoyed by other children. According to the National Board of Health and Welfare, certain groups are especially vulnerable, in particular children of immigrants and children of single parents. The National Board of Health and Welfare is particularly concerned with the situation of children of immigrants who, according to all the measures used in the study, have a much higher degree of vulnerability than children of parents born in Sweden. (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013, pp. 7, 23 and 44)

> "It is evident that children of immigrants have a financially troubled childhood compared with children of parents born in Sweden." (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013, p. 23).

The disparity in the figures for the number of children living in relative poverty or economic vulnerability is due to different methods of calculation. According to the National Board of Health and Welfare, the most common method of calculation in Europe is based on distribution of income. The OECD uses the definition of lower than 50 per cent of the country's median income, while the EU uses the definition of lower than 60 per cent of the country's median income (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2013, p. 13). The National Board of Health and Welfare provides a detailed description of the different ways to calculate child poverty in the report "*Ekonomisk utsatthet och välfärd bland barn och deras familjer 1968-2010, Underlagsrapport till Barn och ungas hälsa, vård och omsorg 2013*".

Regardless of calculation method, the research shows that the living conditions for children living in households with a low economic standard affects school performance and health, but also their opportunities in the labour and housing markets. Furthermore, the research within public health shows that relative poverty is one of the most important determinants of human health, and it applies to both adults and children (Marmot 2004 and 2008 as well as Wilkinson and Picket 2010). Michael Marmot believes that the most important efforts to improve children's health, in addition to school achievement and opportunities in society, generally involve creating a reasonable support system for the parents; financially, socially and emotionally (Marmot 2004, p. 323).

What is the impact of the housing situation?

Young people are one of the groups who have most difficulty in the housing market. In 2011, 158 of the country's 290 municipalities indicated that there was a lack of housing for young people in the municipality. The same year, young people were the group that most municipalities in Västra Götaland County assessed as having *particular* difficulty in the housing market; 31 out of 49 municipalities. Previously, it has mostly been difficult for young people to find accommodation in major cities, but now it is also difficult in smaller cities (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2013 a and b, and County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland 2012). The difficulty in finding their own accommodation naturally affects the possibility to develop as individuals and take the step into the adult world. But it also affects local development.

> "Young people's situation in the housing market affects the development of the municipalities and counties as a whole. Communities in need of young people in the workforce need a housing

market that is appealing for the young if they are to have the opportunity and desire to remain there." (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2013 a, p. 10)

According to data from the Swedish Union of Tenants and the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society, the percentage of 20-27 year olds with their own accommodation dropped by 10 percentage points between 1997 and 2011. During the same period, the percentage that left home but lack the permanent right of occupation to their home increased from 22 to 26 per cent (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society 2011, p. 41). The situation within the group of young people differs. The group that is most vulnerable is single parents aged 18-25. This group is made up mostly of women, of which nearly three out of four lived with a low economic standard during 2010 (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society 2011, p. 69). The Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society also highlights the situation for young people with immigrant or working class backgrounds by mentioning one of the Commission of Inquiry's conclusions. (SOU 2007:14a and 2007:14b).

"In the Commission of Inquiry, it is emphasised that the establishment phase has changed from a short period to a lengthy and protracted process that specifically penalises young adults with an immigrant or working class background." This refers to the fact that it takes longer for young people to get their own home, a stable job and to find a partner and start a family. (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society 2011, p. 99)

The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning indicates in its status report on young people's living situation in 2013 that the situation of young people in the housing market is problematic. 35 per cent of young people aged 20-25 are still living at home, which is more than before. Of those who still live at home, 70 per cent of teens with a Swedish background live in a detached house, while 62 per cent of teens with a foreign background who remain at home live in rented accommodation. More women than men live in an apartment with a first- or second-hand contract; a little more than half compared with one third of the men (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2013 b, p. 10).

That the situation is the way it is in the housing market, with segregation and a lack of rental housing in many cities[21], means that children who recently arrived to Sweden and children living in relative poverty risk growing up in overcrowded conditions in socioeconomically underprivileged neighbourhoods. The County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland highlights the impact of this overcrowding on the ability to cope with school, as one's ability to do homework is compromised along with the chance of getting enough rest and sleep. In addition, young people in overcrowded conditions spend a lot of time on the street (County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland 2012, p. 56). The Swedish National Institute of Public Health also points to the link between overcrowded living conditions and health, and suggests that "those without tolerable housing conditions find it difficult to cope with other aspects of life" (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 46).

In addition, there is evidence of neighbourhood effects with respect to children and young people, meaning that the place where girls and boys grow up impacts their future. Oskar Nordstöm Skans and Olof Ålund stress that people's opportunities are primarily limited by a resource-poor environment,

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[21] In Västra Götaland County, 44 of the county's 49 municipalities stated that there was a shortage of rental housing in the municipality in 2011 (County Administrative Board of Västra Götaland, 2012).

not by "ethnic concentration" (Nordström Skans and Ålund 2009, p 96). Nihad Bunar also emphasises the socioeconomic variables and connects these to pupils' school performance (Bunar 2012).

> "To express myself clearly, the "cruel" form of segregation is not that ten Iraqi families are living in the same apartment building, but that ten families with poorly educated parents receiving some form of welfare support are living there. (Bunar 2012, p. 31)

What happens in school?

"Pisa 2012", which was presented in December 2013, received considerable attention because of Swedish pupils' declining performance in an international comparison. For the first time since the PISA surveys began in 2000, Swedish 15-year-olds scored below the OECD average in mathematics as well as reading comprehension and science. However, "PISA 2012" also revealed that grades have declined the most for boys and low-performing pupils, and that equivalence between schools has deteriorated (Swedish National Agency for Education 2013). The Swedish National Agency for Education shows in another report from 2012 that the variation between schools' average results has increased significantly in Sweden since the late 1990s. The variation of results between individual pupils has also increased, but not to the same extent (Swedish National Agency for Education 2012). In a statistical report from November 2013, the Ministry of Employment revealed that the percentage of pupils in the country eligible for upper secondary school has dropped by 2 percentage points between 1998 and 2012. During the same period, the percentage of eligible pupils in the 15 areas that the Government has defined as particularly vulnerable dropped by almost 8 percentage points (see Figure 7 on page 24). The gap between the country as a whole and the 15 neighbourhood has thus widened (Ministry of Employment 2013, p. 39). In Gothenburg, the disparity in results between schools has also increased. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate writes in an inspection report from 2012 that education in Gothenburg Municipality is not equal and that the district boards have not succeeded in their mission to provide all pupils the opportunity of receiving an equal education. The Swedish Schools Inspectorate's assessment is that the low results in some schools are "closely related to the residential segregation and significant disparities found in the socioeconomic composition of Gothenburg Municipality's population" (Swedish Schools Inspectorate 2012, p. 3).

A large number of factors affect the pupils' performance. The family characteristic is a factor but also where the pupils live and the school's characteristics. According to the assessment of the Swedish National Agency for Education, the schools' quality impacts the results, but also the composition of pupils based on the variables of foreign background and socioeconomics. But the schools also appear to be segregated on the basis of other variables, more difficult to measure, such as the motivation to study. Motivated pupils utilise the free choice of school and apply to schools with other academically motivated pupils (Swedish National Agency for Education 2012). Both the Swedish National Agency for Education and the Swedish Schools Inspectorate point out that the downside of this trend is that the schools these pupils avoid retain a less academically motivated pupil composition.

> "A large percentage of the municipality's pupils also choose a school in another district/municipality or an independent school, which leads to redistribution effects that may impact the conditions in schools where these pupils would otherwise have gone." (Swedish Schools Inspectorate 2012, p. 3)

The Swedish National Agency for Education reveals that the pupils' socioeconomic background is of great significance to their study results. Foreign background is also significant, but in this case one should be aware that the age of the person at the time of immigration is a factor. Pupils who have immigrated before the start of school and pupils with a foreign background born in Sweden only have slightly lower merit values than pupils with a Swedish background, and this disparity has narrowed over time (Swedish National Agency for Education 2012).

