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Formation of Immigrant Neighbourhoods in Sweden: a Case-Study of Rinkeby, Stockholm

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Abstract. The article describes the pattern of the formation of immigrant neighbourhoods in Sweden based on the neighbourhood of Rinkeby in Stockholm as an example. The research involves an analysis of related published studies and empirical data, which made it possible to analyse the urban history of Stockholm and synthesise the causes, premises and the timeline of Rinkeby's development, including the Million Homes Programme and the consequences of the state housing policies on the neighbourhood. The article considers the infrastructural features of the neighbourhood nowadays, including the immigrant-oriented facilities and institutions and the prevalence of non-profit municipal rental housing, as well as the demographic characteristics of its inhabitants, including the classification of the population by the time of settlement in the neighbourhood. Finally, the article explores possible reasons for Swedes to avoid settlement in Rinkeby, such as low prestige, high percentage of immigrants in the population, high crime rate etc., as well as possible causes for further attractiveness of Rinkeby for immigrants, including shorter housing queues, immigrant infrastructure and culture in the neighbourhood.

Keywords: migration, immigrant integration, immigrant settlement, immigrant neighbourhood, urban studies, Sweden, Rinkeby, "Little Mogadishu".

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Introduction

In the last decade, a lot of interest in immigrant neighbourhoods and their determinant features has emerged in Russia. The absence of sufficient studies on the topic shifted the interest from merely empirical studies of the immigrant-populated areas in Russian cities to the analysis of the correspondence between Western and Russian cases and further assessment of whether the theoretical literature findings fit the Russian cases or not. Further research stimulated a discussion on whether the formation of immigrant and ethnic neighbourhoods is possible in the Russian context at all, considering the differences in the urban structures and immigrant profiles in Russia and the Western states (Varshaver et al., 2019), as well as the increasing interest towards the possible patterns of immigrant neighbourhood formation in the countries with social policies different from those of the Western countries, but still closely connected with the overall evolution of European notions and views on other aspects of society. Among such countries, the Nordic welfare states found themselves in the focus of attention.

The Nordic welfare states are famous all over the world for providing their citizens with comfortable social environments, which, in the last decades, has led to an influx of immigrants, namely refugees and asylum-seekers, into the region. The largest of the Nordic welfare states is Sweden, the interest in immigrant neighbourhoods and settlements in which is further intensified by a range of other related factors. Three of the largest Swedish cities, Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö, and their satellite-towns have received almost 500,000 immigrants since 2000 (Population by..., SCB Sweden, 2020). At the same time, the country has faced a severe housing shortage, which, being one of the causes of the increasing residential segregation in the larger cities and the corresponding municipalities (*kommuner*), has influenced the immigrant neighbourhood formation rate.

One of the most well-known Swedish immigrant neighbourhoods is Rinkeby in Stockholm with the immigrant percentage in its population reaching 91.2% by the end of 2018 (Residents with a foreign ..., Stockholms Stad,

2018). The neighbourhood is referred by the media as *Little Mogadishu* for being one of the neighbourhoods with a high concentration of African, mainly Somali, population, and receiving a fair amount of criticism (Immigrant youths ..., BBC News, 2010). Despite the interest of scholars in the neighbourhood, there have been no attempts to describe the pattern of the formation and evolution of Rinkeby as an immigrant neighbourhood in a complete and comprehensive manner. Thus, this article aims to fill the existing lacuna by focusing specifically on the history of Rinkeby and its current state in the context of Swedish immigration history and policies, including the Swedish housing system specifics, the *white flight* and *residential flight* in Stockholm, their respective causes and the effect they have on the neighbourhood.

Theoretical framework

The studies on immigrant neighbourhoods worldwide generally follow several directions, with the dominant ones having developed based on the theories proposed by the scholars representing American, namely Chicago, sociology schools (Park, 1926, Cressey, 1938), forming the foundation for current theoretical approaches towards the immigrant neighbourhoods studies. The dominant approaches focus on three aspects of immigrant neighbourhoods, specifically geographical, sociological and economical, such as spatial segregation of immigrants within global cities (Massey, 1985; Arbaci, 2007), the role of immigrant businesses in the neighbourhood formation (Liu, 2009; Li, Lyons, Brown, 2012) and processes, prompting and prompted by the prevalence of immigrant population, particularly the *white flight* and the *white avoidance* phenomena (Frey, Liaw, 1998). However, most of the research on the topic does not consider the process of neighbourhood formation itself, its causes and premises, focusing more on the consequences of their existence.

