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HOUSING MIX, SOCIAL MIX, AND SOCIAL OPPORTUNITIES

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Will housing mix create social mix, and will social mix create social opportunity? This question is central in American and European urban debates. In Europe, however, there is a big gap between the political debates and actions regarding these issues and empirical research. In an effort to partly fill this gap, the authors critically evaluated the question above, applying a large-scale longitudinal Swedish data set covering the period 1991 to 1999 and available at the individual level for the entire population. The first part of the article reviews the various policies that are used in different European countries. The second part addresses the empirical analysis.

Keywords: *longitudinal research; neighborhood effects; Sweden; housing policy; social mobility*

ASSUMPTIONS AND QUESTIONS

In several European and North American countries, lively political debates are currently developing that deal with the idea that individuals, especially the poor among them, will be significantly supported in their efforts to improve their life chances and to realize upward social mobility, if they would get the opportunity to live in a socially mixed environment. Various social theories seem to support this idea, although there also is quite some criticism. However, usually few legal opportunities exist that allow politicians to create social mixes directly—this would require almost totalitarian regimes that are able to intervene in individual choices with quite some rigor

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(Borevi 2002, chap. 6, who analyses Swedish housing mix policies since 1975). Therefore, politicians tend to use housing policy tools instead to reach their goals. In short, the idea is that housing mix (a mix of housing types and tenure types) will create social mix (a mix of households according to their socioeconomic position) and that this will create better social opportunities for individuals.

In fact, these debates are based on two crucial assumptions. The first is that social mix really enhances individual opportunities. The second is that there is a strong relation between social mix and housing mix.

These issues are obviously firmly related to the actual plans and activities around the restructuring of certain areas in cities. Today, at least in many European cities, a large share of urban restructuring plans is aimed at transforming large-scale postwar housing estates. The areas in which these estates can be found tend to be rather homogeneous in terms of the type and tenure of the dwellings. They are also often attracting households with a rather weak social position and many immigrants. The dominant idea is that there is housing (type and tenure) homogeneity that creates social homogeneity (concentration of poor people) that reduces social opportunities for those who are living there. So the same set of assumptions applies for these estates and the people living in them. It is worth noting that homogeneous high-income areas are never considered to constitute problems for individuals or policy makers. As Andersson (2000) shows in a countrywide analysis on housing segregation in Sweden, the geographical concentration of the rich is much stronger than that of the poor.

From the literature, we know that assumptions regarding the relation between housing mix, social mix, and social opportunities are insufficiently tested. There will be postwar estates with a homogeneous population where individuals appear to be socially blocked, where social problems and sometimes criminality characterize the daily lives of their inhabitants and where, from time to time, social tensions get too high, occasionally even resulting in urban riots. These estates are well known locally and often also highly stigmatized. Yet this does not automatically imply that all postwar housing estates are associated with these problems; neither does it mean that all socially homogeneous (and poor) estates or areas are associated with problems. Research in the Netherlands has actually shown that identical flat blocks with similar locations in a city were functioning very differently (Kempen and Musterd 1991). But neither does the fact that there are problematic estates with a homogeneous population imply that big problems will not be developing elsewhere! In short, the assumptions regarding the relation between housing mix, social mix, and social opportunities require a more rigorous testing. In this contribution, we attempt to contribute to such a test.

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We do that guided by explicit questions. The first question is, What is the association between housing mix and social mix in delineated neighborhoods? We will elaborate on this in the section labeled Housing Mix and Social Mix. The most important tests regard the analysis of the relationship between the social mix indicator in an area and the individual social mobility opportunities. For this purpose, we followed individual Swedish inhabitants during the 1990s. We started with those who were 16 to 65 years old in 1991 and analyzed their social position across the period from 1991 to 1999. This allowed us to give an answer to the second question: How do individuals perform in social mobility terms in (socially) homogeneous or in more mixed areas? We will elaborate on this in the section Social Mix and Individual Opportunities. But before we go into these empirical tests, we first pay attention to the debates that are going on in Europe that have led to the ideas that housing mix and social mix should be addressed in urban policies. The leading question in the section that follows now is, How articulated are mixed housing policies in European countries? A section called Data and Concepts follows this section. There, we briefly introduce the data and variable constructions we applied.

ON THE ARTICULATION OF SOCIAL MIX AND HOUSING MIX POLICIES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES/CITIES

PROBLEMS: SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY—CLUSTERING OF POOR PEOPLE

Several theories have been formulated to support ideas regarding negative effects of homogeneous poor residential environments on individuals' opportunities. The most well known theories highlight possible negative effects through socialization processes that are regarded as negative (Wilson 1987). A spatial concentration of unemployed people, for example, would provide negative role models for youngsters, and this would reduce their efforts to improve their skills and subsequently reduce their labor market opportunities. Related theory refers to social networks, often inspired by Granovetter's studies of how people get a job (Granovetter 1995). These networks would be very important in shaping opportunities for success because it is expected that homogeneous poor neighborhoods may reduce the opportunities for their residents to bridge the gap with people with resources. A third factor regards the potential stigmatization effects of relatively large concentrations of deprived people. Such neighborhoods may become known as areas where problems accumulate. This may have negative impacts on people's chances to find a job (Carpenter, Chauviré, and White 1994; reviews

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in Ellen and Turner 1997; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000; Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Galster 2002b; Friedrichs, Galster, and Musterd 2003).

HOUSING AND SOCIAL MIX POLICIES IN EUROPE

There is a clear link between theory and policy practice in the sense that in practice, the ideas about socialization, stigmatization, and positive impacts of mixed social networks are taken as a point of departure in many policy ambitions. Today, politicians and other actors who are concerned with urban social issues prefer area-based interventions expressed in so-called mixed housing strategies to come to a social mix of the population at the neighborhood level. Housing mix and social mix are often regarded to have very positive effects on people's lives. Mix of housing types and housing tenures would enhance housing choice within the neighborhood and thus avoid the need to move when the household's choice level increases. By implication, that would reduce the social separation of the population. The logic would be that the housing mix that is created will provide more social mix and subsequently also better conditions for positive socialization; it will also reduce the stigmatization and the risk for individual poor inhabitants to become excluded from the environment. The aim to diversify neighborhoods has been stated explicitly in the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Sweden, and Finland, for example. In the Netherlands, the call for more diversified neighborhoods started around 1996, when the white paper on the "differentiated city" appeared (see Ostendorf, Musterd, and De Vos 2001; Beckhoven and Kempen 2003), but the mixture ideas have gained new and more intense attention since 2002, related to the political turbulence due to the rise of the Pim Fortuyn Party. Especially in the city of Rotterdam, but also in national policy circles, there were strong calls for dispersal of the poor (and immigrant) inhabitants and the creation of mixed neighborhoods. Some politicians in fact aimed at mixing in terms of ethnicity; others referred to socially mixed neighborhoods. This lively debate was linked to the even bigger, be it contested, debate on integration (Musterd 2003). In the United Kingdom, the debate is more moderate, but also there, politicians aim for mixed communities (see Urban Task Force 1999; Robson et al. 2000). In the latter report, it was argued that housing tenure mixing and social mixing are regarded as appropriate policy strategies to overcome the risk of neighborhood effects. In France, the *modèle républicain d'intégration* has been built on the nonrecognition of ethnicity and ethnic communities. Therefore, ethnic mix is not addressed; however, a *politique* aimed at *mixité sociale* is one of the key principles of housing policy in France. This is also rooted in the fear

