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The Rescaling of Immigration and the Creation of “Areas of Outsiderness” in Sweden

The Case of Landskrona

by Simone Scarpa

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1. Introduction

With the launch of the five-year-long Metropolitan Development Initiative programme (*storstadspolitik*) in 1999, a national urban policy was created for the first time in Sweden and the issue of immigrant spatial concentration was put firmly on the top of political agenda. In fact, a new wave of urban policies was targeted explicitly at the immigrant-dense neighbourhoods of the metropolitan areas of Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö, with the aim of improving the social and economic conditions of their residents. After the programme was terminated (in 2004), a series of evaluation studies indicated nevertheless that this objective had not been achieved, and targeted neighbourhoods still suffered from multi-faceted social problems [SOU 2005; Andersson 2006; Bunar 2011].

In spite of these negative evaluations, area-based policies continued to be endorsed by Swedish policy-makers as the main instrument for tackling residential segregation. The prevailing opinion is that the geographical framework of these policies should be expanded to encompass all the so-called “areas of outsiderness” (*utanförskapsområden*) in the country, without limiting the scope to the largest metropolitan areas [SOU 2007]. In recent years, the term “outsiderness” (*utanförskap*) has become a sort of shorthand in Swedish political debates, replacing the term “segregation” and indicating the spatial overlapping of areas of immigrant concentration

and areas with problems of poverty, long-term unemployment, and welfare dependency [Davidsson 2010].

Landskrona is one of the most renowned Swedish municipalities in which the growth of the immigrant population is deemed to have led to an exacerbation of residential segregation and social cohesion problems. By Swedish standards¹, Landskrona can be considered a medium-sized municipality, with 41,720 inhabitants in 2010, one-fifth of whom (7,535) born outside Western Europe. Landskrona is positioned in the south-western corner of Sweden (about 40 km north of Malmö), but it does not belong to any metropolitan area. The local labour market is characterized by a much higher unemployment level than the national average (14.9 percent in 2010, compared to 8.7 percent in Sweden), which is in turn reflected in a high rate of social assistance receipt (8.1 percent of residents in the same year, compared to 5 percent in Sweden).

The city displays a concentric-zoning pattern of population distribution which resembles that of the US cities described in the vintage works of the Chicago School, rather than the urban structure of European cities. In fact, immigrants are especially concentrated in the city centre, which, according to official statistics, is the residential area with the highest crime rate in Sweden [Petersson 2011], whereas well-off (and predominantly native-born) residents live in detached housing areas located in the outer fringes of the city.

Landskrona is also known for being one of the strongholds from where the xenophobic party of the Sweden Democrats started its electoral growth in the country. At the general elections of 2006, this party obtained more than one-fifth of the votes in this city, but it succeeded in entering into the national parliament only in the electoral round of 2010 when it secured 5.7 percent of votes in Sweden and 15.7 percent in Landskrona.

The aim of this paper is to describe first how, in recent decades, Landskrona has gone from being an economically buoyant and socially balanced Fordist company town into a declining and polarized city which is struggling to find a new post-industrial identity. Furthermore, this paper aims to explain why this city experienced an increase in immigration from the early 1990s onwards – that is, in a period in which local labour market conditions were unfavourable and unemployment was high.

Landskrona clearly does not fit into the global city typology, and, accordingly, the increase in social polarization in this city cannot be described as driven by the same social and economic processes (allegedly) at work in the cities operating as hubs

¹ In 2010, the mean size of Swedish municipalities was of 32,383 inhabitants, while the median was of 15,256 inhabitants.

of international networks of production and consumption. Landskrona should be described rather as a small city “caught between the bigness of the global metropolis dominating global flows of capital, culture and people and the openness of the rural” [Bell and Jayne 2006, 2].

Therefore, this paper will analyse the urban development of Landskrona by adopting an alternative theoretical framework, based on scalar theory, which establishes a relationship between the processes of immigrant incorporation into cities and the position of the latter within national urban hierarchies. In particular, the following section will explain how modes of immigrant incorporation should not be seen as merely generated by the dualistic interaction between transnational migration flows and reception localities. Instead, cities need to be seen as embedded within nested scalar hierarchies of power, in which national welfare systems play a pivotal role as mechanisms of population sorting, both from the outside and within national boundaries. The next section will also outline a threefold periodization (based on Brenner [2004]) which will be used in the remainder of the paper for analyzing how local population dynamics in Landskrona, including immigrant settlement patterns, have been influenced primarily by the peripheral repositioning, or *downscaling*, of this city within “emerging national, regional and global hierarchical configurations of power” [Schiller and Çağlar 2011a, 191]. Furthermore, it will be shown that, although the decentralized nature of Swedish immigration policy may have contributed to a variation in the modes of immigrant incorporation across cities, an important role nevertheless has been played by the general unravelling of the Swedish welfare state and, in particular, by the increase in regional imbalances in socio-economic development and housing availability and affordability that ensued.

2. Immigration as a Scale Question

Immigration is, perhaps, one of the fields of sociological inquiry in which more attention has been paid to cities. The reason for this great deal of interest may be attributed to the long-lasting influence of the global city paradigm, which relates the increase in immigration from poorer to richer countries to the changes in labour demand caused by the expansion of low-wage jobs in the service sector [Sassen 1991].

Global city theorists focused exclusively on a subset of cities well positioned within national and global urban hierarchies, and, therefore, the existing variation in modes of immigrant incorporation within countries escaped their scholarly attention. This approach thus has been criticized for being burdened by methodological nationalism, because the characteristics of immigration settlement patterns in global cities

often have been projected to countries as a whole. Therefore, the implicit hypothesis is that "cities within one national territory can be treated *de facto* as interchangeable from the perspective of migrants" [Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009, 183].

