

TiPSE

The **T**erritorial **D**imension of **P**overty and **S**ocial **E**xclusion in Europe

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Work Package 2.4

Case Study Report

Botkyrka, Sweden

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The partnership behind the ESPON Programme consists of the EU Commission and the Member States of the EU27, plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. Each partner is represented in the ESPON Monitoring Committee.

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The ESPON TiPSE Project:

The TiPSE project has been commissioned by the European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion (ESPON) programme. It is concerned with the issue of poverty, and processes of social exclusion in Europe.

One of the key challenges for the EU, in its pursuit of social, economic and territorial cohesion, is to address regional or local concentrations of poverty and social exclusion. In terms of practical governance, this remains a national responsibility within the context of EU strategic guidance. In practice, regional or local administrations are often in 'the front line'; implementing national policies to ameliorate deprivation and exclusion. At a higher level, the EU defines its role as identifying best practices and promoting mutual learning.

Poverty and social exclusion are essentially relative concepts, arguably only meaningful within a specified geographical context. This underlines the essential roles to be played by observation, measurement, and careful data analysis, as preparations for intervention. The TiPSE project aims to support policy, both by enhancing the evidence base and by identifying existing good practice.

A central objective of the TiPSE project is to establish macro and micro-scale patterns of poverty and social exclusion across the ESPON space. This will be achieved by compiling a regional database, and associated maps, of poverty and social exclusion indicators. Such quantitative analysis of geographical patterns is considered a fundamental part of the evidence base for policy.

In addition, in order to better understand the various social and institutional processes which are the context of these patterns, a set of ten case studies are to be carried out. These will be more qualitative in approach, in order to convey holistic portraits of different kinds of poverty and social exclusion as experienced in a wide variety of European territorial contexts. The principal goal for these investigations will be to bring forward clear illustrations of the social, economic, institutional and spatial processes which lead to poverty and social exclusion in particular geographic contexts.

The selection of case study areas has been carried out with careful regard to the wide variety of geographic, cultural and policy contexts which characterise Europe. The ten case studies are also intended to highlight a range of different 'drivers' of poverty and social exclusion, including labour market conditions, educational disadvantage, ethnicity, poor access to services and urban segregation processes. A second objective of the case studies will be to identify policy approaches which can effectively tackle exclusion, and thus strengthen territorial cohesion.

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CONTENTS

Executive summary	vi
1 The regional context	1
2 Characteristics of poverty & social exclusion in Botkyrka	6
2.1 Socioeconomic and ethnic dimensions.....	8
2.2 Built environment	14
3 Analysis of underlying processes and trends of urban segregation.....	18
3.1 The built form	18
3.2 Access to housing	19
3.3 Transportation	22
3.4 Ethnic bridges and networks	25
4 The role of policy in combating urban segregation	27
4.1 The role of national and regional policies	27
4.2 The role of local policies and governance in combating urban segregation in Botkyrka.....	28
5 Validity of European-wide data analysis from a local perspective	33
6 Transferability of results.....	35
7 Conclusions for policy development and monitoring	37
8 References	38
Annex 1: List of interviewed experts	41

TABLES

Table 1: Population development in Botkyrka 1970 – 2010	3
Table 2: Demographic characteristics (2011)	3
Table 3: At risk of poverty (%) in Sweden, Stockholm County, and its municipalities in 2005 and 2010	10
Table 4: Population in Botkyrka divided by country of birth 2007-2011	14

FIGURES

Figure 1: The case study area	1
Figure 2: Main land use in Stockholm County	2
Figure 3: Population growth (line) & production of dwellings (columns) in Stockholm County (1961 – 2008)	4
Figure 4: Open unemployment (%) in the county of Stockholm in 2010 for persons between 18-64 years	8
Figure 5: Open unemployment (%) in sub districts of Botkyrka in 2010 for persons between 18-64 years	9
Figure 6: Educational attainment (%) of population between 25-64 years in 2010	11
Figure 7: Attained educational Levels (%) by district in Botkyrka in 2009 for people between 16-64 years. <i>Light yellow</i> corresponds to ISCED 0-2; <i>dark yellow</i> corresponds to ISCED 3 and <i>light and dark red</i> correspond to ISCED 4-6	12
Figure 8: Persons with foreign background (%) in <i>yellow</i> (and as a percentage number) and persons with Swedish background in <i>red</i>	13
Figure 9: People with foreign backgrounds (%) by age group in 2009. <i>Light yellow</i> corresponds to 0-15 years, <i>dark yellow</i> corresponds to 16-64 years, and <i>red</i> corresponds to 65 years or more	14
Figure 10: The Norsborg-Bredäng Corridor	16
Figure 11: Amount of dwelling in each municipality separated by tenure ship. Dark green represents rental apartments, the lighter green represents owner occupied apartments and the lightest green colour represents owner occupied single houses/villas	17
Figure 12: Planned & on-going million home program renovations	22
Figure 13: Aerial view of Norsborg & Tumba	24
Figure 14: At-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers by 60% poverty threshold 2011	35

Executive summary

As part of the ESPON TIPSE project, Patterns of Urban Segregation in Botkyrka is a case study dealing with poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka Municipality, which is part of Stockholm County. The case study presents an overview of poverty and social exclusion in the Stockholm Region before describing the characteristics of poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka. Subsequently, an analysis of the underlying processes and trends concerning these issues is advanced, prior to considering how national, regional and local policies have contributed to, or succeeded in mitigating, poverty and social exclusion in the municipality. The validity of European-wide data from a local perspective is then evaluated, before finishing with conclusions regarding policy development and monitoring.

One of 26 municipalities in Stockholm County, Botkyrka had the lowest median income in 2010 and among the highest municipal concentrations of persons with a foreign background, in a county with one of the highest concentrations of persons with a foreign background in the country. Further, despite solid economic growth in the county, unemployment in Botkyrka remains higher than the county average.

At the sub-municipal level, there is a strong north-south distinction in Botkyrka, from a socioeconomic and demographic perspective, as well as in transportation and the built form. South Botkyrka is characterized by higher income and employment levels, as well as a higher share of persons with an ethnic Swedish background. The built environment is characterized by villas and smaller multifamily buildings and, with the overland train, has a more rapid connection to the city centre. North Botkyrka has a low median income and a very high share of persons with a foreign background. The majority of the existing residential built form consists of modernist high rises that were constructed during the Swedish Million Homes programme, during the 1960s & 1970s. The subway connects north Botkyrka to the city centre, taking more time than the overland train. It is also important to note that there are only limited pedestrian, cyclist and public transit connections between north and south Botkyrka.

Access to the labour market for persons with foreign backgrounds was identified as a central issue throughout the case study. Language, education, mobility, time spent outside of the workforce and access to local employment were identified as key contributing factors. Further, the modernist tenements where many residents in north Botkyrka live are not considered desirable for many people, increasing the likelihood for concentrations of residents with lower incomes. The low and declining presence of ethnic Swedish residents may contribute to the sense of social exclusion.

Botkyrka Municipality has enacted a number of policies and programs with the aim improving residents' well-being. In promoting an intercultural approach, there is an emphasis, notably at schools and in the library, to encourage growth in a diversity of ways that correspond to the cultures of those in the area. There have also been strong efforts to engage young people through accessible sports, exchange programs and with summer employment possibilities. Further, the Women's Resource Centre has played a key role in reintegrating women into the labour market. These efforts, amongst others detailed in this study, have likely contributed

to greater attachment to the area, notably illustrated by high demand for newly constructed dwellings in north Botkyrka. While challenges persist, the Municipality's approach appears to be paying some dividends.

1 The regional context

Botkyrka kommun (Botkyrka Municipality) is a municipality located in southwest Stockholms län (Stockholm County). It is part of the Stockholm region that has developed around the City of Stockholm, Sweden's capital. Botkyrka is one of 26 municipalities that make up Stockholm County, which, with a total population of more than two million people, or more than a fifth of Sweden's total population, is the densest county in the country. Further, with 31.5% of the country's foreign born population, but only 20.7% of the entire national population, the county has one of the highest concentration foreign born residents in Sweden (Hårsman, 2006). Stockholm County is a statistical NUTS 3 territory, Botkyrka Municipality (from here on referred to as Botkyrka, unless otherwise noted) is a Local Administrative Unit (LAU 2).

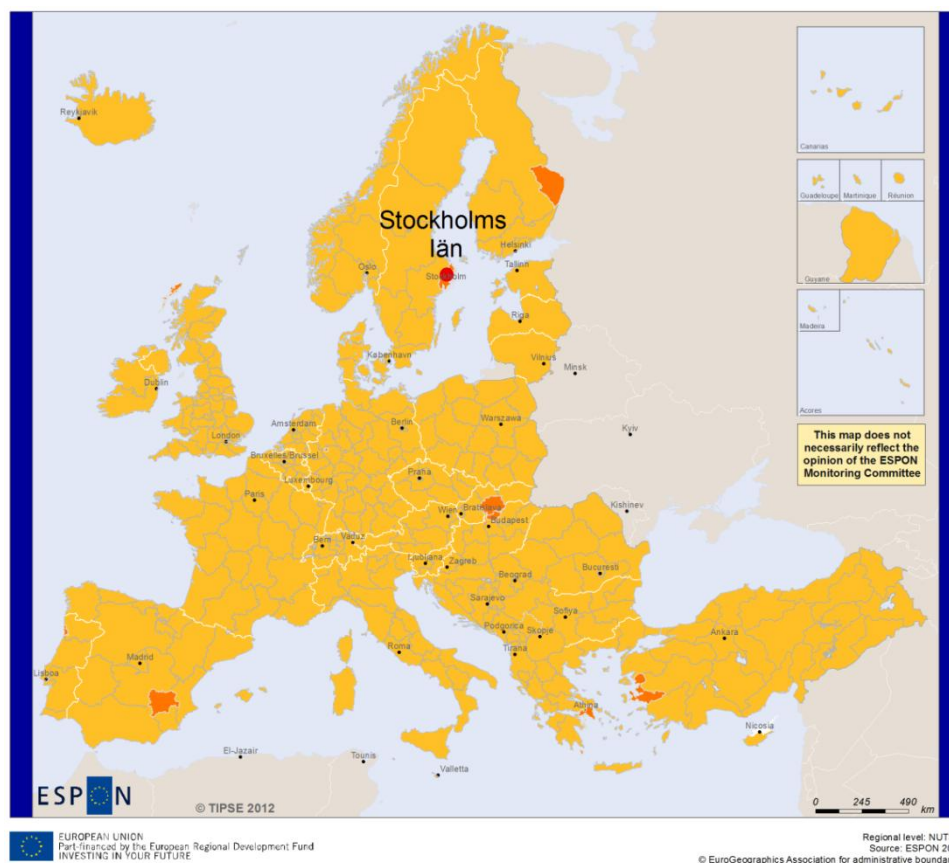


Figure 1: The case study area

From a functional perspective, Stockholm County is a mono-centric region with a dominant city centre. Many workplaces and a wide range of retail, entertainment and cultural attractions are concentrated in the core. During the past 15 years, the inner city has become increasingly attractive for living as well; something that has encouraged urban densification, but has also coincided with gentrification and

growing economic and social segregation. More generally, land use in Botkyrka and Stockholm County primarily consist of urban, green and water spaces (see Figure 2).