Despite the increase of interest in immigration to Sweden and immigrant communities in the country in particular in the late 1970s, there were no studies on the topic of the immigrant settlement and spatial segregation in Swedish cities until the 1990s.

Following the global trends, the research generally focuses on the analysis of already existing immigrant neighbourhoods, especially concerning the possibility of integration of the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods (Magnusson Turner & Hedman, 2014; Strömblad, Bengtsson, 2009), housing careers either of immigrants as a whole (Abramsson, Borgegård, Fransson, 2002; Vogiazides, Chihaya, 2019) or of the particular groups (Magnusson & Özüekren, 2002; Özüekren & Van Kempen, 2002; Neiderud, 1989), as well as dynamics of the housing and immigration policies in respect to spatial segregation, immigrant mobility and housing patterns (Andersson, Bråmås, Holmqvist, 2010). Some of the studies focus on the neighbourhood specifics of the immigrant settlements in particular (Lindén, Lindberg, 1991; Andersson, Bråmås, 2004), as well as the housing stock available to the immigrants of various groups (Murdie, Borgegård, 1998), generally concluding that immigrant neighbourhoods tend to emerge in more segregated, often distressed, low-income parts of the cities with low rates of population mobility, with the foreign population predominantly occupying rental housing stock.

Only a small number of studies focuses on the patterns of the immigrant neighbourhood formation; the few available studies on the topic being such by Bråmås (2006; 2008), but none of them focuses on particular cases of the neighbourhood formation, being dedicated to the overall patterns and consequences of spatial segregation of ethnic minorities in Sweden (Bråmås, 2006) and Göteborg in particular (Bråmås, 2008). Additionally, the influx of refugees since 2013, as well as the housing shortage of the 2010s, have made a substantial impact on the immigrant settlement patterns and segregation indexes, primarily in the large Swedish cities, leading to the earlier research requiring an update and therefore creating a lacuna this article is aimed to fill.

Methods

The research consists of three stages:

1. Preparatory analysis of available theoretical and empirical literature on the topic, statistical data from various sources, such as

Stockholm city and national statistics, provided by the Central Statistical Bureau of Sweden (Stockholms Stad; SCB Sweden), defining the focus area for the empirical stage;

2. Case-study, consisting of a series of short, semi-structured interviews (N=145) with Stockholm citizens, including interviews with both immigrant and non-immigrant Rinkeby population, and a series of in-depth interviews with informants as well as experts, including the municipality representatives of Enskede-Årsta-Vantör district of Stockholm, representatives of non-profit housing company (Familjebostäder) and Swedish social services, as well as researchers, namely professors of Stockholm university;

3. Processing of the data collected, further contextualisation of the data through additional analysis of theoretical and empirical literature on the topic, construction of the timeline of the neighbourhood formation and its current state by answering the following questions: “Why has the neighbourhood of Rinkeby formed?”, “How did Rinkeby develop?”, “How did the neighbourhood evolve with the changes of Swedish social policies?”.

The second stage of the research, the case-study, was conducted in June 2019. During the short interview collection stage, the informants were asked to specify or estimate, on their consent, the information about their country of origin (or the country of origin of the parents for second-generation immigrants), time of migration (for immigrants), age, area of residence, duration of residence in the area, reasons for choosing the area of residence, tenure type, affordability of tenure conversion for their household. Additionally, the informants were asked to elaborate on their attitude towards Rinkeby and its population, the probability of moving out of the neighbourhood, including the affordability of the move, their personal preferences and legality of their current residence (for Rinkeby residents), or to estimate the probability of choosing Rinkeby as a place of residence, including all of the abovementioned factors (for non-Rinkeby residents).

The main goal of the in-depth expert interview stage was to deepen the understanding of history, fundamentals and current tenden-

cies of Stockholm and Rinkeby in particular, to provide further context, (dis)prove and correct the data collected from informants during short interviews.