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of urban ghettoization. Tenure diversification as a means to reach the social (and perhaps ethnic) mix is again frequently applied. Therefore, part of the debate is also focusing on housing itself. Public housing is often regarded as a cause of increasing segregation because of the narrowing social range of tenants and the spatial concentration of public housing estates. This is the rationale underlying the recent law on *Solidarité et renouvellement urbain* that addresses the issue by determining a compulsory goal of a minimum percentage of public housing in each municipality, with a financial penalty for those who will not take the necessary steps to reach such a goal (Jacquier 2001). In Sweden, social mix has been a general housing policy goal since 1974-1975.[1] However, according to Borevi (2002), analyzing the 1970 to 2000 period, this goal has in practice never been allowed privilege over freedom of choice for the individual (p. 302). The reason is probably to be found in the fact that the government and the state may formulate ideas and guidelines concerning what is believed to be a wishful trajectory, but they do not control (or wish to control) the means of achieving this under normal market conditions where a range of actors affect what is to be built, where, and for whom. And even if a certain mix of housing types and tenures is realized, the actual mix of households is contingent on a series of factors such as local economic development, migration in and out of the city, the level of service provision in the initial stages. The political goal could therefore to quite a high extent be seen as a rhetorical instrument to be used on state occasions. Nevertheless, the present Social Democratic government keeps on reiterating the importance of housing and social mix, as articulated by Mona Sahlin, minister of housing and the built environment, talking in the Swedish Parliament on 15 November 2004: "Mixed tenure in each and every neighborhood in our country is something I aim for. No matter if I discuss from the perspective of social (class) aspects or (ethnic) integration aspects, it is of vital importance that there is other than rental tenure in our large (suburban) housing estates and that the inner cities comprise not only private ownership of apartments but also rental housing" (Sveriges Riksdag 2004, 29). The minister continues, now talking about areas having a concentration of low-income households and a high proportion of unemployed people, "It should be good housing in safe and well serviced neighbourhoods like we find in other parts of the cities. These areas should be characterized by great variety, which implies that it should be possible but also interesting for households having an above average income level to live there" (our translation). In Finland, the debate about potential effects of homogeneous or heterogeneous housing areas, and the social effects that would be related to them, is also most lively (Kaupinen 2002). Perhaps the long period of rather moderate inequality these countries have experienced before the final decade explains the high level of intensity

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of the debate today. In both contexts, the majority of politicians believe that mixed housing will be to the benefit of the total population, or at least to the relatively less well-off in society. In fact, the basic philosophies do not differ very much from those who are driving the North American policies toward improving poor people's lives, such as the Moving to Opportunity program and HOPE VI. Both the United States and Europe aim at more social spatial mix because it is believed that this will enhance people's opportunities to enter society in full swing. The only difference is that in Europe, the typical way to reach that goal is to create or re-create mixed neighborhoods through housing restructuring processes, whereas in the United States, programs that move people to opportunity seem to be dominant, although HOPE VI resembles the European model. Another and bigger difference is that in Europe, the policy interventions are much more extensive and reach a much larger share of the population, compared to the moderate sizes of the American interventions.

CRITICAL APPRAISAL

The policies that are being developed throughout Europe do not remain without criticism. In the United Kingdom, Whitehead (2002), Kearns (2002), Kearns and Parkes (2003), and several others have commented on the mix ideas. They noticed that "there is not a majority in the UK in favor of mixing communities by income, class or housing tenure, with owner occupiers being particularly opposed and people in rented housing areas more in favor" (Kearns and Parkes 2003, 847). They also refer to other studies that mention the risk of exacerbating local problems through resentment, conflict, and disorder, or simply the unwillingness to make contact, between different social groups (Atkinson and Kintrea 2001).

Ostendorf, Musterd, and De Vos (2001) and Musterd, Ostendorf, and De Vos (2003) gave other critical comments. They tested crucial assumptions behind the Dutch policies and concluded that a lot of money was spent on trying to mix the population, with a zero-sum outcome (at best).

Of course, one can imagine that neighborhood-targeted special programs may be required in situations in which a substantial proportion of the population is in trouble—and thus the role models for youngsters are from those who are in trouble; in these environments one may encounter situations of "hypersegregation" as Massey and Denton (1993) argue. In those situations, local social atmospheres and opportunities and local social networks may indeed be such that help is required to escape from these situations. However, it is harder to imagine that neighborhood-targeted programs make a lot of sense in environments where the vast majority already belongs to the promising role model category or where people will be able to find these role models

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nearby. Yet many European authorities continue to call for more neighborhood mixing, sometimes even where there already is a substantial mix.

From this discussion, one should not deduce that area-based policies are required and effective in the United States and not required, or effective, in Europe. First, it is far from evident that the American programs really are effective. Even though successes could be shown, there still are substantial doubts about the effectiveness of that policy. Critical voices continue to point at the chance that the positive results that are being measured in the test cases are a consequence of the selectivity that is in the programs, even in situations where there was so-called random allocation (Goering and Feins 2003). The selectivity and self-selection mechanisms may have distorted the results. These and other considerations have spawned critical followers of the American cases as well (Briggs 1997; Galster and Zobel 1998; Galster 2002a; Johnson, Ladd, and Ludwig 2002).

But second, the European evidence that there is only a modest effect of housing and social mix on social opportunities is thin. The possibility should not be ruled out that even low levels of segregation and moderate concentrations of poverty would have serious effects on individual opportunity. As far as we know, until now, only few large-scale European studies have been carried out to test the basic hypotheses with some rigor. These studies were based on longitudinal data sets in which the construction of small neighborhoods that vary according to the percentage of "poor" people was possible (Andersson 2001; Musterd, Ostendorf, and De Vos 2001, 2003; Rapport Integration 2003). These studies were based on several millions of individual cases available in Sweden and the Netherlands. They found small but significant neighborhood effects. Apart from these large-scale longitudinal studies, there are other interesting longitudinal studies that have been carried out but that were based on smaller samples. Even though these studies struggle with their smaller number of cases, their findings do not seem to fundamentally differ from results from the larger-scale studies (e.g., Farwick 2002; Buck 2001; Atkinson and Kintrea 2001).

These studies did focus on the impact of different social environments on individuals' social mobility opportunities or similar effects. They can again be criticized, though, part of them because only small samples were available and other studies because perhaps the definition of "environment" was a bit too narrow and because there was not a clear focus on the impact of housing mix in relation to social mix on individuals' opportunities. These critical comments also hold for the large-scale longitudinal studies.