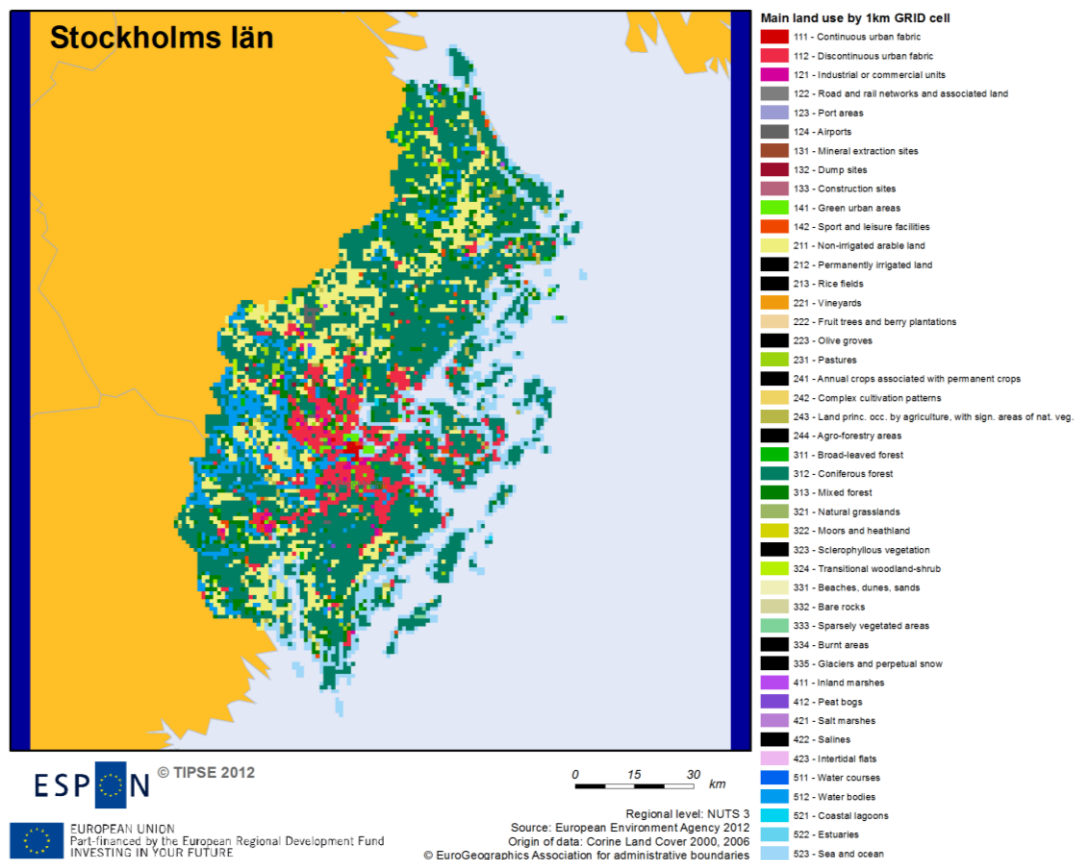


Figure 2: Main land use in Stockholm County

As transport infrastructure in Stockholm developed (subway, road & overland rail), urban settlements spread outwards, leading to the further development of suburban areas. From the 1960s onwards, this outward settlement pattern was strengthened by the rise of the private car and thus, the predominance of suburban settlement structures as a means of meeting residential demand. In 1965, the Swedish government began an ambitious housing initiative *the Million Programme (Miljonprogrammet)* that aimed to build one million new dwellings across Sweden between 1965 & 1974. This led to even greater suburban development, including in Botkyrka, where new construction and changes in municipal borders led to a population increase of more than 110% between 1970 and 1975 (Statistics Sweden, 2013). While the Million Programme included a range of housing types, it is best remembered for modernist suburban concrete tower blocks, many of which are located in Botkyrka and that have faced widespread criticism for a lack of attractiveness. It also marked the most decisive planning effort to separate work, living and service functions, in line with the dominant planning paradigm of the era, a factor that fragmented land uses to an even greater extent (SUME, 2011).

While residential development spread outward in Stockholm County, workplaces have remained quite concentrated in the city centre, thereby further defining the region's dominant economic area. For many, these contrasting development patterns

have resulted in relatively long commutes between home and work, despite improvements in transportation infrastructure.

The dominance of the city centre has manifested itself in Botkyrka as well. South Botkyrka is connected to the inner city by Pendeltåg (overland train), which is faster than the subway that connects north Botkyrka to the centre. This difference is reflected in income levels at the sub-district level.

Following its population boom between 1970 and 1980, Botkyrka experienced slow but consistent growth until 1995, when population increase intensified (see figure 1 and 2). At the county level, growth picked up through the 1990's and ultimately led to a population increase of nearly 10% (180 000 persons) in Stockholm County between 1990 and 2000 (compared to national increase of 4%) (Stockholm County Council, 2012). During this decade, population growth in both Stockholm and Sweden was realized predominantly due to the influx of foreign migrants. Population has continued to grow in Stockholm and since 2000; growth has been largely attributed to domestic migration. This includes young people who have moved from other towns and cities, as well as rural areas. Further, the birth rate is comparatively high in Stockholm County (around 2.1), which has contributed to the 8% population growth of the county between 2000 and 2010 (compared with 2.1 % in the rest of Sweden) (Stockholm County Council, 2012). Finally, the number of jobs has risen by 16 % (135 000 people) in Stockholm County in that period (compared with 13 % in the rest of Sweden) (Stockholm County Council, 2012).

Table 1: Population development in Botkyrka 1970 – 2010

Year	Population
1970	26673
1975	57286
1980	65218
1985	66326
1990	68542
1995	69500
2000	73097
2005	76592
2010	82608

Source: Statistics Sweden, 2013

Table 2: Demographic characteristics (2011)

	Botkyrka municipality	Stockholm County	Sweden	EU27
Population density	436,1	318,0	23,0	116.9
% of population aged <15	22,1	18,1	16.6	15.6
% of population aged 65+	15,6	15,0	18,5	17,5

Source: EUROSTAT and Statistics Sweden

In 2009, Stockholm County's population reached 2 million inhabitants. The County has an annual growth rate of approximately 30,000 inhabitants. With the current baby boom, domestic in-migration and continuing immigration of foreign persons to Stockholm, it is forecasted that in the year 2030 the population in Stockholm county will grow up to 2.1 million (low variant) or 2.4 million (high variant) (Stockholm County Council, 2009).

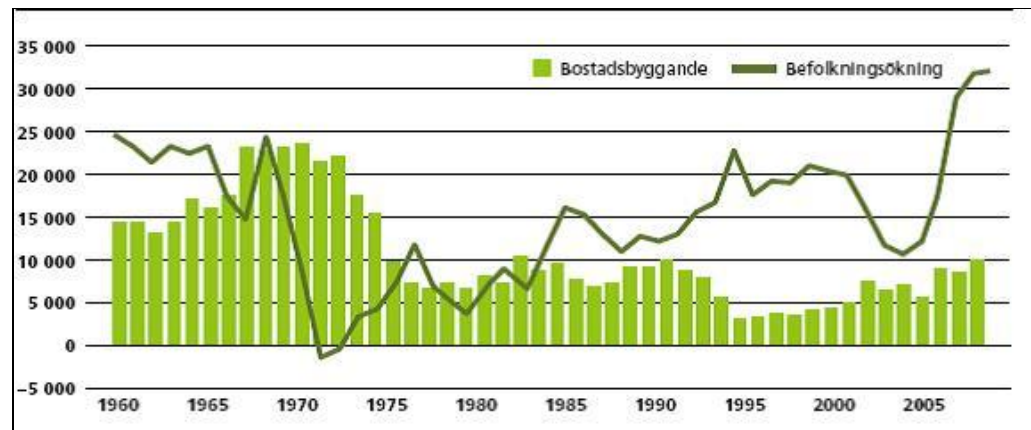


Figure 3: Population growth (line) & production of dwellings (columns) in Stockholm County (1961 – 2008)

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2009

Access to the labour market is a central poverty and social exclusion challenge in Botkyrka for new migrants to Sweden, and more generally among persons with a foreign background. A 2006 OECD report recognized Stockholm as “one of the most successful metropolitan regions in the OECD.” The report emphasized the region’s high quality of life, strong public health performance, high education levels and its low poverty rate (OECD, 2006). While generally positive, the OECD report also identified the most significant weaknesses that could “undermine the region’s competitiveness in the long run.” These challenges included housing shortages and the difficulty of integrating new residents to Sweden, which in this case referred primarily to the labour market (OECD, 2006), but is symptomatic of wider challenges facing new residents in Sweden, particularly in its large cities. At the same time, Stahre (2004, p. 71) has identified a longstanding geographical pattern of residence along “ethnic and socioeconomic lines” in Stockholm, something that has proven difficult to change and is in fact increasing. He notes that Stockholm’s urban structure is undergoing a transformation where, “the upper levels of society are taking over the central parts of the city” (Stahre, 2004, p. 71).

This phenomenon, otherwise known as gentrification, illustrated by new apartments with high-cost rent, the conversion of rental apartments into owned apartments and the increase in the prices of owner-occupied apartments. This has created a situation in which individuals with low incomes have difficulty in finding suitable housing in large portions of the inner-city (Stahre, 2004, p. 71). Segregation along ethnic and socioeconomic lines is illustrated along the subway line running to north Botkyrka.

Further, it is important to point out that the geographical pattern of residence that Stahre (2004, p. 71) discusses is also evident at the sub-district level in a number of areas around Stockholm, in addition to Botkyrka. This is illustrated in the northern suburban district of Spånga-Tensta, where the sub-district of Tensta has more than double the percentage of foreign born residents compared with the other four sub-districts that make up Spånga-Tensta (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009). In analyzing data on persons with foreign backgrounds from the three districts, it is also striking that all three are home to considerably higher percentages of persons who were born outside of Europe. In breaking down the origins of foreign born individuals, it is significant that 80% of immigrants in Rinkeby-Kista are from outside of Europe, as are 78% in Spånga-Tensta and 73% in Skärholmen, compared with the city average of 60%, the inner city average of 40 (Office of Research and Statistics, 2009).

The objective of the case study in Botkyrka is to learn more about patterns of urban/housing segregation, particularly along ethnic and socioeconomic lines, in Stockholm County and on the local level in Botkyrka. Further, the objective is to explore policy from multiple levels of government that has contributed to segregation and policy that aims to combat segregation.

2 Characteristics of poverty & social exclusion in Botkyrka

Urban segregation in the county and in Botkyrka can be described and analysed in terms of housing segregation, which means that different groups of people are physically separated in the county. The most common dimensions of housing segregation include demographic segregation, socioeconomic segregation and ethnic segregation. In this case study report we focus on socioeconomic and ethnic segregation which, in the county, is very closely related (Nilsson, 2010). According to Hårsman (2006), in Stockholm “ethnic segregation is characterised by a concentration of several ethnic groups with a foreign background in a rather small number of planning districts. Most Swedes are living in districts characterised by a low level of ethnic diversity and most non-Europeans in the opposite kind of districts” (p. 1363). Further, Hårsman (2006) describes a trend where the geographical pattern of diversity and segregation has reinforced itself since the 1970s and that the fact that indigenous Swedish people in Stockholm County tend to avoid areas with high ethnic diversity is worrying (ibid.)

Looking at socioeconomic and ethnic segregation, the most obvious characteristics of vulnerable areas are high unemployment, low income, health issues and a high level of social assistance. “In terms of segregation, from a pragmatic perspective, the most important thing for people is to have access to the labour market. Also important are issues of health and discrimination” (Interview, 2013). Nearly every interviewee raised the issue of labour market access for residents in Northern Botkyrka. This corresponds with a 2006 OECD study of the Stockholm region, which found that foreign born university graduates from countries outside of the EU are much less likely to have a qualified job, with only 40% working such positions, compared with 90% of native Swedes (OECD, 2006). In the box below, a recent occurrence in segregated areas of Stockholm is presented, to give the reader an illustration of patterns of poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka and other areas of Stockholm County.

The next sections illustrate poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka, primarily centred on socioeconomic/ethnic issues and the urban/physical environment, two dimensions with strong connections. Two related elements are education and the demographic makeup of Botkyrka and, at the sub-municipal level, the federation of neighbourhoods of which it consists. From the physical environment perspective, transportation within Botkyrka and across the county, along with the built environment and more specifically, housing, are a series of interrelated factors that warrant more detailed consideration.

Box: The Stockholm riots

In May 2013, riots broke out in a number of suburbs in Stockholm, including disturbances in Fittja, a district in Botkyrka, not far from Hallunda-Norsborg. Reportedly sparked by a police shooting and killing of an elderly Portugese-born man who was brandishing a knife during a confrontation in his apartment, they took place in districts with high concentrations of people with foreign backgrounds. The riots continued for ten nights and involved several hundred (predominantly) young people (Magnusson et al., 2013).

