Middle-class Immigration and Residential Preferences in Stockholm

Rosa Gumà Altés

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KTH, Royal Institute of Technology
Department of Urban Planning and Environment
Division of Urban and Regional Studies
Abstract

This thesis reviews theories about migration, relocation and residential choice focusing on middle-class migrants as the target group within the Swedish context. I argue that middle-class migrants represent an increasing group of migrants within the European Union since the economic crisis of 2008. This time period has seen increased migrant fluxes mainly from Southern to Northern European states. The middle-class migrants have particularities that distinguish them from traditional mass migration. This study aims to learn more about their reasons to move to another country (in this study, Sweden) and their process of settlement (and integration) within the urban context in Stockholm assessing which factors affect their residential choices. On the basis of qualitative methods, I assess the results of the research interviews of a convenient sample of 9 middle-class newcomers to Stockholm, with previous literature. Results of this study suggest that individual residential choices are related to socio-demographic variables, lifestyle, taste and previous personal experiences. Nevertheless, residential choices and the process of settlement and territorial integration are also limited due to the nature of the housing market, the institutional context, tenure choice, sources of information and economic constraints. In short, the middle-class immigrants represent a small group, which is heterogeneous in terms of culture, race, profession, level of education, country of origin, languages, that shows preference for diversity and the inner city. They do not show preference for co-ethnic or cultural concentration, neither tendency to segregation at the neighborhood scale.

Keywords: Mobility • Middle-class • Immigration • Residential Preferences • Choice • Lifestyle.
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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades, Western countries have faced large amount of international migration. According to the DEMIFER project (DEmographic and MIgratory Flows affecting European Regions and cities, 2008) “In a majority of European countries immigration and emigration have a bigger impact on population size and structure than the balance of births and deaths. Since the beginning of the 1990s the inflow of asylum seekers, labor migrants and family members has been the most important demographic event in Western Europe. Of the approximately 475 million people residing in the EU, around 23 million hold a citizenship of a country different to their country of residence. Approximately one third of these originate from another EU state, and two thirds are from outside the EU, i.e. third-county nationals”. According to DEMIFER there are three levels for migration: (1) macro scale (which refers to the international migration within the European context); (2) mezzo scale (which considers the national level); (3) micro scale (which includes the regional and local level or intra-urban migration). This study focus on the macro scale considering migrants who moved to Sweden and originate from outside the EU or another EU state; and the micro scale, because I assess their locational decisions within the urban context in Stockholm.

The increment of migration within the European context is translated into a more multicultural society and national governments are especially concerned about how migration will affect social cohesion. Migration is a concept linked with housing because the place of residence is a central issue for people, and therefore one of the first problems to solve when people move. “The housing of migrants-a central issue which affects quality of life in general- is a crucial aspect of the process of integration. On the one hand, the situation of migrants in a city with regard to their housing situation can be considered an important indicator for the state of structural integration in the receiving society. On the other hand, housing policies are an important part of general social policy at the local level, with a strong impact on future processes of integration of migrants and their descendants” " (CLIP, 2007). Moreover the residential sector is key in all levels of the economic sector. Therefore, many studies have been interested on mobility and residential choice since the 1960s. A variety of disciplines focus on different aspects of this complex field, featuring mixed techniques and occasionally joined efforts in an attempt to predict people’s choices. Economists focus on economic status of the household, the type of tenure, life cycle or changes in the household, and the equilibrium in housing consumption. Demographers focus on age, socioeconomic status and racial composition. Sociologists and environmental psychologists focus on life cycle and more recently on lifestyle of the households. Geographers focus on locational patterns and spatial segregation. Politicians and local authorities are also concerned about the increasing prevalence of co-ethnic presence in some neighborhoods and therefore the implementation of several national counter-segregation and social housing policies appeared.

The traditional approach identifies immigration mainly with mass immigration, which is often linked to asylum seekers, low educated people, distressed neighborhoods, unemployment, segregation and especially ethnic groups or cultural minorities. Although there is an extensive literature that deals with migration, there is not previous literature (known by the author) about the residential preferences of the middle-class migrants in Europe.

I identify the middle-class immigrants as the target group for this study because they have specific characteristics despite of originating from different countries or they are from different races. They share common features such as broad human capital and (or) good economic resources that provide them better initial conditions to choose their place of residence than most immigrants considered in general terms.
Some studies have overlapping concepts with the middle-class when they focus on creative professionals and type of knowledge-based industries of these professionals. ‘The creative class’ approach (Florida, 2002; Florida and Mellander, 2007) identifies an heterogeneous group of creative professionals and assume that the soft factors of the city (such as diversity, tolerance and amenities) are important factors to attract and retain them, thus, their locational decisions contribute to urban and regional economic growth. However, Lawton et al., (2012) criticize Florida’s approach because he assumes a distinction between the creative workers and other workers and their residential preferences, assuming that the former group prefer “authentic established urban areas with an ‘active street-scene’ while the latter have different location preferences according to their age, life-cycle and income level”. In addition, they argue that Florida does not pay much attention to the ‘hard’ conditions or “classic location factors such as the cost of living, an individuals’ position in the life-cycle (Bell, 1968; Clark, Deurloo, & Dielemann, 1984; Rossi, 1955), or accessibility to the workplace” (Kim, Horner, & Marans, 2005; Kim, Pagliara et al., 2005; Prashker, Shiftan, & Hershkowitz-Sarusi 2008). Another critic approach to the ‘creative class’ is the knowledge-based approach which argues that ‘the creative class’ consist of very different types of people and it cannot be assumed that all of them have the same residential preferences. (Asheim and Hansen, 2009) in their article ‘knowledge bases, talents and contexts: on the usefulness of the creative class approach in Sweden’, they aim is to contextualize and “break down the rigid assumption that all people in the creative class share common locational preferences” considering different preferences for business climate or people climate depending on the knowledge base (synthetic, analytic and symbolic) that is predominant for each profession.

Although these articles focus on creative workers and high-educated people, which in part correspond with the middle-class, several creative professionals do not belong to the middle-class (especially for those within the symbolic knowledge-based industries), and not all middle-class people have creative professions. Moreover, these approaches do not distinguish between natives and immigrants.

Previous literature about migration or about residential choice put the emphasis on co-ethnic cluster or comparison between ethnic groups, and they generally focus on segregation, whereas others focus on the life cycle approach or more recently on lifestyle theories.

From the economic perspective, some studies consider socio-economic class as a factor for neighborhood change, and other focus on the economic attainment of immigrants (including entrepreneurship related with migration, however most of them focus on race or the comparison between ethnic groups often located in the same city or country. Just a few studies research about skilled emigration (brain drain) from developing to developed countries or from poor to rich countries. The article ‘The brain drain and the world distribution of income’ explain that this kind of migration is “becoming the dominant pattern of international migration today” and that the impact that this kind of skilled emigration is likely to increase inequality in the world’s distribution of income (Mountford and Rapoport, 2011). Other studies provide a positive perspective about immigration focusing on entrepreneurship, what can be considered as an aspect embraced by the middle-class. Preston and Lo, (2010) argue that immigrant entrepreneurs often open retail businesses, which generates economic resources and at the same time it generates social interactions that provide opportunities for tighten their social ties facilitating information and services in their own languages to the community. Another article, ‘Diversity Matters: Immigrant entrepreneurship and contribution of different forms of social integration in economic performance of cities’, (Eraydin et al., 2010) deals with immigration and diversity as an asset that contributes to urban economic growth. Many newcomers become entrepreneurs using their skills, creating their informal social relations, and they contribute filling the gaps in the economic system of the recipient country and they also contribute to the economic growth of the region. In addition,
immigrant entrepreneurship increases interaction between groups and that contributes to social integration and at the same time brings innovation into the business (Zachary, 2000; Rath, 2001; Sandercock, 2003; Uitermark, et al., 2005; Mumford, 2002; Gerometta et al., 2005; Gonzáles & Healey, 2005; in Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 524). The key point of these articles is to highlight that diversity is important for the economic development of a region. Similarly to Florida with the 3T insisted on tolerance and low barrier entries in a society in order to achieve economic development, Eraydin et al., (2010) insist on the notion that “urban diversity is a vital resource for prosperity and potential catalyst for socio-economic development” (Fainstein, 2005, p. 4; Zachary, 2000: Florida, 2001, p. 91; in Eraydin et al., 2010) and their article ‘Diversity Matters: Immigrant Entrepreneurship and Contribution of Different Forms of Social Integration in Economic Performance of Cities’ aims to change the negative point of view of immigration to a positive one, especially looking at possibilities for economic and social contributions to creativeness and competitiveness of neighborhoods and cities.

In addition, many of these studies are carried out in the United States or Asia, where the ethnic or socio-demographic composition, social policies and residential preferences present important differences with Europe. In his book ‘Urban Economics’, O’Sullivan, (2009, p. 191) explains the difference between American and European residential patterns by income, “because demand for cultural amenities increase with income”, and he provides the comparison that Brueckner, Thisse, and Zenou (1999) did between Paris and Detroit. In their book, they take Paris as a good example of the European cities, where the center has many cultural amenities (museums, restaurants, parks, street life) so, “the forces pulling the rich toward the center (access to jobs and cultural amenities) dominate the forces pulling them toward the suburbs (lower housing prices). In contrast, Detroit “has few cultural opportunities in the city center, so there is little to counteract the pull of the low housing prices in the suburbs”.

There are also several countries where research is more prolific in fields such as urban planning social sciences or regional economic studies than in others, e.g. the Netherlands and the United States. However, we cannot generalize some results from a few countries, because each country has its own history, political conflicts, segregation issues, different main groups of immigrants, different built environment characteristics and building traditions, all of which may have a significant influence on what the majority of people’s housing preferences.

Since two decades ago I experienced, as a native, a rapid socio-demographic change and co-ethnic concentration in some neighborhoods in my hometown, Barcelona (Spain), due to intensive international immigration. Therefore, I started wondering whether the phenomenon of co-ethnic or cultural concentration is a natural process because people gather close to those with the same cultural background, language or race; or it was influenced by the real estate market and governmental social policies. After several years, I decided to move to Stockholm and then I become myself an immigrant in another European city, Stockholm (Sweden). This process has given me a different perspective about migration (and more specifically, the middle-class migration), and it allowed me to be more aware of the challenges that migrants (and more specifically the middle-class migrants) face in a new country, especially regarding the place of residence, one of the main basic needs. As an Architect and as an immigrant, I progressively became more and more interested in learning about immigration linked with the process of settlement and integration in the country of reception.

In this study I consider the qualitative research interviews to obtain operational statements of such questions as: (1) How is the process (and challenges) of settlement and integration of (middle-class) immigrants in the country of reception? (2) Can aggregated individual residential preferences (of the middle-class migrants in Stockholm) lead to co-ethnic concentration or
segregation?; (3) Which are the study group’s (middle-class immigrants in Stockholm) main residential factors of decision for residential location?; (4) Is there any difference in locational decisions and residential preferences considering different life styles and personal tradition?

I organize this study in 5 chapters. The first is an introduction to the topic of the research. The second explains how I searched literature of interest and also the main features of the qualitative research method and how I used it in this study. The third is a literature review that provides a better understanding about migration and mobility, theory about the process of integration of immigrants and what is important about relocation, lifestyle and residential choices. It include information about the nature of the real estate market in Stockholm that includes some definitions of concepts, e.g. types of tenancy, that are specific in Sweden. Section 4 presents the case study case together with discussion that links the results of the interviews with the literature review section. In section 5, I present summarized results as answers to the research questions; and in section 6, the conclusion of the study.

2. METHODOLOGY

In my study there are two different procedures: the information searching process to gather information about previous research for the literature review chapter; and the research interviews carried out to develop my study case. In this chapter, I present how I proceeded to obtain the information and results for this study.

2.1. INFORMATION SEARCHING

The information supply process has three main parts: Search, Locate and obtain; and read and understand the multiple results obtained from the searches to be able to transform from data, which is “unstructured, non evaluated and pure facts without context” and information, which is “data put in a context in order to be interpretable and with a defined aim” into knowledge, which is “the sum of what someone knows about the subject in question with a pragmatic view” (Danielsson, 2010). The main source of relevant information for the literature review has been the access to databases of academic publications. Yet, I used different sources to complement this information such as books, media (TV programs and articles from the press) and the Internet (Wikipedia and Google scholar).

Under 2010-2011 I joined the course ‘Info Searching course’ provided by the Royal college of Technology’s library in order to identify the best journal articles, books and KTH research publications for my topic of interest and how to use different databases: DiVa, a KTH Publication Database that contains publications produced by the university’s researchers and students which is in Swedish; Social Science Citation Index and ISI Web of Knowledge; Science Direct and Scopus; and Inspec and Compendex databases. I identified my topics of interest, several research questions that I would like to address and I prepared a list of keywords, including controlled terms from thesaurus and uncontrolled terms in order to combine them in different searches strategies in each database, using different tools in each database, e.g. using truncation (which means to shorten a word using a symbol that covers a range of inflections such as different tenses or a number of compound words built up from the same word, e.g. *, ?, $); boolean operators (used to broaden or reduce the number of results using e.g. AND, OR, AND NOT, W/n, PRE/n) or proximity operators (“…”) to narrow down the searches.

Initially, I was interested in migration in general and the research questions included broad concepts, that then I progressively narrowed it down.
Topic 1: Locational decisions. How people decide where to live? Which factors do they consider? Does it lead to segregation? Is there any relation between individual preferences and lifestyle reflected in dwelling location and typology of housing?

Topic 2: Multicultural cities: How is the urban structure affected by multicultural society? Is there any difference in locational decisions considering different ethnic groups?

Table 1. Search terms for databases. Source: the author.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uncontrolled search terms (general key words) (not approved by the word list)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMMIGRATION / IMMIGRATION (*MIGRATION)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO-ETHNIC/MULTI-ETHNIC (*ETHNIC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTI-RACIAL (*RACIAL)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MULTI-CULTURAL (*CULTURAL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CITY/CITIES (CIT*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEIGHBORHOOD/NEIGHBOURHOOD (NEIGHB<em>RHOOD</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESIDENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFERENCE/PREFERENCES (PREFERENCE*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBURB/SUBURBS (SUBURB*)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLUSTER</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUBURB</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLANNING (PLAN*)</td>
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<td>SETTLEMENT</td>
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<td>PATTERN/PATTERNS (PATTERN*)</td>
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Combining these key words I identified a large number of scientific papers, with a varied number of concepts. In order to evaluate the journal’s relative importance among all the available articles about a specific topic, I checked the Impact Factor, which is the “measure of the frequency with which the average article in a journal has been cited in a particular year” (ISI, web of knowledge, 2012) for each paper I found of interest for my study (in those databases that provide this information). The following figure is an example of how the impact factor presents the number of citations by years.

![Impact Factor Trend Graph](image)

Figure 1. Impact factor graphic of a scientific paper. Source: ISI, web of knowledge, 2011.

The databases I accessed are in English, though, there is much literature in this field written in Dutch or in other languages, e.g. Portuguese or Spanish which are not included in these databases. It would be interesting to increase this number of papers about these topics in other languages and cultures.

We have to consider that not everything is on the Internet and there are limitations about searching the Internet because “The contents of the web is constantly and rapidly growing, as are the number of search possibilities and search tools” and because “large parts of the contents of the Internet are ‘hidden’ inside databases freely available on the web ... and some websites are ‘forbidden territory’ for search engine crawlers” (Danielsson, 2010).
2.2. THE QUALITY RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

The behavioral approach, based on the studies by Rossi (1955), Goldstein (1958), Myers, McGinnis, and Wolpert (1965), focuses on the individual context (qualitative data) instead of the aggregate data (quantitative data) which is undifferentiated and do not clarify the underlying reasons for the origin-destination flows. The traditional approach to research about residential preferences has been qualitative, because to learn about individual preferences about residential choice is necessary to ask individuals about their experiences. However there have been many attempts to achieve models in the quantitative approach within the literature about residential preferences.

For my research interviews I chose a convenient sample, identifying people that moved to Stockholm several years ago and that are currently living in Stockholm. I selected people with different socio-demographic profile such as ages, gender, profession, marital status, with or without children, and also living in different boroughs in Stockholm. I contacted them, and I interviewed those who accepted and had the time to participate in this study.

In order to conduct my interviews I followed the 7 stages identified by Steinar Kvale (1996).

**Thematizing.** I identified and narrowed the topic for my research, ‘Middle-class migration and Residential Choice’.

**Designing.** I designed the interviews as a common set of questions for all the interviews. This was used as a guide for all the interviews and from there was plenty of space for individual comments and every interview was individually adapted.

**Interviewing.** Between March and May 2012, I interviewed 9 people in Stockholm.

During the interviews I asked them about the process they experienced during their first years in Stockholm in relation with their dwelling. How did they get the first place? Was it easy? Did they know how the Swedish real state market works? Did they have anybody that provided such information? During the research interviews I obtained information about which are the main factors that are important before choosing residence and their patterns of mobility. The interviewees were asked about their previous and current place of residence and their ideal residence (under no economic constraints).

**Transcribing.** It is a time consuming but a necessary step during the process of research interviews. To change from the oral mode to the written mode is a challenge due to the language used during the interviews is informal and in the daily language people repeat sentences or do pauses or the language used is not so structured as in the written and formal language, which is needed in a report. The transcriptions are decontextualized formal statements of what is said during the oral conversations between two people. “An interview takes place in a context, of which the spatial, temporal, and social dimensions are immediately given to the participants in the face-to-face conversation” (Kvale, 1996, p. 167). In this context the interviewer usually get an immediate meaning of what is said also through nonverbal communication such as facial expressions and body language. In addition to that, some of the interviews were carried out in English (3), some in Swedish (1), in Spanish (2) and in Catalan (3), and therefore I translated all of them to English. In that process of transcription and translation, I use the original words as much as possible. However in some cases I need to interpret essential meaning of what is said and express it in condensed sentences in order to be able to use quotations for my thesis.
Analyzing. It is important to disclose the useful information from all the information gathered during the interviews to be able to organize the results by topics or research questions. The aim is to have the data structured in a way that enables the comparison between the respondents and be able to clarify the relation between every personal profile and background with their actual dwelling and residential district and their ideal residence and preferred area in Stockholm. During the conversations, non-verbal language such as body language and countenance provided complementary information to respondent’s verbal information that helped me to interpret and use some quotations in the written form. For instance, respondents smiled when they assumed that a statement was an obvious issue; or they spoke louder when they had strong opinion about an issue or they talked with a lower tone when they were cautious about certain issues such as race or socio-economic status.

Verifying. I sent a copy of each interview transcription to each interviewee to ask for agreement and permission to use that information. All of them agreed without asking for changes and they offered me the possibility to ask them new questions if I needed more information.

Reporting. I present the results in the Study case section. The results of the interviews are presented in two ways: (1) Tables that organize and summarize the data from the respondents; (2) And quotations used in a dialog with the report’s storyline.

Qualitative Research interviews can be considered as “an interview, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest” (Kvale, 1996, p.2). The researcher brings to the surface experiences from the subject’s interior, without leading questions. The interviews have to be designed to keep the focus on the topic and not produce data that is not useful for the research.

The research interviews produce new knowledge that is uncontaminated and then this data is transcribed and analyzed by the interviewer according to the topic of the research; then it is verified as a way to learn whether the results are consistent or the research is focused on what is supposed to be investigate, and finally the findings are communicated in a written form. In this process there are no standard procedures, neither standard results to questions. It may bring up some doubts about whether an interview is objectivity and scientific or not. In this line (Kvale, 1996, p. 65) states that “although a single interview can hardly be replicated, different interviewers may, when following similar procedures in a common interview guide, come up with closely similar interviews from their subjects” and “Kvale rejects the positivists philosophical approach that labels qualitative research as unscientific because it doesn’t try to eliminate all influence by the person of the researcher” (UK Physical Sciences Centre, 2012). Ærø (2006) explains that the research about lifestyle implies great methodological challenges due to the use of qualitative methods. In 1982, Clark already pointed out that “the technical approaches to preferences focus either on 1) some form of preference ratings and choice, and then on a model to decompose those ratings—mainly studies by environmental psychologists, sociologists and some geographers, or 2) approaches to preferences that rely on survey responses to sets of alternatives”. Clark also comments “the inability to model the residential decision-making in any coherent fashion also can be ascribed to the nature of academic research. First, there is the tendency for each research to develop a new model of residential mobility for each new research project. Second, there has been little interest in comparative testing of the models, which are already available. In addition, we have to consider that research is carried out in different national contexts, which can have major differences when it comes to legal, and real estate contexts, and therefore it difficult their comparison.

The research interview is a specific form of conversation where the interviewer is in charge of the situation. The questions and the context and the dynamics have been planed. Some aspects of
qualitative research interviews are: (1) Life world: the topic is the lived world of the subject; (2) Meaning: the interview seeks to interpret the meaning of what is said and how it is said through bodily gestures, facial expressions and vocalization; (3) Qualitative: the aim is not quantification; (4) Descriptive: the aim is to obtain descriptions of the subjects’ lives; (5) Specificity: does not aim to obtain general opinions; (6) Deliberate Naïveté: the interviewer does not have prejudices about the topic; (7) Focused: in a particular topic; (8) Ambiguity: the answers can be contradictory as the world is; (9) Change: The interview may generate new insights and during the conversation the subject may change the descriptions previously done. (10) Sensitivity: different interviewers have different sensitivity and may produce different results on the same topic. (11) Interpersonal situation: generates new knowledge during the interview. (12) Positive experience: a research interview can be a good experience and may change the subjects’ awareness of the lived life (Kvale, 1996, p. 29-36).

PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACHES

According to Kvale (1996, p. 41-46), research interviews and the knowledge generated from them can be approached from four different philosophical approaches: (1) The postmodern thought, that focuses on interactional aspects of the interview, and the linguistic aspects including the differences between oral and written form. The postmodern construction of knowledge has 5 features: Knowledge as a Conversation, because the interview is a conversation. Knowledge as Narrative, due to people narrates stories. Knowledge as Language, because it is the medium and final form for the knowledge produced by the interviews. Knowledge as Context, because the interview has an interpersonal context, that can affect the meaning of the interview statements. Knowledge as inter-relational, because the data obtained from an inter-view is neither objective neither subjective, it is inter-relational. (2) The hermeneutical approach, which focuses on the interpretation of meanings. (3) The phenomenological perspective, which focuses on the search for invariant essential meanings in the descriptions. (4) The dialectical approach that focuses on the contradictions of a statement and their relations to the world.

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Ethical research is fundamental in good research practice and thus it is important to assure to the readers that the rights of the participants were respected during this work.

Informed consent. Previously to the interviews I identified a convenient sample of newcomers in Stockholm and I informed them about the purpose of my study ‘Middle-class migration and Residential Choice in Stockholm’ and about the procedure of the study through research interviews. Those who agreed were asked for permission to record the interviews to be able to transcribe them. I used videotape recording during the interviews, although in some cases I used it only as a tape recorder as requirement by some interviewees because they did not feel comfortable in front of the camera.

Privacy. Even if there are not consequences foreseen for those who participated in the interviews, all the material from the interviews is confidential. That means that I am the only authorized person to use this information as work material for the transcriptions and analyzes. It is important provide a secure environment with guaranteed privacy in order to obtain sincere statements from the respondents, even if some sensitive topics come up during the interviews. In order to keep the data anonymous, I used coded names for the transcriptions and for the presentation of results in section 5. Therefore, I do not use real names but a number from F1 to F9 for Family 1 and the same terminology is applied for all the 9 interviews. I use F1:1 (Family 1, member 1) to indicate the member that I interviewed from Family 1; and I use F1:2 (Family 1, member 2) to indicate that this is
information about the respondent’s partner who often was not present during the interviews but the respondent provided information about them.

**Leading questions.** Another concern about research interviews is whether the result is affected by 'leading questions'. According to (Kvale, 1996, p.158) although the wording of a question can inadvertently shape the content of an answer, it is often overlooked that leading questions are also necessary parts of many questioning procedures” such as police interrogators. He also states “the qualitative research interview is particularly well suited for employing leading questions to check repeatedly the reliability of the interviewees’ answers, as well as to verify the interviewer’s interpretations. Thus, to contrary to popular opinion, leading questions do not always reduce the reliability of interviews, but may enhance it”. In my case, my role as interviewer was from an open-minded predisposition to learn about my interviewees’ experiences and therefore my questions did not tried to bias their answers. Anyway, when necessary I repeated parts of their answers in interrogation tone to be sure I understood what they meant with their statements.

### 2.3. LIMITATIONS

**Time and resources.** Due to lack of time and resources it has been not possible to interview a larger group of newcomers to Stockholm. A bigger number of interviews to middle-class immigrants would be more representative for the middle-class process of settlement and residential choice in Stockholm.

**Policy.** This study does not assess political issues e.g. migration policies, refugees issues neither permits of residence, that I found related in some articles about migration, because these circumstances can reduce the possibility of individual residential choice.

### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I provide a brief overview of relevant literature, from the last decades to the current situation. In order to put my case study in context I organize the literature review in three main groups of articles with a concern about: (1) International migration; (2) Relocation (intra-urban migration); (3) Lifestyle and residential preferences. Then, I assess the theoretical concepts of this section to the study group, and I present the discussion in the section ‘case study’. Firstly, because the target group of this study consist of middle-class immigrants to Stockholm that belong to different cultural backgrounds and ethnic groups (although the study group is small and there is not much ethnic variety); secondly, because I analyze which factors affect relocation decisions and thirdly, because I ask to them about which are their residential preferences and lifestyle.

