

ANASTASIA SINITSYNA

Links between segregation processes  
on the labour and housing markets:  
evidence from Finland



DISSERTATIONES RERUM OECONOMICARUM  
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School of Economics and Business Administration, University of Tartu, Estonia

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## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This PhD dissertation relies on three (3) original studies (either already published or accepted for publication), each of which is referred to throughout the thesis with its respective Roman numeral.

- I. Tammaru, T., **Sinitsyna, A.**, Akhavizadegan, A., van Ham, M., Marcińczak, S., & Musterd, S. (2021). *Income Inequality and Residential Segregation in European Cities. In Urban Inequality and Segregation in Europe and China: Towards a New Dialogue* (pp. 39–54). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- II. **Sinitsyna, A.**, Torpan, K., Eamets, R., & Tammaru, T. (2021). Overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation: Role of immigration policy, culture and country of origin. *Social Inclusion*, 9(2), 179–191.
- III. Torpan, K., **Sinitsyna, A.**, Kährik, A., Kauppinen, T. M., & Tammaru, T. (2022). Overlap of migrants' housing and neighbourhood mobility. *Housing Studies*, 37(8), 1396–1421.

## AUTHOR'S CONTRIBUTION

- I. Anastasia Sinitsyna, the second author, contributed both to the writing-up of the findings as well as to the revision process.
- II. Anastasia Sinitsyna is the primary author, responsible for manuscript writing and conducting the empirical work, which included the selection of methods, construction of the dataset, and further empirical analysis. Furthermore, Anastasia Sinitsyna was solely responsible for the submission and revision process.
- III. Anastasia Sinitsyna is also the secondary author to be responsible for the empirical analysis and the revision process for the empirical work in the study, as well as commenting on the manuscript and the interpretation of results.

The author is solely responsible for any omissions in this thesis.

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## INTRODUCTION

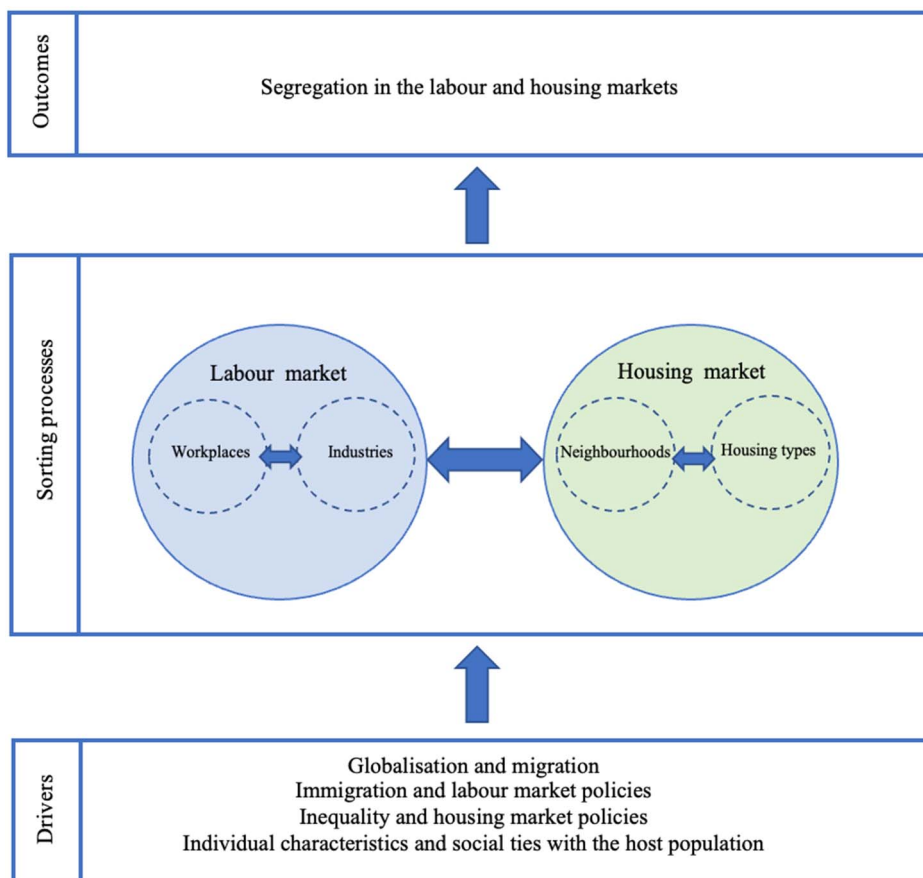
Globalisation, the general aging of European populations, a large number of younger generations, and various types of crises in countries in the ‘Global South’ have all served to contribute to an increase in the global flow of migrants over the past few decades (De Haas et al., 2019; McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2022). Migration brings with it many benefits for origin and destination (host) countries, as well as for the migrants themselves. However, a comprehensive 2019 report by the OECD points to growing concerns in relation to the growth of income inequalities, migration, and segregation in destination countries. Migrants tend to settle in major cities, find a niche in certain, often lower-paying segments of the labour market which, in turn, constrains migrant choices on the housing market (Garlick et al., 2022; Sassen 1990; Torpan et al., 2022; Wright et al., 2010). Since affordable housing which may be suitable for lower-income households is distributed unevenly across urban neighbourhoods, labour market segregation and the residential segregation of migrants tend to go hand-in-hand (Piekut, 2021; Tamaru et al., 2020). In this dissertation, ‘segregation’ is defined as an uneven distribution of migrants over workplaces and neighbourhoods, something which arises as a result of the differential ‘sorting’ of various migrant groups into certain workplaces and neighbourhoods. I use the term ‘integration’ to refer to a more even distribution of migrants over workplaces and neighbourhoods.