1. Early history of Rinkeby neighbourhood: the Million Homes Programme and its aftermath

Just like some other neighbouring districts, Rinkeby is generally believed to have been included into the boundaries of Stockholm during the Million Homes Programme of 1965–1974, as the city rapidly expanded to the west and south due to the construction of the *Tunnelbana*, the Stockholm underground, making the areas more accessible for factory workers.

The main cause for the Swedish government to prompt the start of the Million Homes Programme was the housing crisis of the early 20th century. Due to the need for building a large amount of housing within a short time, the period of 1930s-1950s was characterised by the increasing interest of Swedish officials in city planning and decentralisation of the major cities (Ducas, 2001). In Stockholm in particular, this caused the implementation of predecessor projects of the Million Homes Programme, such as ABC-towns (Swedish *Arbete, Bostad och Centrum*: “work, housing and centre”), that were supposed to become self-sufficient decentralised parts of the growing city. However, the ABC-neighbourhoods generally lacked the “C-component”, community and corporate centres, which resulted in heavy criticism and loss of popularity of the idea. Nevertheless, the legacy of ABC-towns made a heavy impact on planning traditions of Stockholm city, also influencing the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods, shaping them into highly structured, standardised areas with high population density (Kihlberg, 2012).

The distinctive features of the Million Homes Programme housing include state-owned, strictly standardized accommodation under the motto “Good housing for all” (Hedman, 2008). As a result of the 1940s’ baby boom, the target groups of the programme, the working and middle class Swedish families, required bigger space and better living conditions (The Million Homes Programme,

Stockholmskällan, 2019). The government proposed such solutions as establishing the minimal flat area of 30 m² per person, including a bathroom, a kitchen and a living area, laundry at the ground floor, hot water supply, central heating and gas stoves. For every next person in the flat, additional area of 10 m² had to be provided (Ducas, 2001).

Primarily, the dwellings under the Programme were built in the form of large neighbourhoods, which defined their location as previously unoccupied areas or the districts requiring a complete renovation, such as slums and other low-profile neighbourhoods of the city. In the meanwhile, the construction of *Tunnelbana* relieved the middle-class Swedes planning to settle in those neighbourhoods from the need of personal vehicles, which stimulated the city to spread to the southwest and the northwest, as shown in Fig. 1.

One of the most remote neighbourhoods from the centre of Stockholm, Rinkeby is one of the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods almost completely constructed during the Programme period; therefore, the major part of accommodation in the area is rental. Rinkeby is one of the classic *tunnelbanestäder*: accessible by the *Tunnelbana*, several bus routes and personal transport, and infrastructurally characterised by the influence of the ABC-town concept heritage, with the *Tunnelbana* station being its corporate centre and the focal point (Engström, 2009). However, unlike the ABC-town configuration lacking the “C-component” of the corporate centre, Rinkeby is criticized for the shortage of the “A-component” i.e. jobs in the neighbourhood.

The Programme officially finished in 1974, resulting in over 1,005,000 dwellings being built all over Sweden (During ..., Boverket, 2014), including over 180,000 dwellings in Stockholm alone (The Million Homes Programme, Stockholmskällan, 2020) bearing a distinct architectural style and urban landscape shown in Fig. 2, criticized for being monotonous and overly standardised (Hedman, 2008).

As a result of the Programme, the housing shortage was eliminated, the construction of multi-dwelling housing was halted, and the target population of the neighbourhoods