The Swedish National Institute of Public Health also reports differences in school performance between different groups. Lower results are seen in the following groups: boys, children whose parents have, at most, lower secondary education, and children with a foreign background, especially those who arrived in Sweden after having reached the school age (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, pp. 36, 55-56).

Table 1: Proportion eligible for an upper secondary school vocational programme 2011, in per cent

	Everyone	Children with a Swedish background	Children with a foreign background	Parents who attained lower secondary education or lower
Girls	89 %	92 %	76 %	61 %
Boys	87 %	90 %	74 %	60 %

Source: Swedish National Institute of Public Health[22]

The proportion of pupils who receive final grades from upper secondary school within four years has been around 76 per cent so far in the 2000s. But there are large differences between different groups. In 2010/2011, 85 per cent of pupils whose parents have higher education attained eligibility from upper-secondary school within four years. The corresponding figure for pupils whose parents have upper-secondary education was 74 per cent, and for those with parents who have lower-secondary education and below, 55 per cent. Throughout the 2000s, more girls than boys received final grades from upper-secondary school. The difference has varied by 4 to 7 percentage points. In OECD countries, an average of 82 per cent completes an upper-secondary education at some point in their life. Sweden is below average in this respect. The proportion in Sweden is around 74 per cent (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013: pp. 55-6 and 158).

On an organisational level, three reforms have significantly affected equivalence in school: the municipalisation of schools, the free choice of school and the right of establishment for private schools. But the transition from regulatory management to target and performance management and a new criteria-based grading system has also had an impact[23] (Widigson 2013: p 22 and the Swedish National Agency for Education 2012).

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[22] The table has been produced using information from the Swedish National Institute of Public Health's report *Barn och unga 2013, utvecklingen av faktorer som påverkar hälsan och genomförda åtgärder* (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013: pages 55-56).

[23] "Before 1991, the State governed schools largely through regulation. Today, schools are governed with national objectives. The bodies that run schools – municipalities and independent organisers – have a great deal of freedom in deciding how to organise activities, based on the objectives stated in the curricula and course syllabi. The goals are of two different types;

The majority of researchers, but also authorities such as the Swedish National Agency for Education, the Swedish Schools Inspectorate and the National Board of Health and Welfare, highlight structural and organisational aspects in their analyses of the development within the school. On the other hand, teachers and principals tend to individualise their pupils' failures (Cederberg 2012: p 48). There is a similar tendency among pupils to blame themselves for their failures in school and thus develop a self-image of being a "loser" (Sernhede 2013a).

According to Ove Sernhede, many young people who live in the suburbs have no confidence in schools and society's rhetoric on equal opportunities or cultural equity. Instead, they perceive that Swedish society makes a distinction between groups of people and that being an immigrant means being at a disadvantage in the labour market and the housing market; being treated differently by the police compared with young people from more well-off neighbourhoods and having society look down on their parents, as they have to take the jobs that "Swedes" do not want (Sernhede 2013 a). According to Sernhede, this affects self-image:

> "According to researcher Ann Runfors,[24] school is an example of how social degradation happens in a well-meaning society and in a well-meaning field such as education. How do you explain to yourself and those around you that you are not attaining the goals set for you? Existing research seems to indicate that there is cause to understand this in different ways. There is a clear tendency for pupils to place the blame for their failure in school on themselves. They come from a "bad part of town" and are thereby also "bad" or less gifted themselves. These pupils are thought to develop a view of themselves as 'losers'." (Sernhede 2013a)

The right to education is a fundamental human right, but is also an increasingly crucial success factor in life. Society is becoming increasingly meritocratic and young people without upper-secondary level competence will have difficulties managing on the labour market, as well as on the housing market, as a fixed income is often required to gain a foothold on the housing market – and children's educational paths are determined at an early age. The grades achieved in year 9 are a crucial factor in further studies and low or incomplete grades from lower-secondary school increase the risk of future psychosocial problems and the risk of becoming involved in crime (The National Board of Health and Welfare 2010: p 228). The new, higher eligibility regulations for upper-secondary school have aided this development as requirements have been increased.[25]

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primary goals that clarify the focus of activities (goals to aim for) and secondly goals that the school must ensure that all pupils can attain (goals to attain). The preschool's goals state what the preschool shall strive for in terms of children's development (goals to aim for). One problem with regulatory management was that the control of activities was more a matter of ensuring that the rules were observed than seeing how well the goals were achieved. As a consequence, this led to a development of a management style which came to be increasingly goal-oriented. The purpose of introducing the new goal-oriented management was that the pupil's needs would determine how the activities were to be organised and how resources would be distributed in order to achieve the national goals. In the 1990s, the grading system also changed; moving from being relative to being goal-oriented" (Lärarförbundet 2010, p. 10).

[24] Ann Runfors is an associate professor and researcher at the School of Historical and Contemporary Studies at Södertörn University.

[25] Since autumn 2011, eligibility for vocational programmes at upper-secondary level requires passing grades in Swedish or Swedish as a second language, English, Mathematics and at least five other subjects from lower-secondary education. Eligibility for college preparatory program programme requires passing grades in Swedish or Swedish as a second language, English, Mathematics and at least nine other subjects from lower-secondary education.

The place where young people grow up probably affect on a larger scale now than before, since the importance of education increases, at the same time as the gap between different schools is growing. Our society is more meritocratic, and according to Roger Andersson, among others, the role of education is increasingly important. Parents that have the possibility to choose their area of residence therefore base this decision to a greater extent on how it is perceived to affect their children's development and socialisation process (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008, p 120).

As earlier accounted for Michael Marmot believes that one of the best ways to give children a good start in life is to provide their parents with financial, social and emotional support. It is also important to create a high quality of childcare. The goal must be to prepare the child for school. Marmot's assessment is that without these investments, "the funds appropriated for education will likely have no effect on inequalities in children's school performance" (Marmot 2004, pp. 322-3).

Michael Stigendal and Mats Widigson highlight the need for a broader view of knowledge and emphasis on the significance of cultural capital. Widigson links the significance of cultural capital to a working life characterised by internationalisation (Widigson 2013: p 281). In our globalised world, language skills and cultural competence will likely become increasingly important. Stigendal speaks about two views of knowledge. One Stigendal calls "quantitative knowledge", where knowledge is equated with facts, and thus becomes a matter of quantification. The other view of knowledge Stigendal refers to as "qualitative knowledge". According to Stigendal, qualitative knowledge is a view of knowledge which teaches us to understand the significance of processes, but which also makes us observant of many types of knowledge. This view of knowledge is in line with the Swedish curriculum. According to Stigendal, it is also a view of knowledge that is open to acknowledging the validity of intercultural competence (Stigendal 2011 and 2012).

> "I am thinking especially of the knowledge gained by many young people living in culturally diverse areas characterised by exclusion. It can be referred to as intercultural competence and can hardly be evaluated based on a view of knowledge that equates knowledge with facts. Nor can it be graded, which means that it does not receive attention. If Malmö is to be a qualitative knowledge town, this intercultural competence must be incredibly important to take advantage of. Surely, it would also feel good for these young people and contribute to their social integration if they did not need to be viewed as problems but rather as resources." (Stigendal 2012: pp. 43-4)

Stigendal's assessment is that cities that want to resolve problems relating to differences in health and welfare must focus more on qualitative knowledge. Stigendal also says that the teachers and staff of schools in underprivileged areas essentially have two alternatives – either accept the predominant view of knowledge or endeavour to change it:

> "You either accept society in its current condition and attempt to get the pupils to fit into it with a carrot/whip approach, or you see the serious problems that it has, develop a sensitivity to how the pupils can contribute, and allow this to form the basis for endeavours to change society, lower its barriers and make it more inclusive." (Stigendal 2011, p. 59)

According to Ove Sernhede, everyone has the formal right to an equal education, but this does not mean that everyone gets one, and the question is whether school is now a place for creating social cohesion between various groups of children and young people (Sernhede 2013 a and b). According

to Sernhede, there are many signs that school, rather than contributing to greater cohesion, serves to cement divisions and differences. Sernhede mentions the role of the media in this context:

> "As in other contexts, the media prefers to dwell on the violence in the suburbs, never paying attention to the symbolic violence of the fact that around half of the pupils in municipal schools in north-east Gothenburg are not given the conditions that would give them eligibility for upper-secondary education. To be 'sorted out' in this manner, year after year, can only be perceived by young people as being allocated the status of second-class citizen." (Sernhede 2013a)

The development in school can be influenced by politics. But the principles of free competition and freedom of choice are contradictory to the equality principle – that all schools should be equally good. In these complex and globalised times, there are therefore conflicting goals between investments in the free choice of schools, with pupils and parents' right to choose a school, and the idea of the school as a social forum and a hub of democratic social development. (For a more in-depth look at this and other conflicting goals when local and global aspects become intertwined, see the General Project Documents for KAIROS, as well as Abrahamsson 2013.)