Numerous elements have been identified as contributing to the unrest. There is little doubt that factors of poverty and social exclusion played a role in these events. These factors, including labour market access, education and segregation, have been elaborated on throughout the report. And while the report has focused primarily on Botkyrka, these issues are evident in numerous suburban districts around Stockholm (Magnusson et al., 2013).

It is also important to note that during and following the riots, a diversity of explanations were advanced, the majority of which suited the perspectives of those advancing them. While delving into them is interesting in itself, such an analysis could easily consume the majority of this report. It therefore suffices to say that on one side of the spectrum, Sweden's immigration policies and a lack of law and order were identified as the basic issues, while a class struggle and political marginalization were identified on the other.

Common sentiments expressed among young people, many of whom are second and third generation Swedes with foreign backgrounds, living in the affected districts were of frustration about challenges to gain access to the labour market, police treatment and a lack of opportunities afforded to them, in contrast with wider Stockholm and Swedish society. Many young people and other residents in these areas also expressed frustration about the actions that a limited number of people had taken, frequently pointing out that the unrest was being perpetrated by outsiders who were congregating in their neighbourhoods, simply in pursuit of vandalism and violence. This view is supported by arrest statistics, which demonstrate that many of those detained during the riots had criminal records (Kerpner et al., 2013). It is also supported by the actions of residents, which included nightly neighbourhood walks to maintain a sense of order in their neighbourhoods, to diffuse tensions and to discourage vandalism or violence. A poignant example of local commitment to their communities, and an effort to dispel the myth that many local youth were involved in the unrest, took place in Fittja, Botkyrka. During the second night of disturbances, the subway station in Fittja was heavily vandalized. The following day, sixty 14 and 15 year old students and their teachers from a nearby school cleaned the area up. As one student, Dilnaza, said "I felt angry and sad that people had destroyed and trashed things where I live. But it felt great that everyone were helping out to clean up all the glass, erase the ugly things they had written and make it look nice here again." (Chaaban, 2013).

Subsequently, unrest in Botkyrka remained minimal, suggesting that the efforts of the poorest municipality in the Stockholm region, including through the library and schools, as well as other initiatives detailed above, are having a positive impact. More widely, and regardless of the explanation, the riots, the largest, but not first unrest of this nature in Stockholm and Sweden, are a symptom of a number of deep rooted issues that need to be studied and addressed in an open fashion. If they are ignored or suppressed, there is a high likelihood that they will take place again, with the risk of greater severity.

2.1 Socioeconomic and ethnic dimensions

2.1.1 Labour market access

Throughout the course of the interviews with a diverse range of actors in Botkyrka and at the county level, labour market access was identified as the central issue to poverty and social exclusion in the area. Looking at Botkyrka as a whole, unemployment is amongst the highest in the county (see Figure 4). However, standard employment figures mask several important variations. As illustrated in Figure 5 below, variation at the sub-district level is also evident along a north – south divide through Botkyrka, a recurring theme throughout this case study.

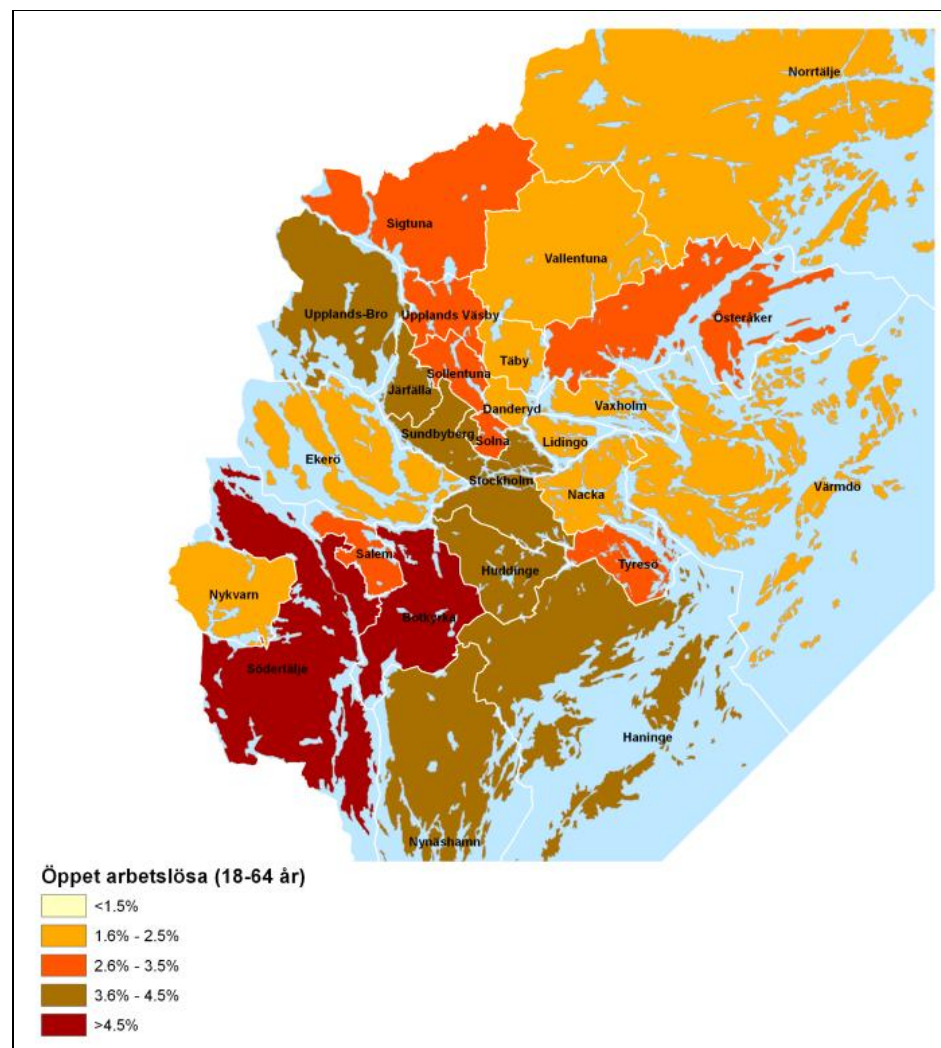


Figure 4: Open unemployment (%) in the county of Stockholm in 2010 for persons between 18-64 years

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

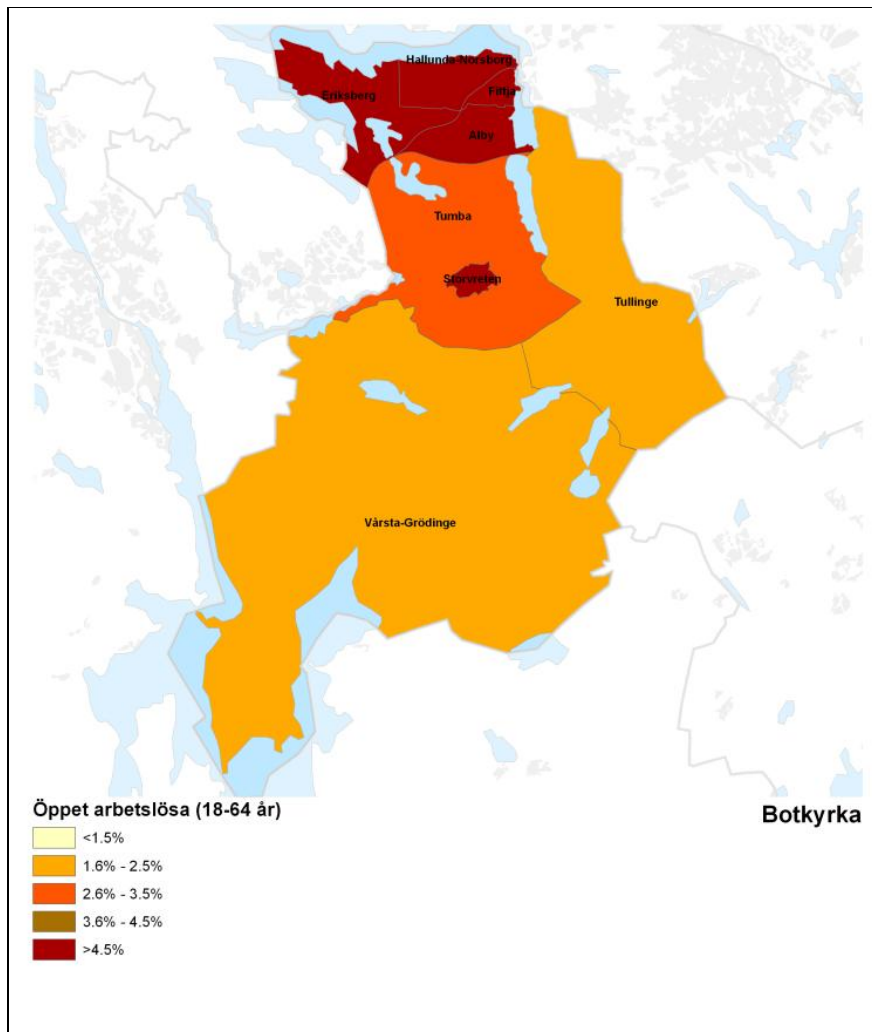


Figure 5: Open unemployment (%) in sub districts of Botkyrka in 2010 for persons between 18-64 years

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

Beyond standard employment figures, it was also noted in several interviews that Botkyrka, particularly northern Botkyrka, is subject to challenges related to the economic cycle. In this regard, residents in northern areas like Hallunda-Norsborg are among the last in the Stockholm County to benefit through employment from a strong economy and among the first to risk job losses when there is an economic downturn (Interviews, 2013). As one interviewee put it, “residents here are the last to benefit and the first to feel the pain” (Interview, 2013). Further, these figures reflect individuals who are registered as unemployed job seekers. This hides individuals who may not be formally registered as seeking employment, those working in diaspora economies that are not measured officially and those who may stay in the home but pursue part time employment. For various reasons including, language accessibility and familiarity with government institutions, these groups are all over represented in populations that have a high concentration of persons with foreign backgrounds.

Quality of employment and the issue of underemployment are reflected in income levels. In 2010 Botkyrka had the lowest median income, 197 000 SEK (persons 16 years and above) in Stockholm County. The county average was SEK 240 000 (Stockholms län, 2012). In terms of gender equality, the difference in income between women (SEK 174 000) and men (SEK 224 000) is actually less than the variation at the county level, where women have a median income of SEK 214 000 compared with men's median income of SEK 273 000 (Stockholm County Council, 2012). As with employment, income variation is also evident at the sub-district level with for instance Fittja having a median income of 153 000 in 2011, compared to Tullinge with 330 000 (Botkyrka municipality, 2013).

Further, the At Risk of Poverty Rate is an indicator that measures poverty and, indirectly access to labour market. The indicator shows the percent of the population that lives with a disposable income under 60% of the national median. From Table 3, increases in the At Risk of Poverty Rate are evident at the municipal, county and national levels, in Botkyrka, Stockholm and Sweden respectively. Only in some municipalities, we can observe decreases. These municipalities are characterised by a high level of wealth and a high concentration of ethnic Swedes.

Botkyrka, has the highest level of At Risk of Poverty both in 2005 and 2010 in the county. The increase in percentage is however not amongst the highest. Important to highlight however, is that Botkyrka is characterised by growing differences between the more wealthy areas and the ones affected by poverty and social exclusion. According to our interviews, areas such as Hallunda-Norsborg have become poorer while more affluent areas such as Tullinge are becoming even wealthier (Interviews, 2013). These tensions are further illustrated through spatial variations; including a proposal in Tullinge for a new municipal division, whereby Tullinge would become its own municipality, thereby decoupling its tax revenue from Botkyrka Municipality, while also limiting functional integration with less wealthy areas in the surroundings (Interview, 2013). In doing so, Tullinge could also potentially avoid significant urbanization that is proposed as part of the polycentric development strategy for Stockholm County (Stockholm County Council, 2009).