1. **International migration** is divided in 2 sections: (1) socio-demographic variables, and (2) the process of integration, which includes: the concept of citizenship (multicultural citizenship and intercultural citizenship); and social capital (bonding, bridging and linking social capital).

2. **Relocation (intra-urban migration) is divided in 3 sections:** (1) reasons for relocation, which includes: the life cycle approach; the housing disequilibrium model; the human capital model; the inertia-stress model; distance home-workplace; schools and neighborhood choice; proximity to public transport; (2) The nature of the housing market in Stockholm that includes: type of tenure; administrative divisions of Stockholm; housing price in Stockholm; housing stock in Stockholm; gentrification; and filtering. (3) Constraints of relocation: the institutional context; economic constraints; the role of information; and exclusionist attitudes toward immigrants.
3. **Lifestyle and residential preferences** which is divided in 9 sections: (1) the distinction theory; (2) the creative class approach; (3) knowledge based approach; (4) cultural life-mode; (5) the use and meaning of home; (6) distinct aesthetic typologies depending on lifestyle; (7) residential preferences by socio-demographic groups; (8) preference for co-ethnic neighborhoods; (9) and preference for the compact city or suburbs.

It has been of especial influence the approach taken by Simmons in 1968 that present three questions to research: who moves, why do they move (or when), and where do they move? I present some answers to these questions in different sections. The first question: who moves? Refers to the socio-demographic variables section; the second question, why do they move (or when) refers to reasons (and timing) for migration or relocation; and the third question, where do they move? Refers to different sections: resources, constraints, lifestyle and residential preferences sections.

### 3.1. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Migration within and across nation-states is a complex process that is related to mobility. Global migration is not a new phenomenon, “however never before in history has the movement of diverse racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups within and across nation-states been so extensive, so rapid, or raised such complex and difficult questions about citizenship, human rights, democracy, and education. [...] The number of individuals living outside their original homelands increased from approximately 33 million in 1910 to 175 million in 2000” (Benhabib, 2004; in Banks, 2008). Many researchers agree on that under the last two decades Europe is facing large numbers of immigrants however, EU migration policies are not common for all Member States, which gives rise to a variety of records of migratory fluxes and immigration policy. Globalization, the labor market and the social security systems together with the decreasing levels of fertility of most of the EU countries, which not assure the rates for future pensions, cause, in part, the growth of global migration, which has increased in many cities, and it has “substantially altered the ethnic mix and neighborhood mixing” in most developed countries (Clark and Maas, 2009). In addition, “national boundaries are eroding because millions of people live in several nations and have multiple citizenships (Castles & Davidson, 2000). Millions have citizenship in one nation and live in another. Others are stateless, including millions of refugees around the world. [...] Serious tensions exist between the conceptions of international human rights and national sovereignty. Despite the codification of international rights by bodies such as the United Nations, nationalism is as strong as ever [...] Nationalism and globalization coexist in tension world wide” (Benhabib, 2004; Castles & Davidson, 2000; in Banks, 2008).

This study focuses on the middle-class international migration, although the definition of middle-class as a group is quite broad and it can vary significantly according to different times in history and in different countries. The modern usage of the term ‘middle class’ refers to the intermediate social class of Europe, which stands between the nobility, who owned the countryside, and the peasantry, who worked the countryside. With capitalism, middle class initially arose referred to “bourgeoisie” which literally means ‘those who lived in the town’ whereas under the years the middle class came to refer to a broader meaning defined by several variables that are related but not interdependent with each other, such as: wealth, achievement of tertiary education, environment of upbringing, social network, manners or values, belief in bourgeoisie values (such as high ownership rates and jobs perceived as ‘secure’), lifestyle (“judged by pointers such as accent, manners, place of education, occupation and the class of a person’s family, circle of friends and acquaintances” (Wikipedia (g), 2013).
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

Socio-demographic variables such as age, gender, marital status, household’s income, level of education and profession are important factors that significantly affect households’ residential choices and it is typically used by statistical studies about population and in quantitative studies. Middle-class variables can be roughly defined by two aspects: (1) economic resources (financial background including the economic standing of parents and partner), (2) and (or) the achievement of tertiary education (which in turn affects the type of profession). Manners, bourgeoisie values or circle of friends and family are more difficult to account.

Several studies show the importance of socio-demographic variables in determining probability about: (1) the probability to have exclusionist attitudes towards diversity and the preference for living in co-ethnic neighborhoods. Gorodzeisky (2010) presents the results of logistic regressions coefficients to predicting the odds of becoming total exclusionists depending on variables such as age, marital status, employed/unemployed, blue-collar occupation; and she conclude that marital status and place of residence have no significant importance about the odds to be ‘total exclusionist’. Though, they are usually higher among women, the unemployed and the blue-collar occupations and increase with age and right wing political orientation. And the odds to become ‘total exclusionist’ decrease with education. Gorodzeisky (2010) also highlight the relationship between political orientation and the odds of having poor country exclusionist attitudes. Havekes (2011) shows that higher educated people and liberal sex-role attitudes are more tolerant towards ethnic groups than lower educated people. On the contrary, “older people, people with a lower socio-economic status, single parents, and members of the first migration generation are on average less positive towards ethnic out-groups” (Havekes et al., 2011). (2) The settlement patterns of different ethnic groups depends on their educational levels, professional skills, urban origins and social networks; as well as on the geographic features of local economies and labor markets (Malcata, 2010). According to the article ‘The Effect of Economic Standing, Individual Preferences, and Co-ethnic Resources on Immigrant Residential Clustering’, the only socio-demographic variable that is significant for Chinese to showing tendency to cluster is the marital status, whereas in the case of Asian Indian immigrants, those who are homeowners, young, less educated and married prefer to live close to other co-ethnic population (Fong and Chan, 2010). (3) Neighborhood choice because according to O’Sullivan, (2009, p.203) “neighborhood externalities (unpriced interaction) affect a household’s choice of a neighborhood… a positive externality occurs when a person is not compensated for an action that benefits someone else. A negative externality occurs when a person does not pay for an action that imposes a cost on someone else”. Successful and well-educated adults are good role models for children, because of their imitative or self-reinforcing behavior, however, they don’t get economic compensation for every inadvertently positive externality contribution they do, e.g. when they encourage children to stay in school. According to (O’Sullivan, 2009, p. 202), the positive externalities generated by a household generally increase with income and education level, so people generally prefer neighborhoods with large numbers of high-income, educated households” and he adds that “of course, the number of such households is limited, so who gets them as neighbors?”. In the case of international middle-class (that is roughly considered according to income and level of education (which is related to the type of work); we should consider whether class prevails over other aspects such as race or cultural background, traditionally more controversial.
THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

The social unrest within migrant communities and the proliferation of ‘parallel societies’ of migrants such as the “banlieues” of several French cities, has brought up the discussion about the integration of migrants at EU level (CLIP Networks, 2007).

The increasing number of international immigration to EU states has re-opened the debate about how to incorporate immigrants in the receiving societies between those who defend assimilation, which has an ethnocentric focus and imposing standardized demands on minorities; and those who defend multiculturalism, which represents a liberal alternative to it, attempting the pacific co-existence and integration into the host society different cultures or ethnic groups and allowing the preservation and development of their traditional culture, or parts of it (Runblom, 1994, p. 623). Migrants who fail creating social ties and adjusting to the changing economic environment will face difficulties to access any opportunity in the receiving country. Those factors that lead to social exclusion increase the risk of social unrest and crime, and it also may cause the identification of certain groups as problematic, on the part of indigenous population. Thus, more recently, the focus has shifted to a “post-multiculturalism, with an emphasis on reinventing how groups and individuals can interact in a rapidly changing global world” (Ley, 2008: in Clark and Maas, 2009, p. 567).

Employment and residential mobility are also a central issue to many other societal issues, such as residential segregation, white flight, suburbanization, and urban finance. Even assimilation and integration is not the same thing, often the patterns of spatial assimilation are a measure for integration (Clark and Maas, 2009).

Middle-class migration is an increasing and varied group, especially since the financial crisis started in 2008, and many professionals move from poor countries to richer EU countries, even within the European Union. These middle-class immigrants face similar issues as other immigrant groups during their process of integration in the new country such as learning the language, the new context, and acquiring social capital, which takes time and effort. However, middle-class immigrants may have more favorable personal resources (such as, income, education, profession, social capital) than other groups, which translates in better circumstances (which might be influenced by their resources, for instance income, but not necessarily or exclusively).

Citizenship

Van Leeuwen (2010) distinguishes two notions of citizenship: (1) ‘Multicultural citizenship’, which refers to a set of rights; and ‘intercultural citizenship’, which refers to a set of “competences and attitudes that are required for everyday dealing with cultural diversity”(Van Leeuwen 2010, p.639-640).

Multicultural citizenship. There are three principles to grant or claim citizenship as a set of rights: (1) ‘jus sanguinis’ citizenship (right by descent) when one or both parents are citizens of that state; (2) ‘jus soli’ citizenship (right by territory) when a person has been born in a state; (3) and ‘jus domicilis’ citizenship, when a foreigner have a permanent residence and works in the country (Brochmann and Seland, 2010). Within the European Union, each country has different requirements to obtain citizenship. For instance, in Germany prevails the ‘jus sanguinis’ whereas in France the ‘jus soli’, which have a significant impact and differences on the reception of immigrants (Runblom, 1994, p. 632). Moreover, each country can put different conditions to be accepted as a citizen of that specific country. For instance, in Sweden is required 5 years of residence but no Swedish language knowledge; whereas in Denmark, is required nine years of residence and Danish language knowledge (acquired through a 300 hours course and to pass the compulsory exam). According to (Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 540), to be able to benefit from the positive aspects of multiculturalism,
more integrated social, economic and spatial policy initiatives are needed in order to increase migrants’ capacity for social capital.

**Intercultural citizenship.** Van Leeuwen (2010) distinguishes three different modes of citizenship as a desirable ‘ethos’ that represents three attitudes towards diversity in the urban environment. (1) Cosmopolitan citizenship, which represents an ideal moral attitude to deal with diversity and acknowledges cultural differences that are experienced as something positive and exciting, that inherit the “willingness to be transformed by way of cross-cultural contact and to broaden one’s horizon of understanding in the process. The cross-cultural contact enhances the virtual distances between distant places to be shorter through contacts among people from different origins that co-exist in the metropolitan city, Dürchsmitd called ‘microglobalization’ to the “encounters with the global sphere via everyday urban experiences” as a way to think global and beyond the nation (in van Leeuwen, 2010). (2) Agonistic citizenship, which seeks cross-cultural encounters in “micro-public” context such as the workplace, schools, colleges, sports clubs, neighborhood houses, and youth centers, which promote ‘inter-cultural learning’ and generate occasions for dialogue, debate about stereotypes and different ways of life, with the objective to acquire a more inclusive perspective about ethno cultural or religious differences (van Leeuwen, 2010). (3) ‘Side-by-side’ citizenship, which downplays the cultural, ethnic or religious differences and does not seek for cross-cultural encounters. It aims to find a ‘moral minimum’ to deal with urban intercultural citizenship with a relaxed attitude of ‘live and let live’ or ‘difference-indifference’ towards diversity, that respects human subjectivity and basic needs (which is very different that ‘basic needs indifference’, which excludes “the sense of minimal respect”) (van Leeuwen, 2010).

**Social capital**

Migrants need to create their social capital, which consists on “building and maintaining social networks and connections” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 119; in Eraydin et al., 2010) in order to become part of the receiving society. There are three types of social capital: (1) Bonding social capital that is created via the “strong social ties that exists between individuals, e.g. family members, close friends and members of certain ethnic groups” and it is characteristic of low-income neighborhoods (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Foord & Ginsburg, 2004; Turok & Bailey, 2004; in Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 525). Many people move to another country because of their native partner, and then they become part of the bonding social capital from their partner. As Andersson (1999) states, “the quickest way for an immigrant to integrate successfully into Swedish society is without doubt to find a native-born spouse...the effect of being married to a Swedish-born person is striking for all immigrant categories, whether they are grouped according to their length of residence, by citizenship or by country of birth”. However, the fact of maintaining only the ‘bonding capital can have negative connotations when it represses the individuals by cultural norms and values (Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993; Portes & Landolt, 1996; Wall et al., 1998; in Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 525) because it “increases the risk of ‘deeply repressive social control mechanisms’ and becoming conservative” (Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 540) and it exercises “informal expulsion from the group” if a member of these ethnic communities decide to move elsewhere” (Andersson, 1999). (2) Bridging social capital, the capital that is hidden in the weaker, cross-cutting social ties that exist between heterogeneous individuals, such as ‘friends of friends’ or neighbors and this is characteristic of migrants’ participation in the local economy, e.g. the working environment (Kleinhans et al., 2007; in Eraydin et al., 2010). (3) Linking social capital, which is characterized by connections between individuals, established professional and administrative structures, and local communities” which facilitates the enrolment of migrants into the local decision-making (Foord & Hinsburg, 2004; in Eraydin et al., 2010).
3.2. RELOCATION (INTRA-URBAN MIGRATION)

There are many factors that affect relocation decisions and neighborhood change within the urban context. Under the last decades there have been some theories that attempted to explain the reasons for moving. Research about the structure of people’s flows grew up from four studies, (Rossi, 1955; Goldstein, 1958, Myers, McGinnis, and Masnick, 1963, and Wolpert, 1965) which defined the behavioral research directions in intra-urban migration, because “there was concern to avoid the pitfalls and difficulties that are associated with aggregate, undifferentiated analyses of population movements and to understand the motivations behind the flows” within the urban context (Clark, 1982). Currently, reasons for relocation are considered together with the contextual context and constraints because they are important aspects that can limit people’s residential choices within the city.

REASONS FOR RELOCATION: WHY PEOPLE MOVE?

In this section, I present several models that according to ‘hard conditions’ aim to explain why people relocate.

The life cycle approach

It was proposed by Rossi (1955) linking the probability of moving and specific households’ stages during their life cycle (single, couple, family with children, after divorce, pensioners), reflected on changes of housing consumption. Sandefur and Scott (1981) show that the effects of age on mobility are largely due to family life cycle and career variables (change of work place, new destination), so family life cycle appears as more important than age per se (Yee and Van Arsdol, 1977). McCarthy, (1976) recognizes that social or professional changes that can affect the household’s income are especially important because they may represent important constraints for the household’s residential choices (in Clark, 1982, p.230).

The housing disequilibrium model

This approach presents the notion of a difference in the actual consumption of housing and the equilibrium consumption. Mobility is seen as a response to changes in the demand for housing services focusing on changes in the housing market rather than focusing on mobility per se (Clark, 1982).

The human capital model

It suggests that, “the individual will choose the destination, which offers the greatest net gain”. In the same line, the migration ties notion assumes that “a family will move where there is a gain for the whole family (in utility terms) at another destination”. It includes different factors. In modern households we have to consider that there are two-workers per family, and Sandell showed in 1977 that a two-worker household will migrate less than one-worker household and Pickle in 1980 concluded that “the more family wage earnings are dominated by one spouse, the more likely the family is to migrate”. One explanation may be that there might be conflicting goals when moving and “the gain may be a positive utility increment for one spouse, which offsets a negative utility for the other spouse [...] Mincer concludes that wives will usually be the tied partner since their earnings gains and losses to migration will usually be less than their husbands” (Clark, 1982) and we can see that nowadays this differentiation of salaries by gender within the labor market (even when comparing the same work position) is still true, even in most developed countries. A model developed by Brummel (1979) assumes that households, before doing any decision about relocation, compare what they have in their current place of residence with what they believe they could have in a new location.
The inertia-stress model

It attempts to anticipate the probability of moving analyzing the trade-off between inertia and dissatisfaction (Huff and Clark, 1978 a). The inertia model is used to show the relation between the propensities to move depending on the time that a family has lived in a place. Although the reasons are not clear, the longer someone has lived in the original place, the higher the probability of remaining at that location (Clark, 1982). The housing stress model considers random changes in the housing environment (or in the household), which generates dissatisfaction or changes the household’s expectations about the place of residence.

Distance home-workplace

There is literature that shows some evidence that the relationship between location of urban residences and workplaces have some relevance in the general outcomes of residential patterns. The economic approach considers the residential location as one, which involves a trade-off between the worker’s desire to be close to his work (which reduces the time and cost of travel) and his desire for an attractive residential location. Even though distance to workplace may not be the most important factor to decide where to relocate; once the household has decided to relocate for a variety of reasons, this can be a decisive factor for relocation, and thus an element of impact of the urban structure on relocation behavior within the city (Clark, 1982).

Schools and neighborhood choice

There is diversity in demand for local public goods (LPG) provided by governments. “In economics, local public good is a good that is both non-excludable and non-rivalrous in that individuals cannot be effectively excluded from use and where use by one individual does not reduce availability to others” [Wikipedia (a), 2013]. “A public good (or service) may be consumed without reducing the amount available for others, and cannot be withheld from those who do not pay for it. Public goods (and services) include economic statistics and other information, law enforcement, national defense, parks, and other things for the use and benefit of all. No market exists for such goods, and they are provided to everyone by governments” (Business Dictionary, 2013).

According to O’Sullivan, schools are a type of public local good (LPG) and “if high-income households have a higher preferred level of spending on schools, another reason for income segregation is sorting with respect to the demand for schooling”. Although there are differences among school systems between the United States and Europe, and also between European States, many people think that the school is a very important factor to choose an area. One measure of the educational attainment of a community (or neighborhood) is the share of the population that has a college degree; and another measure is the high-school dropout rate. “One piece of evidence that schools matter in neighborhood choice is that real-estate agents provide prospective home buyers all sorts of data about the test scores and college-attendance rates of neighborhood schools […] in schools, the most important factor in student learning is the peer group”, because the fact of joining a group generates tendency to imitate the behavior-good or bad- of the members of the group because of three reasons: (1) “There is a psychological payoff from behaving like others”. (2) Because “a group provides a wider set of opportunities to interact with other high achievers”. (3) And because “a group generates better information about future opportunities”. Therefore, externalities (unpaid interactions) are extremely important for imitative or self-reinforcing behavior of children. When the peer group consists of motivated children, it is a positive externality, because they do not gain economically from this behavior; and when kids
disrupt the class, it is a negative externality, because they do not pay (economically) for this behavior. (O’Sullivan, 2009, p. 202-209).

In the case of immigrant children, language and differences of school level in the country of origin lead to heterogeneous peer groups in the class, especially during the first years after arrival to the new country. It is an unresolved issue in many countries that is related to socio-economic class. Whereas public schools placed in immigrant concentrated neighborhoods receive large numbers of low-income immigrants, which, is often seen as problematic; several private international schools are seen as a positive asset.

Proximity to public transport

To live near public transportation is a very important factor for locational decisions. It is especially convenient for those who live in suburbs because of cost reduction of housing by travel time, thus they commute every day from home to the workplace and it also enables them to be well connected to amenities, facilities and night life in the city center without need for private transportation. Proximity to public transport is also convenient for those who live in the city center because it is expensive to have a parking place in the city center but also need to be connected to the workplace and to their friends and family who do not necessarily live in the same area.

THE NATURE OF THE HOUSING MARKET IN STOCKHOLM

The housing market can be considered as many submarkets, which are defined based on type of tenure, administrative divisions of the city, housing stock, and the behavior of lending institutions (Clark, 1982).

Type of tenure

In Sweden, almost 60% of the housing stock is now owner occupied (the EU average is 70%) whereas 40% of dwellings are rented. “Overall, the tax system encourages house purchase over other investment options” (RICS research, 2011). The housing system in Sweden has three types of tenure and two types of subletting applied to the rental properties.

(1) Ownership of a property. In Stockholm it refers mostly to single detached houses, which corresponds to the 39% of all dwellings in Sweden, but there are also several other types of dwellings. The owner is the solely responsible for the maintenance and for the services such as electricity, heating and water. The owner can rent the property without permission of any association as long as the owner wants.

(2) Tenant-owner co-operatives (in Swedish, ‘bostadsrätt’). The association of resident-owners own the property, which according to Victorin and Flodin (2011) is a type of indirect ownership that refers to apartments in multifamily buildings. According to the European Housing Review (RICS research, 2011) this type of tenure corresponds to the 19% of all dwellings in Sweden. According to the law 1kap4§BRL, that there is a lease to use an apartment in a multifamily building in exchange of money and without limit of time. Typically tenant-owner co-operative associations ‘own’ only one apartment building and new co-operatives are formed for every project. It follows from these rules that there is a link between membership in a housing association and ownership of condominium. A tenant-owner must normally be a member of the association, however, there are members of the building association who are not tenants. This means that one must distinguish between two different aspects. The first is legal relationship between the member and the housing association and the other is the context of this tenure relationship between the association and the
beneficiary of the apartment. The tenant-owner can benefit from the value of the property by selling “the membership of the co-operative and the associated ‘right to occupy’ a given apartment on the open market” (RICS research, 2011) and can also switch to another by inheritance, division of property and similar transactions. Condominium law contains specific rules that are characterized by the fact that housing modes have no time limit and that the contract can not be terminated against the tenant’s (‘owner’) and that the responsibility for maintenance of the property is divided between the housing association and the tenant of the right to live in the apartment. The tenant is responsible for the maintenance of their own apartment whereas the building association is responsible for the property and the house in general. Housing-co-operative members are charged a monthly fee (in Swedish, ‘avgift’), which is proportional to the surface of each apartment, in order to “cover the costs of the mortgage taken by the association and maintenance and repair costs… traded prices consequently depend not only on the market value of the co-operative, on how well it is managed, the management and other charges imposed on co-operative members and the default risk of other co-operative members. Many of these items, of course, are not transparent” (RICS research, 2011). Tenant-owner apartments tax regime roughly approximates in average incidence to that for owner occupation. “Individual members can claim tax allowances corresponding to 30% of the interest payments on the mortgages they take out personally” and some allowances are also given for the mortgages held by the co-operatives and their imputed rental income is taxed on the basis of the assessed value of the property (which is not uniform because the assessed value and the market value varies greatly (RICS research, 2011). “In general for owner-occupiers, 30% of mortgage interest can be deducted at the purchaser’s marginal rate of tax. […] In addition, there is a capital gains tax of 30% on two-thirds of any prices raises. This can be deferred as long as another owner occupied property is bought and the rule applies to heirs as well. These deferral provisions discourage owners from ever switching to renting” (RICS research, 2011).

(3) Rental housing can refer to (3.1) Municipal Housing, when buildings are owned by the municipality or national housing associations; or (3.2) Private Housing, when owners are private building companies or associations. Moreover, there are two types of subletting, which means “to allow someone to rent all or part of a house or other building that you are renting from someone else”: the first tenancy (‘förstahandshyresrätt’) and the secondary tenancy (‘andrahandshyresrätt’). People commonly refer to these two types of subletting as two different types of rental contracts, because they heavily affect the legal conditions for the tenants, no matter if the owner is a municipal or private. Table 2 shows that both municipal housing and private housing can provide first tenancy (‘förstahandshyresrätt’) and secondary tenancy (‘andrahandshyresrätt’).

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<td>First Tenancy (‘förstahandshyresrätt’)</td>
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<td>Secondary Tenancy (‘andrahandshyresrätt’)</td>
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(a) First tenancy (‘förstahandshyresrätt’ in Swedish), which means that there is a lease for using the rental property (mostly common apartments) through a rental contracts that is made directly between landlord and tenant. In all cases the landlord has right to make demands on their future
tenant. The requirements can be about age, number of people, and type of working contract, level of income. They are ‘long term’ contracts because the renter can stay as long as pays the rent and respect the rules.

(b) **Secondary tenancy** (‘andrahandshyresrätt’ in Swedish), which means that the landlord consents that the first tenant (‘förstahandshyresgäst’) rents or leases the rental property to someone else (‘andrahandshyresgäst’) who will be using the apartment independently. This type of lease represents almost half of the rental tenancy in Sweden. This also applies when lending the apartment without charging any rent. In most cases, the tenant can grant only part of the apartment, such as a room to a lodger, without asking the landlord for permission as long as this person does not use the apartment independently. The first tenant (‘förstahandshyresgäst’) is the responsible for rent payment and that the second tenant (‘andrahandshyresgäst’) behaves. First tenant can therefore be dismissed if second tenants, for example, disturb the neighbors. They are usually ‘short-term contracts’, usually between a few months and 4 years, including the possibility to cancel the contract with three months in advance by both sides, therefore, these types of contracts generate high rates of mobility and lack of stability for households.

(3.1) **Municipal rental housing.** In Sweden, municipal housing is owned by the municipality or national housing associations is accessible to everyone “because traditionally the means-tested criteria that are common elsewhere in the EU do not apply” (RICS research, 2011). In Sweden, the public system for rental apartments is based on waiting queues (in Swedish, ‘bostadskö’) thus, “rates are set in aggregate in order to ensure that MHCs do not make a profit from their housing stock”. In Stockholm, there is a public entity called Stockholms stads bostadsförmedlingen that provides an online access to register interest in the available apartments shown in their lists and then the application is sorted after each person’s queuing time giving preference to those with longest waiting time for the viewing. The requirements for being registered in the ‘bostadskö’ are: (1) to be over 18 years old; (2) to have an identity card or equivalent (in Swedish is called ‘personnummer’); (3) to pay an annual fee to be active in the queue, loosing all the queuing time in case of not paying on time.