In a similar but opposite vein, the literature on global cities also presents a problem of spatial fetishism. These studies in fact postulate that immigrant incorporation processes can be subdivided neatly into self-enclosed and mutually separated spatial units corresponding to the cities in which these processes take place. Hence, the distinctiveness of local immigrant settlement patterns is attributed to the quantitatively and qualitatively varying degrees of concentration of immigrant populations in each city, seen as "a static, pre-given platform of social relations" [Brenner 2004, 28].

This assumption is complemented and reinforced by another one: the local variation in the modes of immigrant incorporation is the outcome of the interaction between globe-spanning forces (transnational migration flows) and local contexts (cities), which behave as passive recipients of the former. The important role played by national immigration policy regimes in calibrating the porosity of national borders as well as in influencing (if not dictating) the subsequent spatial allocation of immigrants across cities remained largely unacknowledged in the studies on global cities. Instead, as has been noted,

"immigration policies [...] result in a sorting of labour within economies delimited by national governments [and] [s]uch segmentation entails both social and spatial dimensions" [Samers 2011, 53].

Scalar theory has been proposed recently as a potentially useful theoretical framework for overcoming the three above-mentioned shortcomings by recognizing 1) the relationship between the modes of immigrant incorporation and the hierarchical ordering of cities within one national territory; 2) the socially constituted and, therefore, spatially contingent nature of modes of immigrant incorporation; and 3) the mutual interpenetration of all social processes, including migration, located at different (local, national, supranational) geographical levels. In the formulation of Neil Brenner, who, in the last years, has been one of the most active proponents of a "scalar" turn in social sciences,

"none of the spaces of migration – urban, regional, national, and transnational – can be viewed as pre-existing or static frames for social life, as mere arenas within which social relations are positioned or enclosed. Instead, all such spaces are seen as being produced and coproduced through the very social relations under investigation" [Brenner 2011, 37].

The term "scale" is the key concept of this theoretical approach and refers to the spatial condensation of social processes within a geographical unit. A difference

between a socio-spatial scale and other geographical concepts is given by the fact that socio-spatial scales are always *hierarchically ordered* and *relationally interrelated* with one another [Jessop *et al.* 2008]. Therefore, any geographical unit (e.g., a local immigrant settlement pattern) can be defined as a socio-spatial scale when it is possible to understand the ways in which it is *interrelated* (in spatially significant ways) with the other socio-spatial scales which belong to the same *hierarchically ordered* configuration in which it is embedded (e.g., national immigration policy regimes and transnational migration flows). Summarizing,

“scaling refers to the ordering of socio-spatial units within multiple hierarchies of power. Rescaling refers to a reordering of these relationships. [...] The term ‘scalar positioning’ refers to the intersection of restructuring and rescaling processes at a particular moment of time” [Schiller and Çağlar 2011b, 6].

Neil Brenner [2004] relied on this conceptual glossary to analyse the evolution of urban policy across Western Europe in the second half the Twentieth century. Drawing from a comparative analysis of Western European countries, this scholar outlined a three-fold periodization of urban development:

During the post-war decades of welfare state expansion, Western European countries adopted *spatial Keynesian approaches*. The central governments were primarily concerned with the stimulation of domestic demand to ensure the expansion of national economies. The commitment to national growth required both a social (between individuals) and a spatial (between cities) equalization of living conditions. Compensatory policies thus redistributed resources from prosperous to lagging cities while local governments were expected to perform purely executive tasks as “transmission belts for centrally determined policies and programs” [Brenner 2004, 152].

As a consequence of the worldwide recession caused by the oil crises of the 1970s, the labour-importing countries of North-Western Europe stopped the recruitment of foreign workers [Schierup *et al.* 2006, 27]. Furthermore, the recession brought about a reordering of central-local government relations and the adoption of endogenous development policies. The scope of these policies was still that of redressing regional imbalances within national boundaries. However, local governments also were encouraged to intervene more actively in the promotion of the competitiveness of local firms by means of “entrepreneurial” approaches to urban governance [Harvey 1989]. Accordingly, the possibility for central governments to achieve a spatial equalization of living conditions began to be challenged by the growing competition between cities.

The third phase of *glocalization policies* (which began in the early 1980s) was associated with a change in the focus of central government strategies. The main concern became that of consolidating the positioning of prosperous cities within global urban hierarchies, even at the cost of accepting the marginalization of lagging cities. Glocalization policies differ from previous forms of intervention because they entail the consolidation of a new "interscalar" configuration based on the "de-privileging of the national regulatory level", together with the growth in importance of both supranational and subnational forms of governance [Brenner 2011, 28].

No study has investigated so far whether this three-fold periodization can be used to provide a scalar-attuned explanation of the changing relationship between the urban level of immigrant incorporation, the national level of immigration regulation, and the transnational level of migration flows. However, previous research conducted by the author of this paper [Scarpa 2009] showed that scalar theory can be used profitably for analysing welfare state developments as processes of scalar structuring and reconfiguration, although the mutual interrelation of social policies and, above all, the way in which the latter affects central-local government relationships needs to be acknowledged. Therefore, in the following sections of this paper, the characteristics of immigrant settlement patterns in Landskrona in each of the three aforesaid phases of scalar structuring and reconfiguration will be described by emphasizing the mutual interrelation between immigration policy and other relevant policy areas, and housing policy in particular.