Segregation is often seen as being the result of societal inequality in terms of resource distribution (OECD, 2019). From this perspective, segregation can be seen as the outcome of the distancing from other groups of a more powerful and affluent group, both within the economic and spatial landscapes. The residential preferences of higher-income households are decisive in the formation of residential segregation, primarily because their home choices drive up house prices in certain areas of the city, leaving these areas beyond the reach of middle-income and low-income households (Boterman et al., 2021). As migrants are over-represented in lower-wage occupations, a phenomenon of ‘eth-class segregation’ forms (Andersson & Kährlik, 2015). From the perspective of this ‘inequality-induced’ segregation, the act of living in a segregated area is an involuntary and disadvantaged position which mirrors the lack of resources for migrants and minorities, or limited access to those resources (Hwang & McDaniel, 2022). However, such an approach does not explain why some groups, even if they have the opportunity, do not always leave their segregated and, hence, disadvantaged positions (Li, 1998). In other words, ‘preferences-induced’ segregation arises as migrants and ethnic minorities choose to reside and work together with their co-ethnics because they feel safer and receive more support from those co-ethnic colleagues and neighbours (Chihaya et al., 2022; Iglesias-Pascual, 2019). From this perspective, segregation may not necessarily be perceived as a phenomenon which characterises structures of inequality in society.

Research on segregation, both in economics and in geography, has been developing for a century. Pioneering studies on segregation took a ‘cross-sectional

approach' which was based upon census data from one or more census rounds (Peach, 1980; Rivkin, 1994). These studies made it possible to detect uneven distributions of migrants and ethnic minorities across workplaces and neighbourhoods, and how those distributions may change over time. As data infrastructure improved in the 1990s and 2000s, a 'longitudinal approach' emerged which focused upon the labour market and neighbourhood trajectories of migrants over time (Chihaya et al., 2022). Recent studies have opened up other important new perspectives in connection with segregation. Instead of studying segregation processes in one life domain alone (such as on the labour market or on the housing market), a growing focus has emerged which looks at the 'connectedness' of segregation across life domains (Piekut, 2021; Shelton et al., 2015; Tammaru et al., 2020). For example, Silm and Ahas in 2014 proposed the 'activity space approach' which analyses connections between home-based residential segregation and segregation in out-of-home activities. In 2016, van Ham and Tammaru developed the 'domains approach' when it came to studying connections between segregation in residential neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces. Tammaru and colleagues (2021) elaborated the concept of the 'vicious circle of segregation' in order to be able to explain how segregation is systematically produced and reproduced over different life domains.

***The overarching goal of this dissertation is to provide new insights into migrant segregation and integration processes in host societies from a longitudinal research perspective. To achieve this goal, the dissertation focuses on the connections between sorting processes of newly arrived migrants on the labour and housing markets.*** This dissertation's value lies in its interdisciplinary approach, one which combines insights from human geography into residential segregation, housing tenure, migrant behaviours, and gentrification, with an economic perspective on income inequality, industrial niche-forming, and labour market integration. This dissertation builds upon the framework of the 'vicious circle of segregation' and its multi-domain perspective (Kalm et al., 2023; Tammaru et al., 2021), which postulates the interconnectedness of segregation across various life domains. However, this dissertation extends the concept of the 'vicious circle of segregation' by focusing both upon *the between-domain and within-domain transmission* of segregation (see Figure 1). Sorting in the labour market can occur across industries (industrial niching) and workplaces (workplace segregation), while in the housing market such sorting can take place across neighbourhoods (residential segregation) and housing types (housing segmentation). Global structural forces such as globalisation, as well as differences in the wealth and demographic structures of nations, are key drivers of migrant movements between countries. The segregation processes for immigrants in host countries, in turn, are shaped by a selective labour market and housing policies which sort migrants into specific industries and workplaces, and into particular neighbourhoods and housing types. Finally, the individual characteristics of immigrants (e.g. age upon arrival) and social ties with the host population (e.g. mixed ethnic marriages) further contribute towards these sorting process.



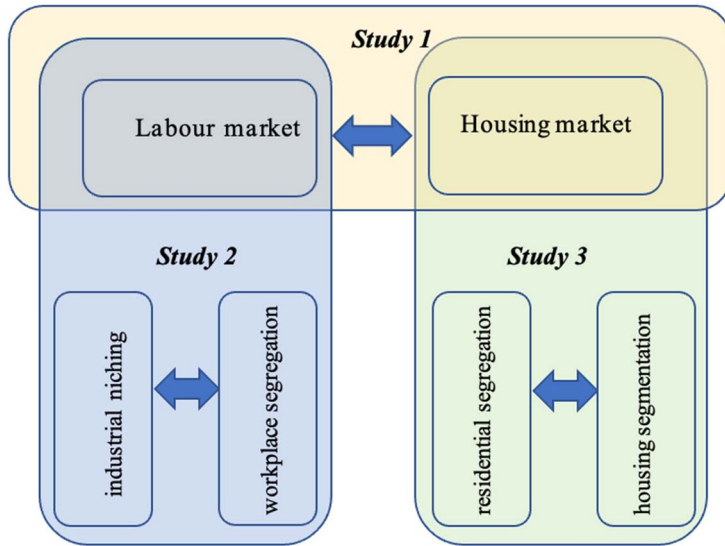
**Figure 1.** A conceptual framework of the dissertation.

As migrants advance in the labour market and establish themselves in their new homeland, they may opt for a step-wise form of integration on the housing market by: a) moving into a neighbourhood which has a lower share of migrants but not improving their housing outcomes or, opposing that: b) by improving housing outcomes but remaining in immigrant-dense neighbourhoods. The dissertation addresses these sorting processes through three studies (Figure 2, see also Tables 1 and 2 in the Annex).

**Study I** sets a scene for the dissertation by undertaking a comparative study on residential segregation in European capital cities by asking: **are income inequality and residential segregation related to each other and, if so, how?** Income inequality is generated mainly on the labour market while residential segregation is generated in the housing market. I am particularly interested in how changes in income inequality and in residential segregation are related to one another, and whether there are time lags in these changes. I will proceed with the analysis of within-domain segregation. I make use of the link between segregation process within the domains as a degree of overlap between the studied processes.

**Study II** focuses on migrant segregation and integration processes within the labour market by asking: **what is the degree of overlap in sorting into industrial niches and workplace establishments amongst newly-arrived immigrants?** A lower degree of overlap indicates that the segregation processes within the labour market – industrial niche-forming and workplace segregation – are loosely related to each other, while a higher degree of overlap indicates that the segregation within the labour market processes are closely related to each other.