This, obviously, was a reason for us to try to fill the gap through a specifically designed analysis of the Swedish situation regarding housing mix, social mix, and social opportunities. In the remainder of this article, we

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present the way we defined these dimensions and the way we analyzed the relevant associations.

DATA AND CONCEPTS

The database used was provided by Statistics Sweden.[2] The data regard information of all individual Swedish inhabitants who were born in Sweden or who received an identification code on immigration. Selective longitudinal information over the period from 1991 to 1999 has been made available in the database, for all Swedes individually. We were able to include individual-level attributes (such as level of education, employment status) and some household attributes (family position, urban or nonurban residence), and we calculated the crucial neighborhood characteristics at the level of so-called Sams (Small Area Market Statistics) areas (housing mix, social mix, and ethnic mix). The data cover the period from 1991 to 1999. We started with those who were 16 to 65 years old in 1991 and followed them during the entire period. As a first step, we reduced the data set by focusing on the (potential) labor force population only (see below). For a detailed analysis per age cohort, see Musterd and Andersson (2003). More than 5.5 million individuals were included in the analyses. The neighborhood variables were calculated for 1995 (1996 for housing mix) only, because we assumed that the various mixes, overall, would be rather stable during the research period. Crucial information on the neighborhood division and on the concepts applied will be dealt with first.

NEIGHBORHOOD DIVISION

The country is divided into about 9,200 Sams units. The division was constructed in 1993, but older information can be located to the existing division by use of the more precise coordinates that all real estate property have in Sweden. Local authorities in cooperation with Statistics Sweden delimit the Sams units. The delimitation praxis is to construct fairly homogeneous neighborhoods in terms of housing types, date of construction, and tenure form. However, praxis varies somewhat between municipalities (for example, somewhat smaller areas exist in Gothenburg and Malmö than in Stockholm), and it does not mean that an area comprising more than one tenure form, by necessity, is divided into two or several units. The Sams units have been used frequently in recent Swedish residential segregation studies (Andersson and Bråmå 2004) with the argument that they constitute the most relevant formal division available.

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HOUSING MIX

The level of housing mix per Sams area was calculated starting with the individual-level data file, where for each individual person, the type of dwelling in which he or she lived in 1996 was known. A total of eight housing types and an unknown type were distinguished (private company and single family, private company and multifamily, public single, public multifamily, cooperative single family, cooperative multifamily, private-owner single family, private multifamily).

For each Sams area, the share of each of nine dwelling types relative to the total was calculated to be able to use this piece of information in the calculation of the so-called entropy measure of information. This is a measure derived from information theory; it is an excellent measure for the variation for nominal variables (Deurloo 1987). The measure is defined as

$$H(X) = -\Sigma_i p_i \ln p_i,$$

where p_i is the probability of an observation belonging to category i of X and $p_i \ln p_i = 0$ for $p_i = 0$.

To standardize the H(X) value, one can calculate H'(X) = H(X) / ln I, where I is the maximum number of categories that is theoretically possible (the number of housing types varies per Sams unit). This relative measure runs from 0 to 1; 0 implies absolutely no variation; in other words, all dwellings in a Sams area are of one type. These areas are therefore labeled absolutely homogeneous. The value 1 stands for absolute variation: Many dwelling types exist and are well represented (the highest mix possible). Based on this scale, we have classified housing mix into five categories:

- Absolutely homogeneous areas (value 0.00), just one housing type present;
- homogeneous (0.01-0.25);
- average homogeneous (0.25-0.50);
- average heterogeneous (0.50-0.75); and
- heterogeneous (0.75-1.00), highly mixed areas in terms of dwelling types.

SOCIAL MIX

The level of social mix is based on yearly work-related income of all males aged 20 to 64. Data for 1995 were used (middle of our research period), knowing that income distributions are fairly stable over a decade. Because the available information allowed for a somewhat greater detail, income deciles were calculated and clustered into three categories: decile 1 to 3

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(i.e., the 30% that have the lowest income in 1995), decile 4 to 7 (comprising 40%), and decile 8 to 10 (comprising 30%). Then, the 9,218 Sams areas were classified according to the following rules:

- Group 1 was excluded from the income classification because it was labeled sparsely populated areas (632 areas).
- Group 2 consists of all Sams areas where the sum of deviations for the three income groups was less than 15% (for example, 26% of all male income earners in Sams area x belong to the lowest three deciles, 38% to the middle deciles, and 36% to the highest deciles; this gives the following outcome: Abs(30-26) + Abs(40-38) + Abs(30-36) = 4 + 2 + 6 = 12. Hence, in this particular example, the area is regarded to be highly mixed: 3,358 areas).
- Group 3 contains areas where the sum of deviations is between 15 and 25 and having more low- than high-income residents, called mixed low-income areas (1,574 areas).
- Group 4 refers to areas where the sum of deviations is between 15 and 25 and where areas have more high- than low-income residents: mixed high-income areas (1,029 areas).
- Group 5 refers to all areas having a sum of deviations exceeding 25 and mainly low incomes (1,409 areas).
- Group 6 consists of all areas exceeding a score of 25 with mainly high incomes (1,220 areas).

Consistency checks have been carried out. Most of the known traditional poor neighborhoods are in group 5, although a few have been classified into group 3. Table 1 presents income deciles distributions for both males and females according to the six (male) social mix categories just defined. The distribution for females is clearly skewed toward deciles 4 and 5, and females are heavily underrepresented in the upper three decile groups. For men, whose incomes have defined the deciles grouping, the highly mixed areas come very close to the national average across the distribution, and we can also notice that separating between mixed low-income areas and low-income areas, as well as separating mixed high-income areas from high-income areas, does make sense. The mixed low-income areas contain a larger proportion of middle- as well as high-income people than do low-income areas, and mixed high-income areas contain more middle- and low-income people than does the high-income category of neighborhoods.

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ETHNIC MIX

In addition, and especially because the debate about social mix is often associated with a debate on ethnic mix, two ordinal ethnic mix variables were constructed.

The first indicator is simply based on the number of nationalities (according to country of birth information) residing in each neighborhood. On the basis of the frequency distribution, four categories were distinguished:

- neighborhoods with less than 3 nationalities (decile 1),
- neighborhoods with 3 to 13 nationalities (deciles 2 to 5),
- neighborhoods with 14 to 34 nationalities (deciles 6 to 9), and
- neighborhoods with more than 34 nationalities (decile 10).