Municipal rental housing also generates some criticism. For instance, “the cost-based rents of the social sector are low because the stock was mainly built before the mid-1970s and most of the debt on it is now paid off. Such rent levels do not encourage efficient use of the stock […] because the criteria for entry to the tenure has been very broad in the past, people from a wide variety of social strata and income levels can end up with substantial implicit gains, whose social cost is questionable […] rents are largely historic-cost based, dependent on outstanding debts, management and maintenance costs, and they consequently reflect the age composition of the social housing stock rather than prevailing market rent levels […] The regulated rent setting process means that rents in attractive urban locations are often well below market clearing levels. As housing shortages have grown in the major cities, this has encouraged intricate rationing procedures to deal with excess demand and black-market transactions … existing tenants can enjoy substantial windfalls by sub-letting or by requiring undercover (‘key’ or ‘furniture’ money) payments from new tenants before agreeing to vacate the property” (RICS research, 2011).

Prices and queuing time for municipal housing rental apartments can vary depending on size and area. The following table shows the waiting time in different areas according to ‘Stockholms Stad Bostadsförmedlingen’.
In area 1, ‘Innestaden’, the waiting time is between 8-24 years. In area 2, ‘Närförort’, the waiting time is between 6-12 years. In area 3, ‘Västra yttre staden’, the waiting time is between 4-8 years. In area 4, ‘Södra yttre staden’, the waiting time is between 6-8 years. In area 5, ‘Sydvästra yttre staden’, the waiting time is between 6-8 years. In area 6, ‘Norra Järva’, the waiting time is between 4-8 years. In area 6, ‘Södra Järva’, the waiting time is between 4-6 years.

Figure 2. Bostadsförmedlingen areas in Stockholms län for municipal rental apartments (‘förstahand’). Source: Svenska Mäklarstatistik, 2012 (adapted by the author).

(3.2) Private rental housing. Private building companies offer a small portion of their new apartment buildings as first tenancy (‘förstahandshyresrätt’) rental apartments. To access to these scarce available apartments one has to register in their private lists (for each company) and pay an annual fee to be active in the waiting queues. In an attempt to simplify the search for first tenancy for rental housing (‘förstahandshyresrätt’), a few companies provide an unified list shown in their websites and charge a monthly fee to be able to be active in these lists. Other online companies provide the contact among people interested in private rental housing, those who sublet their apartment and those who want to rent. Prices for private rental housing (with secondary tenancy) vary depending on size and area, depending on the market. According to ("Numbeo" 2013) the average price for private rental housing (secondary tenancy) in the city center is 8000Kr/month for a one-bedroom apartment (in Swedish 1:a) and for 15000Kr/month for a three-bedroom apartment (in Swedish 3:a). Whereas the average price outside of center is 4695Kr/month for a one-bedroom apartment (in Swedish 1:a) and for 8000Kr/month for a three-bedroom apartment (in Swedish 3:a). On average, prices can be higher than for municipal rental housing (with first tenancy) considering same size and area.

Administrative divisions of Stockholm

There is broad concept of Stockholm, ‘Stockholm Urban Area’ (in Swedish: Stockholms tätort), which has no administrative function of its own but extends into 11 municipalities in Stockholm county (also called Greater Stockholm): Stockholm, Huddinge, Järfälla, Solna, Sollentuna, Botkyrka, Haninge, Tyesö, Sundbyberg, Nacka, Danderyd.

Stockholm Municipality (also known as ‘Stockholm kommun’ or ‘Stockholm Stad’) comprises 3 parts: (1) The southern suburban area called the South Stockholm (in Swedish: Söderort) it is organized in five districts: Enskede-Årsta-Vantör, Farsta, Hägersten-Liljeholmen, Skarpnäck, Skärholmen and Älvsjö. (2) The western suburban area, the so-called West Stockholm (in Swedish: Västerort) and it is organized in four districts: Bromma, Hässelby-Vällingby, Rinkeby-Kista, Spånga-Tensta. (3) the Stockholm city center (in Swedish: Stockholms innerstad) that since 2007 is organized in four districts: Södermalm, Norrmalm, Östermalm, Kungsholmen.

Stockholm city center (in Swedish: Stockholms innerstad) which consist of 4 districts is organized in a more detailed way by a number of boroughs. (1) Södermalm: Gamla Stan, Långholmen, Reimersholme, Riddarholmen, Södermalm, Södra Hammarbyhamnen. (2) Norrmalm: Skeppsholmen, Vasastaden, Norrmalm and Östermalm (a small part in the north part of Odengatan), (3) Östermalm: Djurgården, Hjortagen, Gärdet, Norra Djurgården and Östermalm. (4) Kungsholmen: Stadshagen, Kristineberg, Marieberg, Fredhäll, Kungsholmen, Lilla Essingen, Stora
Essingen. Moreover, there is a more restrictive concept of Stockholm city center (in Swedish, ‘inomtullarna’), which means the area of the city comprised inside the duty stations that were active between 1622-1810 in Stockholm, which consists of only some of the boroughs that form part of the inner city. Those are usually: Gamla Stan, Kungsholmen, Långholmen, Norrmalm, Riddarholmen, Skeppsholmen, Södermalm, Vasastaden, Östermalm and Djurgårdsstaden on Djurgården.

Housing price in Stockholm

There is a correlation between administrative boundaries and housing price (for all types of tenancy) for each district or neighborhood in Stockholm. For instance, Stockholm center, Lidingö, Nacka, Täby, Varmdö, Vaxholm, Tyresö, Danderyd, Solna, Sollentuna and Sundbyberg are among the ten most expensive positions for apartments and single houses; whereas Norrtälje, Nykvarn, Nynäshamn, Vallentuna, Upplands-Bro, Södertälje, Järfälla and Sigtuna are considered among the cheapest areas. They price can also vary depending on the type of residence in each area, such as (1) apartments, which have an average price of 24586 Kr/m² in Sweden, whereas in Stockholms län is 35976 Kr/m², and it is even higher in Stockholm city center with the average price of 45358 Kr/m². (2) Single houses, are a little bit cheaper than apartments, with an average price in Sweden of 17389 Kr/m², whereas in Stockholms län is 29270 Kr/m² and in Stockholm center is 36674 Kr/m². (3) And summerhouses (in Swedish, ‘fritidshus’), which are usually in the countryside and not in Stockholm city, have an average price of 20453 Kr/m² in Sweden, 29585 Kr/m² in Stockholms län and which are significantly much more expensive when they are located in the city core with an average price of 77412 Kr/m² ("Svensk Mäklarstatistik AB. Prisutvekling." 2012).
These price differences have a socio-demographic impact on each neighborhood because of the average income necessary to afford to live in each area. According to (DN.STHLM, 2012) the economic standing of households varies depending on the district. The average household’s income per year is 379300 Kr/year in Kungsholmen; in 340400 Kr/year in Södermalm; 413300 Kr/year in Östermalm; 402800 Kr/year in Norrmalm; 393300 Kr/year in Bromma; 299500 Kr/year in Hägersten-Liljeholmen; 218700 Kr/year in Skärholmen; 356700 Kr/year in Ålvsjö; 290900 Kr/year in Enskede-Årsta-Vantör; 269500 Kr/year in Farsta; 282000 Kr/year in Skärpnäck; 296000 Kr/year in Hässelby-Vällingby; 278000 Kr/year in Spånga-Tensta; 216300 Kr/year in Rinkeby-Kista.

**Housing stock in Stockholm**

Price can also be affected by the housing stock (supply side) in each area. In the following table we can see that in Stockholm, there are important differences between the supply of municipal rental apartments, private rental apartments and ‘bostadsrätt’ in each area and between different neighborhoods. We can see a big decrease of the number of municipal rental apartments, (e.g. in Skärholmen it has been reduced to the half), whereas the number of ‘bostadsrätt’ (indirect ownership) has heavily increased in all Stockholm’s boroughs. The private rental apartment has decreased in all the boroughs but in Skärholmen, Hasselby-Vällingby, Spånga-Tensta and Rinkeby. According to DN.Sthlm (2012) under the last 11 years the number of rental apartment has decreased in 29.5% in Stockholm. In 1990 there 75.5% of housing were rental apartments, with 41.3% for private owned and 34.2% from municipal owned), and in 2011 the percentage is 46% for rental apartments, with 27.8% are private rental apartments and 18.2% are municipal owned rental apartments. During the same period, the number of cooperative ownership (‘bostadsrätt’) has increased from 24% in 1990 to 54% in 2011.
Table 3. Average income by Stockholm’s boroughs, and comparison between number of municipal rental apartments, private rental apartments and ‘bostadsrätter’ in year 1990 and 2011 in Stockholm. Source: DN:STHLM, 2012, p. 6-7 (adapted by the author).

<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kungsholmen</td>
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<td>19711</td>
<td>10574</td>
<td>1238</td>
<td>10358</td>
<td>27226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Södermalm (351400 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>14744</td>
<td>31286</td>
<td>13586</td>
<td>7837</td>
<td>21343</td>
<td>41118</td>
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<tr>
<td>Östermalm (413300 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>5357</td>
<td>19044</td>
<td>12547</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>10089</td>
<td>26294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norrmalm (402800 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>5357</td>
<td>19044</td>
<td>12547</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>10089</td>
<td>26294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bromma (393000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>6665</td>
<td>8685</td>
<td>4497</td>
<td>4182</td>
<td>7618</td>
<td>12128</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hägersten- Lipsholmen (297000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>10701</td>
<td>13376</td>
<td>5202</td>
<td>6092</td>
<td>9829</td>
<td>20250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skärholmen (218700 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>7132</td>
<td>2699</td>
<td>1085</td>
<td>3636</td>
<td>5317</td>
<td>2169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Älvsjö (350700 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>2911</td>
<td>1049</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>2277</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>2567</td>
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<tr>
<td>Enskede-Ärsta- Varberg (289000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>15602</td>
<td>11606</td>
<td>9932</td>
<td>9931</td>
<td>10313</td>
<td>20519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonto (268500 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>10877</td>
<td>3341</td>
<td>3825</td>
<td>10364</td>
<td>3024</td>
<td>7275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sköpnäck (282000 K/yr/year)</td>
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<td>3827</td>
<td>2994</td>
<td>6202</td>
<td>3616</td>
<td>10006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hässelby-Vällingby (246000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>12083</td>
<td>2056</td>
<td>1616</td>
<td>8197</td>
<td>6981</td>
<td>4706</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spånga-Tensta (278000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>9444</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>5085</td>
<td>6232</td>
<td>4065</td>
<td>6684</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rinkeby-Kista (216000 K/yr/year)</td>
<td>9444</td>
<td>1513</td>
<td>5085</td>
<td>6232</td>
<td>4065</td>
<td>6684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gentrification**

Prices of different residential districts can vary over time, and different projects of renovation in a territory can start a process of gentrification, which is the socio-demographic change in an area replacing local population for middle class that can afford to live in new regenerated centers in centric districts of Stockholm such as Södermalm and Kungsholmen.

**Filtering.** There is a strong interconnection between mobility, filtering and neighborhood change. Filtering is a process that occurs in a neighborhood after several years, when house quality, even if a good maintenance of the building has been regular during the years, is not comparable with the ideal quality of the dwelling, which previously had when it was new. The cost of remodeling and renovation is substantial, thus it is common to move to new housing, which is built with new materials and modern technologies, and instead to renovate the current dwelling what can be even more costly. To clarify this concept, we can consider three different income-households: high-income, middle-income and low-income. After a decade every household has to decide if they are restoring the quality of the dwelling, or moving to a different house. If the high-income households are moving to a new house, they are leaving vacant and selling the old house. The price for it will be an opportunity to the middle-income household, which at their turn wants to move from their old dwelling and to move to the old high-income place, represents a cheapest
option than renovate the old one. The same process can be applied for the low-income household, which will see an opportunity to buy the middle-income household old dwelling (if the price is low enough) instead of remodeling their own house. “The houses vacated by the low-income households with quality=0 are then retired from the housing market” (O’Sullivan, 2009, p. 348-349).

**CONSTRAINTS OF RELOCATION**

Since several decades ago some authors argue that research should focus on the constraints instead of choices. The article ‘Housing and integration of migrants in Europe: Good practice guide’ identifies some typical challenges for immigrants, such as the “limited command of the language of the receiving country, a lower socioeconomic status (although not all immigrant belong to those vulnerable groups), social exclusion, lack of knowledge on housing-related rights and responsibilities, as well as discrimination and exploitation on the housing market” (CLIP Networks, 2007).

**The institutional context**

Housing processes are interrelated with the institutional context, especially in the Scandinavian countries where the real estate market is highly controlled by the institutions in contrast with free markets in Spain, US and England. Some defend that research has been focusing on the demand side instead of the supply side. Although there are significant differences among countries, “cities and local authorities have a vital role to play, not only in the implementation of integration policies, but also in the development of innovative policies on housing, education and cultural diversity” (CLIP, 2007).

Sweden was recognized for offering ‘a middle way’ between socialism and capitalism (Childs, 1936) and Esping-Andersen (1990) categorized Sweden, as well as its Nordic neighboring countries, as belonging to the Social Democratic welfare state mode in which the system includes virtually free (tax-financed) schools, childcare, and health care, care of the elderly, social services and various economic security systems. It means that there are good public services in all the districts in Stockholm that assures a good coverage of basic services as education and health. Housing considered as context, reflects the variation in urban structures and features from one place to another, which affects the residential mobility rates (Clark, 1982). Moreover, during the macro-urbanism paradigm, the application of several national policies pushed low-income households and immigrants to the outskirts of the city. They are “one of many examples of how a political decision and the financial system that backs it up cause great changes in terms of settlement patterns and intra-urban migration flows. Other important components in the institutional framework are the fiscal system, the general welfare schemes, immigration and immigrant policy, (e.g., the ‘Sweden-wide strategy for refugee reception’), just to mention a few but important regulatory mechanisms” (Andersson, 1998).

**Economic constraints**

The level of income can limit the possibilities of choice within the residential preference a household has. According to Andersson (1999), “the lack or economic resources is considered one of the most important factors restricting residential mobility. [...] One should, however, note that income, even for immigrants who have been in Sweden for 10 to 20 years, is still markedly below the Swedish average and that the distance is similar for different educational groups. Furthermore, [...] the income gap is also ethnically highly selective and the ethnic hierarchy that exists on the
labor market certainly affects the housing market as well". It usually limits the choice of the area; the size of the residence and it also affects the quality of the building. The economic constraints may also prevent to move from the current dwelling, because of changes on the value of the property; or to switch from rental tenancy to ownership because the household does not have the initial capital to purchase a property. The behavior of lending institutions i.e. banks have also a role in the real estate market because of their conditions and because they do not include people without a Swedish identity card (in Swedish, ‘personnummer’).

**Cost reduction in housing by travel time.** Westmar and Andersson (2013) in the article ‘Så mycket sparar du i förorten’ in DN.STHLM in March 2013, they assess the difference in price that people save living in the suburbs instead in Stockholm center. They calculate the cost reduction of living outside Stockholm. They calculate it as the difference between the average price of apartments in the inner city and in every municipality, divided by the travel time, considered an average time between three and five different places in every municipality to Stockholm central station at 8am on a Monday morning. Then, they consider the travel time for 220 days per year during ten years, and the result is the saving money for every hour of travel time. For instance, in Järfälla kommun located at 60 minutes travel time from Stockholm central station, the housing price is 60% cheaper than in central Stockholm. This means that people save 983kr for every hour of travel in comparison with those who live in the city center.

**Table 4. Cost reduction by travel time. Source: DN.STHLM, 2013.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Average price</th>
<th>Travel time</th>
<th>Reduction Kt/h</th>
<th>Municipality</th>
<th>Average price</th>
<th>Travel time</th>
<th>Reduction Kt/h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Järfälla</td>
<td>1353337</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>Nacka</td>
<td>2224978</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>586</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sundbyberg</td>
<td>2222342</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>Tyresö</td>
<td>1665268</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>561</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solna</td>
<td>2258770</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>Österåker</td>
<td>1115372</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upplands-Bro</td>
<td>1099233</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>824</td>
<td>Ekero</td>
<td>1539604</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>539</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hudinge</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>Vallentuna</td>
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<td>801</td>
<td>Lidinge</td>
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<td>497</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upplands-Väsb</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>Nynäshamn</td>
<td>991449</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horinge</td>
<td>1000070</td>
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<td>745</td>
<td>Sigtuna</td>
<td>1050052</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botkyrka</td>
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<td>Vaxholm</td>
<td>1998491</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>376</td>
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<tr>
<td>Töby</td>
<td>1863713</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>Norrtälje</td>
<td>1033005</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>376</td>
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<tr>
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<td>655</td>
<td>Vårnäs</td>
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<td>Danderyd</td>
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<td>Nyhamn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sälen</td>
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<td>627</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>3516961</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this table, Järfälla, Sundbyberg and Solna are the municipalities close to Stockholm that offer the best pay-off between price and travel time, thus are attractive for household that seek for cheap housing but are willing to live close to the city.

**The role of information.**

Empirical studies have shown different information sources such as: real estate agents, newspapers, friends, co-workers, signs, and walking or riding around (Clark, 1982) and lately the most important source may be the internet services, are very important in the decision making process about housing search. Some studies have tried to determine whether real estate agents may actively influence residential location and the decision-making process of residential searching. Fong and
Chan (2010) concluded that co-ethnic real estate agents might have influence in some co-ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese people settled in Toronto) due to biased information to co-ethnic immigrants. Already in the 1980s was considered that the individuals consider few alternative sources in their searches. In the case of migrants, their reliance on friends, co-workers and relatives is probably the most important source of information they have, and it can lead towards migrant concentration areas if former migrants recommend co-ethnic places to newcomers (Clark, 1982).

In addition, local governments are interested in having “accurate up-to-date information on the size, composition and distribution of the population within their administrative boundaries” [...] (sometimes only in parts of the city), in order to “understand the changing structure of population flows and their impacts on specific neighborhoods and communities” (Clark, 1982).

**Exclusionist attitudes toward immigrants**

Apart from the three intercultural citizenships (cosmopolitan, agonistic and side-by-side) mentioned by (van Leeuwen, 2010), which are desirable attitudes towards diversity, there are also exclusionist attitudes towards difference, such as the ‘filtering input’, which reduces the contact with the perceived ‘others’ with attitudes such as unfriendly countenance or small talk in order to discourage others from initiating contact; and there are also attitudes of total rejection. Some studies and the place stratification model show that “social exclusion and ghetto formation are influenced by neighborhood hardship at the local level” (Logan et al., 1996; Fonseca et al., 2002; Malheiros, 2002; Kazepov, 2005; Musterd et al., 2006; Malheiros et al., 2007; Musterd, 2008; in Malcata, 2010, p. 589). Malcata (2010) point out that “racially stereotyped behaviors on the part of indigenous people (Fortuijn et al., 1998; Logan, 2006; Arbac, 2008; Bolt et al., 2008) [...] may engender segregation, i.e. isolation/ marginalization of people or groups as a result of their social, economic, cultural and/or religious condition”. Most of the studies about racial discrimination have focused on the housing price and have shown an obvious interconnection between choice, economics, constraints, and discrimination and their impact to mobility (Clark, 1982). The socio-demographic composition of a neighborhood is something dynamic that changes over time, e.g. in Sweden, “it is a fact that all residential areas that have high immigrant concentrations today used to have much smaller concentrations some 10, 20 or 30 years ago” (Andersson et al., 2010). An study called ‘Explaining ethnic out-group feelings from a multi-group perspective: Similarity or contact opportunity?’ shows that the presence of an ethnic group in a neighborhood initially generate favorable feelings, becoming then negative (Havekes et al., 2011) initiating ethnic-selective migration, when the share of immigrants reaches is higher than the city average (normally 10-20% in Sweden and 21% in the Netherlands, starting the initial phase or proto-segregation phase. the population, (which is considered as ethnically concentrated in the Netherlands) or ethnic-selective migration is called segregation-generating migration (Andersson et al., 2010). Though, these studies consider ethnicity as the prevalent factor and do not distinguish over socio-demographic class.

**3.3. LIFESTYLE AND RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES**

This section provides general information about how people make choices and where people move according to their preferences and lifestyle theories. The lifestyle approach appeared in 1929 by the psychologist Adler, who considered lifestyle as the sum of the values, passions, knowledge, meaningful needs, and eccentricities that constitute the uniqueness of each person. Despite that there is not a unique notion of lifestyle, it is generally agreed that the aim of the lifestyle theories is to add some type of variables about personal information and taste (e.g. architecture style, view, safety, status), to the traditional socio-economic variables and statistical data, that represent what is attainable and needed, (e.g. the type of housing needed related to income, age and size of the
household, gaining understanding about the stability, coherence and purposefulness of action of people’s behavior, because it is believed that those underlying values might determine what kind of housing they choose (Jansen, 2011). In 1950s, lifestyle was introduced in the domain of marketing in an attempt to understand and predict consumer behavior. Housing and its location can be considered as a particular type of consumption. Sociologists and psychologists have studied the underlying belief structures for preferences, which evaluate the housing and neighborhood qualities (Clark, 1982). Actually, to show preference or choose something means, “to decide what you want from two or more things or possibilities” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2013), from reachable options. Bourdieu (1984) considers that culture capital is the accumulation of knowledge and culture during our lives and people express their taste in different consumption products, and Courreau (1987) identifies eight different motivations that induce customers to buy (choose): (1) Wealth, greed materials; (2) Economy, desire to pay less; (3) Practical issue, comfort; (4) Pride; (5) Novelty; (6) Security; (7) Infatuation, which is often irrational, and first is the action of buying a product and afterwards one invents good reasons for this desire or, conversely, to stop this primary impetus; (8) Sociability. Recently, Jordi Aymerich professor of marketing in UB, Barcelona (“Lletra petita”, 2013), explains that choices consist of a rational aspect (when the focus is on price) and an irrational aspect (when the focus is on taste) and neuromarketing is capable to identify it by neuro-tracking and measuring the brain waves. Courreau says that the seller must have a powerful imagination ability that allows to evoke visual images easily because “The imagination imagines and then the will wants” (Courreau, 1987, p. 74). An example of this statement is the case of how marketing started. After industrial revolution, chain-production did possible that ‘offer’ exceeded ‘demand’ of any kind of product. Edward Bernice, who is considered the pioneer of advertising, found a way to encourage consumption. He applied the theories of his uncle Sigmund Freud about the irrational impulse that define human behavior. He conducted an experiment to include women as a new group of tobacco consumers. He photographed young model in daily situations with a cigarette in their lips to make people imagine themselves in these situations. The result was that it became a new trend (“Lletra petita”, 2013). Researchers have found that images are associated in an identification structure. Our brain remembers an evoked image about a product-emotion and that particular image will make appear other images derived from the first. The product of the image will be desirable and, probably, people will be willing to buy it. Advertising have a strong influence in creating new ideas about what is desirable and what is not, linking a product to an emotion (often presented by famous people) that link a product with a certain target group of consumers, lifestyle and status.

This study focuses on the middle-class international migration, which represents a broad group that varies in each country. The modern usage of the term ‘middle class’ refers to the intermediate social class of Europe, which stands between the nobility, who owned the countryside, and the peasantry, who worked the countryside. With capitalism, middle class initially arose referred to “bourgeoisie” which literally means ‘those who lived in the town’ whereas under the years the middle class came to refer to a broader meaning defined by several variables that are related but not interdependent with each other, such as: wealth, achievement of tertiary education, environment of upbringing, social network, manners or values, belief in bourgeoisie values (such as high ownership rates and jobs perceived as ‘secure’), lifestyle (“judged by pointers such as accent, manners, place of education, occupation and the class of a person’s family, circle of friends and acquaintances” (Wikipedia (g), 2013).

Some argue that the traditional socio-demographic variables, neither the economic factors are not enough to predict and explain residential preferences. If we consider an scenario with three households with similar income, they may choose different residences because of different reasons, such as: (1) the perceived social status of being a homeowner; (2) it seems a good long-term
financial investment; (3) or another may prefer a rental dwelling because of the possibility to cancel a tenancy at anytime (Jansen, 2011). The question then is how to group people according to their lifestyle and personal preferences.

In this chapter I present approaches about distinction, ‘the creative class’ and the knowledge based approaches which share aspects such as certain professions, level of education and distinction that in part overlap with the values, manners or notion of the middle-class, but they are not exclusive of the middle-class. Some examples are many creative people who belong to street artistic movements, such as hip-hop that started in the Bronx, a ethnic minority low-income suburb of New York, in 1970s and which includes different artistic expressions as music (with four elements MCing (rapping), DJ/turntablism, sampling or beatboxing), breakdance and graffiti. In addition, many middle-class people are not within the ‘creative class’ because they have types of jobs, which do not require creativity or innovation, although the salary is within the middle-income range and they believe in ‘bourgeoisie’ values and manners.

**Distinction theory: disposition, position and distinction**

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) explains that people are obsessed about being different and unique. Bourdieu’s model of lifestyle is based on three concepts: (1) Disposition (habitus), which consists of heritage and experiences that generates embedded choices; (2) Position, which includes consumer goods and services that reflect the taste and distinction of the owner. Bourdieu also includes the recognition of scientific work, academic titles or passing an examination in this category. (3) Distinction, being distinct and distinguished being confirmed by a specific group and confirming its lifestyle by position taking. It denotes the ability to classify, read, decipher and decode symbol, language and behavior; and identify the group of people with whom they share preferences such as manners and taste (Ærø, 2006, p.114). Bourdieu (1984) explains that charisma is from birth but the creation of taste is acquired through education. Thus, taste is a unique and individual path of choices that are forming a lifestyle.