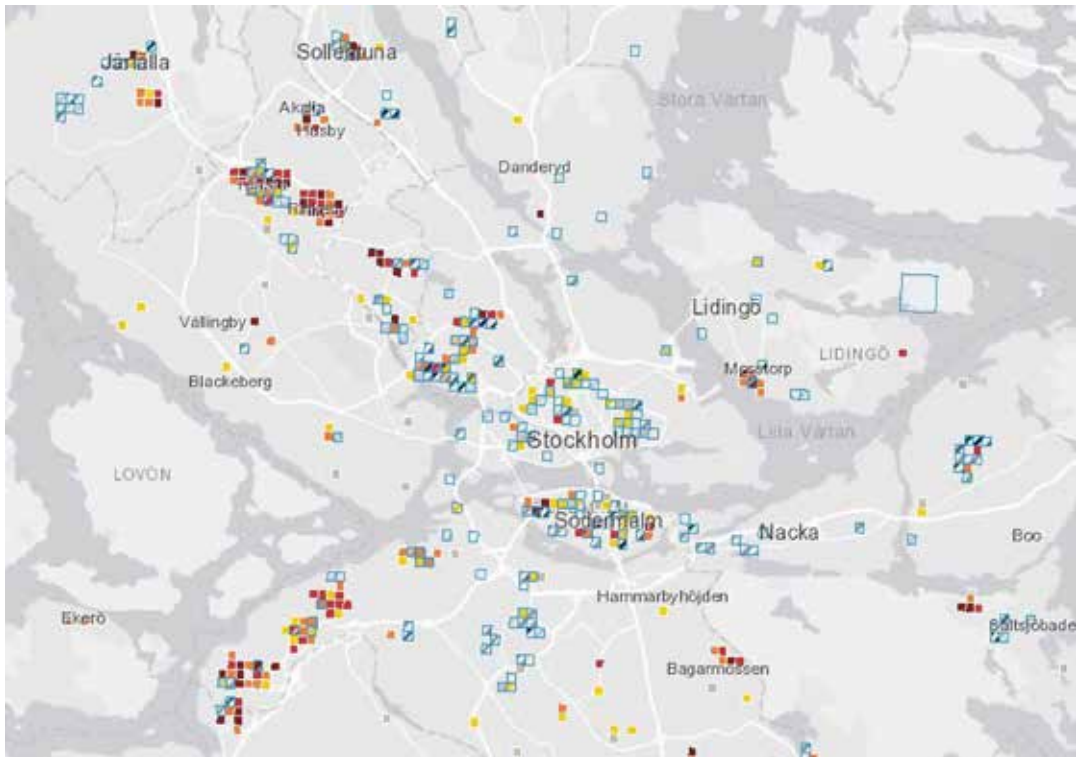


Fig. 1. The Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods in Stockholm
(The Million Homes Programme ..., Boverket, 2020)



Fig. 2. The Million Homes Programme housing blocks, Stockholm, Akalla, 1998
(The Million Homes Programme, Stockholmskällan, 2020)

moved in. However, in the years following the cease of the programme, the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods suffered a wave of *residential flight* of Swedes, who generally preferred detached housing in property to the rental in apartment blocks. This tendency was especially prominent in the larger cities, as their Swedish population had sufficient savings to afford better housing.

The *residential flight* wave persisted throughout the end of the 1970s, coinciding with the increase in unqualified labour immigration to the country, mainly workers from the Southern European countries, refugees from Chile, Vietnam and Turkey (Bevelander, 2004). As the rapid flight of Swedes from the Million Homes Programme housing left such neighbourhoods as Rinkeby partly or completely abandoned, the Swedish government got the opportunity to provide the accommodation to the immigrants and lower-income Swedish families (Hedman, 2008). Regardless of the positive impact on Swedish housing system and the economy, this decision contributed to the obvious decline of the neighbourhoods' prestige, which is generally considered to be one of the main causes of their further development into immigrant neighbourhoods. Throughout the end of the 1970s and 1980s, the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods of Stockholm, especially Rinkeby, experienced a further transformation in the population profile and status, as more new immigrants, generally less educated and economically integrated, settled in (Bevelander, 2004).

2. Transformations in the housing policy of the 1990s–2000s and its consequences for Stockholm and Rinkeby

The period of the 1990s–2000s brought several changes to the housing policy, traditionally strongly dependent on the political balance in Sweden.

As the Moderate Party won a majority in Riksdag in the early 1990s (The election ..., SCB Sweden, 1991), the housing policy was modified as follows. One of the main points of the new policy was the conversion of tenure, mainly encouraging the population to privatise the property in the major cities (Wimark, An-

dersson, & Malmberg, 2020). The reasoning for privatisation generally came from the incapability of non-profit housing companies owning the majority of the programme housing, to maintain the buildings, including not only the utilities but the general repair and overhaul of the buildings (Ducas, 2001).

The privatisation model in Sweden was based on the tenant and owner cooperatives, such as one of the most famous of them, HSB (Ducas, 2001). The privatisation process itself usually involved the transformation of tenure type of the entire building, which generally resulted in over 10,000 tenure conversions over the period of 1990–1997, and flee of the lower-income families who could not afford to purchase the property. Eventually, this led to further ethnic and economical segregation of the lower-prestige zones, such as, in the case of Stockholm, western districts of the city, where the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods were primarily located (Rokem, Vaughan, 2019).