**Unemployment and young people who neither work nor study**

In 2012, unemployment among young people in Sweden aged 15–24 was 24 per cent. It is important to note that the unemployment figure, which is used by Statistics Sweden among others, refers to *the number of unemployed people in the labour force* and not the population. Around half of the entire group of young people, age 15 to 24, in Sweden are defined as part of the country's labour force. The other half of the group is not part of the labour force, primarily because they are studying and thus not looking for work.

In 2011, 32 per cent of unemployed young people in Sweden were unemployed for less than one month and, from an international perspective, Sweden had a relatively low proportion (20 per cent) of long-term unemployed young people (Statistics Sweden 2013 a and b). According to the Swedish National Institute of Public Health, Sweden stands out in the unemployment statistics for young people, as other countries with a low total unemployment tend to have low youth unemployment. In Sweden, however, the total unemployment is far below the EU average, whilst youth unemployment is above the EU average (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013: p 88).

The City of Gothenburg's statistics on youth unemployment are based on the entire 'young people' group, aged 18 to 24, which means that the figures are significantly lower than the national figures reported by Statistics Sweden. In order to highlight the differences in youth unemployment in Gothenburg, the city's figures for youth unemployment are used in figures 15 and 16, despite not being comparable with the national figures reported above. Figure 15 shows youth unemployment by district. The proportion of unemployed young people in the entire group of young people differs between Gothenburg's various districts; from 3.6 per cent in Centrum to 16.5 per cent in Angered. As described in the "District, city and region" section in the chapter "Background and definitions" on page 17, the ten districts are too large to function optimally as objects of analysis in relation to studies of segregation. Thus, Figure 16 also shows the differences within one district. The proportion of unemployed in the entire group of young people in Västra Hisingen varies from 5.8 per cent in

Hjulvik to 18.8 per cent in Norra Biskopsgården. However, the largest differences on the "primary area" level in Gothenburg are found between Kärralund (1.1 %) and Lövgärdet (21.7 %).

Figure 15: Youth unemployment in Gothenburg in October 2012, as a percentage *of the entire population aged 18–24* (i.e., *not* as a percentage of the labour force*)*[26]
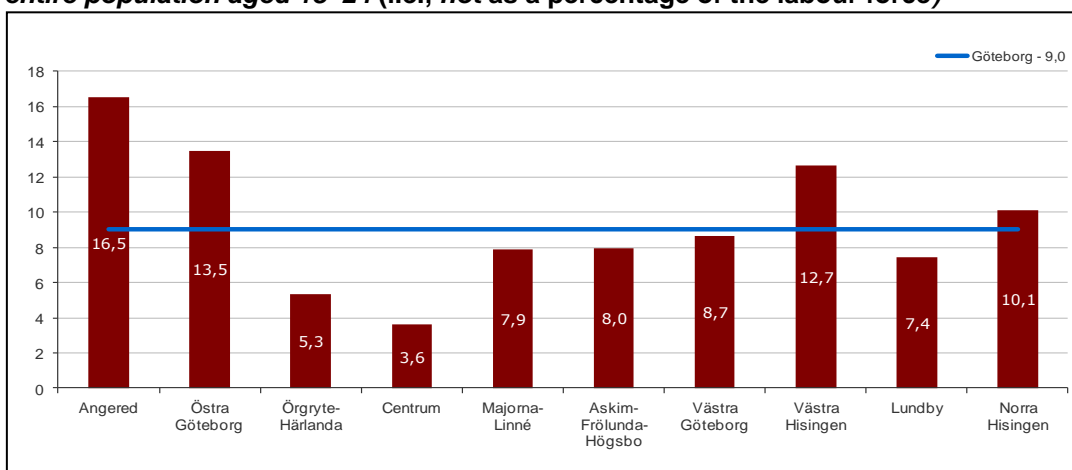
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

Figure 16: Youth unemployment in Västra Hisingen in October 2012, as a percentage *of the entire population aged 18–24* (i.e., *not* as a percentage of the labour force*)*
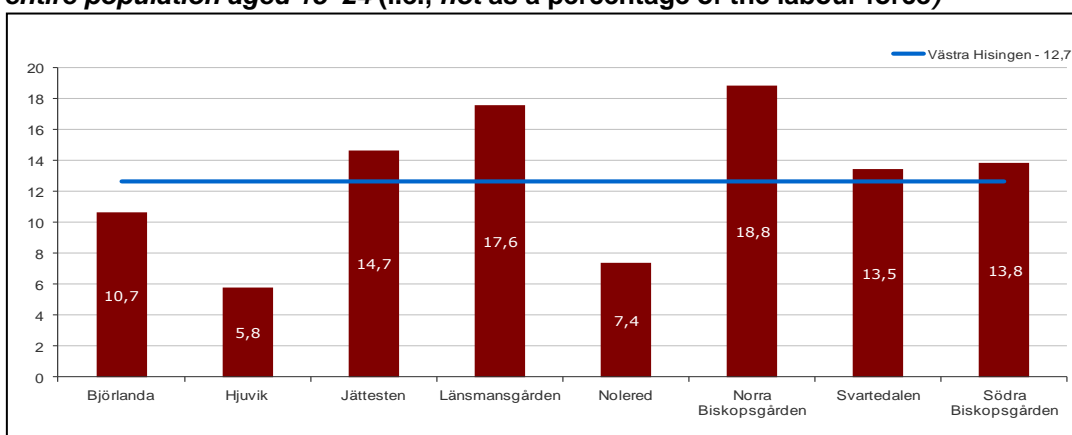
Source: City of Gothenburg, Statistical area data

An established way of describing young people's labour market situation is to use the international measurement NEET (not in employment, education or training). It describes the proportion of young people who neither work, study nor are otherwise involved in some form of training. In Sweden, this proportion was 7.5 per cent of the population aged 15–24 in 2011. This is lower than the EU average of 12.9 per cent (Statistics Sweden 2013 b).

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[26] Unemployed refers to: those who are openly unemployed and people who are involved in programmes with activity grants. Openly unemployed: Those registered with the Swedish Public Employment Service in job-seeker categories 11, 96, 97 and 98.

However, the proportion of young people who neither work nor study varies greatly across the country. In the 15 neighbourhood included in the Government's investment in "socially excluded areas", almost two fifths of young people aged 20–25 were neither gainfully employed nor studying in 2011.[27] The corresponding proportion in the country was barely a fifth (Ministry of Employment 2013: p 29). Figure 8 on page 24 presents the development in the country and the chosen neighbourhoods between 1997 and 2011. Figure 17 below shows the individual situation in each of the chosen neighbourhoods in 2011. In the four neighbourhoods found in Gothenburg, the proportion was 33 per cent in Norra Biskopsgården, Bergsjön and Hjällbo and 39 per cent in Gårdsten. Figure 18 reveals that the proportion of women who are neither gainfully employed nor studying is higher than the proportion of men in the selected neighbourhoods, with the exception of Kronogården in Trollhättan and Södra Sofielund in Malmö. There are no gender differences in the country as a whole. The largest gender difference in Gothenburg is found in Norra Biskopsgården.