Some people tend to live near similar people, and some groups of people are interested or feel the need to live near like-minded people. Some examples of this, are projects specially developed to attract particular target groups with similar lifestyles, e.g. floating houses, gated communities, ecological cooperative neighborhoods, houses with an specific architectural style, and ecological communities. In addition, some researchers argues that neighborhoods with residents with similar aspects of their lifestyles could facilitate more commitment and understanding to their own neighborhood (Jansen, 2011). However, we have to distinguish small developments, a kind of self-segregated areas, than the general trend and the whole housing market.

**The ‘creative class’ approach**

A way to account for regional economic development is to consider the human capital, which is traditionally measured as the share of population with university studies, from a bachelor’s degree and above. However, as Albert Einstein said “education is not the learning of facts, but the training of the mind to think”, and more recent research suggests that it is more important to measure what people do than what they study, assuming that not all creative thinking comes from formal studies in universities. Actually, Florida and Mellander (2007) conclude that “occupational measures tend to significantly outperform conventional educational measures in accounting for regional development” in their sample of Swedish regions.

The ‘creative class’ approach includes people with university studies but also people that for some reasons never finished their studies and have had remarkable successful careers such artists or entrepreneurs. A remarkable example of this is Steve Jobs, founder of Apple who only assisted 6
months to Reed College in Portland, Oregon, because of the high cost of the studies. The human capital approach and the creative class approach provide a new insight between residential locational decisions and the built environment. It is not only companies that attract workers and they move where there are job opportunities, but also companies are attracted where this social climate is appropriate with high presence of high educated and creative people. In turn, the presence of the creative class in an area can make it popular and attractive to the middle and higher classes to live in.

The concentration of human capital may generate knowledge spillovers, which is important when determining the location of firms, especially knowledge based firms. And in the agglomeration economies, the presence of one firm attracts others, and firms tend to cluster because all of them benefit from shared resources such as labor pooling, skill matching and knowledge spillovers (O’Sullivan, 2009). It is also argued that human capital is becoming more concentrated and that this division will continue and it will affect the regional growth levels and the housing markets (Florida and Mellander, 2007).

This relation between economic growth and the creative class shows the importance to learn more about: (1) who are the types of people that constitute the creative class; (2) where do they live?; (3) and which kind of conditions must have a region in order to attract them. Some propose ‘the creative class’ as a group with specific and distinctive residential preferences than other kind of workers (Lawton et al., 2012). According to Florida (2002) the members of the creative class do a variety of professions in a wide variety of industries and they do not think about themselves as a class or a group. However, they share common values such as creativity, individuality, difference, merit and they welcome diversity. This approach links business policies with educational and cultural policies and considers three interconnected parameters (3T) as key for regional development: technology, talent and tolerance. Florida insists on the importance of three complementary factors that may result in complementary geographic distribution of the human capital and the creative class depending on each factor: (1) the presence of universities, which attract and create knowledge and it is self-reinforcing over time; (2) variety of amenities and service diversity attract the creative class to an area with an active street culture, represented by a variety of cafeterias and restaurants and a vibrant nightlife; (3) diversity and tolerance, a place that embraces diversity and open-mindedness towards newcomers and different cultures. A so-called ‘plug and play’ city where newcomers face ‘low barrier entries’ and are “accepted quickly into all sorts of social and economic arrangements” (Florida, 2002), and in general, towards people that not fit into the common norms. Actually, areas with significant presence of gay people and bohemian artists (such as writers, performers, and artists) in an area is used as the measure of tolerance, due to gay people also seek places where they feel accepted, and the bohemian people are attracted and feel comfortable in tolerant environments that welcome diversity and “non-standard people (Florida, 2002, p. 7).

**Knowledge-based approach**

Asheim and Hansen (2009) argue that it is naïve to assume that the ‘creative class’, which according to Florida can represent between 30-45% of population in most developed OECD countries, have the same locational preferences. On the contrary they argue that the knowledge-based approach distinguishes different types of talent involved in different industries, thus, they will have different occupations, lifestyles and locational preferences for living and working. The knowledge-based approach divides the creative class into three groups, depending on the type of profession and their relation with the business climate or to people climate. These are: (1) Synthetic knowledge, which refers to high technology and scientific fields such as biotechnology and nanotechnology, and some examples of creation are scientific discoveries and (generic)
technological inventions; (2) Analytical knowledge, which mainly refers to the application or modifications of existing knowledge, products or processes; (3) Symbolic knowledge, which is related to aesthetics and desire and to the creation of meaning of symbols, products, and designs (Asheim and Hansen, 2009). People of this group are commonly considered as ‘artists’ or ‘creative’ and they work in fields such as theater, media, design, literature, pictures and photography. The following table summarizes the differentiated knowledge base typologies and the professions associated to each group.

Table 5. Differentiated knowledge base typologies and occupational groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differentiated knowledge base typologies</th>
<th>Occupational groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Analytical (Science based)</td>
<td>Occupational groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing new knowledge about natural systems by applying scientific laws; know-why</td>
<td>Architects, engineers, and related professionals, physical and engineering science technicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analytical (Engineering based)</td>
<td>Computer associate professionals and optical and electronic equipment operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific knowledge, models, deductive</td>
<td>Safety and quality inspectors and life science technicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration within and between research units</td>
<td>Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong codified knowledge content, highly abstract; universal</td>
<td>Strong codified knowledge, strong tacit component, more context-specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of interpretation, creativity, cultural knowledge, sign values, implies strong context specificity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problem solving, inductive, custom production</td>
<td>Learning by doing, in studio, project teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction learning with customers and suppliers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong codified knowledge content, highly abstract; universal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning relatively constant between places</td>
<td>Meaning varies substantially between places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug development</td>
<td>Cultural production, design</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: occupation-data based data categorized by the Swedish nomenclature on occupational codes, SSYK nomenclature based on ISCO, to classify occupations into those three knowledge bases. Source: Asheim and Gertler (2005); Asheim, Coenen, and Vang (2007); Gertler (2008); in Asheim and Hansen (2009) adapted by the author.

Figure 5. Examples of ‘symbolic knowledge’. Image E: ‘Portraits by Kumi Yamashita’. Source of the images A-E: “I Am an Engineer to Change the World” (2013), adapted by the author.

Asheim and Hansen (2009) developed a model to assess the correlation between the knowledge-based approach and its context, whether it is business climate oriented or people climate oriented. The following figure shows that the synthetic knowledge is the most business climate oriented, followed by the analytical knowledge; and the symbolic knowledge is the most people climate oriented.
Figure 6. Business or people climate depending on the synthetic, analytical and symbolic knowledge-based industries. Source: (Asheim and Hansen, 2009)

Their conclusion is that the dominating group in an area will have an impact on the locational decisions on the creative class depending on the climate required (business or people oriented) to attract and retain the creative (locational decisions) and the economic activities related to them.

Cultural life-mode

Another classification of people according their type of work was done in the 1980’s, by the Danish ethnologist Thomas Hjørup developed a structural life-mode analysis, which assumes that people’s ideas and values are determined by their cultural life-mode. He establishes the link between the type of work and lifestyle with residential choice. He distinguishes three different groups: (1) the self-employed life-mode, where the person (e.g. farmer or fishermen), owns the means of production and the home is an important part of it; (2) wage-earner life-mode, where the person (e.g. blue-collar workers) works for a wage, and the leisure time is clearly separated from working time and the home is considered a place for important leisure activities or recreational purposes; (3) and career life-mode, where carrier is considered a field for progress, and the home follows the position and supports all the representative purposes (Ærø, 2006, p. 113). Within each profession, they might have different locational decisions depending on which kind of specialization and job do they have, e.g. a private family doctor in a rural area (self-employed) and a doctor in a hospital (wage-earner) have other needs than an international recognized surgeon (career life-mode).

Use and meaning of home

Another approach is taken by Scheele’s in his analyses of the meaning and use of home “which operates with four basic meanings of home, where the home is regarded as: (1) a project-constantly being rebuilt or changed, (2) a base for daily life- a place for recreation and carrying out continuing household routines, (3) an archive of memories, a place where household and dwelling merge, and the home is an integral part of the occupant’s life-story, (4) a temporary station-when the occupant’s activities mainly take place elsewhere” (Ærø, 2010, p.112).

District aesthetic typologies depending on lifestyle

The study carried out by the Ærø considers the lifestyle approach, which is based on status of those groups of people and by literature review links it with unwritten norms of quite uniform taste shared by each group. In his article he mentions “what gives you status in one district might be regarded as poor taste or even worthless in another”. According to those theories, Ærø (2006), present a way to interpret the shared aesthetic preferences of a residential district and its inhabitants to notice the consumption of designs and symbols that dominate in the district. He considers different residential districts to each group, based on survey in Denmark. (1) Low-rise-open density residential districts, which consist of single-family detached houses, and it represents a highly individualized form of housing; (2) Terraced, linked or cluster houses or townhouses, which they have access to a small private garden and a community facilities, therefore they tend to meet the requirements of families
with children; (3) High-rise-low density housing. Consists of large multiple-family blocks, often built with industrialized methods especially during 1950-1975. The caretakers provide administration and maintenance services, and many include playgrounds and other facilities; (4) High-rise-high density housing, multifamily buildings generally build at the end of 1800 close or in the city center.

Residential preferences by socio-demographic groups

The study carried out in Stockholm by Werner (2003) also show a correspondence to the type of housing regarding to type of household and their consumer preferences and needs. She stresses the importance of life cycle (age, gender) and life-mode (income and level of education) – both are socio-demographic factors as the main cause for moves because household changes affects all kinds of lifestyles. Despite of the number of singles and divorced households has increased over the last decades, the patterns of housing preference by age groups is quite similar over time. She also considers the lifestyle variables (attitude and values, such as: security; gender roll: masculine or feminine; attitude towards work: meaningful in life or as a source for income; life attitude: realize a dream or accept the facts; family oriented or individualist; urban or close to nature). She presents eight groups: (1) young people. Students and young professionals prefer to live in the city center. They look for apartment that fits for the needs of the moment, including the possibility to combine apartment and working place (in Swedish, ‘bokal’). Despite not having high income at present time, they have big ambitions for their future and for their future residence such as being centric, having nice views and a big balcony. (2) Young families (that have children or not) that want to live in a single house they do not have and probably won’t have high income in the future. They do not appreciate urban life and their ideal is to live in a single house with garden in a quiet are, especially when they have the second children. They are willing to improve the house. (3) Families with local ties represent a group of people that have grown up in a certain area or have relatives or friends close by for sporadic help from them. Another group consists of the second and third generation of immigrants who prefer line-houses, because they can afford a better dwelling than their relatives, and they want to maintain their cultural ties living near the area where they grew up. (4) Double high-income, represented by a couple of urban and professional oriented adults (with or without children) both with high income. They prefer to live in the city center close to culture and amenities, and they want to safe money to be able to change their residence when they have children (e.g. a single house, a better apartment or even fulfill the dream of living in the countryside. (5) After divorce (with children) can be a group of any age, the most important factor is the place. The new residence must be close to the other parent’s dwelling, and also close to the children’s school. (6) Singles, this group is dominated by women who prefer the central city and have focused on their work even if they may not have high-income. Men in this group are not so demanding and they would live in the suburbs close to the city and appreciate to have parking place near the building. (7) Free middle aged, show preference for two or three room apartment in central area, good quality materials, views and shops and pharmacy close to the building. (8) Old people, look for security and care (residences with medical services and common activities for people from 55 years old; or small apartment with some types of services). They appreciate a place where they can have a walk and see activity through the window.

Preference for co-ethnic neighborhoods

Traditionally, it has been considered that economic resources are the main factor for co-ethnic clustering. However, the article ‘the effect of Economic Standing, individual preferences, and co-ethnic resources on immigrant residential clustering’ (Fong and Chan, 2010), which presents a review about previous studies about different positions of the possible reasons for immigrant
residential clustering, concludes that preference for co-ethnic neighborhoods is the only significant preference for both groups, and the relationship between economic resources and co-ethnic clustering is not significant. The authors base their study in three factors: economic resources, co-ethnic preferences, and the use of co-ethnic information sources and they compare quantitative data about Asian Indians and Chinese immigrants settled in Toronto. In addition, co-ethnic sources associated to the information provided by co-ethnic real estate agents show that is significant for Chinese co-ethnic cluster in Toronto. There is also evidence that socio-demographic variables can affect the tendency to cluster of individuals.

**Preference for the compact city or suburbs**

Many authors see a relevant connection between the physical characteristics, resources, infrastructure and opportunities of urban environments and the levels of social and professional accomplishment of immigrant population (Wilson, 1986; 1996; Massey, 1990; Rosebaum, 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993; Ellen and Turner, 1997; Rosebaum et al., 1999; in Malcata, 2010, p. 587). The article: ‘Does urban concentration/Dispersion affect immigrants’ professional opportunities? The case of the Porto Metropolitan Area’ (Malcata, 2010), is relevant to my paper because it studies and compares the settlement patterns of immigrants considering different ethnic groups in Porto region and conclude that the spatial distribution, is often very influenced by the territorial characteristics (dispersion or concentration of the built environment) and it has a significant impact on their social and professional opportunities and achievements (Malcata, 2010, p. 606), especially due to: (1) planning and urbanization, where some area recovery projects have lead to the coexistence of local working-class people and recently arrived immigrants who occupy old apartments (filtering); and people who can afford to live in recently renewed buildings (gentrification); (2) the operation of housing markets, which traditionally encourage the ownership of housing and a rental system where old housing have longstanding rental agreement, and new housing is expensive and have short rental contracts; (3) the operation of labor markets, which concentrates the highly qualified professionals (including immigrants) in the metropolitan center and the first suburban ring; (4) the characteristics of immigrant communities, especially the social network that welcome newcomers and provide them information of the receiving country (Malcata, 2010, p. 606). The CLIP Networks (2007) also researches on residential concentration or segregation of migrant or ethnic minority groups but in European cities with the focus on the access to affordable housing of migrants.

Both studies insist on the importance of updated information to allow policy makers and administrators developing local integration policies. The CLIP Networks, (2007) insists on the need to gather information through surveys, scientific studies and local data about the number of migrants and their national and ethnic background (including the second and third generation), their legal status, the age structure and typical household sizes of migrant population; and also to study the quality of housing (quality of housing or waiting lists for migrants versus local population). Whereas, Malcata (2010) insists on the socio-economic aspects, especially social cohesion, of regional development, putting the focus on studying the land-use opportunities of an area and the particular skills and needs of immigrant population to be able to anticipate to certain settlement or integration requirement, and be able to generate strategic planning policies to attract, distribute and integrate immigrants.

Many argue that the characteristics of the urban environments, infrastructures and resources have a direct impact on the social and professional attainment of immigrants. In Western Europe, and especially in the Mediterranean countries, there is a long tradition of the compact city (concentrated pattern) where the urban structure is defined by buildings-streets and different activities and social classes coexist within the same built environment. Different ethnic or socio-
cultural groups and social classes have always had their place in cities in the past. “The city has never been a homogeneous entity [Amin & Graham, 1997] [...] Diversity is the essential characteristic of the cities of the past, the present and (most probably) of the future” [Eraydin et al., 2010, p. 523]. Many old towns still have street names corresponding to different professions separated in different streets, although it is not comparable with modern European democratic states, it shows that self-classification by profession or class has existed before. More recently it has been traditionally possible to distinguish rich neighborhoods from poor ones. However, there was interaction of activities located in the town centers or even within the same building. Important amenities and shopping streets in the city center and fancy residential areas coexisting with less attractive neighborhoods, but yet are interconnected within the same city. Within the compact city, differentiation exists through the characters of neighborhoods characterized e.g. by building typologies, squares, and aesthetics of the environment, average housing price, and public goods.

Notwithstanding, in the beginning of the 20th century the dispersed model gained importance. According to (Madanipour, 2010) there are three paradigms of urbanism during the 20th century: (1) Anti-urbanism, that started as a response to strong social movements demanding better conditions in the manufacturing cities. Many of them had high density of population limited by old city walls, which generated poor health conditions and short life expectancy. The industrial revolution produced a separation between work and the result of the work, starting a kind of alienation of the individual. The anti-urbanism movement sought ways to reintegrate the person in the countryside and the environment. It started the suburbanization with the Garden Cities in England and during the 20th century, this model was exported from the English-speaking countries to the entire world and enhanced by the new industry of automobile.

(2) Macro-urbanism, advocates for the big cities, seeing density as a positive thing to pursue. In the architectural scale, two architects: Le Corbusier (with his vision of the future city with big blocks in the park, with the latest technology in buildings and the use of standard human scale the modulator from design to construction), and Mies Van der Rohe (with his celebrated slogan of ‘Less is more’ and his open planned houses) produced great influence in the Architecture of the 20th century. In 1930s modernism in the urban scale, represented a movement which, systematically analyzing problems and solutions for the main functions of a city: dwelling, transport, recreation and work as it was written in 1933 in Charters of Athens in 1933. Modernism has been typically characterized by capitalist system, when the periods of good economy made possible to think about planning the city as a whole. Some examples are several immigrant and social housing neighborhoods built in the periphery of Paris or Lyon, France, to locate population from French ex-colonies. In Spain, during the period of 1940s-70s, several social housing neighborhoods addressed to the working-class were built in the outskirts of towns and cities. And in Sweden, the first suburbs were built between 1930-1950 and were planed as the ‘ABC city’ an acronym for “Arbete - Bostad - Centrum” in Swedish (which means ‘Work, Housing, Centre’). They were small-scale suburbs served by Stockholm metro, such as Välingby and Årsta. During the period between 1964-1975 the Million Program was implemented, which produced some suburbs with highly dense blocks, the systematization and separation of functions, such as traffic separation for pedestrians and cars in different levels or separation according different velocities. These aspects generated segregation and lack of social public life in their streets, thus these neighborhoods have been severely criticized during the last decades.

As a response to those kind of problems and a period of recession in economy after the 1970s, Post-Modernism appeared as an opposite movement to Modernism. It represented the celebration of the popular culture instead of technology; the approach to parts of the city instead to the whole city, probably because a scarce economic resources; the celebration of diversity, mixture and difference instead of standardization. This produced a variety of eclectic aesthetical projects within
this movement. However, the separation of traffic levels and categories (for cars and pedestrians) typical from the Modernism was still used during the 1980s, as we can see in Södermalsallén, in Södermalm, Stockholm, that some criticizes as ‘the suburb located in the city center’.

(3) Micro-urbanism, that advocates the return to human scale in cities and subscribes small-town model. It seeks to reimagine the future as it was in the past. It proposes a better management of suburbanization (stop to urban sprawl) and it represents a position in between the two previous paradigms exposed above. “New Urbanism, which is one of the most important movements in planning and urban design of the 20th century has its foundation in creation of neighborhoods that are easily ‘walkable’, finite with a definite character, mixed uses, complex and multipurpose grid streets networks, include housing for different economic levels and is accessible for all as opposed to the WWII planning and urban design. Following things will be studied: Interconnections among physical, social and economic dimensions are of utmost importance and the ways urban design can help and alleviate social dispersion and alienation; Finding links and synergies among sectors such as transportation, land use, economic development, housing, and environment; What will the continued reliance on computers, IT, telecommunications and wireless mobility come to mean in terms of (re) designing the urban environment and the way we live; What could be the future and possibility of informed policy action directed at change as a reflection of the aspiration of all inhabitants; To understand better the diversity of needs and distributional consequences in the places people occupy; and finally to find ways of linking knowledge and collective action” (Haas, 2008). An example in Stockholm is Hammarby Sjöstad, a new eco-friendly area planned with mixture of uses. However, there are some other examples of new developments considered as separate units or neighborhoods for like-minded and similar socio-demographic population, such as Seaside or Celebration, in Florida (United States) where it is difficult to get mixture of people and public space in the traditional sense of the compact city, considering public space as a place easily and freely accessible to everybody.

In Stockholm there is an evident difference between the compact city, which corresponds to Stockholm center, where the buildings have been built in different periods during the history; and the dispersed city, the suburbs which are located in the urban periphery, and which mostly correspond to the anti-urban and macro-urbanism paradigms which were built under the same period with industrialized technologies giving rise to large homogenous areas with poor architectural and aesthetic qualities. Some examples of the macro-urban suburbs are: Rinkeby, Tensta, Husby, Bredäng, Skärholmen and Vårberg. And some post-modern suburbs (built during 1980) are Skärpnäck and Södra Station, an example of the suburb within the city, bringing traffic separation to the center of Södermalm. The following images illustrate the aesthetic differences between these different built environments.
Images from Stockholm city center (‘inomtullarna’)

**VASASTADEN**

Odengatan  
Rönstrandsgatan

**ÖSTERMALM**

Strandvägen  
Lärikstaden  
Tessinparken

**SÖDERMALM**

Mariaberget  
Glötsbacken

**KUNGSHOLMEN**

Kungsholms strand  
Freiham  
Norr Mälerstrand

**GAMLA STAN**

Skeppsbron  
Stortorget  
Svartmangatan

*Figure 7. Images of Vasastaden, Östermalm, Södermalm, Kungsholmen, Gamla Stan. Source: Svensson (2008) and Google images (2013)*
Images of MP (Million Homes Program) suburbs in Stockholm.

Figure 8. Images of Skärholmen, Tensta, Sättra, Rinkeby. Source: “Google images,” (2013)

Images of other suburbs from the 1970-1980's

Figure 9. Images of Skärpnäck and Huvudsta (Solna). Source: “Google images,” (2013)
4. CASE STUDY

This chapter presents the results of the empirical study that aims to learn about the patterns of settlement in Stockholm of a group of 9 newcomers to Stockholm, and which are their residential preferences and the reasons or constraints that underlie their choices, as well as assess whether the theoretical concepts presented by previous literature that are important for the respondents of my study. I present the information following the structure of contents of the ‘literature review’, which are (1) migration and (2) relocation and (3) Choice, lifestyle and residential preferences. I present the material from the interviews using tables that summarize the information provided by the respondents (such as socio-demographic variables) and using quotations from the transcriptions and entering into “a dialogue with the text, going into an imagined conversation with ‘the author’ about the meaning of the text”, as an approach suggested by Kvale in his book Inter Views (Kvale, 1996).

4.1. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The traditional approach has been focused on migration problems, and mainly concerned about ‘guest workers’ and illegal migration, which are strongly related to ‘labor migration’. Other immigrant groups are asylum seekers, and mass-migration often associate to low-income people. Problems related to immigration are unemployment and the creation distressed neighborhoods, often segregated with high density of ethnic and cultural groups.

However, the middle-class immigrants have specific characteristics. They share common features such as broad human capital and (or) good economic resources that provide them better initial conditions to choose their place of residence than most immigrants considered in general terms. Middle-class immigrants are increasing within the EU context, especially since the financial crisis started in 2008. Although the EU provides a unique labor market, once the individuals cross their original EU state borders, they have the status of migrants in the receiving EU state. This type of migration has been occurring from countries hardly affected by the financial crisis (mostly Southern European countries, such Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece) to richer countries (usually Northern European countries such as Germany and Sweden). Nonetheless, there are many of them that migrate to the United States and Asian countries. Many high-educated young population and young professionals migrate when they are between 18-35 years old looking for better working opportunities and financial contexts. Moreover, they usually migrate individually or in small family units (core family, and do not usually ask for family reunification of relatives). Middle-class migrants are from many different countries and can be of different ethnic groups, thus, there is not likely that exist large communities from each group in Sweden, which together with socio-demographic variables and level of income, generates low tendency to cluster in co-ethnic areas or co-cultural groups.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES OF THE STUDY GROUP

This sections aims to clarify under which conditions people decide to search for a new residence. The reasons to migrate might also be different for the middle class than for a broader group of migrants. For instance, many middle-class professionals might move because they are career oriented and they were offered a better job position already from their country of origin (F9, F5, F4); because they applied to access the university and they start working after finishing their studies (F1,
F2, F8); because they met a native and because of personal relationships they decided to stay (F3, F6, F7) or they moved because of political conflicts in their country of origin (F1, F7).

The socio-demographic variables are important factors that have a strong impact on people’s residential needs and choices. Thus, the following table is a short presentation of the interviewees and their socio-demographic variables are such as average age, gender, marital status (all the couples from the study group are married or legally registered as couple [in Swedish, ‘sammaboende’]; country of origin, if they have children and which profession they have that can roughly provide information about income (which I did not ask to them directly). The respondents of my interviews are between 26-58 years old and the average is approximately 34 years old. I have information about 8 men and 9 women (nine households). There are four households (between 25-40 years old) without children, four households (between 25-40 years old) with small children (under 10 years old), and one household (between 45-60) with teenager children (more than 15 years old). Most of them are white-collar workers with university studies; however there are also blue-collar workers, and all the households belong to the middle-class, although with different level of income. During the interviews I did not ask about their political orientation neither their sex-role attitudes, that Gorodzeisky (2010) and Havekes (2011) suggests that might be important in determining attitudes towards diversity. However, the study group consists of high-educated people accordingly with what Havekes (2011) showed has an important impact on tolerance toward diversity.