The second policy change occurred after the Riksdag elections in 1994, with the Social Democratic Party winning the majority of votes (The election ..., SCB Sweden, 1991), consequently transforming the housing policy in juxtaposition to the one of the Moderate Party. Up until the 2000s, the Swedish government encouraged the households to stay in the property of non-profit housing companies, which significantly slowed the conversion down.

Even though the period of 1994–2000 was characterised by the overall decline of the conversion, in the 1990s Rinkeby became one of the most popular destinations for low-income families, particularly immigrants, following the pattern of ethnic succession, that can be tracked in the majority of immigrant neighbourhoods of Sweden. The 1980s was the period of the Greek and Chilean prevalence in the neighbourhood, while in the 1990s the neighbourhood population was mostly dominated by the influx of Somalis, Iranians and Eastern Europeans, following the general tendencies of immigration to the country (Foreign citizens ..., SCB Sweden, 2019).

One of the distinctive features of the 2000s was the fluctuation in the housing pol-

icy aspects due to the increasing demand for new housing and several changes in the Riksdag leadership. The privatisation halt lasted throughout the first half of the decade, up until 2006 when the liberal majority of the Riksdag has retracted from the existing housing policy. As a result, by the end of the decade, the prevalence of rental housing in Stockholm was limited to the lower-income and immigrant-populated areas, such as Rinkeby, with housing cooperatives and private housing dominating over the rental housing in the capital by 70% (What is happening ..., Boverket, 2011).

Generally, the period of 1990s–2000s for Rinkeby resulted in the complete transformation into a low-profile primarily immigrant-populated neighbourhood, which led to the emergence of the *white flight* phenomenon (Bråmås, 2006). In the 2010s, the phenomenon would primarily cause further decline in the percentage of Swedes and earlier period immigrants in the neighbourhood population, and eventually transform into the *white avoidance* (Hedström, 2015).

3. Rinkeby in the 2010s:

a distressed immigrant neighbourhood

One of the consequences of accepting refugees to Sweden throughout the 2000s–2010s and the halt of housing construction after the Million Homes Programme was the emergence of the housing shortage in the larger cities at the beginning of the decade, resulting in queues for rental housing in Stockholm lasting for over 10 years (Almost 580,000 ..., The Local, 2017).

Any person with a residence permit could join the queue for 200 SEK (20€ per year), to have an opportunity to choose accommodation from the housing in property of non-profit companies as well as some private-owned ones (Bostads förmedlingen, 2020). The average length of the queue differed between the boroughs, districts and neighbourhoods of the cities, the longest being 30 years in Södermalm and Vasastan districts of Stockholm and the shortest being 10 years in Rinkeby (Almost 580,000 ..., The Local, 2017).

One of the consequences of housing shortage was the emergence of the second-hand housing sector. There are three types of sec-

ond-hand housing to be considered: official privatised dwelling sublease through a local Housing Agency office, official rental dwelling sublease through a housing company, and unofficial sublease of a bed, room or flat without intermediaries. The first two types of second-hand housing imply the current owner coordinating the process of renting the dwelling with a correspondent authority, which results in a considerable amount of paperwork, as well as some conditions on the payments, the non-profit nature and the duration of the sublease (Accommodation ..., Uppsala Universitet, 2020). The third type, however, is more common, implying a profit for the landlord and a permanent place of residence for the renter. This makes the third-type second-hand housing more popular as the first place of residence of the new coming immigrants and a source of additional profit.

In fact, there is a strong connection between the length of the queue, the percentages of the immigrant population, rental, second-hand and cooperative housing, and the prestige of the neighbourhoods. The shortest queue neighbourhoods tend to be mostly immigrant-populated, lower-income areas, with the majority of the population unable or unwilling to privatise their housing, resulting in the greater availability of rental housing, which becomes a catalyst for the formation of second-hand housing stock. For immigrants, getting a permanent place of residence is vital to apply for a full-time job and a permanent residence permit (History, Migrationsverket, 2020). This draws the immigrants to the neighbourhoods with the shortest queues, further contributing to the increasing segregation of the areas. For Rinkeby, the tendency generally proves correct, one of the features of the neighbourhood being the high level of ethnic diversity (Reardon, Dymen, 2014) despite the statistical prevalence of Asian and African immigrants (District's facts ..., Stockholms Stad, 2019).