The second indicator has a sharper focus on refugees and calculates the percentage of Sams inhabitants being born abroad and in refugee-delivering countries, who entered Sweden between 1980 and 2000. They comprise 5% of the total population and about 50% of all foreign-born people residing in Sweden in 1995. The choice of refugees as a relevant category is based on the extremely difficult situation that many refugees have experienced in Sweden since the 1980s. Much of the segregation debate and recent policy interventions focus on this particular category (Andersson 2001), and to reside in a refugee-dense neighborhood might have consequences (primary through stigmatization) not only for the refugees themselves. Again, four categories were distinguished:

- with less than 2% refugees (of total population),
- 2% to 5% refugees,
- 5% to 9% refugees, and
- more than 9% refugees.

SOCIOETHNIC CLUSTERS

Because ideas about potential negative impacts of population compositions in neighborhoods often refer to socioeconomic and cultural dimensions simultaneously, we also constructed a combined variable based on the social mix indicator and the two ethnic mix indicators together. This was done with a K-means cluster analysis. A classification with 10 clusters provided a good representation, including a differentiated picture of the tails of the distributions (very rich, very poor, strong/weak refugee presence, etc). On the basis of their profile, the clusters were labeled as follows:

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TABLE 1: Males and Females in Sweden Aged 20 to 64 Distributed over Male Income Deciles and Social Mix Categories in 1995

	Males over Male Income Deciles										*Females over Male Income Deciles*									
Social Mix Categories	*1-2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*Total*	*1-2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*	*9*	*10*	*Total*
Sams areas with less than 10 persons	28	14	12	9	8	8	8	7	7	100	25	15	25	16	7	5	3	3	1	100
Highly mixed areas (<15% sum of income group deviation)	18	11	10	10	11	11	11	10	9	100	20	14	25	18	9	6	4	3	2	100
Mixed low-income areas (15-25% sum of deviations)	23	13	12	12	11	10	8	7	4	100	25	16	25	17	7	4	3	2	1	100
Mixed high-income areas (15-25% sum of deviations)	14	9	9	9	10	11	12	13	14	100	17	13	26	19	9	6	5	3	2	100
Low-income areas (≥25% sum of deviations)	34	16	11	11	9	7	6	4	2	100	35	17	21	15	6	3	2	1	0	100
High-income areas (≥25% sum of deviations)	12	8	7	6	7	9	11	15	25	100	14	11	22	18	10	8	7	5	4	100
Total	20	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	100	21	14	24	17	8	6	4	3	2	100

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

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- cluster 1: income-mixed and ethnically mixed nonrefugee neighborhoods,
- cluster 2: mixed low-income refugee neighborhoods,
- cluster 3: mixed low-income areas having very few refugees,
- cluster 4: sparsely populated refugee neighborhoods,
- cluster 5: rich, ethnically mixed, nonrefugee neighborhoods,
- cluster 6: low-income Swedish neighborhoods,
- cluster 7: poor refugee neighborhoods,
- cluster 8: income-mixed and ethnically mixed areas having an above average share of refugees,
- cluster 9: sparsely populated Swedish neighborhoods, and
- cluster 10: low-income areas with relatively high ethnic mix and an above average share of refugees.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

The most important dependent variable, social mobility, is defined by looking at the employment position of each individual in 1991, 1995, and 1999. Unemployed is defined as of labor force age and searching for employment but receiving unemployment benefits; other people not employed, such as people on old age pensions and students, were not defined as unemployed. There could, of course, be other variables than employment used as an indicator of social opportunity such as educational achievement and health conditions. However, in most countries, the employment position of individuals who belong to the potential labor force is usually regarded to adequately reflect the social opportunities of these individuals (Korpi 1994; Korpi and Stenberg 2001). Despite the fact that Sweden has a well-developed welfare state of the universal type (Esping-Andersen 1990), employment history is strongly correlated with income, which is the basis also for the compensation level in the social security systems.

Table 2 summarizes the measures and concepts that were applied.

HOUSING MIX AND SOCIAL MIX

The Swedish housing stock per statistical area is quite varied. Somewhat more than 10% of all areas are characterized by the fact they consist of just one housing type. These are the most homogeneous areas. A large share of these areas can be found in sparsely populated parts of the country; however, a firm share of the homogeneous areas in terms of housing composition (25.5%) is also characterized as fairly homogeneous low-income area (267 areas). Another firm share of the homogeneous housing areas is characterized by homogeneity in terms of high-income social groups (see Table 3).

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TABLE 2: Overview of the Concepts, Labels, and Measures Used

Dimension/Key Concept	*Label*	*Definition*	*Time Period*
Neighborhood division	Sams	Statistics Sweden, assisted by the country's 290 municipalities, has delimited about 9,200 neighborhoods. The idea was to get as homogeneous areas as possible according to housing type, date of construction, and tenure form (average population size per area was about 1,000).	The Sams classification was done in 1993
Housing characteristics	Housing mix	Classification of Sams areas using an entropy measure based on eight types of housing composition. Five classes identified, ranging from absolutely homogeneous to heterogeneous SAMS areas.	1 January 1996
Social composition	Social mix	Yearly work-related income for all men aged 20 to 64, grouped into deciles. Calculation of social composition using the distribution of males over deciles 1 to 3, 4 to 7, and 8 to 10. We identified six groups, indicating degree of mix and tendency toward predominance of low- or high-income Sams residents.	1995
Ethnic composition	Ethnic mix	Country of birth information for all residents in the Sams areas. A simple measure is used, based on the number of nationalities represented in each Sams area. We identified four groups based on the decile distribution of the number of nationalities over Sams areas (less than 3, 3 to 13, 14 to 34, and more than 34 nationalities).	31 December 1995
Presence of refugees	Refugee presence	Country of birth information for all residents in the Sams areas. Refugee-delivering countries were defined as those countries that according to the Swedish Board of Migration, have been the origin for refugees entering Sweden since 1980. People originating in these countries were defined as refugees, and they comprise 5% of the entire population. We defined four categories of Sams areas using 5% as a break value (less than 2%, 2 to 5%, 5 to 9%, more than 9%).	31 December 1995 (people born in refugee-delivering countries for the period 1980 to 2000)

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Social and ethnic composition	Socioethnic clusters	A k-means cluster analysis was conducted using the above-defined values for social mix, ethnic mix, and refugee presence as input data. We identified 10 clusters.	31 December 1995
Social mobility	Social mobility	This measure focuses on longitudinal individual information regarding employment status of all individuals of working age (20-64) in 1991, 1995, and 1999.	Employment according to data for the first week of November in 1991, 1995, 1999

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Other homogeneous areas, with at least two housing types, but relatively homogeneous, are mostly characterized by high-income social homogeneity (43%) or show mixed social compositions, especially toward the higher income branches. All other areas that are characterized by more housing heterogeneity are also relatively highly mixed in social terms. However, homogeneous low-income social groups also characterize the most heterogeneous housing areas. Whereas the average percentage of homogeneous low-income areas is 15, the percentage is 20 (320 areas) in heterogeneous housing areas.

In general, the association between housing mix and social mix is not very strong (Cramer's V = 0.31). The first assumption, that there is a strong relation between housing mix and social mix, can therefore not be supported. In fact, most of the areas that are homogeneous in terms of the housing structure are not known as the most problematic areas. They can be found in small concentrations in rural Sweden, and many of these areas turn out to be the areas of the better-off.