Table 6. Socio-demographic variables of the respondents (F1,F2, etc.) and their partners (F1:2,F 2:2,etc.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>GENDER</th>
<th>CHILD</th>
<th>PROFESSION</th>
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THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

Citizenship

It has been suggested that inclusion of migrants into labor market and the political system through naturalization process (citizenship) can generate personal implication into the receiving countries. Among my study group, a few have Swedish citizenship according to the ‘jus soli’ principle because they were born in Sweden. In addition, in Sweden, the process of naturalization can be also claimed or granted because of the ‘jus domicilis’ principle, based on permanent residence and work in Sweden. Some of the newcomers of the study group have acquired Swedish citizenship after having lived a long period in Stockholm (F2:1, F2:2, F7:1, F7:2, F6:1), especially those who are a part of a Swedish-born couple (i.e. F3:2, F6:1) and those who came to Sweden because of political problems or war in their country of origin (F1:1, F1:2, F7:2). The other interviewees that do not have the Swedish citizenship is due to a variety of reasons, e.g. because they still do not fulfill the requirements (F1:1, F1:2), because of undecided period of residence in Stockholm (F8:1, F8:2, F9:1, F9:2), because other reasons (F4). Some of the interviewees (i.e. F2:1, F2:2) have double-nationality because due to certain countries are based on the ‘jus sanguini’ principle and their citizens never loose their legal rights.

In my study group, the respondents admitted that to learn about politics and citizenship (as legal rights) takes some time and it is especially interesting for those who plan to stay longer in Sweden. They show different types of intercultural citizenship (cosmopolitan, agonistic and side-by-side attitudes towards diversity) in different periods. During the first years it is exciting to meet people, especially when the immigrant knows nobody so has the need to socialize and many other expatriates are from other countries and cultures. Thus, the attitude is cosmopolitan because people seek the contact and are interested, open and receptive about other cultures and traditions. Then, during the process of integration and adaptation to the host society people need to create closer relationships, not only meet new people, thus the agonistic contexts are very important because they allow closer contact and interaction through common interests or activities. It has been empirically proved by Schippers and Wildemeersh (in van Leeuwen, 2010) that the work place (an agonistic context) allows a kind of side-by-side attitude towards cross-cultural encounters because downplays the importance of cultural, ethnic or religious diversity and allow individuals to focus on the task to do.

Although middle-class newcomers have different cultural traditions, after many years of living in the host society they do not want to be constantly considered as ‘foreigner’ or ‘the other’. As one young immigrant from Brussels put it in an interview: “there are people that defend the right of strangers to be different. I think that we also have a right to indifference. That one leaves us alone! That one stops speaking about us! It is then that we are truly integrated” (van Leeuwen, 2010).

so a certain ‘side-by-side’ attitude, which aims to find a moral minimum to deal with diversity, that can be described as ‘live and let live’ typically from the urban contexts can be desirable. In my study group the subjects are willing to be mixed in the new society, without sacrificing their own cultural tradition (from their home country). However, those who have lived many years in Stockholm, can often recognize and take the best part of each, and create their personal version of belonging to both cultures.

The size of the cultural group can affect the attitude towards diversity. A small co-cultural group facilitates the cosmopolitan attitude because the need for social contact encourages openness to diversity, even if the process is demanding in terms of language and tolerance towards other
cultures and traditions. It enriches the intercultural experiences of the immigrant and the host society because it generates a true exchange of traditions and ideas and ‘micro globalization’ contacts within the urban context. On the other hand, a larger co-cultural group within the same neighborhood or city facilitates co-cultural encounters with people with the same language and often, similar traditions, which is less demanding in terms of language and tolerance. The agonistic contexts, such as work and associations, are very important for meeting new people with common interests and it enriches the social live of the newcomers creating new opportunities for social and professional contacts thus their process of integration in the new country.

Social capital

During the process of integration to the host country, the context is all new and most immigrants have no social capital and they have to build new social relations.

Bonding social capital. One of the possible explanations to co-ethnic presence could be to consider the fact that living nearby family members, close friends or co-ethnic people are seen as something beneficial for the immigrant because of sense of community that can provide sporadic help. Within the study group there are 3 households out of 9 (F3, F7 and F6) that had the partner or relatives already living in Stockholm. For them, it is determinant the areas where their partners were already living or recommended. F7:2 moved to Stockholm 25 years ago, when he was 18 years old, because there was war in his home country and after several years two of his brothers also moved to Stockholm. When F1:1 met F7:2 and moved to Stockholm, they moved to Skärpnäck, where F7:2 and his brothers had been living since they came to Stockholm. F6:1 who has a Swedish-born partner explains that it is not decisive for them ‘where their friends live’ but that it is more convenient if they live in the center. However living near her godson is important to her: “my partner’s brother lives in the center, at 5 minutes from us, and we really like that because they have a child and he is our godson, and this is important to say hi... when we are back from work we can pass by and play a while with him, some hugs, and yes... this is important!” F3:1 has a Swedish-born partner from Gamla Stan and Södermalm and he moved to Stockholm in 1983. F3:1 explains that at some point he proposed to move: “I wanted to buy a line house in Stureby (near Globen) but at the last moment my wife didn’t want to move there. One of the reasons she gave was that: -when our children grow up, it will be more convenient that they live close to where they go out and they would not need to take night busses, taxis... they can walk home” and they did not move and they have been living 21 years in the same apartment in Södermalm.

On the other hand, there are 6 households out of 9 (F1, F2, F4, F5, F8, F9) who knew nobody in Stockholm before moving there. To question: Did you know anybody before coming to Sweden? F5:1 answers: “No, no... we came here for my husband’s job and we are here absolutely alone, so...”. This means that they do not have relatives or close friends in Stockholm. To question: “Is it decisive or important to live near family or friends?” most of the answered that it is not a decisive factor for them, however F9:1 considered that it would be important for him. He says, “If I could choose, I would prefer an area where I have some friends or where I know people. Obviously it is much better than having no one in the area...I think that is important to have someone around in case that I have to go to someone’s’ place or that I need help...I can be there in a moment”.

Bridging social capital. This kind of social capital is crucial for people without previous bonds in Stockholm, such as the majority of the study group who started their social relationships once they arrived to Stockholm. The social capital notion refers to ‘friends’ and ‘friends of friends’. Many of their friends are (probably) also middle-class immigrants that from different countries though, they can also be Swedish natives who they met in Stockholm e.g. in agonistic contexts such as work, courses or associations. The work place and all sorts of courses are important sources for social
contact, and among these, language courses are of especial interest for immigrants because they bring together different socio-economic profiles of people and from many different countries, and all share one objective: to learn the same language to be able to communicate with each other and simultaneously it broadens their social capital. Yet, all kinds of associations provide a place and space to meet people with the same interests as starting point for social contact and new possible friendships. However, the process takes time, and it requires patience to try to understand each other when language and cultural differences can be a barrier.

To the question: “Is it important to you to live near people from your country?” Almost all the respondents say that it is something that is not decisive to choose their residence or district. To the question: “Do you know if other people from your home country live in your area?” F7:1 answers “I know some of them but we are not friends. I only know that they come from my home country. They are older than me, so we don’t hang out so much”. In the same topic, when I asked if F2:1 feel the need or feel that is important to have people from the same nationality in his neighborhood, he answered: “no, it is something that we did not think about. And there is not such a big Spanish community”. I asked if they would prefer it, and F2:1 answered that “No, not particularly. I would not run from it either […] It is not important for us”.

Linking social capital, which is characterized by connections between individuals, established professional and administrative structures, and local communities “which facilitates the enrolment of migrants into the local decision-making” (Foord & Hinsburg, 2004), is more complicated to establish. It is more demanding, especially for immigrants who first have to learn the language, and meet people. However, maybe through work, the university or some associations, that have agreement with administrative structures to collaborate in specific projects, one can find the way to contribute to the host society.

We have seen the importance of the agonistic contexts and the creation of social capital for newcomers as a mean to avoid the co-ethnic segregation, which could lead to ‘parallel societies’ in co-ethnic neighborhoods in the suburbs. In that sense, unemployment limits the possibility of cross-cultural encounters and the possibility to create and maintain social networks (bridging and linking’ social capital’) and limited to the bonding social capital which increases the risk of isolation of newcomers (family and friends, and often co-ethnic people). This limits the gain of reliable information of the receiving country and increases the dependence on information from co-ethnic population that has previous experiences, e.g. information about housing and residential districts.

4.2. RELOCATION (INTRA-UrBAN MIGRATION)

Many approaches aim to understand the structure of population flows within the city, and local authorities are interested in the social composition changes in some parts of the cities. A problem with the local area forecast is the assumption that “occupancy rates will continue to follow the broad patterns of change of the immediate past and that local differentials in these rates will persist relatively unchanged through time ” (Baxter and Williams, 1978; in Clark, 1982).

REASONS FOR RELOCATION: WHY PEOPLE MOVE?

The answers from the interviewed group to question, “Why did you move from your place?, can clarify under which conditions people decide to search for a new residence. There are some factors that influence residential choice, and especially can be the reasons to relocate from one place to another.
The life cycle approach

Life cycle has a great impact on moves. Some people moved after having children, or after changing the workplace, or decided to move to the country of origin, or after finishing their studies, or after marriage, etc. According to (Werner, 2003, p.11) “Life cycle describes the individuals’ life chronologically” and special periods of life or specific circumstances can have a big impact on priorities and household’s need for a new residence. This section presents some significant events regarding the households’ life cycle that generate the need to look for a new residence. I present some examples from the study group:

Move together. F2:1 explains that he shared a student apartment and after some time his girlfriend came to live with them. They shared his room in the shared apartment for several months and then her partner moved together to another apartment. In the same line F6 explains that she came to Sweden as an Erasmus student and met her boyfriend. After two years she moved to Stockholm and her first place to live was his boyfriend’s student apartment, which he shared with his brother.

Need for more space because of children. F7:1 explains that her first apartment was a two-room apartment (in Sweden it means an apartment with one living-room and one bedroom plus bathroom and kitchen) and after her first child, the family decided to move to a three-room apartment (one living-room and 2 bedrooms). F5:1 says that after having her second child they decided to move to a bigger apartment. F2:1 explain that an important reason for the last 2 moves has been his child, “in the new apartment she will be able to play in her room. Now her room is too small”. However, the need for more space is not only because of having children. F6 says, “I like to be at home, reading, cooking, etc. but I need to have space for my own. Not being always together” and they moved to a 102m² apartment.

The housing disequilibrium model

Household F5 wanted a new production apartment because they were not satisfied with the quality of their rental apartment, especially the kitchen and bathrooms. F5:2 prefers to focus on practical features and the good condition of the building than aesthetics. F5:1 says “for my husband the most important thing is the condition of the bathroom and kitchen, because until now, our apartment from the 1950’s is not in top shape...it’s tight and it smells...” so I asked: “so, the important thing is the quality of the apartment? Is that why you chose a new apartment?” and F5:1 answered “yes” to both questions.

The human capital model

Both partners from the household might have conflicting interests or residential preferences. There are people more flexible than others when it comes to residence, and it does not depend about who has higher income, but about other aspects such as, social ties, proximity to amenities or other about taste. As Brummel (1979) explains, households, compare what they have in their current place of residence with what they believe they could have in a new location before doing any decision about relocation. In general, families take decisions about residential relocation consider the greatest benefit for all the members of the family, especially if they have children.

The inertia-stress model

Middle-class immigrants from the study group (especially those who arrived to Stockholm as students: F1, F4 and F8) present a quite high number of moves because of their circumstances and short-term contracts, as a temporary situation. Notwithstanding, according to the cumulative inertia model (Gleave and Cordey-Hayes; in Clark, 1982) “the longer someone has lived in the
original place, the higher the probability of remaining at that location”. An example of this is household F3 that has only has moved twice in 29 years and has lived 22 years in the same apartment. In addition, the areas where middle-class immigrants have lived since they arrived to Stockholm generate attachment to the place, which affects their willingness to stay nearby that area. This is the case of household F2 that has moved a few times because of the apartment but they stayed within Kungsholmen. Household F6 has moved several times but the three last ones have been close to each other: Kungsholmen and the part of Vasastaden closer to Kungsholmen.

“The human capital approach has also been extended to consider migrants who repeat their primary migration by moving again and others who repeat their migration and return to their initial location. This approach considers the concept of location-specific capital in one case (repeat migration) and from the concept of imperfect information in the other (return migration). First, a person may well choose a former location if he/she is moving again because the person has location-specific capital there. The term refers to all of the myriad ties that a person has to a former residential location. Even though some of the ties may be intangible, they are nonetheless real to an individual or household making residential location decisions. Second, the longer the interval of absence, the lower the likelihood of return to the initial location…certainly, as time passes the context of the former location changes and knowledge from the time of migration is less and less exact. Third, some return migration is taken to correct an initial earlier mistaken migration. Accurate information about a destination is less likely to bring disappointment, unexpected problems, and unfulfilled expectations” (Clark, 1982).

| TABLE 7. Number of relocations by interviewed households. Source: the author. |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
|                  | YEARS IN STOCKHOLM | NUM. OF MOVES IN STOCKHOLM | YEARS IN STOCKHOLM | NUM. OF MOVES IN STOCKHOLM |
| F1:1             | 3                 | 5                 | F6:1             | 10                | 3                 |
| F1:2             | 3                 | 5                 | F6:2             | (Home town)       | (Total unknown)   |
| F2:1             | 16                | 5                 | F7:1             | 6                 | 2                 |
| F2:2             | 13                | 5                 | F7:2             | 25                | (Total unknown)   |
| F3:1             | 29                | 2                 | F8:1             | 4                 | 3                 |
| F3:2             | (Home town)       | (Total unknown)   | F8:2             | 4                 | 3                 |
| F4:1             | 9                 | 4                 | -                | -                 | -                 |
| F5:1             | 4                 | 2                 | F9:1             | 6                 | 2                 |
| F5:2             | 4                 | 2                 | F9:2             | 6                 | 2                 |

F1:1 and F1:2 are both from Iran and have been living in Stockholm for three years. They arrived as students in Stockholm three years ago. Since then they lived one month in Gävle, six months in a 36 m² apartment in Solna. They decided to move because it was too expensive, and they contacted the university accommodation department and could have an apartment in Akebyhoff, in Brommaplan but only for the next 5 months because the university only provides this service during the first year of the master programs. Then they had to find a new place and they moved to Hasselby Gård where they lived two years in a comfortable apartment but they could not renew the contract and they moved back to the second place in Solna for several months. After that F1:1 had a job in a village and just after two months of the interview they moved in an rental apartment, with a short-term kind of contract for six months. After that, they got an ‘förstahands hyresrätt’ in the same village.
F2:1 and F2:2 arrived as students to Stockholm 16 and 13 years ago respectively. In the beginning they shared a student apartment in Lappis with another friend. Next, the couple moved to a rental student apartment near the university. After a few years they decided to buy a small apartment in Kungsholmen. They renovated it and converted a two-rooms apartment in a three-rooms apartment and they sold it and bought a bigger apartment in the same area of Kungsholmen. A few years later they did the same kind of renovation converting a two-rooms apartment in a three-rooms apartment and they bought a bigger apartment also in Kungsholmen.

F3:1 came to Stockholm 29 years ago and his partner is Swedish (from Gamla Stan and Södermalm, in Stockholm). They had a small apartment with a ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ near Gullmarsplan. After having their first child they were put in a priority list for families that require more space, and they could choose to move to a bigger ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ apartment in ‘Södra Station’, a postmodern new development in the center of Södermalm. After several years, their building was converted to a cooperative housing so the apartments were switched from ‘förstahandshyresrätter’ to ‘bostadsrätter’. They have currently lived in the same apartment for 22 years.

F4:1 arrived with her partner who was a PHD student in Uppsala, a town located at 60Km from Stockholm. They had got information provided by Uppsala University and lived in Uppsala center for one year, but not in a student apartment because it was impossible for them to get access to them. After that, the contract could not be renewed and they had to look for a place by themselves and they found a ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ apartment in Gottsunda, a suburb in Uppsala, and after one year they moved to a bigger apartment within the same area. F4:1 started to work in Järfälla and she commuted during 6 months from Gottsunda to Järflälla centrum. She experienced the fact to commute every day as “causing fatigue” and after several months the couple moved to Barkaby (a suburb in Järflälla) in another ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ apartment. They did not continue their relationship and after a few years F4:1 had a new job in Stockholm and she decided to buy an apartment (‘bostadsrätt’) in Fredhäll (Kungsholmen).

F5:1 and F5:2 came together from Lyon, France, because of F5:2’s work. They got a big apartment of 96m² in a central area in Södermalm, with a ‘andrahandshyresrätt’ rental apartment for three months. After that period, they renewed it every year since they had a child and F5:2 renewed his work contract, so they decided to stay longer in Stockholm and therefore they bought a bigger apartment in a new production building in Huvusta (Solna) where housing price is lower than in central Stockholm.

F6:1 came to Stockholm ten years ago as an Erasmus student and she met her boyfriend. She came back to Stockholm after one year and she decided to stay. During three months they shared an apartment owned by F6:2 and his brother. Then, they moved together to a rental apartment provided by a couple of foreign friends, also students that left the country. The apartment was in Hornstull, Södermalm. After that period, they decided to buy an apartment ‘inomtullarna’ and they had the economic resources by selling their 50% share of their owned apartments in Barcelona and in Stockholm respectively. Thus, they bought one 60- m² apartment in Fridhemsplan (Kungsholmen). They renovated it (both are architects) and after five years, they moved to a bigger ‘bostadsrätts’ penthouse in Sankt Eriksplan (Vasastan).

F7:1 came from Lebanon 6 years ago. She met her husband in Lebanon although F7:2 came to Stockholm when he was 18 years old because there was war in his home country. After several years two brothers also moved to Stockholm in the same area. Currently, he has lived in Skärpnäck for 25 years and he already had a ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ when they married. After having the first child they moved to a bigger apartment also ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ in the same area. However,
this apartment has only two bedrooms and after having the second child they would like to move
to a three-rooms apartment, also in ‘förstahandshyresrätt’. However, they would prefer to buy an
apartment and move to another area, closer to their children’s school.

F8:1 came to Stockholm because F8:2 was a PHD student in Karolinska Institutet, in Stockholm. They
came together from Monterrey, Mexico, 4 years ago. They lived the first year in a small apartment
in the Karolinska campus, in the northern part of Stockholm, close to the city. After that period, they
lived two years in Hasselby gårds and then they had the possibility to renew the contract but they
moved to Monterrey for three months and when they came back they lived one year in a rental
apartment in Tyresö. After two months after the interview they decided to move back to
Monterrey, Mexico, first to a rental apartment but they are considering buying an apartment or a
house there in a ‘gated community’ for security reasons.

F9 came together to Stockholm 6 years ago because of F9:1 work. They moved to a big furnished
penthouse in a central area of Södermalm. The contract was ‘andrahandshyresrätt’ for two years
and then they renewed it for another year. After that period they had to leave that apartment
during the three months that the tenant company announced it, the company showed other
apartments even bigger in other areas such as ‘Sankt Eriksplan’, but they rather preferred to stay in
Södermalm. During that period there was a vacancy in the same building. They had another
‘andrahandshyresrätt’ for four more years.

Distance home-workplace

When it comes to inter-urban migration, the proximity to work is a factor that is combined with other
reasons for moving. However, the knowledge-based approach that defines the preference for
business climate or people climate has a connection with this section because of individual
preferences for locational decisions depending on the workplace. Some of the interviewees prefer
the business climate and live in an area close to the workplace for practical reasons. In many
cases, it means to live outside the city center, and then go to the city during the weekends; rather
than commute every day for 30 or 40 minutes to go to work. F5:1 explains that they are moving to
Huvudsta, Solna for a number of reasons and mainly because of housing characteristics, though,
they have considered also the fact that her husband will be closer to his workplace. However,
household F9 prefer to live in the city center and F9:1 commutes 30 minutes everyday to a Northern
suburb of Stockholm instead of moving close to his workplace.

Many argue that migration and labor market should be considered together (Clark, 1982). An
example of inter-regional migration is household F1 because the couple moved outside Stockholm
county because F1:1 found a job there. There, they have lived in a house with a three months
contract and then they have moved to an apartment with a long-term contract nearby her
workplace. And household F8 are an example of return migration, and F8:1 explains that her
husband is combining work in Mexico and Sweden while she stays in Sweden with her child. Finally,
they decided that all the family is moving back to Mexico, while he will continue traveling for his
work.

Schools and neighborhood choice

School is an important factor for neighborhood choice. From the study group F2, F3, F5, F7 and F8
have children. Households F2 and F3 choose the neighborhood first and their children are going in
the school that is nearby their residence. However, F5, F7 and F8 registered their children in
international schools, and it affects their choice for district or neighborhood. An important aspect is
the proximity to school also because of practical reasons, as optimize the time of bringing and
picking up the children every day (especially mentioned by women). F8:1 explains that they chose a public kindergarten which is located in Vasastan, in Stockholm center. They chose this instead that other private options because they are more expensive. They did want to find a place closer to their son’s bilingual kindergarten (English and Swedish), and that was their priority at that moment because it took one hour to get to the kindergarten and one hour to come back home. She says, “The contract was finishing and we did not want to renew it. Our idea was to find an apartment in the center that was not at one hour from the city. Once we had the baby, the kindergarten was in the center, at two metro stations from T-Centralen and we wanted to economize our time […] We went to Mexico for a period of three months and we were looking for a centric apartment from there but it was impossible […] because here it is very difficult if it is not with a lot of anticipation”. F7:1 explains that they are comfortable in the area where they live. However she says that to live near the school of their children is the most decisive factor to move to another area: “I registered my children in the International English School and if they are accepted it would be very good to live near the school”. F1 answered that they did not chose. They have moved 5 times in two years, basically due to short-term contracts and they have lived where they had the opportunity. Some of them feel that they are in a temporary situation and chose the place that they can get or afford for a short period.

Proximity to public transport

Accessibility is one of the most important factors that the respondents consider before relocation, especially when before purchasing a property or choosing an area (9/9 respondents mentioned it as very important). The study group mentioned mainly the subway and buss networks, but some respondents also include light train. It is important to mention that only one of the respondents (F3:1) has a car, which he only uses on weekends. F2:1 explains why it is so important for him to be well connected by public transportation: “What we do like is to have good communication, subway and bus nearby as well as shops… to be able to do practical things during the day and not having to think in advance and try to plan when you are doing this or not… to be able do things spontaneously”. F5:1 explains that public transport has been a decisive factor to exclude some areas where to buy their apartment. She explains, “Honestly was the metro line which decided. We had to be connected to metro line, if we should walk or take a bus or change… it was not considered… so connection was important”. F8:1 says that even though they were living at one hour from the city center the connection by metro was very good “Stockholm has a very good public transport system with very good connections…especially by metro. There are more problems by bus…there might be less night connections. In our case, we had only metro connection and we could take the metro at any time […] and there were no problems to come back home at night […] in Stockholm the public transport is ideal, and one does not feel the necessity to have a car. I mean, people can easily bike to work or take the bus or metro, and a car is not a must, as it is in Mexico”.

Gentrification

The residences of the households (within the study group) that have lived in the city center are located in Vasastan (F6), in Kungsholmen (F2 and F4) and in Södermalm (F3, F5 and F9). The last two neighborhoods have experienced a socio-demographic change under the last two decades. In the 1980s they were low-class neighborhoods but at present time they are considered as city core and quite expensive comparable to other neighborhoods traditionally considered as middle and upper class boroughs, such as Vasastan and Östermalm (although there still are differences in price (kr/m²) and also socio-demographic differences). Most of these interviewed households are middle-income households, and they had no previous information about socio-demographic history of each neighborhood, so their judgment is from the current situation and from the
impressions they got when walking around the area. There are more recent developments on the western waterfront of Kungsholmen but they are more expensive. These housing developments imply the change of use of previously empty or industrial land to new residential areas designed to attract the middle-income and high-income households. F3 moved from a ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ rental apartment in a ‘Söderort’ suburb to a bigger new production apartment in Södermalm and they have experienced the socio-demographic changes in Södermalm over the years. Notwithstanding, Blokland and van Eijk (2010) warn of the danger that gentrification may generate ‘consumption landscape of seclusions’ (which means that people live juxtaposed but without interaction between the different groups); instead of generating a real mixture of social classes that result in social cohesion. Similarly, van Leeuwen (2010) explains that there is an attitude called ‘living apart together’ and it represents the use of ‘filtering input’ to keep to minimum superficial contact with the perceived ‘others’ or different. However, Blokland and van Eijk, (2010) recognize that the presence of the middle-class can contribute positively to a neighborhood because: (1) the middle-class may be more interested in improving and maintaining the quality of amenities and safety issues in the neighborhood; (2) the creation of new ties can reduce fragmentation between the middle-class residents and disadvantaged people and provide them access to resources and community structure; (3) through local social and political activities they can introduce ethnic-minority residents to the mainstream cultural values (Blokland and van Eijk, 2010).

Almost all respondents of my interviews can be considered as middle-class, but they are also newcomers to Stockholm. Thus, they represent both positions at the same time. On the one hand, they prefer well-preserved neighborhoods with facilities and a variety of amenities and overall safety; whereas, they need to create ties and ‘bonding capital’ in Stockholm, and at the same time they can be interesting for Swedish natives because they can be a source of information from their home countries that may open new opportunities for local residents.

Filtering

The process of filtering occurs when the previous owners of a dwelling move out because they are dissatisfied with the quality of the residence and they consider they can get more from moving (because they can afford a new residence) than renovate the old one. And the new residents moving in have improved the housing quality respect to their previous home. In that case, an example can be F4:1, a young woman, town planner with middle-income who recently bought an apartment in a residential area in Kungsholmen dominated by modernistic buildings from the 1930’s. It has supposed an improvement for her because she lived in an ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ apartment outside the city center (60 minutes by train from Stockholm) and now she has a ‘bostadsrätt’ in the city center and closer to her new workplace.