Figure 17: Proportion of 20–25 year-olds neither gainfully employed nor studying, in URBAN 15 areas and the country in 2011, in per cent.
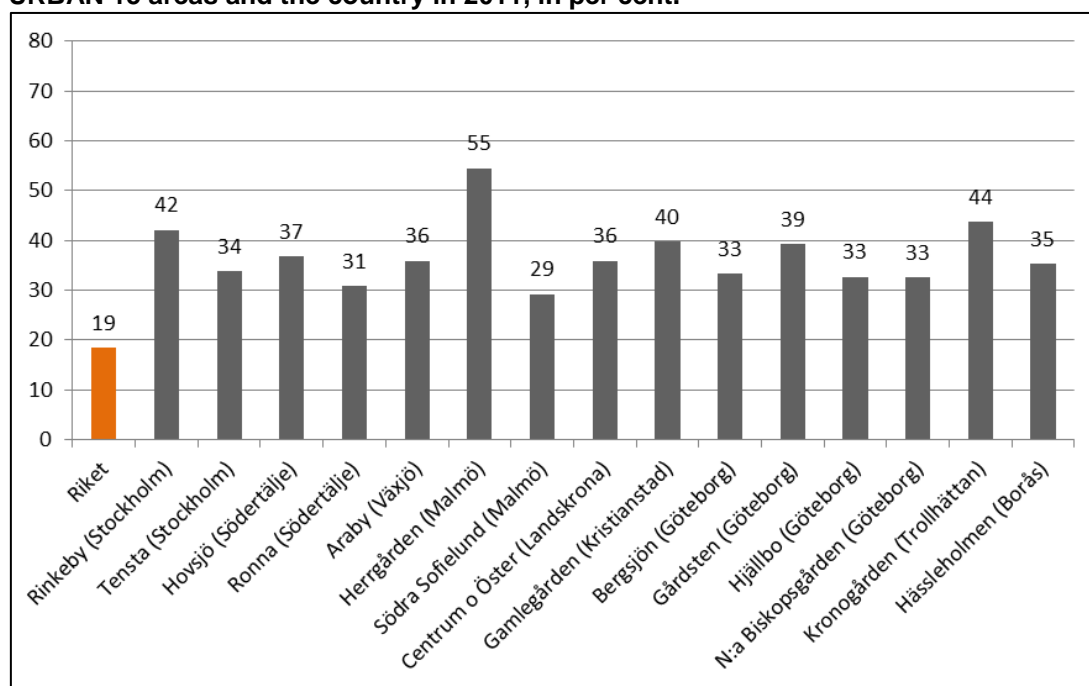
Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)

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[27] Because of the increasing differences between different residential areas, the Swedish Government has been implementing nationwide initiatives since the 1990s in order to tackle the situation in socioeconomically vulnerable residential areas. A more detailed description of these initiatives is provided in the section "What has been done?" in the chapter "Possible solutions", on pages 50 to 51. In the section "Who lives where?" in the chapter on "Residential segregation" on page 22, a description is given of the current investment and the selection criteria employed.
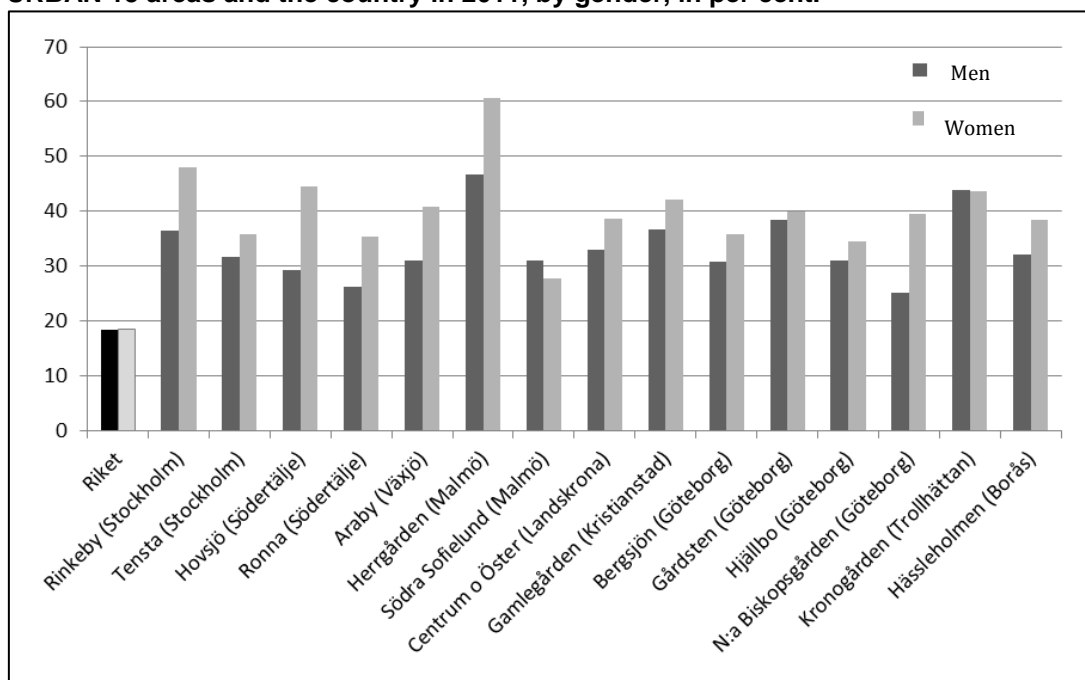
Figure 18: Proportion of 20–25 year-olds neither gainfully employed nor studying, in URBAN 15 areas and the country in 2011, by gender, in per cent.

Source: Swedish Ministry of Employment (2013) and Statistics Sweden (Integration Database)

What is the impact on health?

Relative poverty, social exclusion, residential segregation, the situation in the education system and high unemployment means that large groups of children and young people are at risk of having worse health than they would under other circumstances (see e.g., Köhler 2012: p 186 and Sernhede 2013 b). Surveys also show that differences in health often are long lasting. Low or incomplete grades from year 9 of the Swedish school system increase the risk of psychosocial problems later in life, and the largest differences in health among adults is found between those who only attained lower-secondary education and those who attain higher education (Köhler 2013 p 38 and the National Board of Health and Welfare 2010: p 228). The National Board of Health and Welfare summarises the situation like this:

> "Children's educational paths are determined at an early age. Grades in year 9 (lower-secondary) are crucial to the propensity for further study, irrespective of the child's socioeconomic background. /.../ Low or incomplete grades from year 9 increase the risk of psychosocial problems later in life. Serious criminality among young adults, for example, is 8–10 times more common among those with low grades than among those with medium/high grades." (Swedish National Board of Health and Welfare 2010, p. 228)

At the same time, health problems are one of the main reasons for leaving lower-secondary school (Cederberg 2012: p 49). The results show an interaction. Bad childhood conditions lead to bad health, which leads to worse opportunities in school, which in turn leads to worse health in adult life and

worse opportunities in working life. It is the same causal connection that has become evident in public health science. Michael Marmot, for example, has shown that people's position in society and the possibility to control their own lives affect both mental and physical health (Marmot 2004 and 2008). In rich countries, we can also see that investments in education and equal income distribution have a greater effect on children's health than investments in health care services (Köhler 2013: p 7).

A recent survey conducted in Gothenburg shows that living conditions, and thereby the conditions for health and wellbeing, differ drastically between Gothenburg's various districts. The survey reveals that values for factors such as child poverty, eligibility for upper-secondary education, smoking during pregnancy, low birth weight, smoking in homes with infants, the use of parental support at BVCs, and caries and obesity in school children are worse in the socioeconomically underprivileged districts of Gothenburg. Other variables such as MMR vaccination, time in preschool and serious external injuries are on the same level across the city. Intensive alcohol consumption among 15 year-olds and reported mental health problems, however, are higher in the wealthier districts, according to the study (Köhler 2013).

As mentioned in previous sections of this concept paper, there are studies that illustrate that housing situation affects health. [28] Conditions that have an impact include socioeconomically vulnerable groups ending up in underprivileged areas, difficulties for young people to find their own accommodation and cramped living conditions. The Swedish National Institute of Public Health's assessment is that accommodation is of fundamental importance to people's health and wellbeing and that the home itself is important to our identity.