Table 3: At risk of poverty (%) in Sweden, Stockholm County, and its municipalities in 2005 and 2010

	2005	2010	change in %
Country	11	16	44%
Stockholm County	12	15	27%
Upplands-Väsby	9	13	44%
Vallentuna	8	8	11%
Österåker	8	9	14%
Värmdö	9	10	10%
Järfälla	8	12	46%
Ekerö	6	8	22%
Huddinge	12	17	33%
Botkyrka	18	22	21%

Salem	7	9	31%
Haninge	11	15	38%
Tyresö	8	10	22%
Upplands-Bro	9	13	42%
Nykvarn	6	7	10%
Täby	7	8	13%
Danderyd	10	9	-8%
Sollentuna	8	11	27%
Stockholm	14	17	23%
Södertälje	13	22	64%
Nacka	9	11	17%
Sundbyberg	12	17	40%
Solna	13	16	21%
Lidingö	9	11	13%
Vaxholm	8	8	-1%
Norrtälje	11	15	30%
Sigtuna	11	16	46%
Nynäshamn	9	13	49%

Source: Statistics Sweden (based on register data), 2013

2.1.2 Education

Looking at education, roughly 29% of the population in Botkyrka has an education corresponding to ISCED level 4 or 5, compared to the county average of 45.3% and the average of 66,5 % in Danderyd, one the the most wealthy municipalities in the county (see Figure 6). Looking at sub district level the north-south patterns indicate that the northern parts of Botkyrka, such as Hallunda-Norsborg, Fittja and Alby have a higher percentage of population that only have attained ISCED 0-2, compared to the southern sub-districts such as Tullinge, Tumba and Västra Grödinge (see Figure 7).

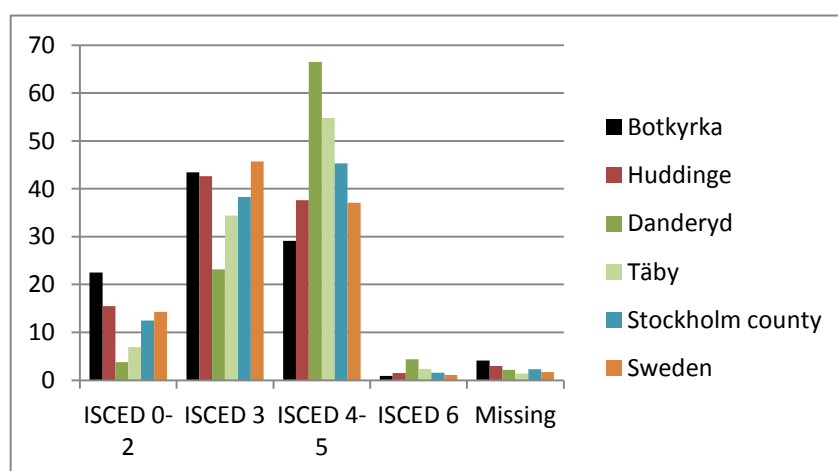


Figure 6: Educational attainment (%) of population between 25-64 years in 2010

Source: Based on Statistics Sweden, as cited in Stockholm County Council, 2012

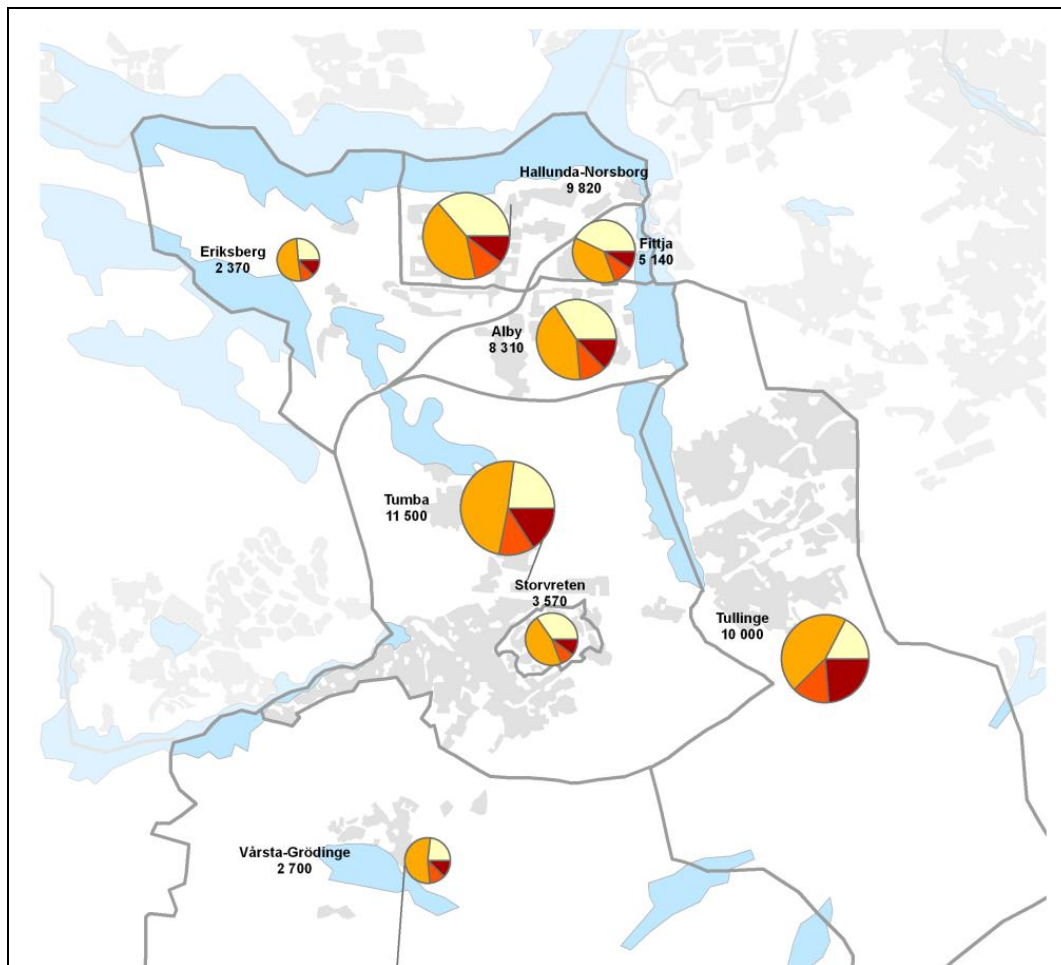


Figure 7: Attained educational Levels (%) by district in Botkyrka in 2009 for people between 16-64 years. Light yellow corresponds to ISCED 0-2; dark yellow corresponds to ISCED 3 and light and dark red correspond to ISCED 4-6

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

2.1.3 Demography

There are three central demographic elements to discuss in regards to poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka. Background, and relatedly, the mix of backgrounds, as well as population growth and turnover help illustrate some key poverty and social exclusion factors. As with the previous sub-sections, it is also important to underline the north-south divide at the county level and at the sub-district level.

As one can observe in Figure 8, municipalities in the south-west parts of the county such as Botkyrka, Södertälje, Huddingen and Haninge, have a much higher percentage of persons with foreign background compared to wealthier municipalities in the north east parts such as Täby, Vallentuna and Danderyd.

At a sub district level in Botkyrka, people with a diversity of backgrounds live in various districts of Botkyrka. Population with backgrounds from Iran, Iraq, Turkey, 'Rest of Asia', Latin America, Africa all increased significantly between 1991 and

2001. There has also notable growth from the 'Rest of Europe' (Non-Nordic, Polish or German). Even within Northern Botkyrka, there is variation between different sub-districts in terms of the backgrounds of residents.

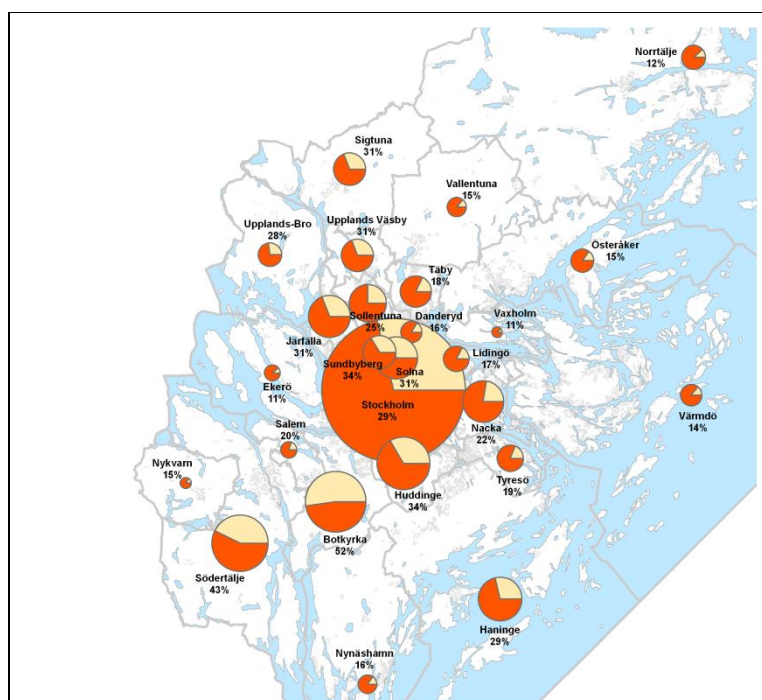


Figure 8: Persons with foreign background (%) in yellow (and as a percentage number) and persons with Swedish background in red

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

Botkyrka is a highly diverse municipality (see Figure 9 and Table 4) and unlike many other cities in Europe, persons with foreign backgrounds tend to mix rather than cluster in isolation. In contrast to this diversity, there is a striking difference in the presence of Swedes, something Hårsman (2006) underlines, “The ethnic variety increases when the fraction of the comparatively large Swedish group decreases.”

Thus, it appears that more “excluded” areas like northern Botkyrka are in fact quite diverse and inclusive, but the missing piece in the diversity puzzle is Swedes. However, areas with few ethnic Swedes also often have lower education, employment, income and access to Swedish media levels at a regional scale (Interview, 2013).

This trend is evident in Botkyrka, where in 2011, the municipality experienced a net migration of 1 352 people. Within the county, there was a limited decline in population, with a net loss of 47 people, while in Sweden as a whole; there was a net loss of 16 people. Conversely, international net migration was 1 415 (Stockholm County Council, 2013). Increases in the total population share with a foreign background in Botkyrka also result from a birth-rate that is twice as high among people with foreign backgrounds compared to those with Swedish backgrounds. In 2009, 783 children were born to people with foreign backgrounds compared to 383 born to ethnically Swedish parents, while in 2011, it was 819 to 351 (ibid.).

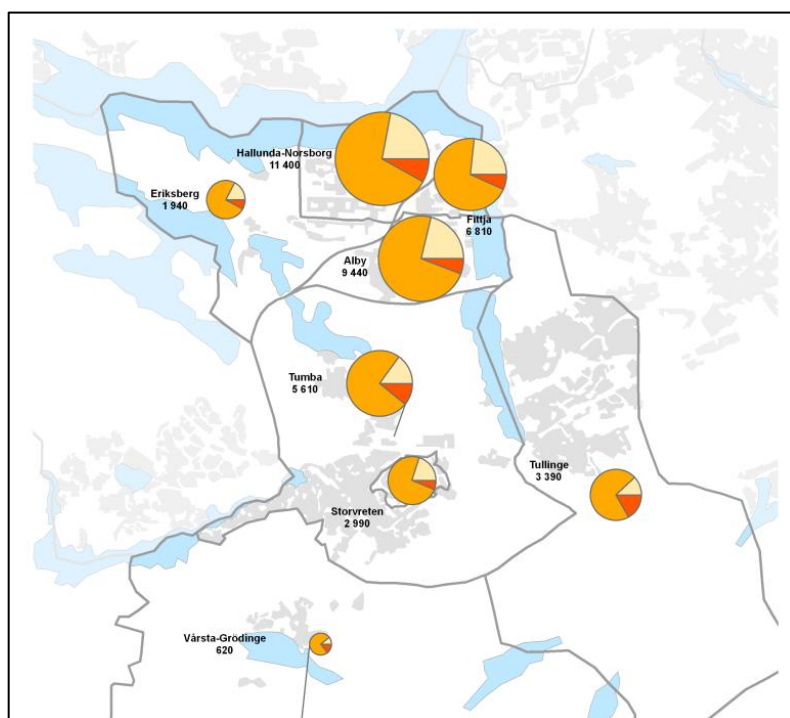


Figure 9: People with foreign backgrounds (%) by age group in 2009. *Light yellow* corresponds to 0-15 years, *dark yellow* corresponds to 16-64 years, and *red* corresponds to 65 years or more

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

Table 4: Population in Botkyrka divided by country of birth 2007-2011

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Sweden	51174	51371	51570	51839	52387
Nordic Countries except Sweden	4052	3925	3799	3702	3646
EU27 except Nordic countries	4244	4724	4998	5238	5576
Europe without EU27 and Nordic countries	6220	6366	6569	6820	7079
Africa	2548	2655	2930	3179	3493
Asia	8311	8483	8764	9219	9810
North America	364	377	385	385	402
South America	2079	2113	2133	2173	2232
Oceania	28	28	30	34	37
Unknown	11	13	17	19	15
TOTAL	79031	80055	81195	82608	84677

Source: Stockholm County Council, 2013

2.2 Built environment

In addition to the socioeconomic and ethnic elements discussed above, a number of physical dimensions influence poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka. While there

are a diverse range of factors implicated in this complex issue, the physical aspects central to poverty and social exclusion identified during the course of this study have been transportation, built form and housing. To this end, urban planning is one field that can help to improve the challenges of segregation.