THE NATURE OF THE HOUSING MARKET IN STOCKHOLM

Administrative divisions of Stockholm

The respondents of the study group live in the inner city, in Swedish ‘inomtullarna’: F2, F4 live in Kungsholmen, where the average income is 379300Kr/year; F3, F5 and F9 live in Södermalm, where the average income is 340400 Kr/year. F6 lives in Vasastan, where the average income is 402800Kr/year. Household F1 lived in Hasselby Gård, which belongs to the Western suburban area and located at 40 minutes from Stockholm and the average income is 296000 Kr/year. F7 lives in Skärpnäck, a suburb from the 1980s located at 20 minutes from central Stockholm that belongs to the Southern suburban area, where the average income is 218700 kr/year. And F8 lived in Tyresö, a municipality with 43 000 inhabitants and located at 20 minutes from Stockholm that belongs to ‘the
Greater Stockholm’. The area where respondents live provides information about their economic standing, however people may live in certain areas because of type of tenure or other reasons than economic resources, such as familiar types or individual preferences.

**Type of tenure**

This section presents some factors that the interviewees explain as decisive for their choice of type of tenure.

Tenure change can be considered as a factor for moving as the case of household F5, who were not satisfied with the lack of stability inherent to ‘andrahandshyresrätt’ and after having a baby, they decided to buy to a bigger apartment in tenant-owner co-operative tenure (‘bostadsrätt’).

Most of the respondents think that it is not easy to search for a rental apartment in Stockholm. Some factors, such as the complexity to understand the system, the queuing time required to access a ‘förstahandsbyresrätt’ or the instability that and the ‘short-term’ rental contracts generate, influence that households often prefer a ‘bostadsrätt’ than rental apartments, especially ‘andrahandsbyresrätter’. F7:1 says that when she prefer to buy an apartment (or a house if she could afford it) than to continue in a ‘förstahandsbyresrätt’. F8:1 mentions that in general it is not easy in Sweden: “The system takes really long…and greatly influences being a foreigner because obviously they do not know you…and you have to have some backing and all this kind of stuff … and they also have this system that you are put in a list where you have to sign up well in advance, and then they choose who they want in their house”. All the respondents agree on that the system for searching for a municipal rental apartment (förstahandsbyresrätt) is complex and expensive because one has to be registered in several queues. Most immigrants do not have previous information about this system and it can take a few years to hear and learn about it. In addition, the queuing time can takes several years to be able to have ‘förstahandsbyresrätt’, so it is not a possible choice during the first years in Stockholm. Therefore, to search for a rental apartment (in ‘andrahandsbyresrätt’) does not depend on queues and it is faster and more convenient for immigrants, who moved to Stockholm because of their career. However, it also takes time to find this kind of rental apartments in Stockholm city center. This kind of contracts needs to be renewed frequently, so it has a significant impact on the timing of moves. The rental periods can be shorter or longer but generally they must be renegotiated between a periods of several months to four years. This type of rental contracts generate uncertainty and instability, or even a sense of nomadism, as F1:1 mentioned “we had a sofa-bed and a table. It was all we had at that time”. F:S explained that: “we were so lucky to find easily a ‘second hand’...it can be very difficult and very expensive…but it is easier if it is for short-term, and in the beginning we had it for three months... and then we renewed it... for three months...then every two years. We are so lucky that we have been living here for four years in the same place (it is because the owner is an old lady... she is Swedish but she works for an international company in Brussels...we are lucky because I know many people that work with my husband for an international organization and they had to move every year, because they cannot rent more than 2 years […] We like this place but...every two years we are expecting to extend the contract, and now we are hopping that it is for one year more because we bought an apartment and we are moving in one year”. It is not clear the degree of choice that people have depending on their circumstances. In the case of rental apartments, there is not much choice when circumstances and needs for a housing give no time for spending much time looking for many options. As an example, F8:1 agrees on that explaining “during the period I have lived in Stockholm, I have lived where there has been possible and I chose the best possibility out of the limitations there were”.

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In Sweden, the difference of type of tenure can mean also different type of residence, e.g. cooperative ownership (‘bostadsrätt’) refers to an apartment in a multi-family building; whereas a single house refers to ‘direct ownership’. F6:1 talks about these differences between an apartment and a house: “Yes, you pay more but it has to worth it... because in a house... not in a flat but in a house in the outskirts you have to count the heating costs, other taxes, one must look at the aggregate costs of the house... and here no... for the moment does not exist the ‘horizontal ownership’ but only the ‘vertical ownership’. There is the ‘bostadsföreningen’ and this entity is the one that owns the whole building. Here in Sweden when you purchase an apartment, in fact you are buying a percentage of the whole property [...] the monthly fee and this includes electricity, ... a forecast ... each month because there are some things to do... one day something happens to the lift, another day to the windows, the garden, whatever ... and afterwards the interests on a mortgage for a day or a year, that neighbors formed a legal entity which is ‘bostadsföreningen’, and this is the one with the credit bank and you pay for a percentage of m² out of the total m² of the building. This means that my neighbor who has 80 m² pays less than me that I have 102 m²”.

Housing stock in Stockholm

As we have seen in the literature review, the real estate market supplies different types of residence (that it strongly related to the type of tenure of the housing) in each district or municipality and that affects people’s residential choice. For instance, single houses are usually outside of the city center, and many of the respondents would not consider buying or living in a house is because they explain that they would feel isolated during the winter. The housing stock can be affected by future urban plans that promote the development of specific areas, as 9 new nodes proposed in Stockholm Vision 2030, which can influence value of properties and also the closest neighborhoods.

Housing price in Stockholm

During my interviews all respondents considered that buying a property is an investment and they want to purchase a property in areas that they think it will be easy to sell it back when they need to sell. We can see that Stockholm inner city (‘inomtullarna’) correspond to the historic and consolidated center and therefore many respondents think that is a good investment to buy a property in the city center. As shown in the literature review section, the housing price reduction by travel time can be very significant in areas such Järfälla, Solna and Sundbyberg. Thus, many households consider buying in the suburbs because it is more affordable than in the city center and there is also demand outside the city center. F7:1 explains it: “I prefer to buy. It is much better! It is a good business to buy an apartment; it is an investment. The area is really important. To purchase in the center is so expensive, but in the suburbs the prices are lower, and anyway the price is good, and one can earn money if then you sell it”. The belief that a property will maintain or gain in value in the future make people wonder which area is a safer option for their investment. This belief has a strong connection with confidence and intuition about what they believe that is going pay off their investment in the future. F5 is moving because of shift from ‘andrahadshyresrätt’ to ‘bostadsrätt’ type of tenure, they are moving out from Södermalm where the average price for housing is 3516961 kr/ m², to Solna (Huvudsta) where the average price is 2268770 kr/ m², so they can afford to buy a bigger apartment and they think that is worth the travel time. In general respondents are open to consider the suburbs closer to Stockholm such as Solna, Bromma, Årsta-Gullmarsplan, Nacka, Liljeholmen that are located between 15-40 minutes from Stockholm Central Station. However, those who can afford it prefer to buy an apartment in the city center as F2, F3, F4 and F6. And only F7 and F8 show preference to live in a suburb because their preference for living in a single house with garden.
CONSTRAINTS OF RELOCATION

The institutional context

It is important when considering housing preferences because the ‘supply side’ (not only the ‘demand side’) limits the possibility of residential choice within the real estate market. As we have seen previously, the preference of a residential district can influence the type of residence and vice versa, the election of a type of residence and its type of tenure can limit the possible areas to choose from. In Stockholm almost all residential districts have more than one type of tenancy and types of residence. However it can be difficult to get a ‘förstahandshyresrätt’ in central areas, especially expensive and difficult to have access (for rent or ownership) to special buildings such as a few single 100-years-old wooden houses located in Södermalm, Kungsholmen, Långholmen or Djurgården. On the other hand, there are other residential districts where single houses and line houses are the dominant typology e.g. certain areas of Enskede, Bromma; though, in the city center the dominant type of residence are multi-family buildings. Therefore, if people have a strong preference for the city center, then the most probable option is to choose an apartment.

Economic constraints

Although during my interviews I did not ask directly about the respondent’s level of income, the area where they (which has an average income) and their dwelling provide a reference of their economic standing. Housing price is one of the main factors that limit ‘residential choice’ and we have seen that price is very closely linked to the election of an area and the type of residence and tenancy. In the case of purchasing a property people may also have to consider the possibility of getting a mortgage from the bank (that is exclusive to Swedish citizens and people with Swedish identity card, or in Swedish: ‘personnummer’) that fulfills the requirements to apply for a loan. Taxes and the economy of the building association, and taxes or cost of living of the area have been mentioned as another factor to consider before moving, although most of the respondents consider that there are not big differences within the central city ‘inomtullarna’. However, there are substantial differences in price between the city center and other areas, especially in small municipalities outside Stockholm. The cost reduction of housing price depending on every hour of travel time has an important effect on residential choice because the difference of price encourages households, especially families with children to move to a more affordable area, or at least more space for the same price. However, despite the economic difference, some households who can afford it prefer the urban life and they are willing to pay for being part of the urban live. In addition, some immigrants have specific economic behavior that affects their economic standing. According to Fong and Chan (2010), “Many immigrants plan (or hope to be able) to return to their country of origin after some years in Sweden. They live on a day-to-day or year-to-year basis and housing could be of low priority for them” as F8 that returned to Mexico and bought a property there, whereas they rented in Stockholm, so “their total housing investments and spending could, therefore, be much higher than are indicated by statistics” (Fong and Chan, 2010).

The role of information

Even in the case of newcomers have no social network in the beginning and are planning to stay longer in Stockholm are building social connections, thus they will increase their sources of information and ties (even they are intangibles) over time. They gain information about the housing market, especially because it is an important aspect to cover, and with an important impact in
their daily life. For middle-class immigrants, the easiest way to gather information about the new environment is to ask friends, co-workers, and people with previous experience in those places, often from co-ethnic/cultural groups or associations. “It is without a doubt so that people make migration decisions on the basis of many sources of information. But, the social network is probably one of the most important sources in this respect. It could also be hypothesized that the social/cultural network is of greater importance for many new immigrants than for an ordinary Swedish person, as the latter could rely upon a fond of appropriate local experiences, memories, mental maps and a better knowledge of the institutional system” (Andersson, 1998). As we have seen in the inertia-stress model, incorrect information can precipitate return migration to the initial location, because inaccurate information can generate disappointment and unfulfilled expectations.

Real estate companies have announcements on their websites (to show the visiting times) as well as in newspapers that provide an updated list with available apartments and houses every week. Real estate agents provide information about the property e.g. age of the building, size of the dwelling, quality of the materials, renovations, and economic situation of the community. The usual resource for rental apartments is Internet through several websites that manage announcements which put in contact the renter with the owner.

From the study group, we can learn which resources people used during the search process, before moving to Sweden (many interviewees used several websites from real estate firms already from their countries of origin), and also once they were already living in Stockholm and they moved to another dwelling, they used several different ones and the preferred type of dwelling is a rental apartment in ‘andrahandshyresrätt’ contract and as close from Stockholm center as possible (which is often difficult to find). The answer to “How did you find this place?” F5:1 answers, “we did it via internet from France with ‘bostadsdirekt’. It’s a big website, it’s a big organization that helps to find some places…” F8:1 used the same website when the contract in Karolinska campus was about to finish. F8:1 explains how they found their second place, “there is a webpage called ‘bostadsdirekt’ that shows all available rental apartments, and we contacted the owner of the apartment there”. F8 lived two years in Hasselby Gård in an apartment located “at 5 minutes walking from the metro station and then 20 metro stops until T-Centralen” (which is considered as the central station in Stockholm). F1 used four or five different web services but only mention ‘blocket’ and ‘easy room mate’ in the interview. F9:1 explains that when he and his partner came to live to Stockholm, the company offered to arrange the rent contract through the company he works for during the first two years because they had no the Swedish identity card required to open a bank account or to sign any contract. Moreover the company hired a relocation company to search an apartment for them before they moved to Stockholm. F1:1 explains that when they arrived to Stockholm they stayed one month with a cousin in Gästrikland (at 172 Km to the North from Stockholm) and meanwhile they were looking for an apartment. F1:2 says “I think I sent 50-60 emails to different people and nobody answered or they didn’t answer positive”. After that, they moved to an apartment where F1:2 explains “the owner was a friend of my cousin’s wife”. In order to have this service students have to pay a fee that is returned when they leave the apartment or room in good condition. F1 explain that they could not pay by (Visa) card from Iran and they had to ask a cousin to pay this fee from Sweden. From Iran they registered to that service and F1:2’s cousin payed it from Sweden. Moreover they mention that they moved five times in three years and they felt quite as nomads. They only own the basic stuff because it makes every transfer easier. They explain: “we had only one chest of drawers, a table, one bed, one lamp and one carpet. So it is really hard for us to move. Because here in Sweden you just can drive car with your driving license from your country only during the first year since you arrive in Sweden. After that period you should have a Swedish driving license. We just could rent a car for the first time” then they needed help
from friends and relatives, “the first time my cousin helped us from Gävle to Stockholm. The second time F1:2 himself did that. The third time we asked the taxi driver to do that and the fourth time a couple of friends helped us and the next time my cousin is going to come from Göteborg” (and after the interview they moved even once more within the same town). F1 and F2 were international master students when they moved to Sweden and therefore they could have support from KTH University, which has a relocation department, which give access to student rooms or student apartments for the first year. F8:2 was a PHD student at Karolinska institutet and it provided access to an apartment for his family within the campus for the first two years. Those students usually have problems and lack of time to find a new rental apartment, so they all contacted private owners through websites services. Some others such as F2:1 and F6:1 that decided to stay bought an apartment instead to rent another one, because it is much faster and easy.

At the same time, the issues of status and taste can gain importance over time, and people may want to move to a place that fulfills the expectances of their new life. Årø (2010) has an implicit hypothesis that newcomers are very much aware of the character of different neighborhoods and that affects their residential choice. All respondents have learned over the years about price differences among areas as well as they are aware now of certain characteristics of each neighborhood and the average income for every neighborhood is something that is reflected in the character of each neighborhood, shops and cafeterias. Those respondents who could choose and were in the city while they were looking for a residence (some did it from abroad), asked friends and learned about that area walking around to get their own personal impression of the place before moving there, especially before buying a property. People often rely on what they already heard about the area. It shows that people make locational decisions considering their own resources and experiences about the place. I asked about this through the question: “did you hear something about the area before deciding moving there? F5:1 answers “yes, I asked some friends, some persons that are living there, and all were positive... they said friendly, cool, safe...”. F9:1 answers: “I would ask first to people that have lived in Stockholm longer than me. To know about the area, if it is nice, secure or not”. The information about the types of tenancy specific to the Swedish real estate market is something that immigrants from my study group, without previous social contacts in Stockholm, knew nothing about before moving to Stockholm. It takes some time to understand the differences between the types of tenancy in Sweden, especially the indirect ownership (in Swedish, ‘bostadsrätt’) and the municipal rental apartments (‘förstahandshyresrätt’). However, none of the respondents asked real estate agents before visiting and purchasing the property. Moreover, there is statistical data available information online where people can learn about the socio-demographic profile of the population in each district in Stockholm (e.g. socio-demographic features, schools, etc.). None of my interviewees checked that information, in fact they did not know about it; and neither considered learning about new developments planned in the Stockholm Vision 2030, only planners and architects knew about them.

Exclusionist attitudes towards immigrants

When we talk about country of origin or culture of migrants, we categorize people by their origin and not for any other aspect of their identity. Categorization by countries can be very vague and many times people ask for the city of origin instead to have a better idea of the origin of that person. Categorization is useful for statistical reports, however that overshadow all other aspects of the identity or possible political conflicts that exist within each country. As Amartya Sen (Nobel prize in economics in 1998) stated in his book ‘Identity and Violence’ explains that “in addition to the unsustainable dependence on an assumed unique categorization, the thesis of civilizations has also tended to ignore diversity identified within each civilization, and to ignore the many interrelationships between civilizations” (Sen, 2009). He also defends the multiple dimensions of identity and he cautions that the defense of a single identity can lead to dangerous prejudices.
We have to consider the huge difference between the languages people can talk or have as official language and the nationality they have. For instance, in Latino America there are a number of countries, often with historical political problems or prejudices among them, however many of them have Spanish as their official language. As immigrants they are often catalogued as one homogeneous group ‘Latinos’ or ‘Spanish’, including people from Spain (Europe) and that not reflect the reality of structural and cultural differences that exist between those countries. Following the same argument, it can happen such homogenization when we talk about Arabs or Muslims. Sometimes they can have the same religion, but belong to different groups; or maybe they do not practice the religion, which is official in their home country. Even people from the same country can experience some kind of rejection or caution to live or hang out with other fellow citizens. F1 is an example of a case of people from Iran. When I asked, “Would you consider important that there are people from your country?” F1:2 admitted: “Honestly, we prefer not. Iranian people prefer not to live close to each other”. I asked about their reasons and F1:1 explained that: “The problem is that here in Sweden you can find a lot of Iranian people who came 30 years ago. And we find it’s hard to communicate with them” and F1:2 continues “After the war...(it takes time to explain). There are different kinds of immigrants, after revolution, a lot of migrants came here. They were from all cultural groups, workers but also university professors. And after 30 years, we can find university professors...etc. and also criminals” and F1:1 follows “and it is hard to know which group they belong. And, even if they are from a good group, it’s hard to communicate with them... or find something in common”.

In my interviews there are people that could fit in those big groups as ‘Latinos’ or ‘Muslims’, however they do not pay much attention to their cultural group and moreover, they try to avoid being classified as such in a neighborhood as a strategy to avoid clichés or maybe because they do not identify themselves into these groups. Galster (2007; in: Blokland and van Eijk, 2010) makes an statement that draws attention: “ethnicity and race cease to be a public concern when members of an ethnic or racial group are doing well economically”. In that case, the members of the middle-class would not face many exclusionist attitudes than other groups of immigrants. Notwithstanding, according to Andersson (1999), there are other factors to consider and “it should be noted that although residential segregation is, to a large extent, related to the class dimension, the class position of people is related not only to their level of education and qualifications, but to their racial and ethnic origin as well”. Within the housing market, there are discriminatory mechanisms that concern “unfair treatment when competing for an owner occupied house or a co-operative dwelling. Brokers and mortgage institutions are sometimes accused of ethnic discrimination, and although such accusations are very difficult to prove in court. [...] Although in Sweden there is a lack of comparative ethnic studies on the issue of discrimination and strategies to cope with discrimination, it could be hypothesized that households who feel that they would not be well received and accepted in certain neighborhoods refrain from moving into such neighborhoods. In some respects this could be viewed as voluntary segregation, whereas in practice it could be attributed to aspects of popular racism” (Andersson, 1999). In reference to that, F1:2 says, “I don’t know if it’s true or not, but I heard that in the south part of Sweden, in Malmö or Skåne, they do not like immigrants very much, so if I can choose between two villas or apartments, and one is in Skåne and one is somewhere else, my first... my priority of course is the other one. [...] For instance, now that I apply for jobs, and I see ‘kommuner’ in the south close to Denmark, they have some plans for urban planners, I prefer not to...[...] Maybe nothing happens, but if they really don’t like immigrants, I prefer not to go there” and F1:1 adds “If somebody would tell him: ‘come and work here’ he would not be happy...” . There are also different types of legal restrictions for newcomers in general. “Some apply to all newcomers to a housing market, for example immigrants in general and young persons. These groups may find it difficult to rent an attractive apartment from the public housing stock because of the high demand for such
apartments. As a result, people have to be registered with the housing company for years before reaching the top of the list. Other restrictions are limited to a certain immigrant group, for instance, the possibility of taking a bank loan is reportedly restricted for non-Swedish citizens" (SOU, 1995:76, p. 64; in Andersson, 1999).

It stays true in the interviews, and the answer to question, “Was it more difficult for foreigners?” respondents (middle-class households) explain about their experiences and restrictions they had in the housing market. F1:2 says, “I think that the problem is for foreigners, especially, maybe for students because they might think that are young persons that would do have parties or something like that... so they prefer to rent it to somebody else...they feel more comfortable to rent it out to some Swedish people or something... another problem is that we are a pair, so we can not share a room, so we were looking for a whole apartment and it was difficult” and F9:1 explains that it took them almost two years to learn about the queuing system to register in the waiting lists for rental apartments in long term contracts.

The uncertainty of short term contracts affects the lives of immigrants. F1:2 explains: “we were going to rent the apartment for 6 more months because he told us ‘it’s ok’ but then when we were about to write the contract he said: ‘I want the apartment for my girlfriend’ ”. Sometimes the contract is questionable, as F1:1 explains: “I think that he talked to the owner and he said: ‘ok’, you can rent it and she wrote a very simple contract” and she explains: “we had to trust her” and they did not ask for legal documentation.

4.3. LIFESTYLE AND RESIDENTIAL PREFERENCES

Lifestyle variables add information about taste (what people want) and personal preferences to the socio-demographic variables (what is need).

In the case of the real estate market, promoters, real estate companies and also municipalities (to brand the city) have the ability, through advertising campaigns, to guide our imagination to make us visualize people living in a specific building, housing type, borough or municipality, and real estate agents have the ability to sell the properties. Moreover, some projects are developed to attract certain target groups with specific lifestyles and values. Developers highlight aspects such as aesthetics or help to visualize them in an improved social status (restricted to a certain economic standing due to quality of the materials or attractive location). This can generate trends and therefore can affect the general acceptance of what is desirable and what is not, depending on ‘who is living in that neighborhood’ or the kind of class association such as ‘high-income households live in single houses close to the water’, or a ‘family-friend’ area or some development that allows the consumer to express their values, such as an ‘ecological neighborhood’. These advertising campaigns and promotions have a strong effect on the everyday accepted values of where and how is desirable to live. The same mechanism happens with prejudices; it is difficult to combat some associations of ideas, and make something attractive when it is generally perceived some something negative, such as live in front of a highway or to live in certain segregated neighborhoods.

In front of ‘complicated systems’, in which is impossible to manage and process all kind of data; people often decide ‘irrationally’ and base their decisions on some data but mainly following their instinct and feelings because it is more time efficient. In that sense, to research about imbedded decisions that respond to taste, personal preferences, experiences and values important to people it is important to try to predict people’s choices.
Distinction theory: disposition, position and distinction

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) explains that almost all lifestyles are the result of the combination of someone’s resources (finance, level of education, standing of parents and partner) and the way in which they are employed (whether people derive their status from knowledge or from their financial background (Jansen, 2011). This section aims to show the variables that households consider before moving depending on considerations about lifestyle such as: Security, aesthetic variables, preference for urban life or proximity to nature, individual or family orientation, level of education, type of work.

Habitus. In the case of the study group, there is evidence that habitus is a factor of influence that sometimes people were not aware of, before the interviews. In general, the respondents grew up in a similar type of district that the one where they are living at present time. Similarly, they often compare the character or characteristics of Swedish neighborhoods with others in their country. For instance, F9:1 says: “Södermalm reminds me ‘Gràcia’, in Barcelona”, or F8 talks compare security issues between Monterrey (Mexico) and Stockholm.

During the interviews, to the question: “When you grew up, did you live in a house or in an apartment?” F6:1 answered that she grew up in an apartment in a town center and she accepts that her personal tradition may be the cause of her strong personal preference for living in an apartment and her need for city life feeling: “Well, I do not know anything else... I think this is a bit of that too”, she said. F5:1 grew up in an apartment “not too big but convenient […] in the second most important city of the country and it wasn’t central. It was approximately 30 minutes from the center... close to a green area... so for me this fresh air is important, and walk through a forest close to your home, yes; maybe that’s why I miss it… I need it...”. She explained that F5:2 grew up in a “suburb, in a big apartment in a suburb in Lyon, France […] I wasn’t in the center, it wasn’t a luxurious apartment but it was an apartment, anyway”. F5 expressed preference for city center life, “We prefer apartment because all our lives we lived like this... and we feel comfortable like this. F8:1 grew up in a house in a suburb in Monterrey and F8:2 also grew up in a house. They have lived in other countries as Germany and Brazil and three years in two different apartments in Stockholm and one year in an apartment in Tyresö. She says: “after having been living in apartments in Stockholm we would like a house”. However, household F1 is different because they grew up in apartments in a suburb of Teheran, but they accept that their ideal is pretty different. They say that they do not like big cities and their idea is to live in a village close to the nature and be able to go by bicycle to work.

Position reflects taste and distinction by academic recognition, type of work or consumer goods and services. The type of work is an easy way to classify people and it provides a lot of information about average income for each position, taste, interests that people may have in common (anyway, people can have interests that have nothing to do with their work).

The majority of the subjects of my interviews have tertiary education, two of them (F2:1 And F8:2) are postgraduate students and those without academic studies are self-employed (F7:1, F7:2 and F8:1). When I asked about ideal preferences about type of dwelling, in the first instance people think about reachable ideal, and they think about practical things, some option better that they have currently. However, when I insist about ‘their ideal without economic constraints’ they start to dream about options that are more generally accepted as higher status. The answer to question: “How would be your ideal place? Overwhelming answer was ‘a big apartment in a top floor (preferably penthouse) in the city center’. The apartment would have great views and preferably close to water or a park (preferably both). Surprisingly only 3 of 9 respondents (F1:1, F7:1, F8:1), mentioned the willingness to live in a single house with garden. The house would be preferably
beside the coast or a park and close to the city. F5:1 explains that it would be an apartment in Mariatorget or Kungsholmen, in “a building with history, high ceilings, large windows, maybe a fireplace, with parquet, ‘with soul’... to me it would be important...! And then a summer house of less than 100 m² because you have to heat it... and brick, not wooden... because humidity... and a garden and also close to a river or the sea...” F8:1 says that her ideal would be a house in a suburb or municipality close to Stockholm e.g. Tyresö (where the household is living currently) but if they had no economic constraints would be in the waterfront and they would have one car each. For F8:1 orientation is always important, and a balcony and 2 bedrooms, close to school would be a priority and close to a medical center or hospital, and close to a park that she considers a basic point when one has children. Anyway, she considers that in Stockholm there is always a park or nature nearby, so it is common and affordable in all districts. Without car F8:1 would prefer to live in the city center although she considers that ‘proximity to public transport’ is important in both cases. When I asked about a previous statement that she made that might be contradictory about the preference for urban life and the proximity to shops, cinemas, theater or restaurants and the limitation of driving if one drinks alcohol, she answers that “if the transport is effective... in that case...my activities during the week are in the center, and the weekend... well... it would be at night [...] and all other things are in a second plane and I could do it from time to time, it would not be every day”.