> "A person who does not have tolerable living conditions will have difficulties managing other parts of their life, which are of crucial importance to their health" (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013: p 46).

The Swedish National Institute of Public Health also pays special attention to differences in health between girls and boys and between young women and men. According to the Swedish National Institute of Public Health, differences in children's lifestyles appear early on and these differences remain in adult life. Among the differences reported is the fact that the proportion of girls in year nine with various symptoms of reduced mental wellbeing has increased alarmingly. The proportion of individuals aged 16 to 24 who have ever felt aggrieved is also higher among women than men (The Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013: pp. 9–10, 30–31 and 44). The Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society brings up the large proportion of mental and psychosomatic problems experienced by young women. In 2010–2011, 32 per cent of girls aged 16–24 stated that they regularly experience uneasiness, fear or anxiety. The proportion among boys was 14 per cent (Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society 2013: p 79). At the same time, death by suicide is considerably more common among young men than women, whereas the opposite is true for attempted suicide (Swedish National Institute of Public Health 2013, p. 31; Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society 2013: p 81).

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[28] The impact of housing situation on health is primarily describe in the section "What are the effects?" in the chapter "Residential segregation" (pages 28–31) and the section "What is the impact of the living situation?" in the chapter on "Young people's living conditions" (pages 37-39).

What do laws and conventions say?

Despite the existence of universal human rights documents such as the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, all of which apply to adults and children alike, a special convention on children's rights was adopted in 1989. The UN's assessment was that children are a particularly vulnerable group and that a special convention on children's rights was therefore needed. The aim of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is to strengthen the child's position and establish that children are individuals with their own rights. The children's convention is based on four fundamental guiding principles:

- Non-discrimination; that all children have the same rights. (Article 2)
- Best interests of the child, which must be considered when making decisions that affect children. (Article 3)
- Right to life, survival and development. (Article 6)
- Respect for the views of the child, and that children have the right to express their view. (Article 12)

In relation to this study, the articles on living standards, health and the right to education are especially relevant. Article 27 on living standards states that the States Parties (states having signed the convention) "recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development." It also states that the States Parties, "in accordance with national conditions and within their means," shall "take appropriate measures to assist parents and others responsible for the child to implement this right and shall in case of need provide material assistance and support programmes, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing and housing."

According to article 24, the States Parties shall recognise "the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health." It is not simply a matter of survival, but about being able to have a sound development. States Parties shall also strive to ensure that no child is deprived of his or her right of access to the health care services they require.

The right to education is formulated in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of human rights and articles 28 and 29 of CRC. The right is not only about respecting everyone's right to education; it is also about safeguarding and honouring the right on the basis of equal opportunities. Article 29, for example, states that the education of the child shall be directed to "the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential".

The Education Act contains provisions concerning equal access "to education" and "equivalent education", and concerning the school's responsibility to investigate, rectify and compensate for differences in pupils' needs and conditions. Chapter 1, § 8 and § 9 of the Education Act, for example, states that:

- Everyone, irrespective of geographical location and social and economic conditions shall have equal access to education in the school system unless otherwise stated in special provisions in this act.

- The education in the school system must be equivalent in all forms of education and in leisure-time centres, irrespective of where in the country they are organised.

The City of Gothenburg's budget for 2014 also mentions the right to education. It states that everyone shall be afforded the opportunity to develop based on their conditions via a life-long process of learning; that children and pupils in all schools shall be given the same conditions; and that the schools shall have an inclusive approach and strengthen social solidarity. The budget also states that "Everyone shall reach the objectives, by means of a holistic view as a basis of education, in which the pupils' inner motivation is utilised" (page 25). There are also two prioritised goals:

- The school shall improve children and pupils' opportunities to obtain and develop knowledge, abilities and values.
- The school shall compensate to a greater extent for differing conditions both between individual pupils and between schools.

The constitution (§ 2 of the Instrument of Government) states that: "The personal, economic and cultural welfare of the individual shall be fundamental aims of public activity. In particular, the public institutions shall secure the right to employment, housing and education, and shall promote social care and social security, as well as favourable conditions for good health."

In the same way as with the right to housing (see the discussion on pages 34-35), the importance of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in practice can be discussed. The Swedish Government ratified CRC in 1990 with no reservations. But the CRC was not incorporated as a law; instead it was decided that national law shall be interpreted in light of the convention in order to ensure that the intentions are followed as far as possible. This is done within the national laws mentioned earlier in this section, among others.

The question thus remains. What does the right of the child to good health, education and living standards mean in practice? And what is the significance of the Convention on the Rights of the Child? The fact that Sweden has not incorporated the convention in national legislation makes it largely "legally meaningless" in the same way as the rights in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. [29] However, as discussed in the section "What do laws and conventions say?" in the chapter on "Residential segregation" (pages 34-35), human rights are not only legal issues but also political, and exist because we have collectively decided, both on an international and national level, that they exist. Politicians, debaters and officials can therefore cite the CRC and the rights of the child to health, education and a certain living standard on a national, regional and local level, but also on an international level, so as to prioritise – by means of budget allocation and in other contexts – the rights of children and young people.

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[29] According to UNICEF, this means that the convention does not have the same status as other Swedish laws in practice. UNICEF Sweden, for example, deems the method insufficient to guarantee children their rights. Instead, the organisation is demanding that the transformation method be combined with an incorporation of the CRC into law (http://unicef.se).

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

What has been done?

National investments to counteract the situation in socioeconomically vulnerable neighbourhoods have been underway for a long time. The investments have been categorised under "the Metropolitan Initiative", "the Local Development Agreements" and is now referred to as "the Urban Development Policy". The Metropolitan Initiative, which took place between 1998 and 2006, was one of the first. It had two overarching goals:

- To give metropolitan areas good conditions for growth and thereby assist the creation of new jobs both within the region and in other parts of the country (the "growth goal").
- Overcoming social and ethnic segregation in metropolitan regions and striving for equal living conditions for inhabitants of major cities (the "segregation goal").

Over 2 billion Swedish crowns (SEK) was allocated to the implementation of the Metropolitan Initiative. And for the development and coordination of the metropolitan policy, an interdepartmental metropolitan delegation was appointed. A starting point for the metropolitan policy was intersectoral collaboration, where public resources were to be centred around the individual (Swedish Agency for Public Management 2010: p 23-24).

In the budget bill for 2008 the metropolitan policy was partially altered to strengthen the link to other policy areas, and on 1 July 2008 the Ordinance (2008:348) on urban development came into force. The urban development policy focused on four goal categories: work, education, security and growth. The urban development policy was similar to the Metropolitan Initiative in that the municipalities in question entered local development agreements with the State. But the specific funding for projects in the selected neighbourhoods, which was previously disbursed, was withdrawn. The Government's work to "overcome exclusion" would continue via the general policy and urban development initiatives would be run using regular resources. As a result of the change of direction, the metropolitan delegation was disbanded. (Swedish Agency for Public Management 2010: p 24-28)

From 1 January 2012, the urban development strategy entered yet another new phase. The ordinance linked to the previous work (2008:348) was repealed, and the work was instead to be conducted within regular line and collaboration work. The current urban development work focuses on evaluation, knowledge acquisition, knowledge exchange and knowledge dissemination, and the purpose of the urban development policy is to create better living conditions in neighbourhoods with widespread exclusion and to have fewer neighbourhoods with widespread exclusion (www.regeringen.se).

As previously explained, the Metropolitan Initiative, which is the initiative that has had the most resources allocated to it, had two main goals. The first was to lay the foundations for long-term, sustainable growth and the second to overcome social, ethnic and discriminative segregation in metropolitan regions. In practice, however, the growth goal disappeared from focus at an early stage, and the majority of initiatives implemented were area-specific. Some of these initiatives have been of a physical nature, such as renovations of buildings and squares. Other initiatives have focused on the individuals living in the neighbourhoods and have often taken - and still often take - the form of

employment-related initiatives (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010 and Orozco 2012).