**Study III** focuses on migrant segregation and integration processes within the housing market by asking: **what is the degree of overlap between sorting into housing tenure types and residential neighbourhoods amongst newly-arrived immigrants?** A lower degree of overlap indicates that the segregation processes within the housing market – housing tenure types and residential neighbourhoods – are loosely related to each other, while a higher degree of overlap indicates that the segregation within the housing market are closely related to each other.



**Figure 2.** The structure for the doctoral thesis and the focus of the papers (studies).

The dissertation is organised as follows. Chapter 2 provides an integrated theoretical basis for the dissertation which combines all three studies under the ‘vicious circle of segregation’ framework. It reviews previous studies on drivers of segregation on the labour and housing markets. As different forces of segregation operate at different levels, I start by discussing the fundamental structural drivers, such as globalisation, immigration increases, and labour market polarisation (sub-chapter 2.1). Taken together, these forces significantly define the main features of contemporary cities and labour markets. Next I will focus on drivers at the national level, including the intensity of immigration and the spatial structure of the labour and housing markets which form the spatial context for the sorting of immigrants into particular workplaces and neighbourhoods (sub-chapter 2.2).

The location of workplaces and houses within the urban space therefore structure the sorting processes for migrants. Finally, individual-level characteristics are considered such as age, education, country of origin and so on (sub-chapter 2.3). Chapter 3 presents a detailed methodological framework for the empirical studies, explaining the data, context, and research methods. The dissertation is based mainly on Finnish individual-level register data, applying a longitudinal research design on panel data. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the results from the three studies which form the empirical backbone of the dissertation. Finally, Chapter 5 generalises the results of all three studies in relation to preceding literature, and further discusses the limitations of this dissertation as well as avenues for future research.

# 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Segregation may be produced by external forces such as globalisation and income inequality, or by the sorting of migrants with similar characteristics into similar workplaces and residential neighbourhoods (Dill & Jirjahn, 2014; Garlick et al., 2022; Ziller & Spörlein, 2020). Migrants may opt to live in the same neighbourhood with their own-group members in order to be able to ensure access to supportive social networks (Marcinićzak et al., 2023), to be surrounded by people with similar cultural norms and language (Glikman & Semyonov, 2012), to find greater acceptance and community belonging (Ozgen, 2021; Schwabe & Weziak-Bialowolska, 2022), or to avoid discrimination from the host society (Pendakur & Pendakur, 2002). Although the current chapter acknowledges the importance of self-selection and co-ethnic preferences, it primarily focuses on external forces which facilitate the sorting of immigrants into workplaces and neighbourhoods. The chapter structures the mechanisms which drive segregation at the various levels: i) global; ii) national or country; and iii) individual.

## 1.1 Globalisation and immigration as structural drivers of segregation

The impact of globalisation on contemporary cities and the labour market has been a topic of ongoing debate since Saskia Sassen's seminal 1990 work on globalisation, the polarisation of labour markets, and residential segregation. Globalisation has generally created an environment which supports innovation, technological change, and deindustrialisation (Berman et al., 1998; Rodrik, 2016), resulting in a decline in employment opportunities for middle-skilled workers, and the growth of employment at the top and bottom of the skills structure (Goos et al., 2009; Hamnett, 2021; Van Ham et al., 2020). Such polarisation of the labour market is often closely related to immigration. As employment opportunities become unattractive for local inhabitants in many sectors in the wealthier countries in the 'Global North', such as cleaning, housekeeping, and healthcare industries, these jobs become increasingly filled with migrants who are arriving from less affluent countries from the Global South (Autor et al., 2003; Korsi, 2022; Sassen, 2011). Migrants from less affluent countries are willing to accept such lower-paying niches in the labour market since they compare wages in the host country to the available salaries in their home country (Borjas, 1987; Dorn & Zweimüller, 2021; Ferrari, 2020). Hence, labour market polarisation and immigrants being sorted into niched industries and immigrant-dense workplaces tends to go hand-in-hand (Gleave, 2017; Shdema et al., 2019).

Building on the process of industry sorting and polarisation, scholars have delved deeper into structural changes within the labour market. Piore (2002) coined the term 'dual labour market' by claiming that workers who were employed in occupations at the top and bottom of the employment scale are not only earning

different levels of income, but the inequalities between these occupational groups run much deeper (Piketty, 2014; Piketty & Saez, 2014). Top occupations in the primary sector also enjoy high status and more secure employment contracts. In addition to low pay, workers in occupations at the bottom of the scale in the secondary sector also experience low status and less secure employment contracts which can restrict opportunities on the housing market, such as in terms of gaining access to low-interest mortgages (Reid et al., 2017), or serving to increase processing time (Wei & Zhao, 2022). This is an equally important disadvantage which can have significant levels of impact on migrant ability when it comes to being able to secure affordable and stable housing in host societies. For various reasons immigrants concentrate in the bottom-level occupations within the secondary labour market. For example, migrants are often willing to trade higher income for lower social status (Platt et al., 2022). The hiring process is often network-based, and immigrants entrepreneurs start ethnic businesses in these sectors where both the starting costs as well as salaries are lower (Brzozowski, 2017), attracting co-ethnics both as employees (Glinka et al., 2023) or consumers (Hyndman-Rizk & De Klerk, 2019). Migrant entrepreneurs often hire family members and ethnic minority friends in their businesses (Åslund & Engdahl, 2019). Local consumers also demand authentic goods and services which in itself tends to contribute towards niche-forming for migrants into low-wage segments of the labour market such as ethnic restaurants (Lilius & Hewidy, 2019).

## **1.2 Immigration policies, housing policies, and discrimination**

Immigration policies set out the broad framework for the sorting of immigrants, especially newcomers, in the labour and housing markets. These policies operate through various channels. Immigration policies affect labour market segregation through skills selection and migration motives. For example, immigrants who enter the country from outside of the European Union (EU) or from third countries fall under the visa and work permit system which regulates their entry conditions and status within the EU labour market (Czaika & de Haas, 2013; De Haas et al., 2019). The work permit and visa regime restrict the inflow of low-skilled immigrants on the one hand, but on the other hand favour migration which is based on the labour market needs of destination countries (Czaika et al., 2023). There are a variety of labour market-induced immigration policies such as sector-based and employer-based policies, as well hybrid forms of the two which impact both the industrial niching and workplace segregation of migrants. The hurdles for entering the EU labour market are especially high for lower-skilled migrants. Getting a permit requires a significant effort and incurs high migration costs that, in turn, contributes to a longer-term staying compared to high-skilled migrants who are more footloose as their skills are in high demand and countries and companies compete to attract them (Czaika & Spray, 2013; Niemann & Zaun, 2023).