It is interesting to pay specific attention to those who live in areas that are marked with bold print in Table 3. These are homogeneous low-income areas in very different physical settings. A most interesting question is, Will the social mobility opportunities be different between these two types of areas? We will come back to that in the next section.

We also analyzed the association between the areas in terms of the level of housing mix and the ethnic composition. Tables 4 and 5 show us the results.

In general, similar conclusions can be drawn. Heterogeneous housing areas show relatively high associations with areas where many nationalities live and where high percentages of refugees can be found. However, high shares of refugees characterize a quarter of all homogeneous areas in terms of dwelling type. At the same time, areas that are not absolutely but relatively homogeneous in terms of dwelling type tend to be areas with low numbers of nationalities and low levels of refugees.

Looking at the association from the perspective of the social and ethnic mix variables, it seems as if homogeneous low income areas and areas with a high share of refugees are firmly represented in both very homogeneous and heterogeneous areas in terms of the housing situation. This pattern does not show up for areas with the highest number of nationalities. This may be due to the fact that for this variable there will also be rather wealthy areas with many international workers. Figure 1 shows the distributions of these three categories.

Finally, in an effort to summarize the association between housing mix and social and ethnic mix, the distribution within each housing mix type across the clusters we constructed may be of some help (see Figure 2). This figure more or less shows the DNA of each type of area according to housing

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TABLE 3: Association Between Housing Mix (Rows) and Social Mix (Columns), Swedish Sams Areas (in Percentages)

	Areas with Less than 10%	*Highly Mixed (<15% Sum of Deviations)*	*Mixed Low-Income Areas (15-25% Sum of Deviations)*	*Mixed High-Income Areas (15-25% Sum of Deviations)*	*Low-Income Areas (≥25% Sum of Deviations)*	*High-Income Areas (≥25% Sum of Deviations)*	n	%
0, absolute homogeneous	39.1	8.5	6.5	4.4	**25.5**	16.0	1,048	11.3
0.01-0.25, homogeneous	0.1	24.4	7.2	18.7	6.7	42.9	1,043	11.3
0.251-0.50, average homogeneous	0.4	42.4	19.3	14.2	12.6	11.1	3,088	33.5
0.501-0.75, average heterogeneous	2.4	44.2	20.5	10.2	14.8	8.0	2,415	26.2
0.751-1.00, heterogeneous	9.5	39.2	20.9	6.3	**19.7**	4.4	1,624	17.6
Total	6.9	36.4	17.1	11.2	15.2	13.2	9,218	100
Cramer's V = 0.31								

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

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TABLE 4: Association Between Housing Mix (Rows) and Ethnic Mix (Columns), Number of Nationalities (in Percentages)

	Less than 3 Nationalities	*3-13 Nationalities*	*14-34 Nationalities*	*More than 34 Nationalities*	*n*	*%*
0, absolute homogeneous	37.2	28.4	26.1	8.3	1,043	11.3
0.01-0.25, homogeneous	1.9	36.4	53.8	7.9	1,043	11.3
0.251-0.50, average homogeneous	2.4	58.1	35.0	4.5	3,088	33.5
0.501-0.75, average heterogeneous	5.3	41.0	41.7	12.0	2,415	26.2
0.751-1.00, heterogeneous	11.3	22.6	46.7	19.3	1,624	17.6
Total	8.6	41.6	39.9	9.9	9,213	100
Cramer's V = 0.27						

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

TABLE 5: Association Between Housing Mix (Rows) and Ethnic Mix (Columns), Percentage of Refugees (in Percentages)

	Less than 2% Refugees	*2-5% Refugees*	*5-9% Refugees*	*More than 9% Refugees*	n	*%*
0, absolute homogeneous	52.0	13.7	10.1	24.1	1,048	11.4
0.01-0.25, homogeneous	61.5	25.2	5.9	7.4	1,043	11.3
0.251-0.50, average homogeneous	78.2	15.4	3.5	2.9	3,088	33.5
0.501-0.75, average heterogeneous	55.3	22.7	12.6	9.4	2,415	26.2
0.751-1.00, heterogeneous	35.2	30.9	16.6	17.2	1,624	17.6
Total	59.8	21.0	9.2	10.0	9,218	100
Cramer's V = 0.21						

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

mixture. Various conclusions can be drawn. The most remarkable one is that in the most homogeneous housing areas, all socioethnic cluster types are clearly represented. There, one finds relatively large shares of sparsely populated Swedish areas, but also areas with above average refugees and poor refugee areas. In the most heterogeneous areas, these three cluster types are also

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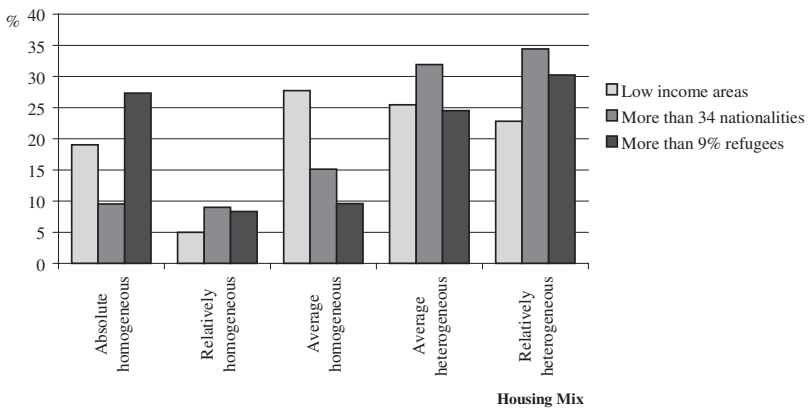

Figure 1: Percentage Distributions of Low-Income and of "Ethnic" Neighborhoods Across Types of Areas According to Housing Mix Type
SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

overrepresented, be it more moderate. The average Swedish neighborhood in terms of housing conditions represents few areas with refugees, but all other area categories are present. In conclusion, the homogeneous and heterogeneous areas according to housing mix type are different from each other in terms of the social and ethnic compositions, but that difference is not clear cut. In both types of areas, a large share of low-income households, as well as refugees and inhabitants with a non-Swedish nationality, can be found. There is no clear relationship between housing mix and social mix.

SOCIAL MIX AND INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITIES

The weak relation between housing mix and social mix in neighborhoods in Sweden does not necessarily imply that there would be no relation between social mix and social opportunities of individuals. Besides, some specific combinations of social and physical milieus may have specific impacts on people's life still. In this section, we therefore investigate the relation between social and ethnic mix and individual social mobility indicators as well as the impact of milieus with a special social and housing mix. In most analyses, we also controlled for the educational attainment level (measured through the number of years of education an individual had followed) because it is well known that differences in education level are highly correlated with economic performance.