The Metropolitan Initiative is not only the initiative which has had the most resources allocated to it; it is also the initiative that has been subject to the most evaluations. According to the majority of these evaluations, it did not meet its overarching goals. The growth goal disappeared at an early stage and segregation remained; nor was there a great increase in democracy, security, health or fairness in the selected areas. However, evaluations and research findings reveal that many of the area-specific initiatives were important for the participating individuals. It is thus questionable whether the Metropolitan Initiatives led to any change in terms of segregation and development on a more general level. Nor did the majority of initiatives have a "city-wide perspective"; they were limited to the selected areas (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010 and Orozco 2012).

According to Roger Andersson and Mikael Stigendal, among others, this type of limited initiatives makes it difficult to detect the structural causes of the problems. These initiatives can also give the impression that the problems belong in these specific neighbourhoods and only exist there, which hides their relational aspects. Initiatives focusing solely on the losing side of the segregation debate thereby run the risk of aggravating the problems (Andersson 2006 and Stigendal 2012: pp. 8 and 52).

Roger Andersson points out that levelling out socioeconomic differences between different areas in a town requires a rise in income levels and status in underprivileged areas, or a reduction of the same in areas that are socioeconomically sound. Acording to Andersson, however, the actual effects of the initiatives have rather been one of the following: A socioeconomically underprivileged neighbourhood has gained a better status and climbed a few rungs in the hierarchy, but at the same time one or more other neighbourhoods have descended in the hierarchy. The most common outcome, however, is that individuals who benefited from the area-specific initiatives gained a better social standing but then moved away from the area. The latter is confirmed by the fact that roughly half of the population in a "million programme area" is replaced within five years (Andersson 2006 and Andersson et al. 2009: p 144). Research also shows that if measures implemented in an area succeed and the area gains a considerably better status, a gentrification process can be triggered (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010; Andersson et al. 2009, Stigendal 2012 and Bunar 2011).

The Government also pays attention to the relational aspects of the segregation problem, as well as the importance of not working solely with the selected areas in its description of the starting points for and goals of the urban development work:

> "The overall objective of the Government's work in urban development is a positive development in neighbourhoods with widespread exclusion. The goal of the work is to improve the situation in areas characterised by a low employment rate, high level of long-term income support and low eligibility for upper-secondary education and to level the differences between different neighbourhoods in the municipality.

> In order to achieve this objective, investments are required on structural, area-specific and individual level. It is thus of extreme importance to not simply work with the neighbourhoods that are in focus but to also approach the problem with the understanding that this development affects and is affected by the rest of the city and region." (www.regeringen.se)

Building or planning together cities

A common strategy for working against segregation is planning for and building areas with mixed forms of tenure since rental apartments are more widely accessible than privately owned apartments or homes. The later often require a 15 per cent cash deposit. But it is questionable whether working with mixed forms of tenure is a successful strategy. Due to the costs related to new buildings, low income earners are seldom able to move into newly built rental apartments, especially in attractive areas. In a 2012 survey of the conditions for socially inclusive housing in newly built areas in Gothenburg, the problem was established:

> "mixed forms of tenure is the norm for socially mixed areas in Sweden, but the construction costs are now such that even rental apartments are too expensive for low income earners". (Törnquist et al. 2012, p. 3)

The same investigation looked at the possibilities of testing some form of social housing. Social housing is an umbrella term for support for apartments rented out at a lower cost. There is no legal possibility for this at present in Sweden, as it is one of just three countries in the EU (the others being the Czech Republic and Latvia) that have not requested an exemption from the EU rules governing services of general economic interest (SGEI) for the sector of the housing market that is directed to economically weaker groups. According to the aforementioned EU rules, pricing on the rental market shall be on commercial terms. Furthermore, many people in Sweden have doubts about social housing as it is associated with large-scale and poorly functioning areas. According to the aforementioned survey, however, the social housing currently under construction in Europe shows that another type of social housing is possible, which is more small-scale and mixed with the general housing market (Törnquist et al. 2012).

Sweden previously worked with various forms of investment support for construction, but these have now largely disappeared. This affects the price level of rental apartments and the incentive to build. A Foundation for student housing in Stockholm "Stiftelsen Stockholms Studentbostäder (SSSB)" associates the removal of investment support with the low level of construction of student accommodation. The same situation applies to the construction of rental apartments in general:

> "And yet, virtually no new student accommodation is being built in Sweden today, despite a great shortage. In 2012, just 225 student apartments were built in Sweden in total. The figure for the previous year was 134. Construction stopped almost completely when the Government abolished the investment support for the construction of student accommodation in 2007. The shortage of student accommodation is a large and growing problem both for Sweden's students and for growth in our country." (SSBA 2013)

In most countries, there is a path dependence in the management of housing problems and accommodation for unprivileged groups (Törnquist et al. 2012). In Sweden, there is a tradition whereby the public interest, government stimulus funds and the general welfare system have been able to cover the housing needs of groups with a weak position on the housing market. As the role of the welfare system and the public housing companies are changing, whilst government stimulus funds that previously existed on the housing market have been removed, social housing has increasingly been the subject of discussion. Investing in social housing would involve a break in the trend, which could be interpreted as society abandoning the idea of general investments in favour of individual-based initiatives that run the risk of stigmatisation on an individual level. As factors such

as costs for housing construction, regulations related to housing and planning as well as economic incentives are both crucial to accessible housing for different segments of the population and politically influenceable, the future path of housing planning is a political question.

According to a number of researchers, such as architect Ann Legeby, there has been too much focus in the segregation debate on who lives in which areas, and not enough on the areas' layout, and how different areas of the cities are linked.[30] In this context, the term *interactional segregation* is discussed, which relates to whether people with different backgrounds meet and see each other within different contexts in the city. Districts and neighbourhoods can be interlinked via streets and footpaths, and the city's physical formation can increase the chances of people meeting and interacting. If we plan and build cities based on this idea, we reduce the effects of residential segregation as people living in different areas will to a greater extent meet on a daily basis (see e.g., Legeby 2008 and 2010).

The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning also highlights social planning as a relevant tool. The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's starting point is that even if we cannot create integration with social planning, we can create better conditions for integration. By planning for a diversified distribution of apartments, mixed forms of tenure, good public transport and well-functioning meeting places, we can achieve urban environments which promote rather than counteract integration. By bridging barriers and boundaries in built structures, we can also achieve better contact between different parts of cities (Swedish National Board of Housing 2010).

Growth and segregation in separate decision channels

According to Mikael Stigendal, among others, criticism of the metropolitan policy and influence from the EU has led to the two legs of the Metropolitan Initiative – growth and segregation – going in different directions. The segregation leg has been slimmed down and divided into a number of policy areas. The number of issues it tackles has also been reduced. Public health, for example, is no longer included. The growth leg, on the other hand, remains strong in the regional development programmes. Its agenda has even expanded, and now it not only includes typical issues in the urban development work concerning the labour market and competence development, but also matters related to innovation, renewal and entrepreneurship, accessibility and infrastructure, attractiveness and a good living environment including culture, tourism, public health and sustainable development. Stigendal's assessment is that coordination between urban development work and regional growth efforts is weak (Stigendal 2011: pp. 48-9). According to Stigendal, it is a matter of two different views of growth and welfare:

> "One of the legs of the former metropolitan policy, the one relating to segregation, has paved the way for selective thinking characteristic of the predominant welfare regime in Anglo-Saxon countries. The development of the other leg seems to be increasingly characterised by general thinking." (Stigendal 2011: 48-9)

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[30] At the KTH Royal Institute of Technology, for example, there is a research group in the field of urban design that focuses on "Spatial Analysis & Design".

The Delegation for Sustainable Cities also highlights the problem of a strong focus on growth issues without concrete tools for coordination with other political goals. The delegation's assessment is that the growth perspective should be combined and balanced with several welfare goals (Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 28). Roger Andersson also makes the assessment that aspects of social sustainability such as the "integration issue" should be integrated in the growth policy.