3. Spatial Keynesianism: Landskrona as a Medium-Sized and Socially Balanced Company Town

The process of industrialization started relatively late in Sweden, compared to other European countries, and from the very onset, it had a spatially uneven pattern of development [Lundmark 2010]. Also in Sweden, industrialization resulted in the outmigration from rural areas to the cities, where the first industrial firms were established. Part of these internal migration flows were directed to Landskrona, which, since the construction of the local shipyard (Öresundsvarvet) in 1915, had become the third most important shipbuilding city of the country, after Göteborg and Malmö. Öresundsvarvet operated as a subsidiary for the shipbuilding industry of Göteborg, and, for this reason, its headquarters were located in this city [Stråth 1987].

Because of its geographical position in Skåne, the first waves of internal migrants who reached Landskrona had particular characteristics because they originated from the rural areas of this region. Whereas small farms predominated in other Swedish regions, in Skåne the absorption of small farms by larger farms resulted in a larger number of landless peasants, employed by the year and paid in kind [Möller 1990]. Many of the internal migrants who moved to Landskrona during the first half of the Twentieth century were former agricultural workers who continued to combine work in the local industries with small-scale agricultural activities. Accordingly, although industrialization resulted in a densification of the urban fabric of the city, Landskrona continued to host a large number of green areas for allotment gardens.²

At the same time, Landskrona received part of the flows of labour migrants who arrived in Sweden in the 1960s from other Nordic countries (Finland in particular) and from Mediterranean countries. In those years, Swedish central governments saw the importation of unskilled or low-skilled workers from these countries as a viable option for solving the problem of a labour shortage in the manufacturing sector. Labour immigrants were rapidly absorbed into the labour market and enjoyed relatively high employment rates and high incomes, even compared to native workers [Schierup *et al.* 2006, 207].

Until the early 1960s, active labour market policies were the only instrument used by the government for dealing with regional differences in unemployment rates. The main strategy was to encourage the geographical mobility of workers from the stagnating to the expanding areas of the country. However, at the beginning of the 1960s, the central government adopted a new spatial Keynesian strategy (“active location policy”, or *aktiv lokaliseringpolitik* in Swedish), based on the provision of subsidies to the less developed geographical areas, in order to reduce internal migration into southern urban agglomerations [Scarpa 2013, 228].

During this phase, Landskrona did not receive public subsidies for industrial development but, on the other hand, the central government contributed significantly to expand the local housing stock in order to accommodate the workers coming from other parts of the country and from abroad. In the period 1965–1974, the “One Million Dwelling Programme” (*Miljonprogrammet*) was launched in Sweden to alleviate the housing shortage in the urban areas. As in other Swedish municipalities, the municipal housing company of Landskrona (Landskronahem) operated as the local transmission belt for the realization of this programme. Accordingly, in the ten-

² Allotment gardens are community gardens reserved for horticulture which were created in Sweden in order to alleviate the social problems associated with migration from rural to urban areas (e.g., lack of healthy environment, shortage of food, etc.)

year period of the programme, the housing stock increased about 50 percent (from 11,825 to 17,766 apartments), compared to a population growth of about 18 percent (from 29,367 to 34,590 inhabitants) [Scarpa 2011, 60]. Public housing construction resulted in the densification of the city centre and in the creation of new residential neighbourhoods in the north. An important and complementary role was played by private developers too, who constructed detached housing units near to the coast and other multi-storey housing areas in the southern part of the city.

The One Million Dwelling Programme was accompanied by the introduction, in 1968, of a rent control mechanism in which local negotiations between municipal housing companies and tenants' unions (*byresgästföreningar*) had a price-determining role for the whole rental market (including the private rented segment) [Kemeny 1995]. As consequence of the introduction of the rent-control mechanism, differences in the housing mix in Sweden were not associated with significant disparities between neighbourhoods in living conditions (at least looking at the rental side of the housing market).

Landskrona came to be characterized by a socially balanced urban structure, although this city presented particular characteristics which, as explained below, came to influence more recent urban developments. In the first place, the expansion of the urban structure was marked by the first signs of suburbanization of wealthy residents. In the second place, a large number of old (built in the Nineteenth century), privately owned, and run-down buildings located in the city centre remained untouched by the urban transformations taking place in this period.

4. Endogenous Growth Policies: Landskrona as a Shrinking City

A radical change in Swedish immigration policy occurred in 1972, when the trade unions demanded and obtained a reform of the procedure for applying for work and residence permits. From that year, non-Nordic citizens were asked to indicate their employer and their future address before their arrival to the country. In practice, this reform "resulted in the almost total termination of economically motivated immigration from outside the common Nordic labour market" [Schierup 1991, 22].

In the origin of this reform was the belief of trade union officials that labour immigration had a depressing effect on wages and slowed down the structural upgrading of the Swedish economy:

"immigration was criticized for preserving the traditional industrial structure at a time when it would have been forced to undergo significant transformation" [Bevelander 2010, 288].

Furthermore, trade union officials wanted to give priority to the labour market integration of the underutilized segments of the labour force and of native women in particular, who, until the early 1970s, had lower employment rates than foreign women [Schierup *et al.* 2006, 207].

After having reached a peak in the early 1970s, migration to Sweden decreased in intensity and changed in composition, because non-European asylum seekers and refugees became the dominant component. The change in the ethnic composition of migration flows to the country was associated with a decrease in employment rates among immigrants compared to those of natives who, from the mid-1970s, had higher employment rates than immigrants [Bevelander 2010, 294]. In this regard, it has been observed that the increase in female employment among native women occurring in this period created the preconditions for the expansion of the Swedish welfare state and, above all, for the introduction of women-friendly policies [Jordan 2006].