While skills-based sorting plays a crucial role in labour market segregation, segregation processes on the housing market are partially related to the housing policy and urban planning principles in host societies (Benassi et al., 2020; Van Ham et al., 2015). As with the labour market, there are varieties of sorting mechanisms on the housing market. For example, a country's housing policy may target specific migrant groups for whom social housing is provided based on household income, socioeconomic status, and overall numbers of those who are eligible for affordable housing. However, the role of social housing in shaping segregation hinges on how spatially concentrated or dispersed it is across the neighbourhoods of the city (Musterd et al., 2017). If social housing is spatially concentrated within certain parts of a city – and this is often the case (Hess et al., 2018) – then the residential segregation of migrants is quick to grow. In turn, the neighbourhood of residence affects access to jobs and workplaces, i.e. plays a role in the segregation processes on the labour market (Chihaya et al., 2022). The study by Delmelle et al. (2021) shows that there is a growing overlap between the location of affordable homes and the location of low-wage jobs in American cities. The residential clustering of immigrants creates informational spaces regarding available jobs and results in ethnic companies that hire from the nearest residential pools (Pedulla & Pager, 2019; Reskin et al., 1999).

While the residential clusters provide job information and opportunities, they also expose immigrants to potential biases and prejudices. Discrimination can have a significant impact on the labour and housing market outcomes for migrants. When it comes to workplaces, migrants may face discriminatory hiring practices, lower wages, and limited access to career advancement opportunities (Dustmann et al., 2010; Glitz & Vejlin, 2021). This can also affect not only where migrants live, but also in which parts of the city migrants seek for homes or the residential choice set (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Discrimination in the housing market may operate through the credit market, mainly because newly-arrived migrants do not have a credible credit history or the finances to be able to put down a deposit (Diaz-Serrano & Raya, 2014). Landlords may also be careful when renting homes to migrants who have only recently arrived from certain origin countries (Antfolk et al., 2019; Dill & Jirjahn, 2014). Advertising for rental apartments may already be worded in ways which ensures that it appeals only to specific groups of renters or buyers, e.g. by requiring additional documentation, thereby forming an additional barrier to migrants. All of these mechanisms serve to reduce the potential choice of housing for migrants, making migrants rely upon ethnic networks in home searches which tend, ultimately, to lead to a concentration of immigrants in certain already-immigrant-dense neighbourhoods which offer affordable housing, thereby exacerbating residential segregation patterns. In short, as a result of various mechanisms, migrants may be more likely to live in neighbourhoods which offer affordable housing and fewer job opportunities.

### **1.3 Country of origin and the individual characteristics of migrants**

Country of origin can significantly define the labour market and housing market outcomes for immigrants, especially for newly-arrived migrants (Tesfai, 2019). Those challenges which immigrants face on the labour market can be compounded by a range of factors which include modest local language skills (Bruce Newbold, 2021; Piekut, 2021), and recognition problems in terms of educational attainment and previous work experience. Moreover, country of origin may pre-define the pool of available financial resources and financial behaviour (Haliassos et al., 2017), or the level of financial literacy (Brown et al., 2018). Immigrants from culturally-distant countries may encounter more difficulties in having their skills recognised by employers in the host country due to differences in education systems and labour market structures between the countries of origin and the destination country. Country of origin also reflects a particular culture for migrants or a set of beliefs, norms, and preferences to which they are accustomed (Bauder, 2001; Brown et al., 2018; Rodríguez-Planas, 2018) which may also play a role in sorting processes on the labour and housing markets. For example, attitudes towards gender relations may be very different in origin and destination countries, with female labour market participation rates being much lower in countries of origin when compared to the destination country (Daoud & Khattab, 2022). For single bread-winner migrant families, it is especially difficult to achieve similar housing outcomes to those of local inhabitants as migrant families may have limited access to credit (Mistrulli et al., 2023).

While country of origin sets out general behavioural patterns and expectations, the personal characteristics of migrants such as their skills level, previous work experience, and education, have been identified as major contributors to segregation on the labour and housing markets (Ansala et al., 2022; Liu, 2011). Low-skilled migrants are more likely to be sorted into less attractive niche jobs with a disproportionate share of co-ethnics (Telve, 2019). This is primarily due to their reliance on ethnic and social networks, as well as informal job and house search practices which lead to clustering into immigrant-intensive workplaces and residential neighbourhoods (Boost & Oosterlynck, 2019; Ellis et al., 2004). But problems which are related to skills recognition lead to a skills mismatch even amongst highly-skilled migrants who tend to be sorted into low-wage occupations in destination countries upon arrival (Ansala et al., 2022; Dustmann et al., 2005), thereby contributing to industrial niching and workplace segregation for migrants.

Other individual characteristics may further exacerbate segregation process on the labour and housing markets. Immigrants, especially those who are newly-arrived and who may have limited local language skills, are more likely to be sorted into immigrant-dense workplaces and neighbourhoods (Blume & Verner, 2007; Hayfron, 2001; Liu, 2011). Many studies have found that immigrants who are fluent in the local language have lower unemployment rates and higher earnings than those who are not fluent in the local language (Dustmann et al.,

2005; Piekut, 2021). The impact of intermarriage with members of the local population may facilitate integration. The prevalence of intermarriage is related to origin country background, as intermarriages are more common for migrants who arrive from nearby countries with smaller language and cultural differences to the local population compared to migrants who arrive from more distant countries (Patterson et al., 2015; Rahn et al., 2020). Being intermarried with locals facilitates both the workplace and residential integration of migrants (Chihaya et al., 2022; Strömberg et al., 2014). Family status is considered to be one of the strongest predictors of migrant housing and neighbourhood choice (Hannemann et al., 2018). For example, Rahn et al. (2020) find that intermarriage with a local native partner can lead to upward mobility in the housing market. Immigrants who have a local partner are less likely to be employed in immigrant-dense workplaces and have higher wages compared to those who have a co-ethnic partner (Strömberg et al., 2014). Having a native partner can also improve linguistic skills and increase knowledge of local rules which can help migrants to achieve similar labour and housing market outcomes to those of the locals (González-Ferrer et al., 2018).