The population of Rinkeby can be roughly divided into five groups by the period of immigration to Sweden, housing specifics (see Fig. 3) and region of birth:

1. *Nordic immigrants and citizens*, including Swedes, as well as Norwegians and

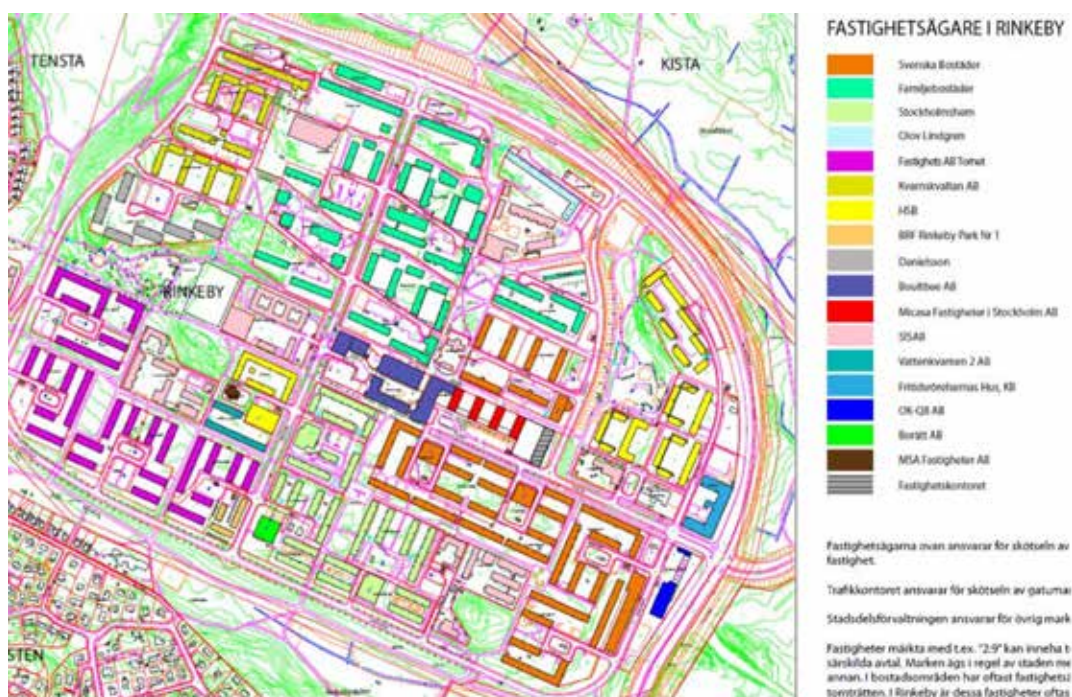


Fig. 3. Tenure and ownership of the property in Rinkeby (Urban Utveckling, 2019)

Finns. Generally, being the smallest (around 2% of the overall population of the neighbourhood by the end of 2018 (District's facts ... , Stockholms Stad, 2019)), this group represents the oldest and the wealthiest cohort of the population, primarily occupying the small stock of privatised property, owned by HSB or smaller cooperatives usually consisting of one or two buildings. This part of the neighbourhood population was either born and raised in it and never left, or returned to it or settled in the relatively recent period;

2. *Immigrants of the 1950s–1960s of European origin*, specifically Italians, Greeks and Poles. Making up 13% of the Non-Nordic European population of the neighbourhood (District's facts ..., Stockholms Stad, 2019), this group is still one of the oldest, more economically integrated cohorts, mainly labour immigrants, who tend to reside in HSB and other cooperative or rental housing. The second generation of this group, as well as the first group, was also born and raised in the neighbourhood, while the first generation settled or moved in recently;

3. *Immigrants of the 1970s–1980s of Eastern origin*, including Turks, Iranians and Iraqis, Kurds, Syrians, Vietnamese and Chileans. Being one of the first groups of a visible minority to settle in the neighbourhood, these immigrants usually belong to the older age cohorts, inhabiting both non-profit and private companies' rental housing stock; as for the second generation, a part of it stayed in the neighbourhood, and a part has moved out;