The residential district also shows position, because it is associated with an average income of the households living there. I asked, “If you had no economic constraints, in which area would you like to live?” in order to discover about personal preferences and taste (which are not always affordable in the current situation) Some neighborhoods or areas characterized by apartments, as predominant type of dwelling, are repeatedly mentioned such as Fridhemsplan (in Kungsholmen), Mariatorget, Mariaberget and Katarina (in Södermalm), Stureplan (in Norrmalm) or Karlaplan and Strandvägen (in Östermalm). The preferred for houses are: Tyresö (F8) and Nacka or Lidingö (F7). F8:1 considers that Vasastan would be ideal if they lived in the city center. Other central areas would be Kungsholmen, Solna, Södermalm, Gullmarsplan. She would prefer a beautiful area, however it would be in a second plane and the priority would be comfort, “an apartment can be beautiful inside and not so beautiful from the outside [...] and usually it is ‘the more beautiful the more expensive’”.

**Distinction.** According to Bourdieu, people are obsessed about being different and unique. Notwithstanding, it is necessary to have the recognition of a specific group to be reinsured in a specific lifestyle group. Distinction is not only about the ‘function’ but also the ‘design’, which adds beautifulness and certain aesthetics to function. For instance in the following figure, bed A represents a standard bed while the other beds have some extra feature than the standard one, and it shows something about the personality and values of the consumer, regardless of the brand (which can be also important for distinction and to show status).

![Figure 10. Beds. Image B is from Domesino. Source of image A: “Natural Bed Company,” (2013) and source of images B, C, D, E: (“I Am an Engineer to Change the World,” 2013).](image-url)
Bourdieu explains that taste is acquired by education more than influenced by the family. In that case, taste is a quite unique and individual path of choices that are forming a lifestyle. To have recognition from others that can understand the same kind of symbols and behavior is important to be distinguished. The desire to be distinct and express taste through objects explains the difference of price between two objects and why consumers are willing to pay that price.

Although we cannot confuse education with intelligence, which according to Stephen Hawkins is “the ability to adapt to changes in life”, actually much literature show that the level of formal education is often linked with the middle-income and high-income families and it represents a preferred factor of choice for many people. For instance, during the interviews, several considerations came up about the status (social or economic) of the people living in the same neighborhood. In that line F1:1 says “it’s that I prefer to live in a city or place... and people who are living around me it’s not so important because I’m not sure I will have a relation with them...”. However the partner states that, “but for me it’s is something very important for me. That, I live in an area people is the same social status than us, or something like that”. F1:1 says “I think our preference for people who are not that low class”. The answer to my question: “Do you relate that to education?” F1:2 answers: “exactly, that he is educated”. They also comment about different areas in Stockholm and F1:1 says: “I think that in small cities it’s different than in Stockholm. For instance Östermalmsgatan is for very high class and Rinkeby is for very low class. In small villages all the places are more similar...”.

**The creative class approach**

Creativity means, “producing or using original and unusual ideas” and it needs a favorable context where to flourish. According to Florida (2002), cities need three conditions are to attract and retain the creative class to enhance regional economic development, and he calls them 3T: Technology, Talent and Tolerance.

**Technology.** According to Florida (2002) “there have always been artistic and cultural communities like Greenwich Village, college towns like Madison and Boulder, and manufacturing centers like Pittsburgh and Detroit” (Florida, 2002). Maybe we can question why they located there in the first place, but there is evidence that concentration of technologic centers (companies, research, universities) provide the place and the opportunity for knowledge spillovers that may connect different ideas from different origins and that may lead to innovation.

The presence of universities attracts creative people and high-educated professionals. They create new knowledge and technologies, and its effect is self-reinforcing over time. The presence of a university generates regional economic growth, in a similar way that, if a car-manufacturing industry decides to locate in Detroit, it will affect the economy and population of the area, where pool of workers will move there. The presence of a university has been important to the development of university cities. Some examples are the universities of: Uppsala (in Sweden) which started in 1447 and currently active (“Wikipedia (e),” 2013); or Toledo (in Spain), which started in 1520 and was active until 1845 (“Wikipedia (f),” 2013); or Barcelona (in Spain), which started in 1401 and suppressed in 1717, and reopened in 1838 and it currently active (“Wikipedia (d),” 2013), or Oxford (in the United Kingdom) which started in 1096 and it is currently active (“Wikipedia (c),” 2013)

**Talent.** According to Florida (2002) not only the classic hard conditions such as availability of jobs are important, but also the soft conditions such as the openness, tolerance, amenities and lively streets with cafes and amenities can affect the location choices of this group of talented workers considered as ‘creative class’ (which in part overlap with the middle-class). It stays true with the
interviewed group for this thesis. Those households composed by high-educated people within creative professions mention a clear preference for lively streets with cafeterias and cultural centers and the city center and the urban feeling as a need and a way of life. Especially those households composed by Architects (e.g. F6, which is composed by two architects; and F9, which is composed by an architect and an engineer) are the ones that fit the most into this group; followed by F2, composed by a (previously PHD engineer) photograph and a researcher; and F3, composed by a psychologist and an entrepreneur and teacher; and also F4 who is urban planner.

**Tolerance.** A place that embraces diversity and open-mindedness towards newcomers offers ‘low barrier entries’ to different cultures, thus and therefore it attracts the creative class. The majority of the study group fits within the creative class and they show a clear preference for diversity.

Many of them have lived abroad before moving to Stockholm, and most of them can speak several languages, which makes them feel comfortable in different countries because they can understand and communicate with the native population rather than having a barrier in their communication. Languages can facilitate cross-cultural contacts and also the experience of living abroad trains the ability to adapt to new circumstances and different people. All of the respondents consider that their mother tongue is not an issue for their everyday life and they feel comfortable using English (and some of them Swedish as well) for social relationships in Stockholm whereas they can use another language at home. Moreover, some of the respondents are mixed-couples, composed by partners from different countries, and they many of them can understand and speak their partner’s mother tongue, although many talk English, Swedish or French with each other because they met in that language. Mixed couples are more used to have cross-cultural contacts (within the family) and incorporate different languages in their daily lives than others, thus they are tolerant and open-minded toward diversity and they feel comfortable in areas where there are foreigners too. To the question: “So you don’t have any problem with different kinds of people”? F5:1 answered “the opposite. For us the more different the more interesting, lively…and I met our next, future neighbors in the meeting of the new house and I saw different kind of people, different colors, nationalities… families with children, families without children, so… yes”.

In general, the respondents of the interviews feel comfortable in central areas characterized by the middle-class and where there is a mixture of different profiles and origins and where dress codes or behavior norms are flexible rather than being standard or rigid. The answer to the question “Do you like the mixture of people?” F2 says, “It depends on what you mean… if you mean black, yellow or blue, yes. But.... if people ... not when there is no respect .... for example [...] and I do not like conservative people ... I do not like that ... if I want to go down the street with a pair of shorts, that people look at you in a bad way just because one have to always go with a brand and such ... I do not like that. I want to feel or do what I please ... always with respect for others. But if I go out with a tunica that no one bothers you, but if I go with a suit I do not want to think that someone is going to steal me either ... Now, if they come from China, Africa or North Stockholm does not matter to me.”

Although according to Butler and Robson, (2001, p. 2150) argue that the middle class usually refer to ‘the coming together’ through commonly shared social networks of like-minded individuals and which, in reality, is largely exclusive of non-middle-class people, and not a mixing across racial, ethnic and class boundaries; on of the most appreciated characteristics of areas such as Kungsholmen and Södermalm is the mixture of people. F3 says, “in Kungsholmen even if we talk about upper middle class, one can see a variety of styles ... you see people who could be from the SOFO (Södermalm) and people that could be from Östermalm”. Nonetheless, it has been mentioned that in Stockholm center there is no significant mixture of races: F3 says, “the center of Stockholm is an oasis of Swedish-born people”, respondents show themselves as ‘open minded’
about mixture of different kinds of people. To question “Did you checked the social composition before moving there? ... If it is very homogeneous or if there are a lot of immigrants...did you checked that?” F5:1 explains “it was not the first thing we were thinking...it was not... and I know that Solna is a family friendly area, so it doesn’t matter. For us... we are not Swedish. We are used to have different nationalities, different life styles”.

The knowledge-based approach

The following table presents the professions of the respondents classified by the knowledge-based division of industries. We can see that the study group is dominated by Synthetic professions (11 out of 17 people have professions that require engineering-based knowledge; followed by analytic professions: 5 out of 17 people have professions that require science-based knowledge; and symbolic: 2 out of 17 people have professions that require art-based knowledge.

| Table 8. Knowledge based approach applied to the study case. Source: the author. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(Interviewed)</th>
<th>F1:1</th>
<th>F2:1</th>
<th>F3:1</th>
<th>F4:1</th>
<th>F5:1</th>
<th>F6:1</th>
<th>F7:1</th>
<th>F8:1</th>
<th>F9:1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANALYTICAL (SCIENCE BASED)</td>
<td>Teacher (unemployed)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYNTHETIC (ENGINEERING BASED)</td>
<td>Urban Planner</td>
<td>PhD Engineer</td>
<td>Entrepreneur</td>
<td>Urban Planner</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYMBOLIC (ART BASED)</td>
<td>Photographer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Painter</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Couple)</td>
<td>F1:2</td>
<td>F2:2</td>
<td>F3:2</td>
<td>F4:2</td>
<td>F5:2</td>
<td>F6:2</td>
<td>F7:2</td>
<td>F8:2</td>
<td>F9:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANALYTICAL (SCIENCE BASED)</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Psychologist</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Teacher (university)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>PhD doctor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYNTHETIC (ENGINEERING BASED)</td>
<td>Urban Planner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Logistion (EU employee)</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Architect</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SYMBOLIC (ART BASED)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. F7:1 (nail therapist) and F7:2 (taxi driver) are both self-employed with professions that not have requirements for university studies, so they are not included in those three knowledge-based classification.

However, a limitation is that there is not clear-cut division and professions often belong to different overlapping knowledge-based industries. An example of this, are Architects who are considered within the synthetic group (because of the construction and structure of the buildings), are also related to the symbolic knowledge base (because of the design process). And within the same group, we can see professions that are very different as ship and aircraft controllers or safety and quality inspectors, so we could expect to have different residential preferences too, even when they share preference for business climate.

In addition, each couple consists of two partners that might have different knowledge-based professions, and it affects their final locational decisions.

In general, those with synthetic professions (especially Architects) consider aesthetic values of the building and the surroundings and show tendency to for people climate contexts. F4:1 (synthetic) adapted to the circumstances: “definitely, the first place in Uppsala was very nice, because it was quite close to the center. The area was nice, but then, I thought about practical things, so, maybe I didn’t think much about ‘how attractive it was’ but more about ‘function’”, however, when she could choose she bought an apartment in Fredhäll (Kungsholmen) a modernistic residential area built in the 1930s and close to the waterfront. F6:1 (synthetic) and F6:2 (analytical and synthetic)
they appreciate beautifully, good views, top floors of the building, quality materials, and the urban lifestyle. F9:1 (synthetic) and F9:2 (synthetic) appreciate beautifully, lively streets, culture and amenities, and buildings from the 1800-1920s and they would choose to live on the waterfront or close to the coast, not only for the views, but to be able to swim and walk along the coast, and at the same time stay central.

Moreover, the location of each industry can affect locational decisions. For instance, architectural firms as well as psychologists, urban planners, and universities are usually located in the city center; whereas chemist industries or engineer firms are usually located on the outskirts of the city.

Some analytic professionals who are mostly business oriented but have their workplaces in the city center have no conflicts with their synthetic partners that may have more tendencies for people climate. An example of this are F2:1 (synthetic and symbolic) and F2:2 (analytic) that show preference for the city center but they also live close to work. Also, F3:1 (analytical and synthetic) has also artistic interests because he has previous informal education and working experience (teaching in a cinema school in Barcelona) in art-based knowledge industry. Whereas his couple F3:2 (analytical) corresponds to climate business. They live in the center of Södermalm and F3:1 likes to live in a post-modernist building in the city center and his wife worked many years at 5 minutes walking from home and in Södermalm, where she also has family ties. Though, other households have their workplaces in the suburbs. F5:1 (analytical) and F5:2 (synthetic) show tendency to business climate although they also appreciate aesthetic features such as high-ceilings, classic aesthetic buildings, new productions, and good quality materials. Notwithstanding, when they bought their apartment it was in a suburb where price and the quality of the building prevail over the area itself, although they considered that proximity to work and proximity to nature was also important.

Those who insist on practical reasons are: F1 both planers (synthetic) showing preference for function and considering affordable housing price and proximity to work. And F8:1 (symbolic) and her husband F8:2 (analytical) because he decided about the housing type and location, giving priority to size, price and accessibility by public transport (in Stockholm) although they also tried to live in the city center, and in Mexico security is a priority for them.

**Cultural life-mode**

According to Thomas Hjørup and his cultural life-mode approach there are three cultural life-modes depending on people’s the type of work.

*Table 9. Knowledge based approach applied to the study case. Source: the author.*
Self-employed life-mode. Both individuals of F1 and F5 households are wage earners. Households F2, F8 and F9 have one of the couple that is self-employed, and the other is wage earner. F3:1 combines wage earner and self-employed types of job, whereas his partner is wage earner. Household F6, both are wage earner and self-employed in their own architectural firm. F7 have both members of the couple who are self-employed. Both members of couple F7 are self-employed. A characteristic of being entrepreneurs or self-employees is the fuzzy limit between work time and leisure time and also that the income may vary each month. Those who have their own businesses sporadically need to work on the evenings or during the weekend; especially those who combine self-business and wage earner positions need to work extra hours and they often prefer to work from home and they use a separate room for work. Thus, their home has to fulfill two functions: home and office (which in Swedish is called ‘bokal’). That is the case of F3:1, F8:1, F9:2, whereas F2:1, F6:1 and F6:2, F7:1 have a separate work place from home (I include students in this category, because they also manage their time and place in a similar way than a self-employee, but with schedule for lectures as well).

Wage-earner life-mode. Households F1, F5, F4 and also F9:2 are wage earners with regular working 40 hours a week. They have a clear-cut division between work time and leisure time, and they have a salary (same income) every month.

Career life-mode. I include households F1, F5, F8 and F9 in this group because F6:1, both partners of F1 and F5:2, F8:2 and F9:1 (and also their couples F5:1, F8:1, and F9:2) also moved to Stockholm because of their careers, and the place followed to that decision. However, they are also wage earner, and have clear-cut division of work and leisure time, but they are prepared to sacrifice leisure time or to migrate elsewhere for their careers (which may change in the future depending of their life cycle).

Use and meaning of home

Within the study group, I found some people that may consider “Home as a project-constantly being rebuilt or changed”. F2:1 has worked several times on renovations in the current and previous apartments in order to gain a room and finally, be able to increase the value of the apartment and sell it. F6 have also renovated the apartments where they have been living in order to improve the quality standard for their own use; however, they are not interested on continuous required work in the dwelling and that is one of the main reasons to refuse living a single house. F6:1 does not want to spend a lot of time working in the garden in her free time. F3 and F4 are cooperative owners (“bostadsrätt”) have lived in “förstahandshyresrätt” (rental tenancy) before, and they did not mention anything about plans for renovation. The other respondents F1, F5, F7, F8 and F9 live in “andrahandshyresrätt” (rental tenancy) apartments and they are not allowed to renovate or change anything without the contentment of the landlord.

In my interviewed group, none of the respondents fits in the Scheele’s third group, which considers the home as an archive of memories, because they do not have previous history in Stockholm. And it seems that those who have Swedish-native partner (or with ties in the area), do not have ties to their previous apartments, because they have moved several times within the city. The majority of the respondents fit into Scheele’s the second group where home “a base for daily life, a place for recreation and carrying out continuing household routines”. Though, those who arrived as students (F1, F4 and F8), temporary fitted into Scheele’s fourth category which considers home as “a temporary station-when the occupant’s activities mainly take place elsewhere” (Ærø, 2010, p.112). F8:1 explains that they have lived where they had possibility and could not choose much about the features of the places they got during they lived in Stockholm.
District aesthetic typologies depending on lifestyle

Ærø (2006) conducted a survey in Denmark (using quantitative methods such as surveys and regression models) to determine which residential districts people prefer according to their lifestyle. Ærø concludes that in Denmark, an overwhelming showed preference for detached single-family houses with gardens to be the ideal (which according to his article this typology of housing represents almost half of the dwellings in Denmark), which is not the case in Sweden. Ærø’s classification shows four typologies that are common among four specific groups of people. Yet, we can see that the third group is the more disadvantaged and less attractive (high-rise-low density housing typically for divorced and low-income families). I assess those categories with the study group although the housing market in Denmark and Sweden has similarities (i.e. types of rental contracts, cooperative housing, and multifamily blocks from the 70s), some results about residential preferences may be different.

Single house (low-rise-open density residential districts). Single-family detached houses are the highest individualized form of ownership that exists in Denmark and also in Sweden. Ærø (2006) explains that single houses are traditionally linked to upper-class lifestyle, and he estates that the traditional nuclear family is the dominant in this category (although he accepts that this type of family is decreasing in number). The owner is the responsible for the maintenance and can renovate it as long as it does not challenge municipal planning rules. Within the study group, single house is the ideal housing typology for household F8 because she says the family has more privacy and because of the noise, “precisely because of the noise, I would not have a neighbor neither up nor down, because now with our child there is noise all day, and we do not want to limit our activities because of a possible angry neighbor”. And F1 also prefers a big house because they expect to have plenty of room for guests, family and friends in summer time. However, some other respondents refuse to consider living in a single house in any case, i.e. F5:1 says, “you have to love it. Yes. If you love it, it doesn’t matter. I am an awkward gardener. For me our balcony of 10 m² would be enough for a garden”.

Terraced, linked or cluster houses or townhouses, according to Ærø (2006), is the typology preferred by families with children because it provides community facilities and access to a small private garden. Notwithstanding, it is not the preferred typology within any of the interviewees with children, because they consider that this typology does not provide privacy. Actually, almost all but three of the respondents refuse this concept of housing. F5:1 explains: “we were wondering if... but we decided not because we are not so fans of the philosophy: we are together but we are separated. She explained that they prefer totally separated as it is in an apartment”. Only F3:1 explains that they considered to move to a line house in a suburb of Stockholm, many years ago, but finally they did not move there because it is more convenient for them to live in an apartment in the inner city. F9:1 also would consider to buy a terraced house (although it is not his preferred typology) depending on its location and proximity to the city center.

Multifamily block in the suburbs (high-rise-low density housing) consists of large multifamily detached buildings built using industrialized methods under the period 60-70s and are located on the outskirts of Stockholm. It is the least preferred residential typology within the study group. Respondents explained that they would not choose to live in suburbs such as Akalla, Tensta, Rinkeby or Skärholmen (which are part of the Million Program). In the case that they had no other options they would live there trying to make the best of it, but they would not choose to live there in the first place. In addition to the dispersed urban structure or the aesthetics of the blocks, the actual social-demographic composition, ethnic-segregation and security issues seems to be the most important reasons for their comments. All the respondents considered as a negative factor that one or a few ethnic groups are dominant in these areas. However, not all the suburbs have the
same problems and some are quite popular such as Huvudsta (Solna) because it is located close to Stockholm and it is considered safe, quite and family friendly with mixture of immigrants and Swedish-natives. That is why F5 bought an apartment in Huvudsta (Solna) and also in part because of the housing reduction cost by travel time.

**Compact city** (high-rise, high density) consists of multifamily buildings that generally were built at the end of 1800’s or beginning of 1900’s located in the city core. Åker’s concludes that this typology is preferred by high-income households as well as low-income households as well and mostly by the younger people. However, within the study group, there is household F3, a young couple with a child, which chose to live in an apartment in the inner city, because of their urban lifestyle and preference for cultural amenities. In general, it is the most preferred typology for most of the respondents of my interviews because this typology consists of a mixture of buildings from different periods, mixture of different people (class, age and race) and provides variety of activities (housing, shopping, offices) and variety of amenities for leisure time (theater, cinemas, cafeterías, restaurants, museums).

**Residential preferences by socio-demographic groups**

In this section, I present 7 socio-demographic groups according to their residential preferences although Werner (2003) identified 9 different groups. However, within my study group, there are none included in the ‘after divorced’ or ‘old people’ categories.

**Young people**, with preference for the city center, e.g. Architecture students and young professionals, who even though they can not afford what they want in their current situation, they are ambitious in terms of their residential preferences for the future, showing preference for central locations, apartments with balcony and nice views. They also prefer to look for ‘bokal’ to be able to work from home. F2:1 and F9:2 have worked from home, F2:1 when he started his career as a photographer and F9:2 because she started to work on projects online when she moved to Stockholm. (Students, e.g. F1 when they moved to Stockholm, also needed space for work at home).

**Young families that want to live in a single house (with or without children)**. F8, currently lives in a house (divided in apartments) in Tyresö and if they did not move back to Monterrey (Mexico) they would like to buy a single house in Tyresö or in a suburb at about 15 minutes by car (or public transport) from Stockholm. They think that is the best for their child, because he has space to play and can make noise without disturbing the neighbors. In the same line, F7 currently live in an apartment but they need more space for their two children and they would like to move, and if they could afford it they would prefer to live in a single house in Skärpnäck (in the same area where they are living now) or preferably in Farsta Strand or closer to their children’s school.

**Households with local ties**, where at least one member of the couple grew up or have relatives or friends living nearby. An example of this is F3:1 who grew up in Gamla Stan and Södermalm, and has bonds in this neighborhood. And F7:2, because he has lived in Skärpnäck for 25 years and he has two brothers living in the same neighborhood. According to Werner (2003) this category also refers to second and third generation of immigrants who prefer line-houses, because they can afford a better dwelling than their relatives, and they want to maintain their cultural ties living near the area where they grew up. Within my study group there are not second generation immigrants, however, we can find an example of this group in Stockholm in Sickla, where the first wave of Italians arrived in the 1930’s and many of their descendants are living in the surroundings.

**Double high-income** (with or without children), represented by households composed by two carrier-oriented professionals both with high income and a strong preference for the urban
environment. Although during my interviews I did not ask about household’s income, household F6 is the one that fits best in this category. Both members of the household are Architects and planers and have strong preference for the urban life and lively streets and culture amenities. They appreciate quality materials, good views, and they live in a top floor of a building located in a very centric location. And F1, F2, F5 and F9 may also fit in this category.

**Singles.** In Stockholm single women are usually carrier-oriented and prioritize living in the city center because they enjoy their leisure time and appreciate all kind of cultural amenities. Within the study group F4 fits in this category.

**Free middle-aged** group shows preference for two or three bedroom apartment in a central area. They show preference for good quality materials, nice views, shops and a pharmacy close to the building. Within the study group F3 fits in this category because their grown up children are leaving the parental home soon, and they are living in a big apartment in the top floor of a post-modern awarded building in the center of Södermalm (which they like very much) and they think that one of the best things of their dwelling is that they are near everything.

**Preference for co-ethnic neighborhoods**

Many studies highlight the importance of individual preferences to explain immigrant residential patterns that may lead to co-ethnic clustering. In contrast to the conventional understanding of immigrant residential patterns, that assume that immigrants cluster because of low economic resources and once they improve their economic status they move away to another neighborhood; some authors suggest that recent immigrant groups ‘choose’ to settle in co-ethnic clustered neighborhoods even when they have improved their economic standing, related to the idea of progress in live showing their economic improvement changing their residence. However, recent studies show that even immigrants with economic resources still prefer to live in co-ethnic neighborhoods. Fong and Chan (2010) point out some reasons for co-ethnic clustering such as, living near to relatives for social support or to live close to co-ethnic shops to access ethnic products and activities.

This literature contrasts to the results of my interviews, where most of the respondents answered that co-ethnic presence is not a decisive factor for them to choose an area. A possible explanation is that Fong and Chan (2010) analyzed quantitative data of large co-ethnic groups (Indians and Chinese), that include all types of economic standing and personal profiles, and I used qualitative data in a small group of middle-class immigrants of different ethnic origins. Another explanation is that Fong and Chan’s research is carried out in Toronto, Canada, where there are different social dynamics and immigration trends than in Europe.

In general, within the study group, respondents do not pay special attention to living nearby people from the same nationality. Friends can also come from other nationalities and live in other neighborhoods, although good accessibility by public transport to their place is important. In addition, in Stockholm, there are not big immigrant communities from the nationalities of the respondents of the study group to welcome them thus, they are residing in different areas in Stockholm.