> "In around 10 years, between a quarter or a third of the employable population will have a foreign background. The integration issue should therefore be the most central aspect of the regional growth programmes designed by the local authorities. There are far too few indications that this is the case. Integration issues are primarily handled by education, social and cultural politicians, whilst integration issues in industrial and regional policy – where the latter exists – are not as popular a subject". (Andersson in Magnusson Turner 2008: p 155)

The fact that growth-related issues are tackled according to urban policy means, according to Mikael Stigendal, that they have a regional framework and that decisions are largely made in accordance with more partnership and network based governance. The fact that welfare and segregation issues are tackled by the traditional welfare policy, on the other hand, means that they are limited to what the individual municipality can decide and that decisions are largely taken 'top-down'. Thus, according to Stigendal, a serious democratic problem has arisen (Stigendal 2011: pp. 49-50).

> "The contexts in which important decisions are made regarding growth issues not only involve elected politicians but officials as well, though not normally from the departments that tackle welfare issues. In addition, there are usually representatives from industry involved; those considered to be affected by growth-related issues. This means that large segments of the population remain unrepresented. If anything, we have to assume that people from one of the polar opposites of segregation are drastically overrepresented. It is their values and view of society that largely prevail.

> No similar opportunities to have their say are provided for those mostly affected by welfare issues. The welfare issues are instead primarily tackled in accordance with a more traditional principle of government, i.e., the 'top-down' of parliamentary democracy. And no opportunity is given to address the regional dimension of segregation." (Stigendal 2011: pp. 49-50)

Overall, this means that people who are "included" exert an invisible influence over the growth channel, via co-financing and partnerships. However, the agreements made there also affect the other channel and welfare issues. But despite the fact that the decisions made in the growth channel also affect those who find themselves "excluded" to a great extent and can exacerbate their situation, they cannot influence the decisions made in the growth channel.

A national urban policy

As previously emphasised in this concept paper, there is a relative consensus on the importance of raising the issue of segregation from the district and neighbourhood level to be an issue for whole cities. But segregation does not stop at municipal boundaries. On page 28 of the section "Who lives where?" in the chapter on "Residential segregation", the regional perspective is brought to light. Here we look at a study by Roger Andersson, which reveals that Gothenburg municipality has half of the inhabitants of the Gothenburg region but only 30 per cent of the region's homeowners. This plays an

important role in segregation as people in homeowner regions have a higher than average income from employment and employment rate whilst the proportion with a foreign background in these areas is low (Andersson et al. 2009: p 74). Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning also highlights the regional aspect and describes how different areas in the metropolitan regions play different roles on the housing market (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010: p 14). At the same time, the regional level is hard to manage as there is a lack of means to control and incentive to handle segregation on a regional level. According to the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, there are regulations in many other countries which facilitate stronger governance on a regional level[31] (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010: p 14 and Foultier 2010).

But it is not only the lack of control on a regional level that is under discussion. Discussions are also underway concerning the need for a cohesive national urban policy. The Delegation for Sustainable Cities, for example proposes: "A national urban policy for better coordination of the State's sectoral interests which include a strategy by which sustainability in practice becomes an overarching goal" (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 4). According to the delegation, a policy of this nature should include social, economic and ecological aspects. Several EU countries have already designed this sort of national sustainable urban policy. According to the Delegation for Sustainable Cities, sustainable urban development is largely a municipal responsibility, but it is the delegation's understanding that government measures are needed in order to facilitate development in the right direction. Partly to support the regional and municipal work, and also to attain better coordination of the State's sectoral interests (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 27-30).

> "A sustainable urban development requires collaboration, both between different sectors and between different political levels. A national urban policy must aim to achieve a better coordination of the sectoral interests of the State and to provide support to the regional and municipal work with sustainable urban development. One important part is to develop instruments for regional planning. However, a national urban policy should not be formulated as a hierarchical and locking system in which regional plans lock in municipalities' structure plans. It should instead function as a guiding strategy and direction indicator which requires dialogue rather than more provisions." (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 27-8)

In light of the delegation's viewpoints, the Government decided in February 2014 to commission five authorities – the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency, the Swedish Energy Agency, the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth and the Swedish Transport Administration – to jointly establish and administer a platform for matters related to sustainable urban development. Among other things, the platform will aim to increase collaboration, coordination and the exchange of experiences between actors within different sectors and on different levels. It is also to function as process support for the regional structural fund programmes' work with sustainable urban development. A final report will be submitted to the Government in June 2015.

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[31] Some examples of governance on a regional level are provided in the section "Who lives where" in the chapter on "Residential segregation". (page 28)

Comprehensive view and implementation

According to the Delegation for Sustainable Cities, it is important that future investments in cities are made based on an "explicit sustainability and system perspective" (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 12). However, initiatives to counteract segregation are seldom based on a comprehensive and coherent level. Instead, they are often project-based, solely directed to resource-poor areas and only observe underlying structures as an exception. According to the delegation, a lack of incentives for long-term comprehensive solutions means that there is a risk of disparity between visions and concrete decisions and measures. The delegation says that there are many testimonies to the fact that individual decisions are not taken in accordance with overall goals, and that in some cases they even contravene laws and regulations. The delegation's assessment is that other factors hold more weight in the actual situation, and that concrete and more short-term economic interests are allowed to take precedence (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 22).

Tapio Salonen believes that there is cause to look at what happens in our public organisations from the time policy decisions are made and visions are formed, down to what is done in practice. Salonen argues that there is a systemic problem among authorities and other actors working to counteract residential segregation. According to Salonen, it appears to be more important to implement measures in the right way than to implement the right measures, and that this is due to a belief that superiors expect this approach, despite it never being communicated. Salonen also feels that there is a significant gap between the various levels of governance and from decision-making to implementation (Salonen 2012: p 62).

> "Measures and initiatives continuously carried out by accountable authorities and instances are often embedded in a logic internal to the system, according to which measures and decisions in well-worn patterns have a strong tendency to be track-bound. Simply put, ordinances and initiatives perceived to be expected (by decision-makers, collaborative partners, etc.) are reproduced. There is often more focus on doing things in the right way than doing the right thing." (Salonen 2012: p 62)

In a knowledge review of implementation produced within the scope of the KAIROS project, Mats Bengtsson writes about various obstacles to the implementation of policy decisions. Among other things, Bengtsson raises the problem of having to take into consideration a great number of goals, which often are contradictory. Another issue is that strong actors or structures in society sometimes counteract the implementation of initiatives. The role of public administration is also significant and officials' room for manoeuvre has expanded with the increasing trend of target and performance management. Bengtsson also notes that certain goals and visions are probably not intended to be carried out. The background of this kind of "decoupling" between explicit goals and actual ambitions may be that in order to gain support and legitimacy, organisations formulate goals and visions that are not intended, or even possible, to be carried out (For a more detailed description of implementation and implementation research, se Bengtsson 2012).

Mikael Stigendal emphasises the problem of underlying causes rarely being discussed. In order to avoid this problem, we need to make a distinction between the perceived problems and the underlying problems. The difference can be described in terms of symptomatic problems and causal problems (Stigendal 2012: pp. 52-3). A report which Mikael Stigendal produced together with Martin

Grander on behalf of The Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions (SALAR) highlights the three success criteria for initiatives that support integration and social cohesion:

> "The first one we refer to as the potential and causal criterion. It requires measures to be focused on the underlying causes of problems, and takes into account experiences, knowledge and competences among various actors. The intention is to work 'with' rather than 'for'. We refer to the second criterion as the double integration criterion, and by this we mean that measures must aim to overcome both social integration and system integration, i.e., both a feeling of inclusion and actual participation. Our third criterion is the relational criterion, which relates to measures being intended to create social cohesion between groups with different living conditions in various parts of the city or region, i.e., the measures should aim to overcome the segregation that has arisen as a result of the relationship between social exclusion and inclusion." (Grander and Stigendal 2012, pp. 4-5).

Nihad Bunar, who evaluated both investments in the Municipal Initiative and the urban development work, believes that segregation can be overcome by means of three different approaches in the work: 1 *Horizontal*, i.e., through different forms of interaction between the city's inhabitants, 2 *Institutional*, i.e., interaction between local regional and national institutions and authorities and 3 *Vertical*, i.e., that the two aforementioned categories interact with one another" (Hult: 2013, p. 19).