4. *Refugees of the late 1980s–2000s*, primarily Somalis, Balkan citizens, Ethiopians and Eritreans. This group is the largest, consisting of low-income, less-educated immigrants of the middle-to-older age cohort, mainly settled in the flats rented from the non-profit companies and second-hand housing stock. The second generation of this group tends to identify themselves as an integral part of the local youth, often seen by the authorities and media as a rebellious and criminal cohort. The more talented individuals of the second generation, however, plan on leaving the neighbourhood for higher education or have already done so;

5. *Recent immigrants*, mainly refugees from Syria, as well as Africans and Eastern European and Chinese labour immigrants and family members. This group is the least economically integrated, either not having Swedish citizenship or a permanent residence permit, or having just got one, struggling to find a permanent place of residence. These immigrants mostly have not spent enough time in Sweden to get rental housing through the queue system and cannot afford to buy property, often sharing flats with relatives or renting out second-hand housing.

Infrastructurally, the corporate centre of the neighbourhood, usually referred to as *Centrum*, consisting of the *Torg* (a market square) and some adjacent buildings, has inevitably attracted a lot of immigrant-oriented and immigrant-owned facilities and institutions, such as numerous ethnic cafés (e.g. Nejo's Café, Maida Restaurang, MYWAY Kiosk), Muslim clothing shops and salons (e.g. Nura Fashion, Zeki Hårsalong), a branch of Stockholm's counselling centre etc., all of which have contributed to the area becoming a popular communal zone, stretching away from the *Centrum* down *Rinkebystråket*, the central street of the neighbourhood.

Remarkably, Rinkeby does not host any official religious facilities or organisations, mainly due to the Stockholm city restrictions on the number and placement of religious institutions within the city intended to stop the formation of confessional neighbourhoods (Karlsson Minganti, 2004). Nevertheless, there are some Muslim and Buddhist organisations, independent or based in the abovementioned ethnic cafés, providing a place for everyday prayers in the neighbourhood, e.g. Islamic Culture Center.

Education-wise, Rinkeby provides only compulsory education (up to middle school). There are several primary schools (*förskola*) in the area, as well as a middle school (*grundskola*) near the *Torg*. Therefore, the local youth willing to continue their education at high schools (*gymnasie*), colleges (*högskola*) and universities are forced to seek the institutions closer to the city centre, which causes the high out-mobility rate of the educated

youth making an impact on the stability of the income statistics of the neighbourhood inhabitants, as the better educated and wealthier population tends to be replaced by less educated lower-income in-movers (Hedman, Van Ham, 2012; Årman, 2018). As of the end of 2018, 72.4% of Rinkeby's 16,406 inhabitants were eligible for secondary school education, and, remarkably, the percentage observed among immigrants (72.8%) happened to be higher than that of the Swedes (69.6%). However, only 36% of the neighbourhood population graduated from gymnasiums by the end of 2018 (District's facts ..., Stockholms Stad, 2019).

One of the more prominent features of Rinkeby in the 2010s was the transformation of the *white flight* phenomenon into the *white avoidance*, which can be defined as the reluctance of Swedes to consider the neighbourhood as one of the accommodation options (Hedström, 2015). The transformation is related to the prevalence of the visible minority in Rinkeby and the lack of white population living in the neighbourhood. However, there is still some degree of the *white flight* present, as the second generation and recent immigrants of European origin tend to leave the neighbourhood, reasoning the decision by the propensity of local youth to illegal actions and the overall lack of sense of security within the neighbourhood, along with several other reasons, such as the inconvenience of transportation and the distance from the city centre. The neighbourhood and some of its adjacent areas have been several times assessed in the Swedish Police annual neighbourhood safety ratings as distressed, having consistently appeared in the top ten distressed districts in the last several years (Criminal impact ..., Nationella operativa avdelningen, Underrättelseheten, 2019). High criminal rates have not only led to the *white avoidance* persistence and an overall decrease of the Rinkeby's prestige but also higher rates of the population mobility, predominantly to other districts and municipalities within Stockholm county, with over 2,034 out of 2,628 out-movers in 2018 settling within the county, as the percentage of out-movers in the population of the neigh-

bourhood exceeds the city average of 12.8% by 3.2% (District's facts ..., Stockholms Stad, 2019), putting the neighbourhood at the top of Stockholm's neighbourhood mobility rating.