Looking at transportation there are clear patterns of segregation along ethnic and socioeconomic lines in the southwest of the Stockholm County, including Botkyrka. As noted during one interview, “mobility separation starts at Liljeholmen (a key interchange).” From there, travellers can choose between the tram, which runs in a half circle through Stockholm’s inner suburbs, or a fork in the “Red Line” subway – to either Fruängen or Norsborg. Heading southwest on the Red Line subway towards Norsborg, passengers eventually reach Bredäng. The area from Bredäng to Norsborg (see Figure 10) consists of approximately 200 000 people and there is a fairly consistent demographic makeup in this corridor. What’s striking is the high percentage of people with a foreign background in the area, which is likely among the highest concentrations of people with backgrounds in developing countries anywhere in Europe (Interview, 2013). Furthermore, persons living in Botkyrka along the red line, such as Fitja, Alby, Hallunda and Norsborg, are spatially separated from the wealthier areas of Botkyrka, along the suburban railway (Pendeltåg) (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

The same patterns of segregation observed along transportation lines can be observed along housing forms and tenureship (see Figure 11). The Northeast part of the Stockholm County is in general characterised by higher socioeconomic status than the south-west parts of the county, including Botkyrka. Concentration of ethnic white Swedes is also more prominent in the northeast part compared to the southwest. In Figure 11 this division can also clearly be observed regarding housing form and tenure ship. The more modernist blocks, often characterised by rental public housing is more prominent in Botkyrka and Södertälje, compared to Danderyd, Vallentuna and Täby where single houses and villas (most often owner occupied) are more common. This is well illustrated by the fact that nearly 45% of the dwelling stock in Botkyrka is public housing, in contrast with the more affluent and ethnic white suburbs of Täby and Vallentuna where the rates are 8.6% and 5.7% respectively (Hårsman, 2006).

However, it is not enough to look at the county level. Even on municipal level this separation is visible. Within Botkyrka, there is a clear difference in income between areas predominantly characterized by villas and low rise multi-family dwellings (often owner occupied) and those that are largely composed of modernist apartment blocks (often public housing). This is evident in the contrast between higher income Tumba (and Southern Botkyrka more generally), where the built form fits primarily in the former description, and Hallunda-Norsborg (and Northern Botkyrka more generally), where the built form is chiefly defined by the latter. More striking, this variation is also evident at the sub-district level in Hallunda-Norsborg. At this scale, the greatest wealth is found in Slagsta, a neighbourhood that is primarily made up of single family dwellings, in contrast with lower income levels found in the modernist blocks of Norsborg. One interviewee described how it was common for people to move from Norsborg to Slagsta as their socioeconomic position improved. They noted that many people want to stay in the area throughout their “dwelling career”, including many

Christian Syrians who are connected to NGOs and to the church and have a strong local identity. “They want to stay in the area but move to something better” (Interview, 2013).

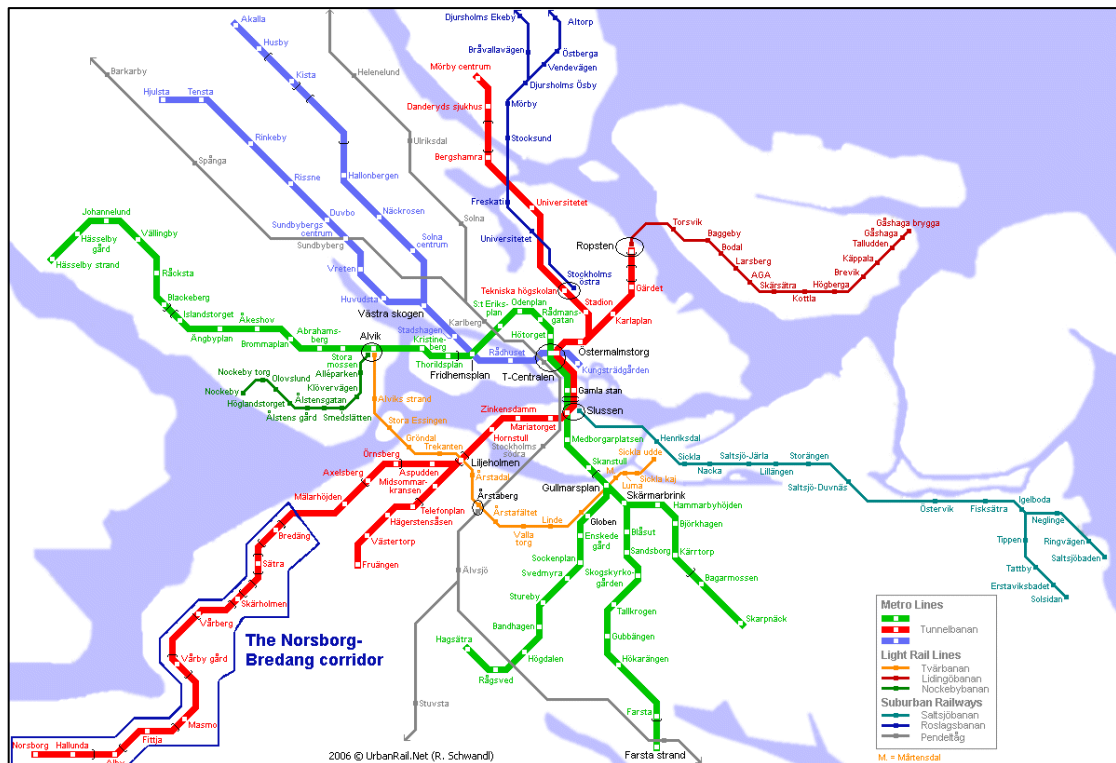


Figure 10: The Norsborg-Bredäng Corridor

Source: UrbanRail.net, 2006 (Modified to highlight the Norsborg-Bredäng Corridor)

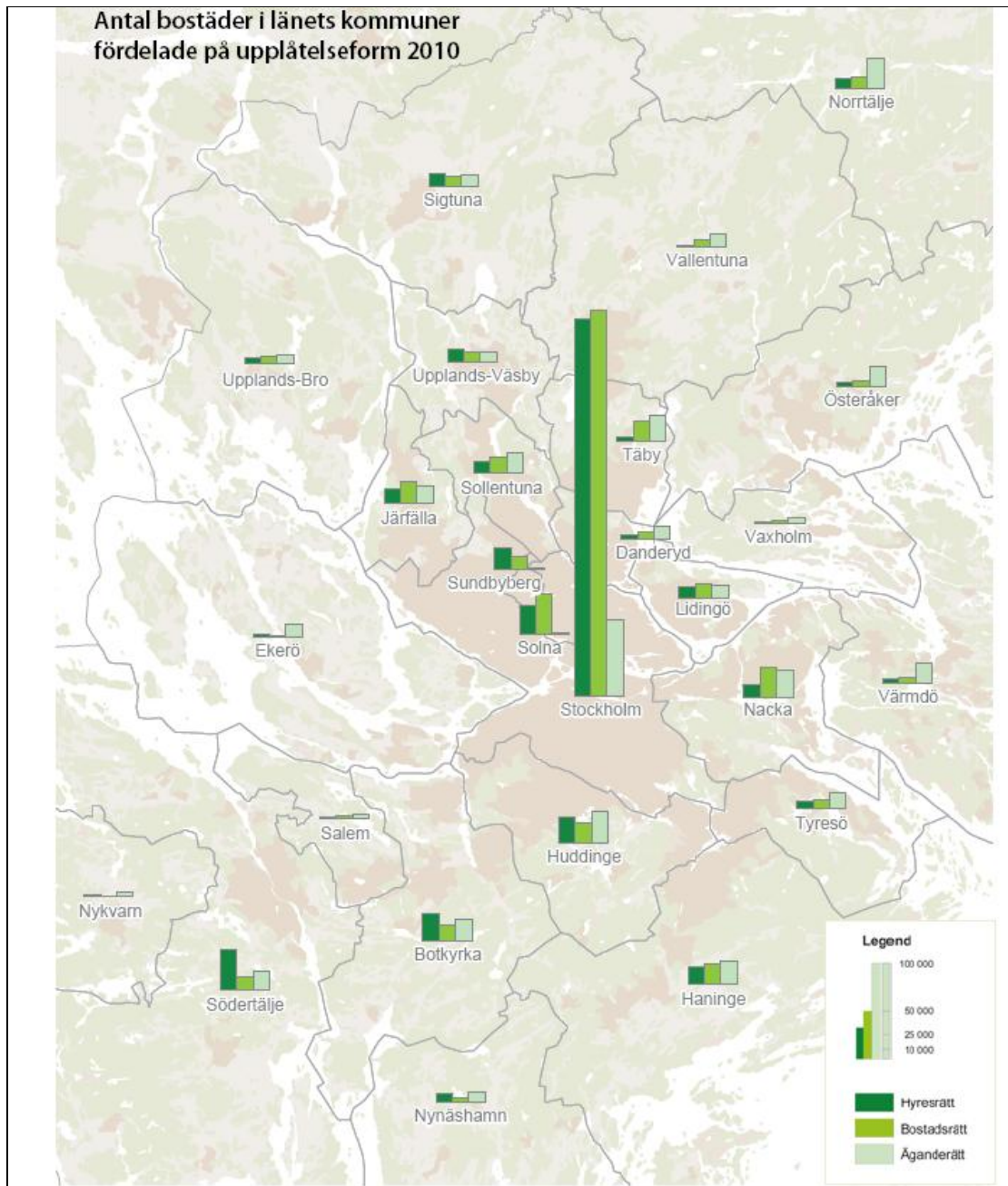


Figure 11: Amount of dwelling in each municipality separated by tenure ship. Dark green represents rental apartments, the lighter green represents owner occupied apartments and the lightest green colour represents owner occupied single houses/villas

Source: County administrative Board of Stockholm, 2013

3 Analysis of underlying processes and trends of urban segregation

In our interviews and literature reviews we have been able to identify a number of important factors that historically and recently contribute to the spatial dimensions of urban segregation. These can be categorised into the built form, access to housing and transportation and ethnic bridges and networks. In the coming sections we elaborate on why and how these factors have contributed to urban segregation.

3.1 The built form

Dealing with urban elements including transportation and housing (elaborated in sections 3.2 and 3.3), the direct influence of the built environment on poverty and social exclusion is challenging to define. However, over the course of the case study, it was a factor that was referenced on a number of occasions. Further, there is a growing body of academic work suggesting a connection between the built form and poverty and social exclusion (Vaughan et al., 2003; Legeby, 2010).

Issues regarding the built form are both historical and forward looking in nature. The roots of the built form challenges can be traced to the ambitious Million Homes Program of the 1960s and 1970s. Over ten years, one million dwellings were constructed across Sweden. About one third of these were modernist tenements that quickly came to be unattractive (and did not fit the needs/desires) of many people. This type of dwelling, on the outskirts of Stockholm, became the only option for many migrants and refugees (Lilja et al., 2010). Heavily influenced by modernist planning ideals that, among other things, espoused the separation of functions; the tower blocks of this era have been demonstrated to limit social interaction and discourage “eyes on the street” (Jacobs, 1961; Gehl, 1971). These developments were coupled with increased distances between neighbourhoods and activities, due in large part to the growing dominance of the private car. As noted during one interview, “The Million Programme was so much about building far from the city.... In other cities you can walk between the areas. Physical barriers are a problem in Stockholm.”