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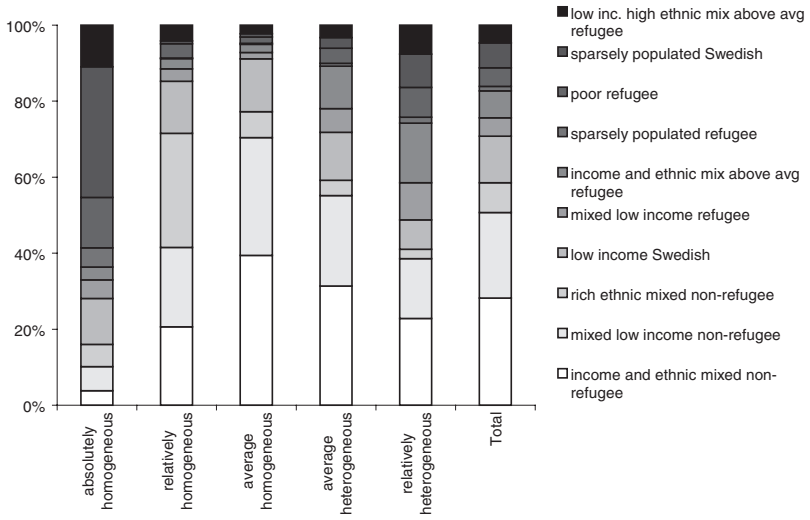

Figure 2: Socioeconomic and Ethnic Clusters per Housing Mix Type
SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

Figure 3 shows us percentages of only those individuals who were able to stay in employment during the entire 1990s period while living in different social environments in 1995 (horizontal axis) and being characterized by different levels of educational achievement in the first half of the 1990s. Indeed, it shows that there is a clear relationship between employment opportunities and education; however, it also shows that there is a systematic effect of the social environment, in the sense that the effect occurs for each educational attainment level. It may be noticed that those who live in homogeneous low-income neighborhoods and were employed in 1990 have the lowest chance to stay employed throughout the period under investigation and that their chances are lower than for those who live in mixed low-income environments.

One particular educational category deserves some comment, namely, people grouped into the upward category. These people increased their educational level during the 1990s, and by doing that, they normally increased their chances of getting employed if they come from unemployment (Musterd and Andersson 2003). However, as our analyses here focus on those who were employed at the start of the period and remained employed throughout the period, the educationally mobile (those who try to raise their educational level) obviously run a much greater risk of not being employed at one of the three points in time (1991, 1995, 1999). This is the primary reason

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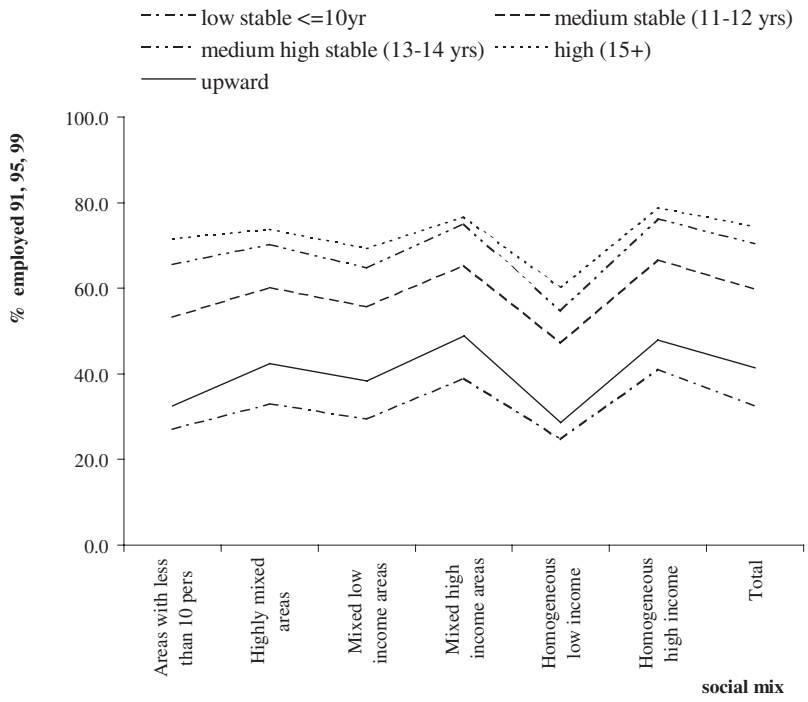

Figure 3: Percentage of Individuals Who Remain Employed in the Period 1991-1999 per Social Mix Environment in 1995 and per Educational Attainment Level between 1991-1995 (Stable Level Implies No Changes in Educational Level between 1991 and 1995)

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

for their seemingly weak position in relation to other educational categories. Hence, we leave this particular category out in the subsequent analyses.

Those living in the more affluent homogeneous environment have the highest chances to remain employed during the entire period between 1991 and 1999; this also holds for those in these areas who have only moderate educational attainment levels. However, the difference between high-income and mixed high-income areas is not big.

In Figures 4 and 5, the same relation is shown but now for areas according to their ethnic composition. First, we focused on nationalities. There is a slight effect of the mix of the area in terms of the number of nationalities. The effect of the presence of large numbers of refugees is more evident (see Figure 5).

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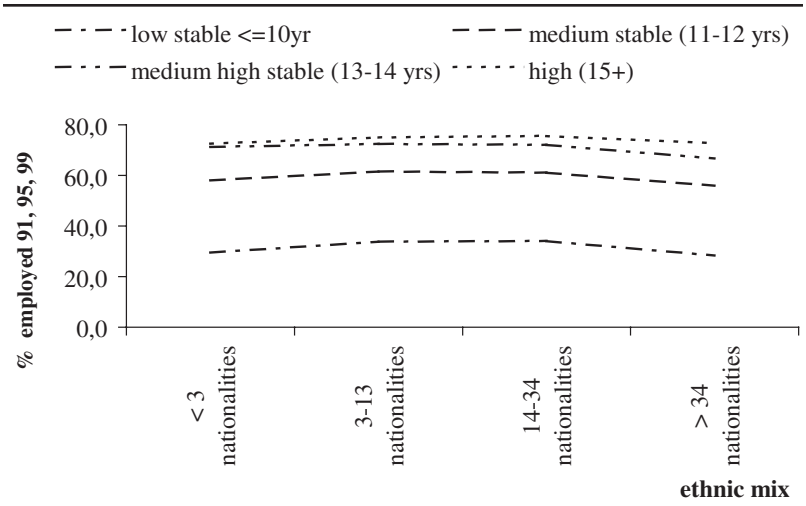

Figure 4: Percentage of Individuals Who Remain Employed in the Period 1991-1999 per Ethnic Mix (1) Environment (Based on the Number of Nationalities in an Area) and per Educational Attainment Level between 1991 and 1995

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

Combining this information and looking at clusters of areas according to their levels of social and ethnic mix (see Figure 6), it becomes clear that actually only poor areas with a high share of refugees are showing significantly lower levels of people who stay employed during the 1990s. Areas that are characterized as low-income Swedish do not show significantly lower levels of those who stay employed, within a certain educational attainment level. In short, there is a clear effect of the concentration of refugees. This may be explained by the simple fact that individual refugees have problems in keeping their jobs, but we will investigate this in more detail below.