## 2. DATA AND METHODS

The research strategy for the dissertation and for each paper (study) was chosen in line with the objectives and the three main research questions. The empirical analysis follows a ‘longitudinal approach’ when it comes to learning about how the labour market and residential segregation evolve as dynamic processes which continually change over time (cf Chihaya et al., 2022; Van Ham et al., 2018). The longitudinal approach provides a more accurate account of segregation relative to cross-sectional studies of segregation since it makes it possible to track individual-level changes as migrants establish their lives in their new homeland (cf Van Ham et al., 2020; Vogiazides and Chihaya, 2020). However, the longitudinal approach is very demanding in terms of data. The main empirical evidence for the dissertation comes from the Helsinki metropolitan area in Finland. This country provides excellent register data from which to seek answers to my research questions, while also being very interesting for the substantive focus of this dissertation. Study I places Helsinki within a comparative perspective alongside other European capital cities, using aggregate register data. In Studies II and III, the full potential of Finnish register data is utilised to make it possible to track labour market and housing-sorting processes for newly-arrived immigrants over time. Table 3 in the annex provides a summary of data sources and techniques being used in each study.

### 2.1 Study area and data sources

The context of the Helsinki metropolitan area (abbreviated here to ‘MA’) is an interesting setting in which to study migrant segregation and integration processes. The number of immigrants in Finland has grown rapidly since the 1990s, with a significant proportion of them arriving from non-European countries. This makes it possible to study the role of immigration policy in segregation. One of the migrant groups that has grown quickly in Finland includes Estonians for whom immigration policy does not apply. Helsinki has a diverse industrial structure with a mix of traditional and modern jobs, such as those in the ICT sector, which provides migrants the opportunity to be sorted into different industrial niches and workplaces.

Finland, with its social democratic welfare system, strongly aims to promote social equality and reduce segregation, largely due to its well-developed social housing policy. While this social housing policy targets reduced segregation, it does not potentially motivate middle-income households to buy their own homes (Cowell et al., 2018; Davies, 2011). This leads to lower savings, resulting in Finland having one of the highest wealth disparities in EU countries (HFCS, 2023). Helsinki is also deliberately dealing with anti-segregation policies, aiming to create mixed housing neighbourhoods in order to prevent the formation of highly-segregated neighbourhoods. For example, social housing is distributed

relatively evenly across the city, and can also be found in affluent neighbourhoods. This study will provide valuable insight into the effectiveness of such measures when it comes to reducing residential segregation and promoting social mixing.

Study I compares segregation levels in Helsinki with other European capital cities based on the latest census rounds at the time at which the study was carried out. A total of thirteen cities across the EU were included in the research in order to establish the relationship between income inequality and residential segregation. Residential segregation is measured in the years 2000 and 2010, and income inequality is measured ten years earlier, in 1990 and 2000. Following discussions on labour market polarisation (Sassen, 1990), the focus of studying the relationship between income inequality and residential segregation is on occupational/income groups at the top and bottom.

Studies II and III are based on individual level Finnish population registry data which makes it possible to track people over time. This includes a wide range of individual characteristics, as well as information about workplace establishments and industries for Study II, and information about neighbourhoods and housing tenure types for Study III. Finnish register data is relational, which makes it possible to connect together people with partners, neighbours, and co-workers and, hence, provides detailed information on the ethnic contexts of the labour and housing markets. Both Study II and III examine the time period from 2004 to 2013, tracking the labour market and residential changes of migrants who were living in the Helsinki MA on a year-by-year basis since their arrival in Finland. Only those migrants who remained in the Helsinki MA through the ten-year study period are included in the analysis. The final number of observations is 29,812 migrants in Study II (including 21,176 Estonians, 7,357 observation for Russians and 1,279 observations for Swedes), and 30,643 migrants in Study III.

## **2.2 Data analysis**

Study I examines income inequality and residential segregation between the top and bottom occupational groups in thirteen cities within the European Union. The ‘Gini’ index is used to measure income inequality, making it possible to capture the gap between the top and bottom of income distribution at the national level. As noted in previous studies (Auten & Splinter, 2019; Hellebrandt & Mauro, 2015), the value of the Gini index is sensitive to precise income distribution. Interpretation of the Gini index is straightforward, with higher values indicating a higher level of income inequality. The Gini index is calculated for 1990, 2000, and 2010. When it comes to measuring residential segregation, various indices are available (for further discussion see Folch & Rey, 2016). The most common and frequently used dissimilarity index suffers from the same limitations as the Gini index, being sensitive to the distribution of occupational groups over neighbourhoods. The dissimilarity index is calculated at the city level for the years 2000 and 2010. Later on in the study, the values of the Gini index were compared with the values

of the Dissimilarity index ten years later since changes in residential segregation follow changes in income inequality with a time lag.

Study II focuses on two dimensions of labour market segregation and integration, sorting into different industries (industrial niching) and sorting into workplace establishments (workplace segregation). Both dimensions are measured with a binary variable which reflects migrant over-representation: a) industrial niching measures whether or not migrants are working in industrial niched sectors, such as the construction sector; and b) workplace segregation measures whether or not migrants are working in those establishments in which migrants are over-represented amongst work colleagues. The use of ‘workplace establishments’ refers to the concrete address-based units of the companies. The measure of location quotient is used to simultaneously calculate industrial niching and workplace segregation. This measure is commonly used in segregation studies to identify whether a specific immigrant group is over-represented in a particular unit of analysis (Patias et al., 2023; Van Ham et al., 2018). One of the main advantages of the use of location quotients is its straightforward interpretation. A location quotient which is greater than the agreed threshold level (e.g. 1.5 level) indicates that migrants are over-represented within a particular industry or workplace, while a location quotient which is less than a certain level indicates under-representation. I will focus on over-representations which are based on the most commonly-used threshold of 1.5 (Wright et al., 2010). More specifically, I follow Wright et al. (2010) to calculate a workplace location quotient (abbreviated as ‘WLQ’) as a measure of workplace segregation:

$$WLQ = \frac{(M_{wt} | T_{wt})}{(M_t | T_t)} \quad (1)$$

where WLQ is the workplace location quotient index;  $w$  refers to the workplace at which the migrant works at year  $t$ ,

$M_{wt}$  is the number of migrant co-workers in workplace  $w$  in year  $t$ ,

$T_{wt}$  is the total number of workers in workplace  $w$  in year  $t$ ,

$M_t$  is the total number of migrants workers across the entire Helsinki MA in year  $t$ ,

$T_t$  is the total number of workers across the entire Helsinki MA in year  $t$ .