However, in the mid-1970s, the advocated upgrading of the Swedish economy did not take place, and the country was instead hit by the worldwide recession caused by the oil crises. Sweden suffered serious trade losses, and the subsequent economic stagnation forced the central government to intervene to support the private sector. Accordingly, central government subsidies came to be targeted mainly towards the industrial cities which, until then, had been considered the main drivers of economic growth. In the years 1970-1987, central government subsidies to the private sector rose from 1.3 percent to 3.6 percent of the GDP, and the lion's share of this increase (2 percent) was represented by a financial aid programme for ailing firms and industries [Carlsson 1984].

The situation worsened further in the late 1970s, and the central government decided to create a state-owned enterprise (Svenska Varv) and to proceed with the nationalization of the shipbuilding industry. Despite central government efforts, the decline of this sector was not reversed, and, in January 1980, the managers of Svenska Varv decided to shut down Landskrona's shipyard, with the approval of trade union officials of Göteborg's and Malmö's shipyards [Stråth 1987].

The decision to shut down the shipyard had a dramatic impact on the local labour market: until the end of the 1970s, Landskrona had had below-average unemployment rates but, at the beginning of the 1980s, unemployment rose above the national level [Scarpa 2011, 64].

All of a sudden, the one-sided orientation of the economic structure of the city, which, until then, had ensured economic growth and stability, seemed to represent a burden for the formulation and implementation of strategies adequate to meet the challenges of the post-industrial era. Whereas during the industrialization phase, the

distinctiveness of Swedish small- and medium-sized company towns like Landskrona was defined by their degree of separation from the countryside, under the emerging post-industrial conditions of production, it was, in the first place, the distance of these cities from other bigger cities positioned at the top of the national urban hierarchy that determined their opportunities for redevelopment. Landskrona's main industry had long served as a subsidiary of Göteborg's shipyard, and the city did not have economic ties with Malmö or Lund (the largest urban centres in Skåne). For this reason, after the closure of the shipyard, Landskrona seemed to be doomed to be downscaled within the Swedish urban hierarchy.

The collapse of the shipbuilding industry was associated with a reversion of demographic trends. In fact, for the first time in the Twentieth century, Landskrona experienced population losses, which became acute in the mid-1980s, when unemployment reached its peak in the decade. As in other Swedish cities suffering from deindustrialization, population decline resulted in an increase in housing vacancies. What differentiated Landskrona from the other cities in Skåne were the characteristics and the spatial location of vacant dwellings. Part of this vacant housing stock was in the public housing units built during the One Million Dwelling Programme, but in the mid-1980s, Landskrona had a larger proportion of privately owned vacant dwellings than any other city in Skåne, and these dwellings were especially concentrated in the city centre [Scarpa 2011, 65].

Housing vacancies in the cities suffering from deindustrialization were nevertheless seen by the central government as an opportunity for favouring the geographical redistribution of immigrants away from the overburdened metropolitan areas. This problem was particularly acute in Stockholm, where, at the beginning of the 1980s, about 60 percent of immigrant newcomers to Sweden took up residence [Andersson 1993]. Therefore, in the years 1985-1994, a new refugee reception policy (called "Whole of Sweden Strategy," or *hela Sverige strategin*) cancelled the possibility for refugees to choose the municipality in which they wanted to reside. At the same time, the responsibility for the initial integration of refugees was decentralized and transferred from the National Employment Agency (Arbetsförmedlingen) to the municipalities, which were compensated for the costs of immigrant integration policies. The Whole of Sweden Strategy was presented as an instrument for promoting the repopulation of the cities which had suffered the most from demographic decline as well as a more even geographical distribution of the refugee reception "burden" [Andersson and Solid 2003].

As a part of the new strategy of refugee reception, in 1985, the municipal council of Landskrona, together with the National Migration Board (Migrationsverket) and Landskronahem, decided to establish a refugee camp in the city, and vacant apart-

ments in public housing units were made available to the refugees. In the years 1985-1992, the camp received between 50 to 75 refugees per year [Landskrona Kommun 2001], and the city began to experience inflows of population which, as explained below, became particularly intense in the mid-1990s.

5. Glocalization Strategies: Landskrona as a Declining City in an Otherwise Economically Expanding Region

The high costs of the financial aid to the private sector caused an interruption in the development of the Swedish welfare state in the mid-1980s. Furthermore, between 1990 and 1994, a new endogenously generated economic crisis, following the quick liberalization of financial markets, led to a skyrocketing increase in unemployment and to a contraction of welfare state spending. The Swedish welfare state entered into a retrenchment phase, and a new approach to regional development planning was established:

“The long-cherished regional solidarity policy was replaced by a policy aimed to foster regional competition and inter-urban heterogeneity. This was an acknowledgement of the new economic geography characterised by inter-regional competition for investments dictated by transnational companies” [Khakee 2005, 80].

Welfare state retrenchment thus was associated with a reordering of central-local government relationships. Municipalities were given more discretionary powers, but in a context of decreasing financial resources. Therefore, municipal activities came to be limited increasingly by fiscal austerity and controlled decreasingly by central government steering.