At the same time, under the pressure of Swedish labour unions, there was a radical shift from labor force immigration to refugee immigration in Sweden. The patterns of segregation were further accentuated by the fact that many of the suburbs developed between 1965 and 1975 were far from the city centre, creating a real physical barrier. Mobility and urban planning play a key role in shaping segregation according to one of our interviewees. Especially for young people with low incomes, public transport is simply too expensive and walking is thus a common means of transport (Interview, 2013).

“When the construction of the “Million programme” started, a 3 room apartment was the standard for families living in the city. Shortly after that, suburbanization increased and terraced houses became more accessible and attractive. As an example, the government subsidies this kind of housing. In 1974, the county of Stockholm experienced a

population decline, for the first time since the 1600s. Apartments constructed during the ten year period were empty and were allocated especially to refugees. Politicians should have anticipated this!” (Interview, 2013)

In combination, these factors have led to built environments that are less attractive than other options for many people living in Botkyrka and across Stockholm County. This legacy continues to affect Botkyrka to this day. In a discussion with a planner from the municipality, it was noted that, the wealth disparity between Botkyrka and the rest of the county continues to grow. They attributed this in part to “bad planning” where buildings all look the same and there is little variety in choice (Interview, 2013). The issues are further compounded by the fact that many of these buildings are deteriorating in quality, which diminishes their attractiveness, while also posing new challenges about how to finance the renovation of buildings that are home to many people with low incomes.

Looking forward, planners at the municipality are striving for greater variation in dwelling types. This includes the desire for some areas that look more like Stockholm’s leading contemporary developments, including Hammarby Sjöstad and Stockholm Royal Seaport (Interview, 2013). However, according to planners, a key challenge in attracting this type of development is that risk averse developers are less willing to build dwellings aimed at lower and medium income residents. This is despite the fact that the cost of land in Botkyrka is less expensive than in other parts of the Stockholm County. Rather, they seek out the higher likelihood of profitable returns from targeting the wealthiest 25% of Stockholm’s residents (Interview, 2013).

3.2 Access to housing

An over-saturation of “public rental apartments”¹ was identified as a significant challenge (see Figure 11) in Botkyrka. This is further compounded by the issue of ethnic background. According to the Regional Development plan for Stockholm (RUF 2010) an important factor in residential segregation by ethnicity is that “the majority of the population do not want to live in areas with a high immigrant population” (Stockholm County Council, 2009).

Public rental apartments (as well as private rental apartments) are subject to a so called rent control. When it was introduced during the Second World War to avoid increased rents as a consequence of the war. The political ambition was that everybody should be able to live in “good” housing (Brogren et al., 2006). The way the rental system works is well described by Hårsman (2006):

“Rents for new rental housing are determined by means of a ‘use-value system’, where the rents for dwellings owned by municipal non-profit housing companies are used as a yardstick for privately owned rental housing. The rent control regime covers around 50 per cent of the total housing supply. Due to rent control, rents will not only be lower than the market equivalents in attractive neighbourhoods: since the controlled

¹ Brief explanation of Public Housing in Sweden

rents in practice are cost-related, they will also tend to be higher than the market equivalents in less attractive neighbourhoods.” (p. 1357)

In direct opposition to the objectives of the rent controls, there is a strong case, advanced by Harvard economist Edward Glaeser (2003), among others, that rather than achieving the integration of rich and poor households, rent control in fact strengthens socioeconomic segregation. Studies performed in Sweden and especially in relation to Stockholm (see e.g. Brogren et al., 2006; Lind et al., 2003) draw the same conclusions. Glaeser’s study, performed in an American setting, argues that “if the goal is to increase integration, then there are many better means than bureaucratic and highly distortionary rent control.

One important explanation for the malfunction of rent control is that especially the supply of apartments in central parts of Stockholm is much lower than the demand at the current level of controlled rent. This is illustrated by the fact that queue times in central parts of Stockholm are around 15 years, compared with only 2 years in less popular areas (Stockholms stads bostadsförmedling, as cited in Brogren et al. 2006). To avoid the long queue time, a widespread black market has occurred. An attractive contract for tenureship might be sold for several 100 000 SEK. The consequence is that people with contacts and access to money are more likely to get hold of a contract compared to less fortunate people. Moreover, disregarding the black market, Brogren et al. (2006) conclude that people who are born in the Stockholm County are more likely to foresee the long queue time and therefore early in their life have subscribed to the queue system (Ibid.) As such, migrants, from across Sweden and particularly from other countries, are less likely to be well prepared for fighting over contracts in attractive areas.

In their quantitative study Brogren et al., (2006) find that rental control in Stockholm does contribute to segregation, even more than the owner occupied free market. These results are supported by Lind et al. (2003), among others. In this regard, ethnic segregation is particularly apparent, where first and second generation immigrants are the most adversely affected. In owner-occupied dwelling market, controlling for income, ethnicity is not at all relevant in relation to attractiveness. However, it is also worth noting that the general level of income is higher for persons in owner occupied compared to rental apartments. The authors argue that this indicates that a well-functioning rental market is needed (Brogren et al., 2006).

Closely related to ethnic segregation is discrimination. Research by Bråmås et al. (2006) investigates discrimination on the housing market. It has long been understood that immigrants are heavily underrepresented in owner-occupied houses and heavily overrepresented in rental apartments, especially within the public housing sector. During the last decades public policy has focused more and more on how Swedish institutional actors contribute to segregation. Even though ethnic and socioeconomic segregation are closely related, especially segregation of ethnic minorities is accentuated by discrimination. Bråmås et al. (2006) report several mechanisms in housing policy in the county of Stockholm that contributes to discrimination and thereby segregation. In discussing discrimination it is relevant to distinguish between discrimination in a strict legal manner and practices that could be considered as unfair. For instance, the increasingly hard economic prerequisites on

tenants, is likely to contribute to increased ethnic segregation. Furthermore, there is no institutionalised control of the amount of apartments that private landlords hire out through Stockholm's municipal rental queue, and thereby no control of private landlords' demands towards potential tenants (Ibid.). BråmÅ et al (2006) are not able to prove that discrimination in a strict legal sense exists, but several issues indicate that this can be the case. The most obvious issue is that most apartment mediations are done without transparency and with very few persons involved in the process. Internal controls among agents and housing companies are rare.

Complicating the situation and further accentuating segregation, a significant quantity of the dwelling stock, particularly the public housing, was built as part of the Million Homes Program. The program achieved its objective of building one million new dwellings across Sweden; however in pursuit of cost-effective building, quality, both in terms of livability and longevity were often sacrificed. Nearly half a century after construction, many of these buildings are in need of significant renovation or risk demolition. Both options present significant challenges. Renovation, the option currently preferred by Botkyrka and the City of Stockholm, requires considerable investment that needs to be recouped. Aside from the occasional subsidy, the preferred method to achieve this has been through rental increases, as illustrated in Figure 12. Given that many of these projects, notably including those in Northern Botkyrka, are home to residents with low and/or fixed incomes, there is a risk that residents will have to move or devote a greater share of a limited income to housing. This could lead to even greater spatial segregation, while also disrupting the well-established diaspora networks that have grown over the years. A third alternative, of doing very little, risks increasing the marginalization of residents, as the built form would become even less attractive, leaving these modernist projects to those who have no alternative.

A final historical element is worth touching on here as well. When construction on the Million Homes Program started, a 3 room apartment was the standard for families living in the city. Shortly after that, spurred on by the proliferation of the private car; suburbanization increased and the villa and row house, with private yards or gardens became more accessible & attractive. As a result, many of the apartments constructed in Botkyrka were never inhabited by their target demographic. Rather, they were inhabited by those with weaker financial situations. A high turnover rate ensued as those whose economy improved moved to more attractive housing. Others, who were in challenging financial situations, and increasingly with foreign backgrounds, replaced them, creating a situation that continues to perpetuate, even at the sub-district level.



Figure 12: Planned & on-going million home program renovations

Source: Swedish Radio, 2013

3.3 Transportation

As a defining element of the spatial dimension of poverty and social exclusion in Botkyrka; there are a number of transportation issues to consider both within the municipality and across the county. Motivated by the fact that car ownership is relatively expensive in Sweden, this section will focus primarily on public transportation and distances between districts in Botkyrka and to the inner city.

The role that transport planning has played to contribute to segregation can be discussed and questioned. As illustrated in 2.1.3 Demography, there are significant differences between districts in north and south Botkyrka. Mobility separation is one important factor that contributes to and reinforces this division. Public transport in northern Botkyrka centres on the Red Line subway, which runs in to the city centre, while southern Botkyrka is serviced by the overland train that also runs to city centre (see Figure 10). This separates commuters in northern Botkyrka from their counterparts in the south, thereby reducing opportunities for mixing, even at a superficial level. Further, travelling from Tumba to the Stockholm Central station by overland train (which is faster than the subway) takes 26 minutes, while the trip from Norsborg by subway takes 36 minutes (Stockholm Public Transport Authority, 2013). This is despite the fact that Norsborg is 16.9 kilometers from Stockholm Central (as the crow flies, 22.6km by car), while Tumba is 19.3 kilometers away (26.9km by car) (Google Maps, 2013ab). While these factors may not have a tremendous impact on

individual settlement patterns, they offer little incentive to choose northern Botkyrka over the south.

Beyond the variation in public transport connections between different points in the municipality and the city centre, there are also challenges within the municipality. In this case, it is striking that with two options, a bus trip between Tumba and Norsborg, districts that are 5 kilometers apart (6.7km by car) takes 20 or 27 minutes (Stockholm Public Transport Authority, 2013; Google Maps; 2013ab). This means that despite the discrepancy in distance and improvements in public transport within the municipality, it can be faster to get from Tumba to the city centre than to Norsborg.

Further, a public transport pass in Stockholm currently costs 790SEK per month (490SEK for kids)², something that risks being prohibitively expensive for individuals or families in difficult economic situations. According to one interview, this is particularly common among young people with low incomes (Interview, 2013). The alternative is walking or cycling and while several promising initiatives to promote cycling among people with foreign backgrounds have been started, many remain somewhat adverse to it, leaving walking as the only option. For many people, driving or cycling five kilometers is feasible and takes relatively little time; however this distance can be prohibitive to walking. And as illustrated in Figure 11 the two areas are separated primarily by green space, with little in the way of dwellings or workspaces, which can contribute concerns about safety, particularly at night.

² At the time of writing (May, 2013), 790SEK is 92€; 490SEK is 57€



Figure 13: Aerial view of Norsborg & Tumba

Source: Google Maps, 2013c (Modified to identify Norsborg & Tumba)

The time it takes to move within Botkyrka, the cost and the challenges with walking and cycling contribute to poverty and social exclusion in the municipality in several ways. The mobility challenges play a role in limiting interaction between people living in different districts of Botkyrka. As people tend to stay in their own neighbourhoods, there are fewer opportunities for mixing. This can lead to “lock in effects”, where the physical separation reinforces tensions among certain ethnic groups and neighbourhoods (Interview, 2013). Similarly, the lack of mobility increases competition between districts within the municipality. Each of the districts would like its own services, such as schools and recreational facilities, something that is not possible in the face of the municipality’s limited financial resources (Interview, 2013).

Related to district demands for services, mobility challenges also hinder the integration of new residents to Sweden who seek to learn the language. In this case, the official program, Swedish for Immigrants (SFI), is offered in Tumba. Those living

in northern Botkyrka who would like to take the courses must make the trip south. As outlined above, this presents a number of challenges. Women who have recently moved to Sweden are most adversely affected as they are less likely to have the resources for a public transport pass, particularly in cases where they are homemakers, a common arrangement in many of the countries where people migrate to Sweden from. In cases where they do not have public transport passes, they or their families may perceive the long walk to be too dangerous to warrant the lessons (Interview, 2013). As a result, transportation planning in the area has an adverse effect on social and income diversity in Botkyrka.