The unit of measurement for workplace segregation is that of the establishment. Individual address-based offices or departments within a single company are considered to be separate establishments. For industrial niching, I apply the niche quotient (NQ):

$$NQ = \frac{(M_{jt} | O_{jt})}{(M_t | T_t)} \quad (2)$$

where NQ is the niche quotient index; sub-index  $j$  refers to the industry, and sub-index  $t$  refers to the year.

$M_{jt}$  is the number of migrant workers in industry  $j$  in year  $t$ ,

$O_{jt}$  is the total number of workers in industry  $j$  in year  $t$ ,

$M_t$  is the total number of migrant workers across the entire Helsinki MA in year  $t$ ,

$T_t$  is the total number of workers across the entire Helsinki MA year  $t$ .

The unit of measurement for industrial niche formation is an industry which is defined at the four-digit level of classification. The four-digit classification is used to avoid the high degree of precision associated with extensive disaggregation of industries on the one hand, and the very small share of migrants in the case of too broad a classification (cf. Wang & Pandit, 2007).

Study III sheds light on segregation processes in the housing market by focusing on the interrelation between housing segmentation (sorting into housing tenures) and residential segregation (sorting into residential neighbourhoods). Housing tenure is a binary variable which reflects migrant status as a renter or a home-owner. Residential segregation is a binary variable which reflects whether or not migrants live in an above-average income neighbourhood. Neighbourhood is defined as a post code area with an average population size of 5,252 working-age people. Immigrant groups are formed based on country of origin. Upon arrival, migrants are over-represented in rental housing and below average income neighbourhoods. Hence, residential integration is defined a growth similarity with local Finns of housing tenure and neighbourhood outcomes with time lived in Finland. This implies: i) entering from renter to home-ownership; and ii) moving from below-average to above-average income neighbourhoods.

In the second step of Study II and Study III, I fit generalised structural equation models (GSEM) on panel data in order to calculate the interdependence between industrial niching and workplace segregation (Study II), and housing segmentation and residential segregation (Study III). Following Piekut (2021, p 16), I use the term ‘overlapping’ to refer to interdependence between the dimensions of segregation being studied. The use of generalised equation modelling was based on two considerations. Firstly, based on existing research I assumed that the two processes being studied in Study II and Study III are interconnected to one another and, therefore, that their joint distribution can be modelled through a bivariate normal distribution (Honoré et al., 2022).

Secondly, although the GSEM could be used for latent variables, it may also be applied to the system for two equations with the two observed binary dependent variables for panel data (‘Stata Structural Equation Modelling Reference Manual’; for an empirical example, see Shermon & Moeen, 2022). Although this was not reported in Study II and Study III, the empirical analysis started with an estimation of the unconditional correlation between industrial niching and workplace segregation (Study II), and housing segmentation and residential segregation (Study III). The results from the unconditional estimation reveal for Study II high and positive level of interdependence (with a rho coefficient=0.81\*\*\*), and a low, but still significant interdependence for Study III (with a rho coefficient=

0.061\*\*). I also tested in Study II for the different threshold levels for the location quotient, measuring segregation and niching at the 1.0 level. The rho coefficient was higher (with an unconditional rho coefficient=0.83\*\*\*) for the 1.0 level relative to the 1.5 level. Further, in Study II and Study III a set of covariates of interest was included (involving the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants and variables which were related to migrant integration). I estimated for Study II the following GSEM model:

$$\begin{cases} WS_{it} = \beta_{wst} + \beta_{1t}X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i1} \\ IN_{it} = \beta_{int} + \beta_{2t}X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i2} \end{cases} \quad (3)$$

where  $WS_{it}$  is a dependent variable which measures workplace segregation, identifying whether or not the individual  $i$  is employed in a segregated workplace in year  $t$ ,

$IN_{it}$  is a dependent variable which measures industrial niching, identifying whether or not the individual  $i$  is being employed in niche industry settings in any particular year  $t$ ,

$X_{it}$  is a vector of independent variables with associated coefficients  $\beta_{1t}$  for workplace segregation and  $\beta_{2t}$  for industrial niching respectively,

$\varepsilon_{i1}$  and  $\varepsilon_{i2}$  are bivariate normally-distributed standard errors for workplace segregation and industrial niching equation respectively,

rho is the residual correlation coefficient between  $\varepsilon_{i1}$  and  $\varepsilon_{i2}$ .

I estimated for Study III the following model (a corrected version of the formula (2) from Study III):

$$\begin{cases} HC_{it} = \beta_{hct} + \beta_{1t}X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i1} \\ NC_{it} = \beta_{nct} + \beta_{2t}X_{it} + \varepsilon_{i2} \end{cases} \quad (4)$$

where  $HC_{it}$  is the dependent variable which measures housing segmentation, identifying whether or not the individual  $i$  is a renter or a homeowner in year  $t$ ,

$NC_{it}$  is the dependent variable which measures residential segregation, identifying whether the individual  $i$  is living in a below-average or above-average income neighbourhood in year  $t$ ,

$X_{it}$  are the vectors of independent variables with associated coefficients  $\beta_{1t}$  for housing segmentation and  $\beta_{2t}$  for residential segregation respectively,

$\varepsilon_{i1}$  and  $\varepsilon_{i2}$  are bivariate normally-distributed standard errors for housing segmentation and residential segregation respectively,

rho is the residual correlation coefficient between  $\varepsilon_{i1}$  and  $\varepsilon_{i2}$ .

### **3. STUDIES**

## 4. FINDINGS

In this section, the results of each study are presented, seeking answers to the three main research questions posed in the dissertation: Are income inequality and residential segregation related to each other and if so, how? (Study I). What is the degree of overlap in sorting into industrial niches and workplace establishments among the newly arrived immigrants? (Study II). What is the degree of overlap between sorting into housing tenure types and residential neighbourhoods among the newly arrived immigrants? (Study III).