Housing policy is one of the policy areas which have been more strongly affected by these developments. Between the late 1980s and the late 1990s, as a consequence of the drastic reduction in public expenditure, the housing sector stopped being a source of costs for the central government and became a source of profits [Lindbom 2001]. In particular, the cutbacks in central government subsidies to municipal housing companies resulted in a general decline in construction volumes as well as in a widening of differences between cities in housing tenure distribution and vacancy rates. The cities experiencing demographic decline had higher shares of vacant dwellings than the largest cities experiencing population pressure in which, meanwhile, housing construction was “mainly targeted at higher-income households” [Turner and Whitehead 2002, 211].

Financial considerations also contributed to the reform of the refugee reception policy. In the first place, the Whole of Sweden Strategy distributed a large number

of refugees in economically depressed municipalities with high unemployment rates, where local authorities did not have previous experience with refugee reception and were unable to provide opportunities for labour market integration. Furthermore, the large intake of refugees from the Middle East (at the end of the 1980s) and from the former Yugoslavia (in the years 1993-1994) produced a rapid increase in the costs for the administration of refugee camps. The Whole of Sweden Strategy was thus abolished in 1994, and refugees were allowed to reside in the municipalities in which they were able to provide for their own housing needs [Andersson and Solid 2003].

As shown in Figure 1, Landskrona experienced an increase in population from the end of the 1980s onwards, and population growth reached a peak in 1994.

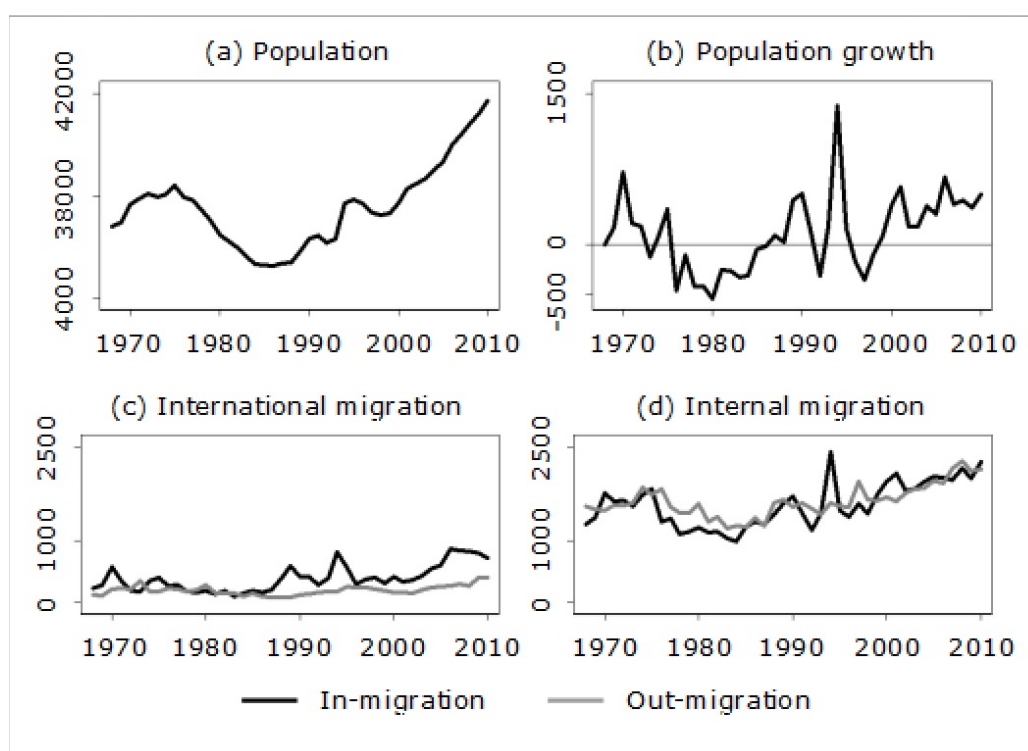


FIG. 1. Population change in Landskrona, 1968-2010.

Source: Statistics Sweden.

As explained before, until that year, the Whole of Sweden Strategy was an important factor contributing to population growth. The peak in international immigration was reached in the years 1992-1994, when Landskrona received about 2,000 refugees from the former Yugoslavia [Landskrona Kommun 2001]. With the abolishment of the Whole of Sweden Strategy (in 1994), immigration from abroad first decreased then steadily increased again, matching the previous peak in the mid-2000s (Figure 1c). From 1994 onwards, internal migration from and to other cities also

became an important factor determining local population dynamics (Figure 1d). In this regard, a study has shown that internal immigration flows to Landskrona originated even from the furthestmost Swedish regions (such as Norrbotten, in the north of the country), and they comprised largely foreign-born individuals already residing in other municipalities [Andersson 1999].

Two factors favoured the transformation of Landskrona into an attractive destination for international and internal flows of foreign-born individuals.

First, the exacerbation of the housing shortage in Sweden's largest cities in the mid-1990s together with the general increase in housing costs and rent levels [Hedin *et al.* 2012], forced many poor and near-poor households, including immigrants who had just moved to Sweden or were already settled in the country, to seek more affordable accommodations in less attractive localities.

Second, the reorientation of international and internal migration flows towards Landskrona was favoured by the creation of the cross-border metropolitan region of Öresund in 2001, encompassing the Swedish region of Skåne and the Danish region of Sjælland, including Copenhagen. The opening of the Öresund Bridge made it possible to commute daily to Copenhagen and, by and large, facilitated movements to and from other European countries.