Finally, two types of analysis may shed more light on the interpretations made so far. First, what can be said about the opportunities for those who live in homogeneous low-income neighborhoods that are either very homogeneous or very heterogeneous in terms of housing type (see Table 3)? Second, is it possible to explain the refugee area effect by the lower opportunities of individual migrants, or do all individuals in a poor refugee area show lower levels of labor market participation?

Figure 7 contains information to answer the first question. It is obvious that the percentage staying employed tends to be lowest in both (in terms of housing) the physically homogeneous and the heterogeneous areas. The

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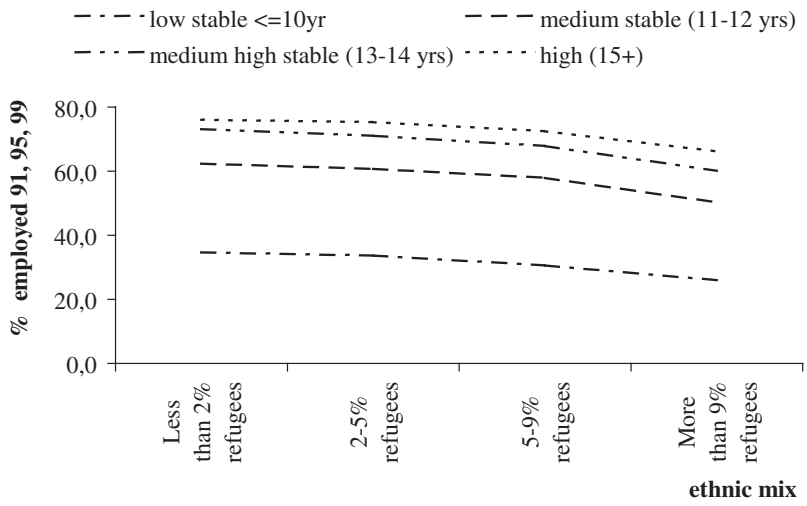

Figure 5: Percentage of Individuals Who Remain Employed in the Period 1991-1999 per Ethnic Mix (2) Environment (Based on the Share of Refugees in the Area) and per Educational Attainment Level between 1991 and 1995

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

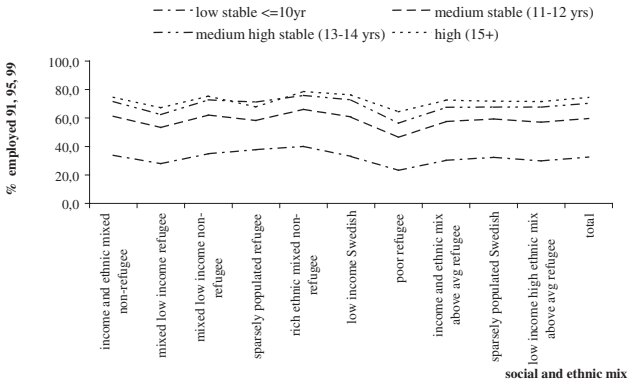

Figure 6: Percentage of Individuals Who Remain Employed in the Period 1991-1999 per Cluster of Areas According to Their Social and Ethnic Mix and per Educational Attainment Level between 1991 and 1995

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

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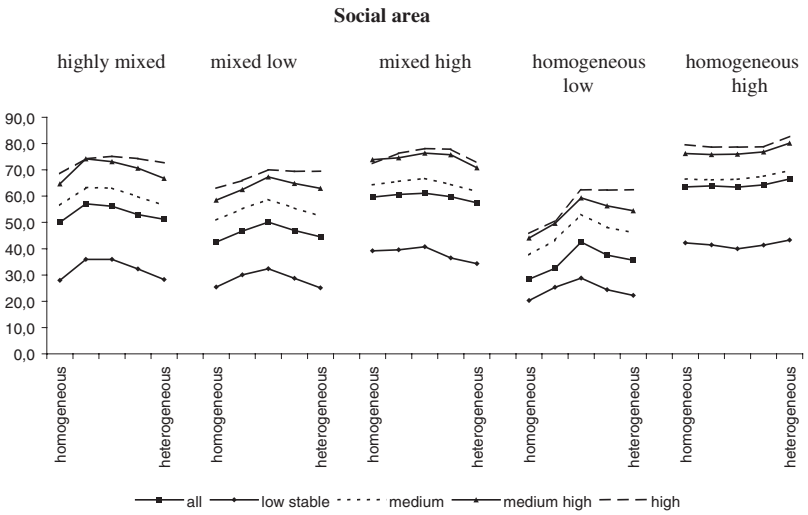

Figure 7: Percentage of Individuals, Staying Employed in 1991, 1995, and 1999, in Various Social and Housing (Horizontal Axis; see Figure 2 for All Labels) Environments, per Level of Education in 1991-1995

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

exception is for those in homogeneous high social status areas. Patterns appear to be rather similar for different educational attainment levels. Also, for homogeneous low-income areas, the lowest shares of those who stay employed can be found in both the most homogeneous areas in terms of housing structure and in the most heterogeneous areas in terms of housing mix (albeit that the level is slightly higher in the latter areas). The category with the highest level of education, living in homogeneous low-income areas, is exceptional. They fare better in heterogeneous housing areas than in homogeneous neighborhoods. We speculate that these may be early gentrifiers in older neighborhoods around city centers.

Figure 8, finally, provides information to answer the second question and reveals that there is an effect of the ethnic origin of the individuals themselves on the chance of staying in employment if one lives in a poor refugee area. This figure contains information only regarding those who lived in a poor refugee area in 1995. Those who are first- or second-generation immigrants have more problems in getting and keeping a job compared to those who have a Swedish background. It is indeed both surprising and discouraging that second-generation immigrants (born in Sweden but with two foreign-born

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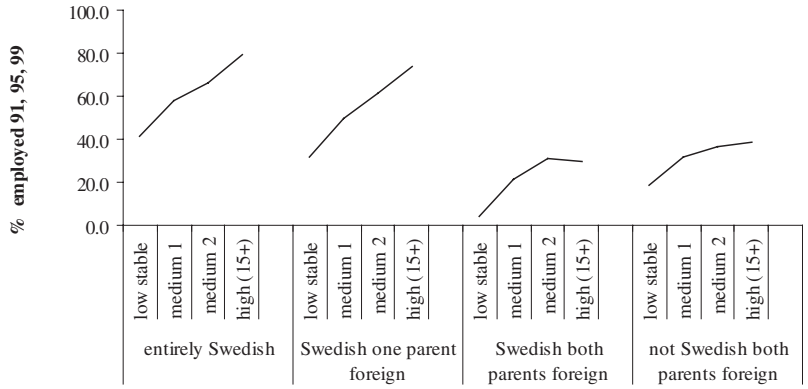

Figure 8: Percentage Staying Employed in 1991, 1995, and 1999, Living in Poor Refugee Areas in 1995, per Country of Origin of the Individual or Parents, per Educational Attainment Level in 1991-1995

SOURCE: GeoSweden (2002).

parents) perform less well than first-generation immigrants. This may, however, be an effect of the younger age profile of second-generation immigrants.