### 4.1 Study I: the relationship between income inequality and residential segregation

This study aims to establish the segregation context for the Helsinki MA in a comparison with other European capital cities. Its main novelty is to explicitly measure levels and changes in residential segregation in Europe based on harmonised data. Although simple in outline, this included tedious work which was related to achieving maximum levels of comparability between cities. The study establishes a connection between the levels of income inequality and residential segregation in studied cities, both in terms of current levels and in terms of changes between the subsequent censuses rounds. The main findings are as follows. Firstly, income inequality has increased during the study period, especially in the 1990s. Finland is no exception in this regard, but the country is still one of the most equal in Europe. Secondly, levels of residential segregation increased in most European capital cities between the 2000 and 2011 census rounds, except in Amsterdam. Residential segregation also increased in Helsinki, but it still remained one of the least segregated capital cities in Europe.

Thirdly, the most significant finding from Study I is that changes in residential segregation follow changes in income inequality with a time lag of approximately ten years. This means that there is a delay before an increase or decrease in income inequality translates into an increase or decrease in residential segregation. For example, income inequality in Estonia increased rapidly in the 1990s with only minor changes taking place at the same time in residential segregation. The growth of income inequality slowed down in the 2000s, but levels of residential segregation increased rapidly at the same time. The study further shows that a segregation paradox may occur: at times of increase in income inequality, higher-income families may start moving to formerly lower-income neighbourhoods (a process which is known as gentrification), which either slows down segregation or even leads, temporarily, to desegregation. In other words, residential changes in cities do follow labour market changes but are instead significantly slower and may temporarily hide the actual growth of inequalities in the form of a segregation paradox.

## **4.2 Study II: segregation within the labour market domain: industrial niching and workplace segregation**

Study II aims to shed light on labour market integration by examining how the over-concentration of immigrants in specific industries (industrial niching) and workplaces (workplace segregation) overlap each other. These two strands of research regarding segregation have evolved separately, although the processes themselves are inherently related to each other (cf. Wright et al., 2010). For example, Estonian men in Finland are over-represented in the construction sector and often also work in the same workplace establishments. The reason for the lack of joint studies on the two processes relates to the high demands for data. The Finnish population register provides the opportunity for a joint study of the two processes to be carried out. Based on the degree of overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation, I can evaluate the overall level of segregation and integration for a particular group in the labour market. A strong (maximum value for the overlap is 1) and positive degree of overlapping between workplace segregation and industrial niching is considered as a sign segregation processes in the two dimensions are related to each other. This means that migrants are simultaneously sorted into specific sectors and work in establishments with only migrant co-workers.

The main finding from the study is that there exists a strong and positive degree of overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation. This indicates that the sorting processes which exist within the two dimensions of the labour market are related and that they reinforce each other. Therefore, even within the social democratic welfare context, migrants are highly segregated within the labour market. I was further interested in the differences in labour market segregation between migrant groups by studying: a) Swedes who arrive from a more affluent country and are also culturally similar to Finns; b) Estonians who arrive from a less affluent country but who are culturally similar to Finns; and c) Russians who arrive from a less affluent country and who are culturally dissimilar to Finns. The main findings show the existence of a strong overlap between niching and segregation for all three migrant groups. However, differences still exist and are not quite as expected. Segregation and niching levels are at their highest amongst Estonians, but are lower and very similar for Russians and Swedes. In other words, Estonians are the most segregated migrant group of the three within the Finnish labour market. These findings do not support the cultural similarity argument when it comes to immigrant labour market integration. Rather, immigration policy may matter. The Finnish migration policy is skills-selective towards Russian migrants but away from Estonian migrants, which may explain the smaller overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation amongst Russian migrants when compared to Estonian migrants.

### **4.3 Study III: migrant integration in the housing market: residential segregation and housing segmentation**

Study III contributes to our understanding of integration within the housing market by focusing on: a) changes in residential neighbourhood choice (residential segregation); and b) changes in housing type (housing segmentation). This study aims to widen knowledge in regard to how residential segregation and housing segmentation are related to each other. Previous research on these two dimensions of residential integration have evolved separately. Additionally, Study III contributes to an understanding of how fast immigrant groups which are of different origins tend to enter into homeownership and move to above-average income neighbourhoods. As migrants are under-represented amongst home-owners and people who are living in above average-income neighbourhoods, and Finns are over-represented, becoming a home-owner and moving to an above average-income neighbourhood – an act which hereafter is classed as being upwards neighbourhood and housing mobility – indicates migrant integration into the Finnish housing market (residential integration).

The results by individual characteristics are as follows: high household income significantly accelerates the process of entering into homeownership and moving to an above-average-income neighbourhood. Likewise, having a locally-born partner increases the likelihood of upwards neighbourhood and housing mobility. Over time, immigrants do not improve their neighbourhood of residence but they do start entering into homeownership. It may be the case that a lower likelihood of upwards neighbourhood mobility is associated with attachment to a neighbourhood which has a high share of ethnic minority individuals.

Western immigrants (mostly Swedes) or migrants who are arriving from wealthier countries and who possess a close cultural proximity to the natives (the Finns) quite rapidly enter into homeownership. Immigrants with an origin in Estonia are less likely to achieve residential integration. The vast majority of Estonians who are living in the Helsinki MA do not enter into homeownership and do not move to above average-income neighbourhoods. This confirms earlier findings (Anniste & Tammaru, 2014) and may be explained by the fact that Estonian migration into Finland is often a short-term temporal form of mobility. Intentions to stay are low and, hence, Estonians do not aim at a residential integration which is costly to achieve. Rather, the income they earn is used for upwards housing mobility in Estonia (Kährik et al., 2019).

The main finding of the study shows that the link between housing segmentation and residential segregation is weak for most immigrant origin groups. This means that the decision to enter into homeownership is unrelated to upwards neighbourhood mobility. This result may be due to the effect of Helsinki's mixed housing policy. Migrants can move to above-average-income neighbourhoods by remaining in a social housing which is relatively evenly distributed across neighbourhoods. Likewise, it is easy to become a homeowner in low-income neighbourhoods as there is a wide choice of neighbourhoods available when anyone is

considering buying a home. The weak interlink between housing segmentation and residential segregation could result from the active urban anti-segregation policy which aims to avoid immigrant concentration in certain neighbourhoods. Policies which aim towards achieving overall low income inequality in Finland may further ease upwards neighbourhood mobility.