Within the new cross-border region, Landskrona changed from being a city providing jobs to the surrounding territory to a commuting city. In fact, at the end of the 1990s, the number of out-commuters from Landskrona became steadily greater than the number of in-commuters (Figure 2), and the cities which benefited the most from this outflow were Malmö, Helsingborg, and Lund (all located in Skåne). In 2010, almost 7,000 of the about 17,000 local residents with a job (41 percent of the total) were commuting from Landskrona to other Swedish cities for work-related reasons. The transformation of Landskrona into a commuting city was somehow epitomized by the relocation of the central station, in 2001, from the central industrial area (close to the port) to the inland eastern part of the city, near the motorway and in front of a recently built detached housing neighbourhood which also hosts a few shopping malls and a large parking lot.

The suburban repositioning of Landskrona within Skåne, as made evident by the increase in the number of workers commuting out of the city for work-related reasons, suggests that other factors, apart from the local labour market, operated as magnets for migration flows.

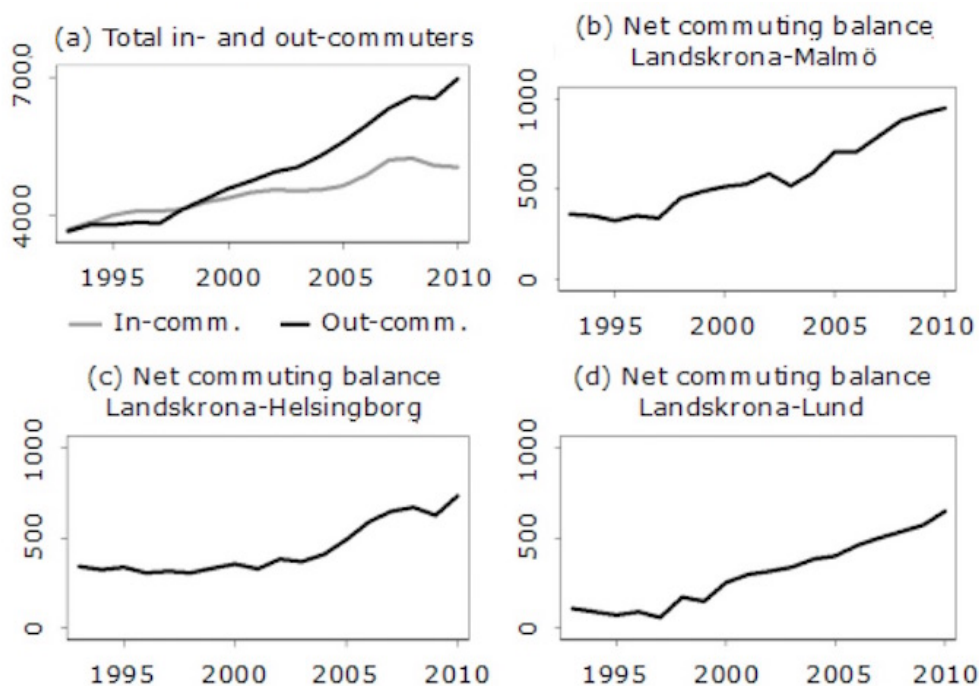


FIG. 2. Individuals of more than 16 years old of age commuting from and to Landskrona for work-related reasons, 1993-2010.

Source: Statistics Sweden.

Looking at working-age residents (16 to 64 years old), this age-group increased in size by 10.6 percent in the years 1991-2010 (from 22,177 to 24,803 individuals), but the number of those in employment decreased by 2.0 percent (from 18,911 to 18,537 individuals).³ During this period, the decline of employment in manufacturing (from 35.9 to 24.6 percent of all working-age individuals in employment) was compensated by a growth in size of other employment sectors requiring higher levels of education, such management and consultancy activities (from 3.9 to 10.3 percent) and education (from 5 to 10.3 percent).

However, the increase in immigration was associated with a widening of the gap between the employment rate in Landskrona and that of Sweden as a whole (Figure 3a). Whereas the employment level of natives remained in line with the national average, the drop in the employment rate was dramatic among non-Western immigrants after the economic recession of the early 1990s and was still below the pre-recession level in 2010 (Figure 3b). Moreover, social assistance receipt increased

³ Data are own calculations based on the Longitudinal Integration Database for Health Insurance and Labour Market Studies (LISA database).

less than one percent between 1991 and 2010 (from 7.3 to 8.1 percent, compared to 5.9 and 4.6 percent in Sweden), but this value more than doubled among non-Western immigrants (11.6 to 24.7 percent), whereas it changed from an above-average to a below-average level among native-born (6.3 to 4.1 percent) (Figure 3d).