3.4 Ethnic bridges and networks

Something that wasn't strongly emphasized during our interviews, but which is normally perceived as one of the fundamental issues for segregation in Stockholm, is the importance of ethnic bridges between ethnic minorities and ethnic Swedes. In academic literature it is highly debated to what extent ethnic bridges are important. At least in an initial stage, ethnic concentration might be a prerequisite for economic and political liberation and emancipation. Except for economic capital, multiethnic neighborhoods might offer social capital from family members and persons from the same ethnic group. Through ethnic networks, immigrant enclaves can work as home base at first (see e.g. Portes et al., 1990; Waldinger, 1996, Portes, 1995, as cited in Lilja et al., 2010).

A study performed by van der Laan Bouma-Doff (2007) empirically tests whether or not ethnic concentration hinders the existence of ethnic bridges, especially between ethnic minorities and natives. Even though this study is performed in the Netherlands we assume that there are lessons to draw for Sweden and Stockholm. The conclusion is that "...ethnic concentration exhibits a strong negative association with the probability of maintaining contacts with native Dutch. The second conclusion is that concentration effects on ethnic bridges are stronger for the non-deprived ethnic minorities" (pp. 1013-1014). Our interpretation of the second conclusion is that households comprising ethnic minorities, but where the level of education for instance is rather high, are more affected by isolation. If these households were given the opportunity of being located in mixed neighborhoods, they would most probably interact with native households. For more deprived households, with a very low level of education, that might not be the case, meaning that even in mixed neighborhoods deprived households would not easily interact with their surroundings

Given that urban segregation patterns in Sweden are rather similar to the Dutch cases, i.e. ethnic minorities are grouped in ethnically diverse areas whereas natives are clustered in very homogenous areas, the conclusion from van der Laan Bouma-Doff's study are relevant for the Stockholm case. However, it is important to emphasize that the study does not measure how much contact with natives contributes to increased socioeconomic status in the short and long term.

Our own results, show that networks, at least with people from the same ethnic group are important for socioeconomic development. For instance, according to one of our interviewees, the social networks in Fittja are rather well developed, since there are a

few dominant ethnic groups in the area. In such an area, it is rather easy for the municipal authority in their outreach activities (Interview, 2013). On the contrary, an area such as Alby is much more difficult to interact with. Two of the main reasons are the high turnover of people, and the fact that there is no dominant ethnic group, rather a big mix of ethnic groups. With a big mix of cultures/ethnicities social networks tend to be weaker and individuals risk to be marginalised from the employment sector.

4 The role of policy in combating urban segregation

4.1 The role of national and regional policies

The national level in Sweden has for decades been working with urban segregation issues. Measures can be divided into two main areas, namely, a *holistic city approach* and a more *neighborhood approach*. The neighborhood approach can relate to both socioeconomic and physical measures to alleviate poverty and exclusion in certain areas. The *holistic approach* was visible already in the 1970s, between 1979 and 1982, when the *City-Renewable-Committee* (Stadsförnyelsekommittén) discussed measures to deal with social, economic, environmental and physical development. The purpose was to evaluate the urban environment and to propose measures to improve the livelihood of citizens. The evaluation also had a strong social dimension (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2010).

In 1982, the change of government implied that the *City-Renewable-Committee* was dismissed and a *housing committee* (Bostadskommitté) was created. In 1983 measures were implemented to renew especially the housing stock. One of the conclusions was that these measures especially favoured the housing sector at the expense of the citizens who had felt powerless. During the 1980s the government allocated several hundred million Kronor to improve the outdoor environment and community between citizens in socially excluded areas (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2010).

During the 1990s, three green papers were written with a focus on reducing housing segregation, which had become increasingly severe in Stockholm. All three papers, *The Immigration committee* (Invandrapolitiska kommittén), the *Green Paper on Housing* (Bostadspolitiska utredningen) and the *Metropolitan Committee* (Storstadskommittén) all made the conclusion that even though the government had allocated enormous resources to the issue in recent decades, the neighborhoods in the bigger cities have remained socioeconomically and ethnically segregated. The *Metropolitan Committee* emphasized that a holistic approach should be adopted, not seeing socially excluded areas as enclaves, but rather part of a bigger city (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2010).

The Metropolitan Committee (orstadskommittén) created the basis for the *new governmental metropolitan agenda* where a *Metropolitan delegation* (orstadsdelegationen) was created to establish local development contracts between the national government and municipalities. Two billion kronor was allocated to the initiative. In 1999, the national government pursued this effort through contracts with seven municipalities, with a total of 24 neighborhoods affected. Evaluations from the implementation of the governmental metropolitan agenda stated that the local development contracts contributed to developing, renewing and compensating neighbourhoods but that possibilities to alleviate segregation had not been developed. The same critique as in previous years was brought forward, namely that a more holistic approach would be adopted and that segregation cannot

be dealt with solely at the local level. (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2010)

Even though the *neighborhood approach* has been criticized in previous evaluations, the latest effort from the current government includes such an approach. In this approach (Urbant utvecklingsarbete), national money was allocated to 15 areas in Sweden, characterised by a low access to the labour market and a high level of social subsidies. In a very early evaluation of the initiative, the municipalities that are participating raised a few issues that are relevant to consider in the further development of this national initiative. One of these concerns is that short term measures that address symptoms of urban segregation rather than the underlying causes risks to undermine more long-term investments and measures. Furthermore, the municipalities highlight that multilevel governance arrangements are challenging. In more concrete terms, the Swedish political system lacks a strong regional actor that can adopt a more holistic approach to urban segregation (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2013). However, one of the tools to deal with urban segregation on regional level is the Regional development Plan for Stockholm (RUFSS 2010).

In a Swedish context, Stockholm is quite unique, as it is one of the few regions to have an official regional strategy, albeit non-binding. RUFSS 2010 was developed by the County Council and the County Administrative Board together, where the County Administrative Board is more responsible for social and economic development whereas the County Council has the responsibility for the spatial dimension. Even though the plan is not mandatory for municipalities to follow in physical planning, it is considered as a guiding document. Some of the goals of the plan are strongly related to urban integration. These include the ambition to develop a polycentric and compact region, to develop a varied supply of housing, and to develop a labour market that uses the competences of all different kinds of people (Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning, 2010). More concretely, in promoting a strategy that fosters social and income diversity, the County Council aims to develop more effective transport solutions (Stockholm County council, 2009). In doing so, the aim is to facilitate movement across the city and county, thereby reducing barriers, promoting employment opportunities, increasing the desirability of existing districts and improving the linkages between such districts (Stockholm County council 2009). This strategy is evident in the city's efforts to improve the public transport system through the continued development of a series of light rail lines both within and around the city, as well as improved road linkages, as exemplified by the construction of the Stockholm ring road (Förbifart).

4.2 The role of local policies and governance in combating urban segregation in Botkyrka

Concluding from our research, the municipality of Botkyrka is proactive in combatting urban segregation, mostly through bottom up approaches, including emancipation and empowerment. One illustration of this is the fact that Botkyrka is the first municipality in Sweden working with an intercultural strategy instead of focusing primarily on integration.

There is also a strong conviction that the best way to improve the area is to improve the lives of individuals (Botkyrka municipality, 2010b). The municipality itself describes why a multicultural strategy is needed:

“Botkyrka is a multicultural but segregated community with great differences in living conditions, where gender and social and ethnic backgrounds interact. The effect is a restrictive environment which prevents people from liberating their capabilities and realising their opportunities in life. Many of Botkyrka’s citizens have at some stage left their previous network of family, friends and work colleagues and have started a new life in Sweden without any natural entrance into the new society. This means that many of our citizens have not entered into the society on the same conditions as the majority of the population. A contributory reason is also the failure of the Stockholm County to find employment for the county’s international population, as has been noted by OECD1. Many of our citizens are living in poverty for reasons which often interact and reinforce each other” (ibid p 3).

Central to the intercultural approach is that many of the vulnerable areas in Botkyrka are highly diverse, with many different ethnicities. Interculturalism, as interpreted by Botkyrka municipality (2010b), is about exchanges and interaction between human beings with different origins, contrary to the more common term, multiculturalism, which alludes to a more passive state.

One way of improving the lives of citizens and to promote interculturalism is the strong collaboration between municipal authorities and civil society. A circumstance that is delicate to handle in the interaction with civil society is the composition of ethnicities and minorities in different subdistricts of Botkyrka. As described above, social networks within ethnic groups, seem to be important for socioeconomic development. There are experiences from Botkyrka, but as described above by Lilja et al. (2010) it can be debated to what extent the concentration of ethnic groups is positive or negative for integration in society. The positive argument would be that areas such as Botkyrka function as a bridge for migrants into society (Lilja et al., p. 30). One concrete way, however perhaps superficial, of turning Botkyrka to a “secure base” for further interaction with society is the way the municipality and the municipal housing company brands itself as “the first stop in Sweden”, meaning that for many immigrants, Botkyrka is their first encounter with Sweden and Stockholm.

Further, the municipality attempts to handle the challenges highlighted above through different community outreach activities, especially related to bridging ethnicities within Botkyrka. How to bridge gaps between ethnic minorities and ethnic Swedes is perhaps a question for the regional level. Efforts by the municipality include:

- **Bocenter:** A space for residents and grassroots organizations who want to hold meetings. They can use the premises to hold discussions, workshops and other activities, or otherwise enable or coordinate activities among residents. It is free of charge to use, with the costs covered by a housing corporation and the municipality. As of now 10-12 NGOs have regular meetings within these premises.

- **Summer jobs for young people:** Botkyrka Municipality offers a number of summer jobs for young people. In doing so, the aim is to provide valuable work experience and an income, to help young people find the right track for a future in the job market. In concert with a number of grassroots organizations, the municipality seeks to expand summer employment possibilities for young people. A website run by the municipality offers a range services to assist young people in finding summer jobs, including how to write a resume and tips for job interviews.
- **The Women's Resource Centre (KVRC):** KVRC is a non-political organization that helps to integrate women (both newcomers and long term residents) in Botkyrka into the workforce, with a particular focus on those who have been out of the labour market for extended periods of time. They offer training for attractive employment skills and guidance on starting a small business, as well as Swedish language training that is more accessible for women in Hallunda & Norsborg. Further, they seek to promote women's rights among local residents through education. KVRC works closely with the public library in Hallunda to encourage literacy and to find the most effective ways to promote education among residents with a diversity of backgrounds.
- **The Botkyrka Public Library in Hallunda:** The library is heavily involved in outreach efforts and continues to extend its efforts into the community. Notably, they recognize that learning takes place in many ways, and in recognizing the range of backgrounds among local residents, place equal emphasis on the spoken and written word. The library is also engaged with numerous local organizations, including KVRC, and will host an EU event to combat illiteracy for libraries that are working to reach out to residents in areas with significant concentrations of people with foreign backgrounds. It also organizes events like the Botkyrka International Book Fair, an intercultural celebration. The library and its employees have received significant acclaim for their work in actively engaging the community.
- **Spontaneous Sports:** Botkyrka Municipality pays to staff and maintain sports facilities for young people. Rather than organizing through registration, with the associated administrative burden that discourages some young people, the facilities are open for drop-in. The intention is to provide positive activities with role models who have some oversight as a way to divert young people from spending time on the street or risk becoming involved with gangs. More widely, youth clubs are seen as an important factor in crime prevention and harm reduction.
- **Schools:** There are significant efforts in Botkyrka to engage with both students and parents that have foreign backgrounds. Teachers are offered basic language training in some of the mother tongues of pupils and parents. There is a strong emphasis on engaging with the parents of students to identify successful learning methods in various cultures and to help establish good study habits.

4.2.1 Examples of urban planning effort

Beyond the more individual based efforts presented above, physical and urban planning plays a role in alleviating segregation. As described in previous sections the separation between occupied owned and rental apartments is very visible both in Botkyrka and within the county. To mitigate this issue, the municipality's aim is to create greater variation in housing, which would increase the likelihood that people from different backgrounds would choose to live in the same area. Hallunda-Norsborg for instance is not very mixed when it comes to housing form and tenure ship. Furthermore, there is also a lack of working opportunities in the area. At the moment Botkyrka is working hard, especially with developers, to create more mixed land use.