LIMITATIONS

At this point, it should be noticed, however, that the analyses we presented must be regarded as a few first steps in a series of research projects that should be carried out applying the very rich data sets we have access to. Many questions can be answered with the data we have, but many new questions come up as well. The simultaneous effects of social and physical environments, and educational achievements, on individual social mobility may be even better understood if the focus is on the changes going on in all these respects. Subsequent research projects, in which we will also make efforts to model the multivariate relations, will have to shed light on this.

CAUTION REQUIRED

Housing mix and social mix ideologies happen to be rather fashionable in current social policies in European cities. This has been shown in a short overview of recent urban policy practices. However, what is the basis for

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such objectives? In this study, it has been shown that the association between housing mix and social mix is not very strong despite the fact that Sweden has had such a political goal since the mid-1970s. Actually, most of the areas that are homogeneous in terms of housing structure are far from the most problematic areas. They can be found in small concentrations in rural Sweden and in home-ownership-dominated suburban neighborhoods. Many of these areas turn out to be the areas in which the better-off are living. Starting from another perspective, it has been shown that a fair share of the heterogeneous housing areas is characterized by a homogeneous social profile. These heterogeneous areas also show relatively high associations with areas where many nationalities live and where high percentages of refugees can be found. However, high shares of refugees also characterize a quarter of all homogeneous areas in terms of dwelling type. Areas that are not absolutely but relatively homogeneous in terms of dwelling type tend to be areas with low numbers of nationalities and low levels of refugees. Looking at the association from the perspective of the social and ethnic mix variable, it seems as if homogeneous low-income areas and areas with a high share of refugees are firmly represented in both very homogeneous and heterogeneous areas in terms of the housing situation. This pattern does not show up for areas with the highest number of nationalities. This may be due to the fact that there will also be rather wealthy areas with many international workers.

These findings are in fact a kind of warning to those who tend to focus too much on the neighborhood as a source of problems. Such a focus can easily distract the attention from other factors that are relevant. In an article on mixed housing policy, Musterd (2002, 140) argued that "while social processes may become manifest *in* a certain residential stock *in* a neighborhood, as rising levels of social segregation or as local spatial concentrations of poverty, that does not necessarily imply that they are also caused *by* or being problems *of* the housing stock or *of* the neighborhood composition." Societies, cities, and neighborhoods are all interrelated systems, and policy responses to neighborhood problems, therefore, should take these various levels into account simultaneously. The welfare state at the national level, the labor market and economy at the regional—and global—levels, and the social networks at the local levels: Probably they all play a role in understanding what is happening at the very local level. Therefore, individual, neighborhood, and wider context variables should be incorporated simultaneously. From the analyses we elaborated on, it becomes clear that the level of education is a key issue, and thus extra attention to education will help in reducing gaps. There may also be other effects related to ethnicity. Part of these effects can be ascribed to educational differences, but not all; language skills differences and discrimination are potential other explanations for lower levels of

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success of some immigrants. Although the language skills aspect has received little support in contemporary Swedish research, discrimination is regarded to be a highly relevant explanation (Integrationsverket 2003). Continuous search for the reasons for higher levels of nonparticipation is required as is a continued search for effective interventions to lower these levels.

NOTES

1. Sweden has three dominant forms of tenure. Rental housing could be either private rental (both small independent landlords and bigger companies) or public rental (municipal housing companies). The latter have emerged during a period of 60 years, and they now possess about 20% of all dwelling units (local variations). Public rental is not means tested, and allocation is normally arranged in the form of waiting lists. Private rental has decreased substantially since World War II and now composes about 15% of all housing units. Cooperative housing makes up about 16% of the housing stock, and this is more or less a specific Swedish form of tenure, where the residents collectively own all housing units belonging to an association and sometimes also the infrastructure within the neighborhood. Individual residents can trade the right to live in a dwelling, and cooperative housing is therefore a market good. Each cooperative is independent and seldom exceeds the size of 300 dwelling units. The board is elected on a normal democratic and annual basis. Like public housing, cooperative housing is a relatively recent form of tenure, but unlike public housing, it continues to expand. Conversions from public rental to cooperative housing has recently been much debated, most vividly in relation to the conversions occurring in central Stockholm, which are believed to result in further gentrification of the most attractive parts of the city. Finally, homeownership—making up 46% of all units—has increased in Sweden as elsewhere in the developed world. The level is still substantially lower compared to the United Kingdom, the United States, and most other countries.

What makes housing and social mix an important issue in Sweden is the perceived clear relation between housing type, tenure, and the socioeconomic position of households. Rental housing is almost entirely in the form of multifamily housing, and as the country does not have condominiums, ownership is reserved for single-family housing. Cooperative housing is an interesting intermediary form in the sense that it can be both multifamily and single-family housing, but the bulk of the cooperative segment is found in the former type. Urban residential segregation processes do primarily sort people between home ownership and rental housing. The traditional instrument used to reduce segregation is therefore tenure mix, meaning planning for a mix of both tenure and housing types.

During the 1980s and 1990s, Sweden rapidly became a multiethnic country, where the foreign-born compose about 11% of the entire population and close to 20% are either first- or second-generation immigrants. As labor immigration has been very limited, most of these recently arrived immigrants have been given permission to stay on refugee-related grounds. Their level of labor market integration is poor, which also affects their housing conditions. The large housing estates produced in the 1960s and 1970s to overcome housing shortages in the bigger cities have now often a majority of foreign-born people originating from a range of different refugee-producing countries in the Middle East, Africa, and South America. This has given the idea of housing and social mix a new meaning, and politicians often refer to the ethnic dimension when demanding an improved mix of residents in Swedish cities (see Andersson 1998).

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2. The data material used, the GeoSweden database, is a longitudinal set of information regarding all individuals who were residing in Sweden during the period from 1990 to 2000. In total, the database contains more than 10 million individuals. For each individual, and for each year, we have demographic and socioeconomic information as well as a neighborhood code, which makes it possible to trace the individual's movements between different neighborhoods on a yearly basis as well as to conduct sociospatial analyzes of different kinds. All individuals are also connected to the property registers, which provide information on housing type, construction date, and tenure. The origin of data is a range of different registers held by Statistics Sweden, and these can be merged by the use of (1) an individual-specific ID code (used in all registers), and (2) a constantly updated address register. As far as we know, neither of these prerequisites exists in the United States.

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