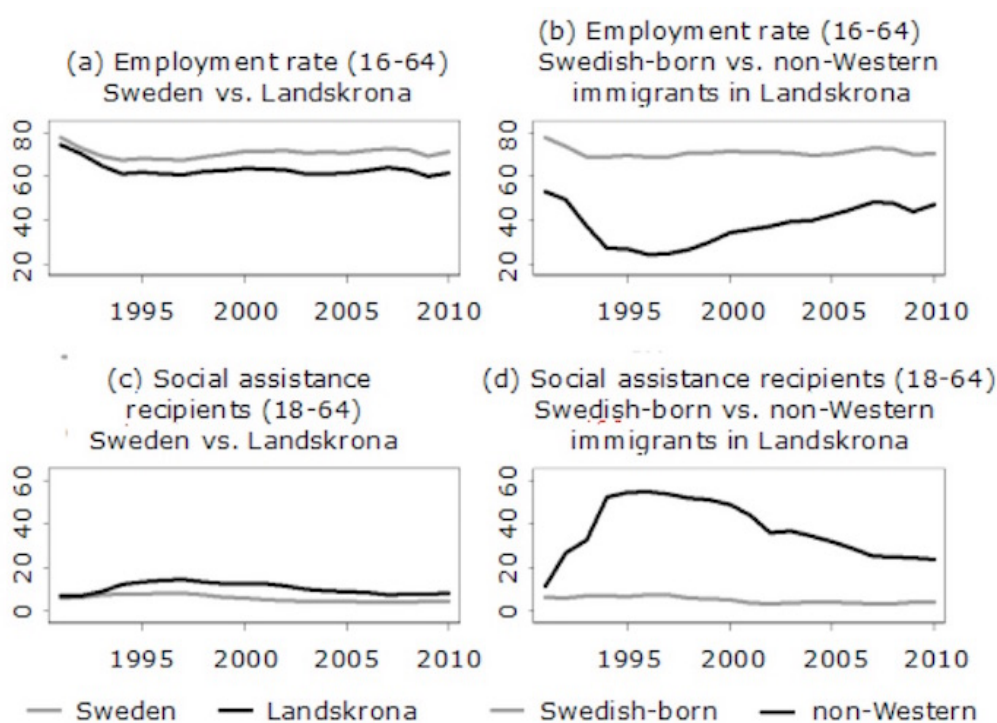


FIG. 3. Employment and social assistance recipiency rates, Landskrona and Sweden, 1991-2010.

Source: Statistics Sweden and LISA database.

The impact of these trends was also differentiated across neighbourhoods. In 2010, residents of non-Western origin accounted for a much larger share of the population in three neighbourhoods in particular – Centrum, Öster and Karlslund – than in the rest of the city (Table 1). Since 1991, the decrease in the employment rate (which already started from a lower-than-average baseline) had been much higher in these three neighbourhoods than in Landskrona as a whole. Furthermore, Centrum and Öster also experienced a further increase in the shares of social assistance recipients which, in 2010, were respectively over two and three times the city average.

TAB. 1. *Non-Western Immigrants (as a Percentage of Total Population), Employment Rate (as a Percentage of Individuals between 16 and 64 Years of Age) and Social Assistance Receipt (as a Percentage of Individuals between 18 and 64 Years of Age), in Different Neighbourhoods of Landskrona, 1991 and 2010*

Neighbourhoods	Population		Non-Western immigrants (% of population)		Employment rate (% of aged 16-64 years)		Social assistance receipt (% of aged 18-64 years)	
	1991	2010	1991	2010	1991	2010	1991	2010
Centrum	6,580	8,344	8.6	30.3	72.5	51.5	14.3	18.1
Öster	1,834	2,539	7.3	42.7	72.6	42.7	14.9	30.0
Karlslund	3,583	3,747	17.9	40.6	62.6	47.6	19.7	16.8
Rest of the city	24,460	27,094	3.9	8.9	78.1	73.8	3.9	3.2
Landskrona	36,457	41,724	6.3	18.1	74.04.00	61.6	7.3	8.1

Source: Statistics Sweden and LISA database

Whereas Karlslund, located in the northern part of the city, is a traditional “One Million Dwelling Programme” neighbourhood comprising public housing buildings, Centrum and Öster are two centrally-located neighbourhoods with a large number of old, privately owned, and dilapidated buildings. What also characterizes Centrum and Öster is that the about 6,000 dwellings present in these neighbourhoods are owned by a high number of small landlords (about 300 landlords, including three large private real estate companies).

The combination of fragmented housing ownership, low level of maintenance of the private rented stock, and high level of immigrant concentration resembles a situation well-known in other immigrant-dense neighbourhoods of Swedish cities.⁴ The concentration of immigrants in these neighbourhoods has been encouraged by the lengthening of public housing waiting lists, especially in big cities, as well as by the general decrease in affordable housing in the private market.

The apartments in Centrum and Öster had become vacant after the closure of the shipyard, and the repopulation of this area occurred, in the first place, on the initiative of the landlords who actively sought for tenants willing to move to Landskrona from other parts of the country.⁵ The social service offices of neighbouring municipalities contributed also to the relocation of deprived households in urgent need of housing (for instance, after an eviction) to Landskrona, where affordable apartments

⁴ Perhaps, the most famous neighbourhood with these characteristics in Sweden is Herrgården in Malmö, located in the area known as Rosengård, which gained international media attention as a consequence of the waves of urban unrest in December 2009 and in April 2010.

⁵ Personal communication from Landskronahem.

for rent were known to be available. These initiatives encountered the opposition of the social service administration of Landskrona, which enforced local ordinances in order to attempt to prevent the establishment of households with social problems in the city. For this reason, in the last years, new regulations have been introduced in order to prohibit overcrowding in rental properties (including the cottages in the allotment gardening areas), as well as to limit the inflow of social assistance recipients from other municipalities [Helsingborgs Dagblad 2011].

At the same time, the municipal council of Landskrona launched its own area-based initiative (called “Landskrona’s choice of path”, or *Landskronas Vägval*) which aims at regenerating the city centre by renovating the existing dilapidated housing stock and constructing new exclusive apartment dwellings for high-income households. In line with the traditional Swedish concern for social mix [Holmqvist and Bergsten 2009], local authorities in fact believe that an increase in the level of social and ethnic heterogeneity in distressed neighbourhoods may eliminate some of the causes for the reproduction of social problems and, therefore, contribute to a more socially inclusive city. The project is to create residential opportunities for high-income professionals already working in the Öresund region, who may be encouraged to move to Landskrona by the low housing prices (compared to other municipalities in Skåne) as well as by the presence of natural amenities and green spaces for allotment gardening. For the same reason, new building projects have been developed on the waterfront site, and others have been announced in parts of the low-built-density coastal area.