Conclusion

Rinkeby has been constructed almost entirely under the Million Homes Programme of 1965–1974 intended to provide housing to the working and middle class of Swedes. Nevertheless, the target population did not stay in the neighbourhood due to the overall lower standard of living the Million Homes Programme architecture had implied. Thus, the wealthier population left the neighbourhood for better-quality housing in the *residential flight* wave of the 1970s.

In an attempt to provide housing for the increasing amount of immigrants in the country, the Swedish government proceeded to accommodate those in need in the empty housing, mostly concentrated in the Million Homes Programme neighbourhoods, which for Stockholm included Rinkeby and the nearby areas like Husby, Kista, Tensta, etc.

In the consequent years, more immigrants moved into the neighbourhood, as the wealthier population continued to move out to the more prestigious areas of the city. The ethnic succession in the neighbourhood followed the general Swedish pattern: Europeans, Middle Easterners, Africans and Eastern Europeans, and, lastly, Syrians. Not only each of the groups less economically integrated but also less educated and socially integrated. The decrease was not only caused by the immigrant profile change of the 1980s–1990s in comparison to the immigrants of the 1960s–1970s, but also by the change of the housing policy in the 1990s, which pushed the lower-income population to the less prestigious neighbourhoods. Thus, the Rinkeby housing stock had neither

been heavily influenced by the privatisation of the early 1990s, nor by the privatisation of the 2006–2010s due to the low income of its inhabitants. Simultaneously, as each ethnic succession stage brought more visible minority groups into the neighbourhood, the *white flight* became more prominent, further contributing to the image of Rinkeby as a low-income immigrant neighbourhood. In the later years, the prevalence of non-profit municipal rental housing in the neighbourhood shortened the housing queues, attracting more people in need of a permanent place of residence, primarily immigrants. At the same time, within the last decade, Swedes tended to avoid settling in Rinkeby, as the *white flight* trend transformed into the *white avoidance*.

Currently, Rinkeby is characterised by the prevalence of rental housing stock, low-income population, mainly the first and second generation of immigrants of the late 1980s–2000s: Africans, Middle Easterners, Eastern Europeans. The neighbourhood centre has developed an immigrant-oriented infrastructure, represented by ethnic cafés, national food and clothes shops, salons and cultural centres. In the last years, Rinkeby has topped the Swedish distressed area ratings, which made an impact on the mobility rates of the Rinkeby's population, bringing it to the top of Stockholm ratings.

All in all, Rinkeby displays the features of an immigrant neighbourhood, illustrating one of the various patterns of such neighbourhood development in Sweden. Most of the immigrant neighbourhoods in the major Swedish cities display similar features to a different extent, the patterns of their formation overlapping at the various stages. However, at this point, it is impossible to claim that there is a pattern applicable to most of the immigrant neighbourhoods in Sweden.

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Формирование районов резидентной концентрации иммигрантов в Швеции: кейс-стади района Стокгольма Ринкебю

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Аннотация. В статье предпринята попытка описания паттерна складывания районов резидентной концентрации иммигрантов в Швеции на примере стокгольмского Ринкебю. В ходе исследования на основе анализа теоретической базы и сбора эмпирических данных была проанализирована урбанистическая история Стокгольма, в результате чего были синтезированы причины, предпосылки и вехи формирования Ринкебю в современном его виде, в том числе рассмотрены особенности программы «Миллион жилищ», проанализированы последствия эволюции государственной жилищной политики для района. Описаны инфраструктурные особенности района на современном этапе, включая иммигрантоориентированную инфраструктуру и преобладание съемного государственного жилья, а также демографические особенности населения района, в том числе предпринята попытка классификации населения по времени заселения в район. Наконец, выявлены причины непривлекательности района для этнических шведов на современном этапе, среди которых его низкий статус, высокий процент иммигрантов, высокие уровни преступности и другие, а также возможные предпосылки для дальнейшего заселения иммигрантов в район, в частности относительная доступность жилья, специализированная инфраструктура и более лояльная к иммигрантам культура района.

Ключевые слова: миграция, интеграция иммигрантов, расселение иммигрантов, район резидентной концентрации иммигрантов, урбанистика, Швеция, Ринкебю, «маленький Могодишо».

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