**Preference for the compact city or suburbs**

In general, the operation of labor market in Stockholm concentrates the highly qualified professionals within the first suburban ring. The study group has strong preference (and usually have the economic resources) for the compact city and to live in the city center rather than suburbs. Most of the respondents that move to the suburbs is because economic constraints or because the
type of residence or because of proximity to work. Diagram 1 and diagram 2, show which households live in the center or in a suburb. Within the study group, there are 5 households out of 9 that lived in the city center when they arrived to Stockholm. Two of them, F3 and F6, have a Swedish partner with local ties in Stockholm, and currently they are living in the city center. The other three of them, F2, F5, F9, lived in Stockholm center since they arrived, even if both members of the couple came without previous knowledge about the history, character neither the prices (Kr/m²) in Stockholm, they looked for the city center and the urban life feeling, where the compact city is the predominant model, and there is mix of people and amenities. Other respondents such as F1 have lived in a few suburbs and F4 has lived several years in Gottsunda (a suburb of Uppsala) and in Barkaby (a suburb of Järfälla) (both are municipalities located at 40 and 60 minutes from Stockholm respectively) and she has recently moved to Fredhäll, a residential area in Kungsholmen, located in Stockholm center. On the contrary, F5 is moving out from Södermalm (city center) to Huvudsta (Solna) because (among other reasons) they prefer more quality and space for a similar price of housing located in the city center. Notwithstanding, individual preferences and taste also influence locational decisions when choosing the suburb or neighborhood. F5:1 says that “we considered other areas such Hammarby Sjöstad (considered within Södermalm district), but for us it’s a question of taste... but for us it is soulless, maybe too new, and it is also not well connected, it is not easy to get there”. Two other households, F1 and F8, who lived in suburbs moved out from Stockholm: F1 moved out to another region (inter-regional migration) and F8 moved back to Monterrey in Mexico (international migration).

Diagram 1. Households (with previous social capital) who are living in the center when they arrived (A), and current location (B).

Diagram 2. Households (without previous social capital) who are living in the center when they arrived (C), and current location (D).
5. RESULTS

In this section I present the answers to the research questions formulated in the introduction section.

1. How is the process (and challenges) of settlement and integration of (middle-class) immigrants in the country of reception?

To be an ‘immigrant’ means “a person who has come to a different country in order to live there permanently” (Cambridge Dictionaries Online, 2013). Causes for migration are vary, and the reasons of our group study are mainly because of work, studies or because of their partner is native from Stockholm, or because their couple had the possibility to move to Stockholm for work or for studies, therefore the moves can be temporary (with the intention to come back to the country of origin after a project, studies, etc.) or with permanent character (for instance, if one marries a native or establish a family in the host country). The subject maintains all of the individual values and skills and therefore we cannot consider immigration as a homogeneous group, but they face similar challenges during their process of settlement (although there are also different limitations between different institutional contexts).

Literature traditionally focus on the negative issues about immigration, such as residential segregation, challenges to the public school system or issues about social cohesion. The impact of immigration can be positive or negative depending on the type of immigration, the size of the group and the type of the host society. Middle-class immigration provides positive contributions to the host countries, such as new knowledge and ideas, diversity, tolerance toward diversity and also bring diversity to the community and contribute to its economic growth through knowledge–based industries or even entrepreneurship, which often gives the possibility for immigrants to enter the labor market while allowing them to take advantage of their own social capital and the own culture and languages.

The concept of intercultural citizenship (attitude toward diversity) is important because it shows that there are different attitudes (that are required not only from the immigrant but also from the host society) in order to create social capital between both parts (which is crucial especially for immigrants). Middle-class immigrants and cross-cultural contact are necessary in the information era, and it has to be respectful and friendly in order to encourage people to become part of the host society and contribute to it.

Middle-class immigrants need the multicultural attitude and openness toward diversity in order to adapt to different cultural backgrounds of their varied social relationships, which is often mainly international. A cosmopolitan attitude welcomes difference and allow micro-globalization contacts in the micro scale that provides contacts or information from distant places through newcomers within the urban environment. This attitude is needed in order to create an initial social capital. Through agonistic environments such as the workplace, associations and courses people can have cross-cultural contact with other immigrants (e.g. language courses) and native Swedish people and it represents a good way to create ‘bridging social capital’ and ‘linking social capital’ and acquire a sense of belonging to the community and be able contribute to the host society. The ‘side-by-side’ citizenship means that natives do not show especial interest about the fact that immigrants come from another country or about their cultural differences.

Notwithstanding, this attitude is desirable when the contact with natives and immigrants is respectful and natives recognize immigrant’s basic needs, and the contact between them is natural and concentrates in the activities or work to do instead of e.g. nationality, culture or race. Apart from these desirable attitudes, immigrants might face less respectful attitudes regarding their...
ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, level of education, or level of income. According to the literature, the main cause for exclusionary attitudes is the economic standing (unemployed or low-income households) and the level of income is often linked to the level of education. In that line, middle-class immigrants face less exclusionary attitudes than lower-income immigrants. However, according to the ‘threat competition model’ (Gorodzeisky, 2010) they might face exclusionary attitudes related to the economic standing of their country of origin and associated prejudices about their level of education or skills. If the origin and destination countries are relatively rich countries, it is assumable that members of the majority of the population can have similar skills and therefore is able to compete for the same high-skilled and desirable professions. In contrast, if the origin country is poorer than the destination country, it is less likely that the majority of the population of the former has the skills to compete for high-skilled types of occupations in the host country, and it is more probable that they will have low-paying jobs that the natives do not want to do; in that case they do not represent competition for high-skilled and well paid jobs (King 1997; Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, 2004; Stalker, 1994; in Gorodzeisky, 2010).

2. Can aggregated individual residential preferences (of the middle-class immigrants in Stockholm) lead to co-ethnic concentration or segregation?

The study group consists of middle-class immigrants to Stockholm, however it is small and they are not representative for conclusions at the urban level about whether they can generate significant changes on the socio-demographic characteristics of neighborhoods in the short term, neither are they representative to analyze spatial or ethnic segregation. Most of the members of the study group are newcomers without previous social capital in Stockholm are highly-educated and can speak several languages, and both members of the of the couple (or at least one) works in Stockholm which provides the household of enough economic resources to afford to live in the city center, or suburbs close to Stockholm which are not immigrant-dense nor segregated areas where there is mixture of people but predominantly Swedish natives. In Tyresö there are mainly Swedes and in Skärpnäck and Huvudsta (Solna) there are more immigrants than in the city center, although there is not a dominant immigrant group.

Previous literature shows that immigrants face discriminatory attitudes by the natives because of their country of origin, economic class, religion or ethnicity. Prejudices and intolerance to diversity can cause spatial separation of people. Even “unfriendly countenance” and other ‘filtering device’ can prevent the perceived ‘others’ to initiate contact, from a social perspective, newcomer does not feel appreciated in that area, so they leave to live in a friendlier place. It is important to highlight that social composition changes over time and it has been studied that in Sweden there is a turning point around 20% of immigrants in relation to the number of natives living in one neighborhood (or a higher percentage of immigrants in one area than the average immigrants in the city), from which it starts the selective migration process. The ones who previously lived in that district move out and this situation attracts more immigrant population. Selective migration can also refer to different socio-economic classes (often linked with difference on preference about Local Public Goods (LPG) such as parks and public schools.

The study group shows preference for diversity in their neighborhoods, although not dominated by any immigrant group and with higher present of native people. They show preference for districts with social diversity, currently dominated by the middle-class, such as Kungsholmen and Södermalm (which experienced gentrification during the last two decades), where people are open minded and there is diversity and lively streets where middle-class immigrants feel comfortable around art galleries, small handcraft shops, public squares and cafeterias.
They do not present preference for segregated suburbs (which in Stockholm usually have over 40% of multi-ethnic immigrant population where usually there is a dominant ethnic group) because living in segregated neighborhoods decreases the number of cross-cultural encounters with natives and it can limit the opportunities to have information from other sources that are not from co-ethnic or immigrant population, and it has an impact on the social and professional opportunities in the receiving context, Stockholm. The lack of urban structures consisted of a net of building-street-building has been of concern for some of the respondents (F2, F6 and F9), which consider that they would feel isolated or not comfortable living in the suburbs, especially during the winter, when the days (daylight) are very short in Stockholm and distances seem longer when it has snowed. The interviewees do not show preference either for high-income boroughs, because of standardized dressing codes or behavior norms; neither for typically Swedish residential areas, because they are usually single housing areas outside the city center and many of the respondents consider that there is lack of amenities as well as poor aesthetic quality of the buildings and the surroundings.

However, locational decisions do not only depend on individual preferences, but also on National policies, the nature of the housing market and constrains, such as the economic standing of the households, which limit what they can afford within the stratified real estate market, or biased or lack of information. The supply of housing of each type of tenure in each are is changing over the years and it can limit the availability of residential choice.

3. Which are the study group’s (middle-class immigrants in Stockholm) main residential factors of decision for residential location and residential preferences?

All the respondents agreed on which factors are the most important to consider in order to choose a new residence. In the article ‘recent research on migration and mobility: a review and interpretation’, the demographers Speare, Goldstein, and Frey (1975), in Clark (1982, p. 214) have suggested that space per se is not especially important to explain the spatial mobility rates but housing stock and population composition are.

Middle-class respondents from the study group consider that:

**THE HARD FACTORS are the factors** for locational decision related to ‘what is needed’, life-style and price or income:

(1) **The area**, e.g. preference for living in Stockholm inner city or in a suburb. They consider practical issues for daily life and also the best gain for their budget considering price/ m², cost reduction by travel time (and the respondents who consider living outside Stockholm only show preference for suburbs or municipalities located at 15-40 minutes of travel time from the city center). And F5:1 explains it, “because in Sweden I don’t want to be isolated in winter… I need energy, just take a walk, have a drink, to meet friends, to me that is the most important. Maybe my husband is more motivated for city life, easy connection to theater, to everything... Not to need to take the car to go to the cinema. Just walk [...] well, I would like to stay central, in Södermalm or Kungsholmen, but also in a bigger apartment... it was a money question also. We could find a compromise, so we bought a quite big apartment, more than 100 m² and we are still connected to the city, not central but connected... if we could stay also central, it would be doubtless”. She explains that the new apartment is in Huvudsta (Solna) “which is closer to the city, you could walk to Kungsholmen by the bridge...and it is easy to get there because maybe 20 minutes with the subway”. The study group shows preference for the compact city: F6:1 explains: “I prefer a flat because I like the city life [...] and I appreciate to have friends also living in the center because when you are invited to dinner, when you come back you don’t need to take a taxi and pay a lot of money because someone live really far...but we have never been lazy about that” and she adds why they are living in the
city center, “because we found this apartment ... We could go to another part of the city. So ... the areas did not matter as long as it was in the center...” and preference for lively streets: F9 got 3 options provided by a relocation company and the couple could visit all three apartments when they were invited to Stockholm one month earlier than they moved to live in Stockholm. All three apartments were located in central Stockholm: Ropsten, Kungsholmen and Södermalm and F9:1 explains, “at that point we chose Södermalm because of its ‘center feeling’ with restaurants, cafes and pubs and its lively atmosphere in the streets”. To the question: “is it important for you to live in the city center or do you prefer to live in a suburb?” F8:1 answers “it depends on which city. At least in our hometown Monterrey in Mexico, the city center is not the best part of the city, although it is a point of reference for the public transportation. In the case of Monterrey, the best option is to live in a suburb close to the center but not in the city center, and not far from the center either [...] a residential district is safer, and well connected by public transport but the ideal is to be able to go by car because the city is big, and the public transport is not so good as in Stockholm”.

(2) The location of the building, e.g. proximity to public transportation, preferably metro line but also buses, train, light-train, considering good connectivity to work, children’s school or the city center. F3:1 explains: “I would not mind to live in another neighborhood such as in Östermalm... I love some areas in Östermalm. I would like to live in nice areas of Kungsholmen or Södermalm, but now since April, it has been 21 years living in this building (well we lived in Barcelona) and one gets used to comfort, and get used to the practical options that gives live close to everything, in Södermalm. It is convenient because it is located near the transport, and apart from that, one can go by foot everywhere and I like that there are a lot of green areas nearby”.

3) The type of tenure. The respondents choose their residence considering the period of time they plan to stay in Stockholm. It can imply that they choose private rental tenancy (‘andrahandshyresrätt’) if they plan to move back to their countries of origin in less than 4 years period. The respondents show preference to switch to ownership (if they have the resources) or social rental apartments (‘förstahandshyresrätt’) -if they have the possibility- for longer periods. Meanwhile, respondents adapt to their residential possibilities depending on the circumstances with short-term rental apartments. F1 were living in Hasselby Gård as a temporary situation even if they would prefer to live closer to city center. F1:1 explains, “it was a nice apartment. It had a kitchen, a room and a living room. It was so comfortable, but the problem was that it was far from the city [...] it was 50 minutes from the university and 35 minutes from the city center. And we had to walk to metro station for about 10 minutes [...] it was good for that time because we had no many courses, we were almost done of our studies”. F9:1 explains that when they arrived they chose because “the apartment was the cheapest and the only one that was furnished [...] when we came we could not choose among many options...we chose among the options we had for a two-year period”.

(4) The quality of the building e.g. people decide whether they want to live in an apartment or in a single detached house (none of the respondents show preference for line houses), year of construction, elevator, or inner garden (specially because of space for children to play).

(4) And quality of the dwelling, people choose size, number of rooms, a well-planned layout (or with possibility for renovation), floor (to live in the top floor of the building is considered more attractive than in the bottom floor), elevator (is considered a basic feature in multifamily buildings), high-quality materials and new bathrooms and kitchen. F5:1 explains how they choose the new apartment which will be their new place, and have some of their ideal qualities: “We have actually bought an apartment, but now it is under construction. We decided that we should love this apartment to be convinced to move [...] the apartment will be in good condition”.

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The SOFT-FACTORS for locational decisions related to taste and lifestyle. In general, these are considered as extra features, so people are prepared to pay more for them:

(5) The location of the building good views over a green area (park/the woods) or to have views over water (sea/lake) is preferred by all the respondents (especially those who have children or are planning to have children) are desirable but not necessary assets. F1:1 explain “if we have kids, then it will be more important; now it’s only the two of us, and it’s not so important”. F2:1, F4, F5 and F9:1 mentioned that they would be satisfied living near a park or near the coast, and not necessary both at the same time, neither on the waterfront (which is considered luxurious and desirable as an ideal) neither in front of a park.

(6) Aesthetics of the building such as high ceilings, a certain aesthetic style of the building [e.g. traditional wooden houses, with preference for new production or old style buildings from 1890’s-1920’s or from the 1930’s], a penthouse, courtyard with trees, exclusive materials or a traditional chimney. A balcony is appreciated as an extra feature (3 out of 9 mention it as something they prefer as desirable but not necessary). As F6:1 says: “with a terrace... to have a way out is really important!”.

(7) Security is an important issue that all households consider very important before to migrate to a country and also when considering neighborhood change. To question “Is the safety of the place important? ... I mean that, if you feel that something is changing in your area, then would you change neighborhood?” and F1:1 answers short with a “yes” and F1:2 adds that he is concerned about the reputation of an area and he would avoid to choose Rinkeby, because he says “for bad reputation about safety and things like that”. F8:1 explains that when they move back to Monterrey, their home town in Mexico, they are buying a house with a little garden in a ‘gate community’. In her opinion this is the ideal nowadays because this kind of condominium in a residential district close to the center includes security and all facilities such as swimming pool, garden, lounge, gym, kinder garden to mention some. People usually spend time in the houses or visit friends or relatives’ houses in the same kind of properties because the city center and public places are considered quite dangerous especially since 4 years ago. She says that there is a big difference between both countries and Sweden is much safer.

(8) Eco-friendly area and air quality. F5:1 and F9:1 are the only respondents that mentioned the quality of the air as a factor of decision for residential choice). They are aware of the levels of ‘particles’ and pollution in some areas of the city. F5:1 explains. “The apartment will be located in a green area, a forest is not far, and also a marina, and good air quality. And also safe, I don’t want to be paranoid but...with a child I need more safety, less pollution”. Both households show interest on living in eco-friendly buildings or neighborhoods. F5 explains that they bought an apartment in “a passive house, ecological and self heating. It is also modern, for me it is so important”.

AVOIDANCE of certain characteristics that people do not like and they heavily affect their residential choices. To question: “Which area would you not consider?” a security is one of the issues that arise. For instance, F5:1 referring to the metro line, explains that “I don’t want to be paranoid, but I don’t want to go to Kista. I don’t want to go to all extremity ... maybe Lidingö, even if it is the most... I don’t’ want to be there” (as we have seen in the Stockholm context section Lidingö is a wealthy area). In general respondents mention the Million Program Areas such as Rinkeby or Akalla as the last option to consider and refer to that possibility as, ‘if I had no other option’ because of stigmatization of those areas and the idea that there is more trouble there. Some examples are: F6:1 explains that she would never purchase an apartment on the ground floor, because she finds it a little bit claustrophobic. F2:1 and F6:1 do not consider to live in a house or outside the city center (‘inomtullarna’) because it represent more work than living in an
apartment, and in general single houses are located outside the city center and they would feel isolated especially during winter time. F4:1 explains that “well, I would not consider to live in a house. I would prefer to have an apartment in the center and a second home (in Swedish, ‘fritidshus’) in than to live in a house...That’s how I see it now...” F6:1 accepts that is a question of time and work and she does not want to invest neither time or money in a garden and she does not want to live out of the city center. She says: “the house is really great, and pool and the views! But no thanks! [...] I prefer to live in the city center... but if somebody force me and tell me: you must live in a house ... in that case I should have much money to be able to pay the gardener ... and everything... because you know I like to have things well disposed... and I do not want to work as a gardener ... as an architect is enough. I might consider that ... but I tell you, I should gain very much money and have a lot of service staff ... I mean ... but with a large apartment in the center with overlooking the water ... fantastic!” To the same question, F2:1 comments that: “No. We have not considered that option here in Sweden. I could think about it in Catalonia (probably not my partner...). To have a garden takes a lot of work and in Stockholm one can only enjoy the outdoor life from April to September. To summarize, it means, “More work for less reward... “. F6:1 also expresses that would not live in a dirty or ugly area. F2:1 and F3:1 do not like areas where attitudes and dress-codes of people are strict and homogeneous. F9 do not like the block typology and they do not consider moving to a tower neither a high-dense isolated block building typology (in Swedish ‘punkthus’ or ‘banan’) in any district; nor in the suburbs such as Akalla and Rinkeby, nor in other municipalities such Solna and neither in more central locations such in Kungsholmen and in Tanto (Södermalm). F5:1 do not consider to live in areas located at the end of metro lines. And F1 do not consider living nearby a ‘System Bolaget’ (which is a monopoly for alcohol distribution in shops in the whole Sweden) because there are often alcoholics in the street, and it makes them feel not comfortable. In general, all refuse to live in areas without public transport. However, F2, F5 neither F9 did mention anything about a few detoxification centers located in Södermalm (among other areas too), maybe because it is not very visible in the street life. The same happens with drug dealers that are not visible during daytime and they move to different areas depending on demand and the characteristics of the place (e.g. well connected by public transport, with different levels to make it easy to hide and escape from the police). Again, it is something that immigrants are not aware of when they arrive to the host city. The history or character of every district is learned afterwards. Moreover I think that people compare with their previous experiences in the country of origin and they may have a different opinion than natives about the level of security they have or the level of alarm caused by the same situation.

• OTHER CONSIDERATIONS about residential preferences of the study group:

Noise. F6:1 mentioned that living in a street with dense traffic is not a problem for them. None of the respondents living in Södermalm neither Kungsholmen mentioned the noise caused by the air traffic from airplanes that land in Bromma airport.

City planning. Respondents showed little awareness about Stockholm Vision 2030, and in general about city planning for the future. Only architects and town planners mentioned these issues.

Summerhouse (in Swedish, ‘fritidshus’), many express their ideal preference (considering no economic constraints) for having a summer cottage in the coast outside Stockholm.

In general, the respondents tend to imagine their ideal quite close to what they have or have had. They imagine a certain degree of improvement in respect of what they have or had in their home countries, and they tend to that as long as their possibility of choice is bigger than the limitations, considering the period they plan to stay in Stockholm. They make the best of their current possibilities and when they can choose they do it towards their ideal. But rarely a radical change,
and if they imagine an ideal alternative but ‘a priori’ it is unreachable in a life time, they make it very clear that they are talking about a utopia and in a non-realistic way.

4. Is there any difference in locational decisions and residential preferences considering different life styles and personal tradition?

The traditional hard conditions are important for relocation. Life cycle or random changes in the household translates into new housing requirements (more space, more number of rooms, close to school). The number of persons in the family determines the need for size, and household income determines what is affordable and limits the residential choice. There are also other factors such as the changes in the quality of the housing, and the tendency of households to move more or less often. Also, the nature of the housing market has an impact on the supply of housing and price in each area, that together with constraints (the level of income, the information about the real estate market, and the different types of tenancy) lead households to have more or less opportunities for residential choice.

Economic constraints limit the residential choice because of price that depends on features such as: size (m²), residential district (kr/ m²), the quality and age of the building. Yet, even for the same money people may choose different type of housing depending of their true beliefs and aspirations that define their lifestyle. There are many aspects that define what is style, but according to Rachel Zoe, “Style is a way to say who you are without having to speak”. People show their style and their choices through action, and it is defined for what people do, what people likes, which products people buy, what people wear, which services people use, and in definitive, how people live. And where people live (the area, the type of residence, and also the style and quality of the dwelling) show much information about the economic standing and about aesthetic preferences of the household.

There are also many different ways to group people in an attempt to determine their preferences: by social class, profession, level of education, personal tradition, life cycle (e.g. families with small children), or by ethnicity or by country of origin. However, these groups include people with different demographic aspects such as age, gender, nationality which may affect their decisions; and moreover people with different professions, class, age, gender or nationality can have common interests, which all together makes very complex to group people and predict their choices and especially residential preferences, which depend also of a complex system that include the real estate market, the institutional context, the financial institutions that lend the money, etc.

Preferences and taste also varies depending on personal tradition, because people tend to compare their current situations with what they had or lived when they were growing up. These experiences give people the familiar or unfamiliar, wanted or unwanted feeling when choosing a similar residential type, or residential district. They already lived the pros and cons of similar environments and they associate them with some values or social status.

The interviewed group did not present preference for co-ethnic presence and it is not representative for any conclusion about ethnicity. However, literature shows that the economic standing combined with the level of education and which type of profession are the most relevant features, and the majority of the respondents show an almost unconscious preference for middle-class neighborhoods and in the compact city districts.
6. CONCLUSIONS

Literature traditionally refers to migration focusing on guest worker immigrants, low-class immigrants and problems generated by illegal immigration. The global migration affects every aspect of the receiving societies, adding variety of values and beliefs, as well as challenges to the socio-demographic composition of neighborhoods and reopens unresolved issues such as citizenship or the public school system. But it challenges immigrants in all aspects of their lives as well. The context is completely new and the process of adaptation is demanding of time, language, tolerance and economic resources.

However, middle-class immigrants present some important differences from other immigrant groups. Middle-class international migration is increasing together with the tendency to urbanization. The urban context provides a certain degree of anonymity and indifference towards a great diversity of cultural, ethnic and religious realities that co-exist every day that attracts high skilled workers, and which allows multiple everyday cross-cultural contacts within the urban environments. Language skills are compulsory for professional attainment and to be able to communicate and start social relationships in the host multi-cultural urban environment. Middle-class is not a homogeneous group and it has different aspects that can vary in different countries, for instance, gender role in Asian or Western countries. Middle-class is also diverse in races, professions, levels of education, genders and ages, they come from different home countries and have many different mother tongues and therefore do not represent a numerous homogeneous co-ethnic or cultural group (as it may happen when considering mass immigration). In addition, many middle-class migrants have no previous social capital in Stockholm, so they do not have personal ties to any neighborhood, and therefore, they might present high rates of mobility, especially during the first years, while they learn about the new urban environment and acquire social capital and ties in the host society. They usually rely on co-workers or other immigrants to acquire information about the institutional context and the real estate market in Stockholm, especially during the first months in Stockholm. They represent a group with good level of income, and many of them are high educated, and relatively young when they migrated and these are socio-demographic variables that are related to tolerant attitudes toward diversity, which contrast with attitudes of co-ethnic preference.

In essence, residential choices are a combination of ‘hard’ conditions that respond to ‘what is needed’ according to rational aspects of choice such as cost of living and life-cycle; and ‘soft’ conditions, which correspond to lifestyle variables and to ‘what people want’ according to their taste and irrational aspects, similarly to other products. In general, residential preferences or choices are limited by constraints and must adapt to the contextual framework. Newcomers compare areas from Stockholm with neighborhoods from their home countries or other references they have, in order to contextualize and understand the character or status of the neighborhoods in Stockholm. Most of the study group respondents show residential preferences for middle-class neighborhoods and for living in an apartment in the inner city. However, a few prefer to live in a house in the closest suburbs to Stockholm. Nevertheless, residence is an especial good because it is a basic need for people, and it has a significant impact in their everyday life. Some argue that can also affect people’s health in positive or negative way depending on the residence characteristics. Also, the cost is higher than many other consumer products; thus, residential choice is especially representative of people’s preferences and meaningful needs, because people are thoughtful before moving or purchasing a property. People tend to their ideal and choose among different possibilities from which they have previous information, desire and they can relate to a value that is important to them. People want to reflect their progress in all the aspects of their life, and residence has a big part of this representative meaning.


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