In the coming years, the main challenge that this strategy of urban redevelopment will be faced with is to succeed in making the coexistence among different social groups possible while avoiding the creation of gated communities, which would increase residential separation, undermine social cohesion, and accentuate existing socio-spatial inequalities.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of immigration policy has been redefined many times in Sweden since the first post-war decades. Labour immigration was used to fill vacancies in the manufacturing sector until the early 1970s, when it was stopped and refugees and asylum seekers became an increasingly prominent component of incoming flows. In the mid-1980s, the central government attempted to favour a more spatially even distribution of immigration flows in order to relieve metropolitan areas from population pressure. However, the new refugee reception policy created problems in many receiv-

ing municipalities, due to the lack of employment opportunities for immigrants, and in the mid-1990s refugees were again allowed to choose their municipality of residence. Along the different stages of Swedish migration policy formulation, a common denominator can be identified in the attempt of policymakers to allow immigration without undermining "any general welfare-political objectives or their inclusive potential for immigrants and refugees already in the country" [Schierup *et al.* 2006, 219].

Since the post-war period, Landskrona has been an immigration city serving all the "welfare-political objectives" entailed in the aforementioned stages. This study showed that the role of this city as a local implementer of nationally orchestrated strategies has nevertheless been strongly influenced by its continuous repositioning within the Swedish urban hierarchy. During its period as an industrial city, Landskrona received labour migration flows which were rapidly absorbed into the local labour market. When deindustrialization resulted in depopulation and housing vacancies, Landskrona participated in the new refugee reception policy by hosting a growing number of non-Western refugees. Recent demographic developments have been thus characterized by an increase in the immigrant population, associated with an increase in socio-spatial polarization between poor and immigrant-dense neighbourhoods and better-off residential areas with a predominantly native-born population.

In line with prevailing debates on ethnic residential segregation in Sweden, local authorities identify a key factor contributing to the perpetuation of social problems in poorest neighbourhoods in the composition of their resident populations. For this reason, local authorities aim at increasing the social and ethnic mix in these neighbourhoods by renovating the housing stock to attempt to meet the requirements of new wealthy residents.

This study attempted to shift the focus from neighbourhood-based factors to the ways in which the local patterns of immigrant incorporation have been influenced by the downscaling of Landskrona over time. As has been noted, downscaled cities tend to offer less viable pathways of incorporation to immigrants, in terms of economic but also organizational opportunities, than cities better positioned in national (and global) urban hierarchies [Schiller and Çağlar, 2011a]. Indeed, the growth of the immigrant population in Landskrona has been also favoured by its relative disempowering within the country and within the cross-border Öresund region in particular. In fact, as a consequence of its economic and demographic decline, in recent decades Landskrona has become an attractive city for recently arrived immigrant households seeking affordable accommodation but, at the same time, the local labour market was not able to create sufficient and appropriate jobs for these new residents.

Therefore, the growth of the immigrant population in Landskrona can be ultimately seen as an outcome of the reorientation of migration flows in the Swedish context from central to peripheral immigrant destinations.

In this respect, it is possible to draw a parallelism with the process of immigrant “deflection” described by Ivan Light [2006]. In the USA, the crisis of housing affordability in large metropolitan areas initiated a process of immigrant de-concentration which, according to Light, benefited “deflected” immigrants, who were able to enjoy better jobs and living conditions in the cities to which they relocated. On the contrary, in Sweden, the dismantling of housing policy was associated with a widening of differences between cities in housing availability and affordability which seem to have *reinforced*, rather than compensated, regional differences in labour market outcomes. For instance, the reorientation of migration flows to Landskrona did not widen opportunities for social integration of recently arrived immigrants but resulted in the consolidation of new deprived and stigmatized “areas of outsidersness.” In this context, it is evident that the extent to which neighbourhood-based interventions will be able to achieve the expected objective of preventing a further exacerbation of socio-spatial polarization in Landskrona (as well as in other Swedish cities) will also depend upon the ways in which the issue of uneven development will be addressed not only by local but also national authorities in the country.

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The Rescaling of Immigration and the Creation of “Areas of Outsider-ness” in Sweden

The Case of Landskrona

Abstract: In Sweden, ethnic residential segregation has been a problem associated traditionally with the largest metropolitan areas of the country. In recent years, however, growing attention has been paid to the areas of immigrant concentration located outside the largest metropolitan areas. Landskrona is one of the most renowned Swedish municipalities, among those located outside the largest metropolitan areas, in which the recent growth of the immigrant population has led to high levels of ethnic residential segregation and, therefore, to the appearance of what Swedish policymakers define as “areas of outsidersness.” Whereas Swedish debates on ethnic residential segregation are dominated by attention to the social and ethnic composition of segregated neighbourhoods, this article focuses on how immigrant settlement patterns in Landskrona have been influenced primarily by immigration policy developments over time as well as by the downscaling of this city within the Swedish urban hierarchy. In recent decades, Landskrona has in fact gone from being an economically buoyant and socially balanced industrial city into a declining and polarized city which is struggling to find a new post-industrial identity. The growth of the immigrant population in Landskrona also has been encouraged by the general unravelling of the Swedish welfare state, which has been associated with an increase in regional imbalances in economic development as well as in housing availability and affordability.

Keywords: Rescaling; Segregation; Discrimination; Immigration; Sweden.

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