These efforts correspond well with academic literature where, for instance, Lilja et al. (2010) argue that diversified building forms (apartments, detached houses, villas etc.) as well as a mix of tenure ship and decent public spaces for meeting can contribute to integration, in line with well-developed public transport. Recently, there have been some positive developments. A new development in Fittja, Sjöterassen, consisting of 62 dwellings, sold out quickly, as did a smaller project in Hallunda (Interview, 2013). Sjöterassen is the first new development in Fittja since the rapid development of the Million Homes Program, nearly four decades ago. Further, there is greater diversity in the type of dwellings that are being planned for in northern Botkyrka, including in Hallunda-Norsborg, where 300 dwellings in larger, multi-unit buildings and 140 dwellings in the form of single family homes or smaller multi-unit buildings are planned to be constructed between 2013 and 2021 (Stockholm County Council, 2013). Further, the municipality has taken active steps to improve communications between planners and the public, as well as between the planning department and the central administration (Kommunledningskontoret), which is notified of all development proposals, and can evaluate the impact that the changes will have on the existing neighbourhood and community (Interview, 2013).

It is also important to note that the municipality pursues a holistic development approach through the work done by the unit for *societal and spatial development* (samhällsutveckling) which is a highly cross sectoral unit working with issues such as socioeconomics, culture, physical planning, environment and segregation. Beyond the nationally mandated environmental impact assessment, this unit carries out a social impact assessment on all new developments proposed in Botkyrka (Interview, 2013).

Improving communication means within Botkyrka and in the Stockholm region is also imperative in mixing urban form, tenure ship and people. There have been some efforts to reduce mobility barriers in Botkyrka. Initiatives by the municipality, the public transport authority (SL) and the county Administrative Board as well as the County Council include a 2010 strategy to promote bicycling, improved travel times by public transport within the municipality, and a more general effort to improve connections between suburban neighbourhoods (Botkyrka municipality, 2010a; Stockholm County Council, 2009). In doing so, the aim is to facilitate movement across Botkyrka and the county, thereby reducing barriers, encouraging employment

opportunities, increasing the desirability of existing districts and enhancing the linkages between them (Stockholm County Council, 2009).

However, without underestimating the planning efforts performed in Botkyrka, our interviewees emphasized that issues of segregation are not local issues to be dealt with in Botkyrka only. For instance, the extent to which RUFSS 2010 is contributing to urban integration can be discussed. Our interviews indicate that local planners would have hoped for a stronger focus on these issues in RUFSS 2010, as well as in all other municipalities in Stockholm County. It is the responsibility of the whole county to contribute. The city of Stockholm, for instance, focuses mostly on the highest value areas, which does not contribute to diminishing segregation (Interview, 2013).

5 Validity of European-wide data analysis from a local perspective

The case study research reveals some important data and indicator issues that have to be considered. These are summarized below.

Most importantly patterns of urban segregation have to be studied and understood on local level, i.e. below LAU 2 level. Indicators produced by Eurostat on NUTS 3 level or even LAU 1 and 2 level show very little about patterns of urban segregation.

Furthermore, in a European context, poverty and social exclusion have to be studied within its own territorial context. We should therefore talk about relative poverty, something that is, for instance, measured through the *at risk of poverty rate*. Poverty and social exclusion should be measured relatively, whether we consider country, regional, municipal or sub-district level. As an example, one of our interviews emphasised that the European measurements of “at risk of poverty” and “low work intensity rate” would be useful in measuring segregation patterns below LAU 2 level. On the other hand measuring the “severe deprivation rate” would not reveal any segregation at the local level.

Looking at labour market access, indicators for the diaspora economy are needed. For many citizens, access to such economies is important for survival, even though it is often considered as criminal by the media and authorities.

In relation to demography, indicators measuring sub-district, municipal and regional moving patterns are useful. Our interviews highlight the importance of “feeling at home” in your neighbourhood, something that can be hindered by urban segregation. Just the fact of living in Hallunda-Norsborg can make it difficult to access jobs and other housing opportunities in the region.

Our interviews also revealed that some spatial indicators would be useful in measuring poverty and social exclusion (also at sub-district level). In relation to housing for instance, overcrowded living conditions should be measured, as well as the quality of housing units and the need for renovations. Of course, compared to other European countries, the quality of housing in Sweden could be considered good, but in a Swedish context, comparing neighbourhoods, such indicators would reveal patterns of poverty, social exclusion and segregation. Also, in relation to housing, it would be useful for planning departments as well as for housing developers to establish indicators measuring attractiveness of land and land value, which would make it easier for housing development in especially vulnerable areas where prejudice and stigmatization often hinders development.

Finally, lessons from this case study are not only that data and indicators must be available at local levels but also that indicators are not always measuring the right issue. For example, the Swedish National Statistics measures country of origin (see Table 4). This is an issue as it masks people who were minorities in their countries of origin and also misinforms (i.e. in the way media present the data) ethnic Swedes of the makeup of many neighbourhoods. It generalizes groups of people. This is

exemplified in how little public recognition there is of the large group of Christians from the Middle East that live in Botkyrka. It also generalizes how ethnic networks may be structured in highly heterogeneous areas. Given that such networks are important for integration in society, indicators should be more precise.

6 Transferability of results

Patterns of urban segregation as well as policy measures to deal with segregation have to be addressed within a specific territorial context. Through a cluster analysis of the indicators developed within the TIPSE project to measure social exclusion, general similarities in patterns of poverty and social exclusion can be found across territories. The Nordic countries show clear similarities. For example, the At Risk of Poverty rate after social transfer, is generally lower in welfare states compared to other regions (Ramos Lobato & Weck 2014):

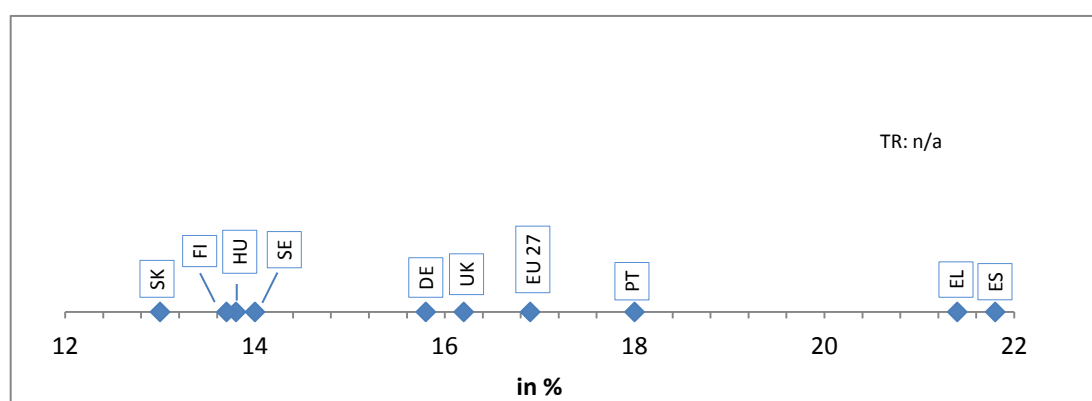


Figure 14: At-risk-of-poverty rate after social transfers by 60% poverty threshold 2011

Source: Eurostat Database, Regional Statistics (Reg) Table [ilc_mddd21] and Table [ilc_li02]

However, the present case study report contends that patterns of urban segregation have to be understood at the local and regional levels, and not only through quantitative indicators, but also qualitative ones. While a cluster analysis of countries is useful, it is not enough to fully understand and deal with urban segregation.

When it comes to the role of policy in combatting urban segregation, this case study report identifies some dimensions for transferability. Over the course of the study, it became evident that the municipality of Botkyrka is proactive in combatting urban segregation, mostly through bottom up approaches, including emancipation and empowerment, as well as working across sectors with issues such as socioeconomics, culture, physical planning, the environment, social inclusion and segregation. This suggests that an integrated and place based approach to governance is fundamental in understanding and alleviating urban segregation. Such an approach includes close cooperation between public institutions and civil society. These are initiatives that are useful in transferring knowledge of “good practice” (c.f. Ramos Lobato and Weck, 2014).

Beyond the research presented in this report and elsewhere in TIPSE, these findings are supported in other work that has been performed in relation to transferability of territorial governance. The abovementioned efforts coincide with four of the five dimensions for good territorial governance identified in the ESPON TANGO project:

Co-ordinating the actions of actors and institutions; integrating policy sectors, mobilising stakeholder participation and realising place-based specificities and impacts.

More specifically, within the ESPON TANGO dimensions, transferrable factors for good territorial that are evident in Botkyrka include; pro-active public organisations; the involvement of different levels of government; spatially differentiated policies; building trust; establishing organizational routines; favouring cross-sector fertilisation; and, involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders (ESPON TANGO, 2013).

7 Conclusions for policy development and monitoring

The present case study offers some valuable insight for policy makers in Stockholm County and elsewhere with similar patterns of urban segregation. The county is characterised by housing segregation, meaning that people on the low end of the socioeconomic spectrum, and often with foreign backgrounds, are concentrated in certain areas of the county, whereas wealthier people, often ethnic Swedes, are concentrated elsewhere. At the municipal level in Botkyrka, we can observe a north-south division. Importantly, these patterns can also be observed at sub district level. In Botkyrka, the northern parts, such as Alby, Fittja and Hallunda-Norsborg are more affected by unemployment, low incomes and health issues compared to southern parts such as Tullinge. Furthermore, so called segregated areas are usually very ethnically diverse and heterogenous, compared to wealthier areas which are more homogenous, consisting of high concentrations of ethnic Swedes.

Relevant for policy makers to consider, we have identified four areas that contribute to housing segregation and social exclusion of certain areas. These are the built form, access to housing, transportation and ethnic bridges and networks. There are other important areas as well, but these are the ones that stood out while digging more deeply into these issues in Botkyrka. Especially when it comes to the built form, for example access to housing and transportation, a relevant policy conclusion is that patterns of segregation have to be understood on local level (see sections 3.1 through 3.4) but solutions have to be addressed on regional level.

Access to housing is primarily a regional concern. That migrants have significant difficulty accessing housing outside suburban areas like Hallunda-Norsborg, Fittja and Alby is also a concern for municipalities in the northern parts of the county. However, citizens that are settling down in Botkyrka may choose to stay there even when their socioeconomic status has improved. To some extent, this can be solved on a municipal level by encouraging, in physical planning processes, development of different housing forms and tenureships. On the other hand, the municipality is in the hands of housing developers. Developers are in general reluctant to build in areas such as Alby, Fittja and Hallunda-Norsborg, due to the areas' bad reputation. Developers are afraid that apartments will sell. However, as we have reported above, recent development suggests otherwise. New apartments in Fittja (Sjöterassen) sold out quickly.

In an era where Stockholm is facing major housing shortages, while also forecasting longterm growth, there is a strong opportunity for Botkyrka to attract developers by demonstrating the municipality's market potential. In promoting municipal growth, the Botkyrka can continue to promote itself to newcomers to the region, while also upgrading and diversifying its housing stock to retain them as socioeconomic situations develop. In an effort to attract more ethnic Swedes, municipal promotion could be increased across Sweden. In doing so, there is potential to reintroduce the missing piece of Botkyrka's diversity puzzle, enhance its image and be at the forefront of Swedish interculturalism and acceptance.

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Annex 1: List of interviewed experts

Name	Institution	Date
Peter Björkman	librarian at Botkyrka Biblioteket	May 2013
Shanina Begum	director of Kvinnorsresurscentrum (The Women's Resource Centre)	May 2013
Henrik Weston	housing specialist at the County Administrative Board of Stockholm	May 2013
Elin Blume	housing specialist at the County Administrative Board of Stockholm	May 2013
Tobias Hubinette	scientist at Mångkulturellt centrum (The Multicultural Centre)	May 2013
Ronnie Dahl	urban developer in the sub district Hallunda-Norsborg	March 2013
Lars Olsson	director of planning at Botkyrka Municipality	April 2013
Bengt Eliasson	strategic community developer at Botkyrka municipality	April 2013