For its part, the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning summarises the fundamental ideas that the authority believes should be part of the work for socially sustainable cities in five themes: *Comprehensive view*; seeing area renewal as part of the general urban development and combining physical and social measures. *Variation*; achieving a greater variation in terms of functions, forms of accommodation and design. *Connection*; interlinking different parts of the city. *Identity*; laying the foundations for a positive identification with one's own residential area and giving this a clearer and more positive public identity. *Influence and collaboration*; all area renewal needs to be based on those living in the area and implemented in collaboration between actors concerned (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning 2010: pp. 9-10).

Longevity, social investments and the need for dialogue

According to the Delegation for Sustainable Cities, among others, a long-term planning structure is required, by which unmeasurable values are tackled early in the process in order to open up the comprehensive view required (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 22). A social investment policy may be part of the solution. Ingvar Nilsson and Anders Wadeskog, for example, call for an investment policy that, based on socioeconomic calculations and a social perspective, can show the profitability of investing in the renovation of million programme areas, even if conventional property calculations reveal that this is not the case:

> "In most of our cities today, there are million programme areas greatly in need of repair and renovation. The associated costs are extremely high and funding opportunities for such activities are limited. A conventional property calculation for the renovation of these areas will not necessarily show positive results. Complemented with a socioeconomic investment calculation based on the type of analysis we conducted in this report, we would perhaps see entirely different results." (Nilsson and Wadeskog 2012, p. 9)

The Malmö Commission also emphasises the importance of a social investment policy. In its final report, the commission provides two general recommendations concerning the need for a social investment policy and for knowledge alliances:

> "Based on this developed understanding, the commission's final report contains two general recommendations: First of all, it is proposed that the City of Malmö establish a social investment policy that can level out the differences in living conditions and make social systems more equal. This answers the question of what needs to be done. Secondly, the commission proposes changes of the processes that these systems are involved in via the creation of knowledge alliances, equal collaborations between researchers and stakeholders from e.g., administration, associations and industry, and a democratisation of governance. The latter also involves the demand for continuous monitoring of inequality and segregation developments in Malmö. This answers the question of how the commission feels this should be implemented in practice." (Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö 2013)

Involving citizens in the development is also very important. According to the Delegation for Sustainable Cities, an insufficient dialogue between the governing powers and citizens concerning the city's long-term development leads to a democratic deficit. But the dialogue must "be real" and must be followed up as inadequate feedback and follow-up of dialogue processes are an obstacle to knowledge building. The Delegation for Sustainable Cities also feels that bridging strategies intended to lay the foundations for different segments of the population to meet and develop relationships are required (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 15).

> "The 'networking society' in which we now live has a heightened need of clear and continuous dialogue on the city's development with its citizens, as a complement to dialogues in special urban development projects." (The Delegation for Sustainable Cities 2012: p 16)

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

At the individual level

Children, young people and adults who live in socioeconomically underprivileged areas generally live under worse conditions, and girls and boys who grow up in socioeconomically vulnerable areas have worse childhood conditions and go on to have worse living conditions later in life than young people in other areas. In this concept paper, the impact of the place of residence on this has been discussed. Influencing factors, on an area level, that have been brought to light are: attitudes in the area, inadequate contact networks, discrimination and stigmatisation. For young people, the growing differences between schools are also of crucial significance. Furthermore, people's everyday lives are affected by practical aspects such as a poorer range of services and deficiencies in public transport.

One particularly relevant factor is *stigmatisation*. Many of the aspects that come up in a review of research and government agency' reports can be related to stigmatisation. Stigmatisation can be linked to discussions concerning ethnicity, class, racialization, discrimination and the increasing economic disparity, but also to discussions about system integration and social integrations, discussions concerning power and new social boundaries and discussions about social housing. For young people, the risk of stigmatisation is also made clear in the discussion surrounding the development in school and on the labour market and via the increasing proportion of young people that neither work, study or are otherwise involved in some form of training. These aspects, together with the increase in individualised interpretive models, have an impact on people's self-image.

On a city-wide level

As described in the section on the effects of residential segregation (pages 28-31), segregation influences *areas and schools' development potential* as well-off households are able to make higher demands of the area in which they live, and parents with plentiful resources make higher demands on their children's schools than parents with limited resources. Segregation thereby strengthens the increasing differences in living and childhood conditions. The growing differences and the link to where people live in turn leads to *tension in society*. The fact that the economic and ethnic segregation often coincide exacerbates the situation, as the majority population can perceive people in socially underprivileged areas as doubly alien. Similarly, there is a risk that people living in socioeconomically underprivileged areas experience such a large distance between their standard of living and the general standard of living in the country that they do not experience a sense of belonging in society.

The differences in living and growing up conditions are sometimes described in terms of "inclusion" and "exclusion", where "included" people live in relatively sound economic conditions and have relatively good access to power and influence, whilst "excluded" people live in considerably worse socioeconomic conditions and have considerably less access to power and influence. Development in cities where various groups have diametrically different living conditions counteracts the possibility to create socially sustainable cities and *"inclusion" is as big a part of the problem as "exclusion"*. If we wish to create socially sustainable cities, we will need a levelling out of living conditions as well as an increased understanding between the different groups of people living in different areas.

At the regional and national level

As shown in the section on the status of the living situation (pages 21-27), segregation does not stop at the municipal boundaries; it is also an *inter-municipal and regional issue.* Counteracting segregation and its effects therefore requires inter-municipal collaboration. But in municipalities

where the majority live in homeowner areas, where few people are socioeconomically vulnerable and there are no major problems with underprivileged residential areas, segregation can be seen as a problem which does not include the municipality. The uneven development between one municipality and the next, where municipalities assume different positions on the housing market, thereby makes efforts to combat segregation more difficult. (see e.g., page 28, where the residential segregation in the Gothenburg region is described) The absence of clear incentive and means of control for working with segregation issues on inter-municipal and regional level also make matters more difficult.

One way of managing the inter-municipal level, as well as the problem of issues being managed in different policy areas, is the proposal to create *a national urban policy for sustainable development*. Such policies are already in place in several EU countries. Such a policy provides the opportunity to link together the three parts of a sustainable development, i.e., economic, ecological and social aspects. A national urban policy could partly coordinate the State's work but also provide goals, guidelines and instruments for long-term work on local and regional level. Via a coordinated policy for sustainable development on a city level, it would probably also be easier to integrate welfare issues in general – and the segregation issue specifically – into the work with growth and regional development. For optimal effect, it is desirable for a future national urban policy not to be designed as a hierarchical and locking system, but rather as one that can function as a guiding strategy and direction indicator based on dialogue.

How can segregation be managed?
This concept paper shows that segregation affects the conditions of girls' and boys' upbringing, as well as the living conditions of adults. However, segregation not only impacts on the individual, but also on the neighbourhood, the district, the entire city and the inter-municipal level. Accordingly, it also has an impact on the opportunity to work towards fair and socially sustainable cities.

How segregation is handled is a political issue. As previously described in this concept paper (pages 34-35 and 48-49), however, in these complex and globalised times there are clear *conflicting goals which must be handled*. Should we invest in housing for groups living in the city that are having a tough time on the housing market, or invest in housing to attract well-educated labour and thereby increase the city's attractiveness? Should we invest in the free choice of school or in the idea that the school is a meeting place for young people with different backgrounds and a hub of democratic development? Similar types of conflicting goals are found in many areas.

The concept paper has also discussed *people's rights* to education, health, living standard and functioning accommodation (pages 34-35 and 48-49). These rights are found in national laws, as well as in the international conventions on *human rights* that Sweden has signed. As described in the concept paper, the human rights are quite meaningless in legal terms where economic and social rights are concerned. But these rights are politically useful and exist because we have collectively decided that they do. This means that politicians, debaters and officials on national, regional and local levels, as well as on an international level, can site the human rights as a means of prioritising people's entitlement to economic and social rights, such as functioning living and an equal standard of education, via budgets allocation and in other contexts.

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