#### **4.4 Concluding remarks in connection with the three studies**

The findings from all three studies are interrelated, and complement each other. Firstly, segregation and integration processes are interconnected in the labour and housing markets. Study I revealed a positive relationship between income inequality and residential segregation. Hence, from the individual migrant perspective, this would mean that having a high or low income relates to high or lower levels of residential integration. The incomes of migrants vary by origin country. Swedish immigrants achieve the highest levels of integration. Swedes are culturally close to Finns, come from a country which itself has high levels of wealth, and have a long and successful history of migration to Finland. Study II revealed that Swedish immigrants have the lowest degree of industrial niching and workplace segregation, meaning a low likelihood of being employed in segregated workplaces in niched industries. Further descriptive analysis revealed that Swedes have high income levels which are very close to those of Finns. In line with successful integration within the labour market, Swedes are the most likely migrants to also be able to achieve successful residential integration.

The second important finding from Studies II and III reveals that cultural similarity does not necessarily help in achieving labour and housing market integration. The findings regarding Estonians who are living within the Helsinki MA are a good example in this respect. Estonian migrants are culturally and linguistically close to Finns. However, Estonians are highly segregated within the Finnish labour market, working in niched industries and immigrant-dense workplaces, mainly in the construction sector. Residential careers for Estonians align with high levels of segregation in terms of labour market behaviour. Estonian groups of immigrants do not step into homeownership, while also not moving into affluent neighbourhoods. These findings from Study II and III point to the rise of temporary forms of migration, a form which involves transnational living arrangements for families in which money which is earned in one (destination) country is used to invest into improving housing conditions in another (home) country. Hence, modest investments in housing in a destination country may contribute to higher levels of residential segregation in the country in which the person works, but it may also allow the achievement of desegregation in the home country in which the family resides.

Thirdly, being positively selected by means of skills levels is more important than cultural proximity when it comes to achieving integration both in the labour

market and in the housing market. Differences in labour market integration for Estonian migrants and Russian migrants is a good example in this regard. When coming from less affluent and culturally-distant countries such as Russia, immigrants are positively selected by different tools with the immigration policy, and this selection probably explains why the labour market integration of Russians is similar to that of Swedes.

Fourthly, having a Finnish partner is positively related both to labour market integration and housing market integration for migrants from all origin regions. I had already assumed that having a native partner tended to increase labour market integration, but the strength of the association was still surprising. However, what makes the difference between migrant groups can be related to the prevalence of mixed ethnic unions. For EU migrants it is very common to find a Finnish partner. For third country nationals, it is very uncommon to find a Finnish partner, and own-group unions are most common. This probably indicates a stronger role of ethnic minority individual social networks amongst migrants who hail from outside the EU, isolating them from information flows which would help them to achieve labour market integration.

## 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research is built upon and further extends the concept of a vicious circle of segregation which was originally proposed by van Ham and Tammaru (2016), and Tammaru et al. (2021), which suggests that segregation across different life domains, such as the labour market and housing market, is interlinked and varies across place and time. To be able to understand this concept, this dissertation analyses both between domain segregation processes as well as within-domain segregation processes throughout the three studies: links between income inequality and residential segregation (in Study I), labour market integration (in Study II), and housing market integration (in Study III). The main finding from the studies is that, although segregation between and within different life domains is related, the strength of any overlapping varies.

Study I asked: are income inequality and residential segregation related to each other and, if so, how? In attempting to answer this question, the study also provided a broader framework through which to reach an understanding of segregation and integration processes on the labour and housing markets. Its main finding showed that income inequality is positively related to residential segregation, with a ten-year lag. It also revealed important variations in terms of country-specific welfare regimes; both income inequality and residential segregation tend to be at their highest in liberal welfare regimes and at their lowest in social democratic welfare regimes. Hence, residential segregation in Tallinn is amongst the highest in European capital cities but the lowest in Helsinki. This implies that institutional context matters, and high levels of inequality and segregation can be addressed through systematic policies and urban planning interventions. Helsinki is very keen in applying various anti-segregation policies which include having a high share of social housing stock which is relatively evenly distributed across neighbourhoods which have different levels of income.

Study II asked: what is the degree of overlap when sorting newly-arrived immigrants into industrial niches and workplace establishments? The main findings show that there are strong interconnections between industrial niching and workplace segregation amongst newly-arrived immigrants. This joint sorting of migrants both in terms of specific industries and workplaces implies that the labour market is highly segregated even in countries which have social democratic welfare regimes and otherwise highly egalitarian policies. The foundations for segregation processes therefore stem from immigration policies which, despite positive skills selection processes, still sort migrants in to specific segments of the labour market, and this segregation tends to spill over into the housing market. Only the deliberate anti-segregationist housing policy in Helsinki helps to prevent the transmission of labour market segregation into housing market segregation.

Study III asked: what is the degree of overlap between sorting into housing tenure types and residential neighbourhoods amongst newly-arrived immigrants? The main findings show that the processes of being sorted into housing tenure types and residential neighbourhoods are only weakly related to each other. The

fact that the two dimensions of housing market segregation are not strongly related provides further evidence that housing policies and urban planning interventions do indeed help to mitigate high levels of residential segregation in Helsinki. These findings equally apply to all migrant origin groups. Helsinki is a city of renters, with a very large social housing sector which provides more affordable rents than the private rental market. It follows from this that it is difficult to achieve low levels of residential segregation in strongly market-based housing systems.

Based on similar findings from the research studies, it can be concluded that the vicious circle of segregation operates not only as a theoretical approach but also in real-life situations. Segregation tends to be passed on from one domain (such as the labour market) to another domain (such as the housing market). However, this transmission of segregation from one domain to another is shaped by institutional context. The conclusions of this dissertation are drawn from the context of the Helsinki MA which is itself characterised by the implementation of a social democratic welfare regime. This implies that the conclusions reached here cannot be directly applied to other welfare contexts. However, much can be learnt from the Finnish case when it comes to labour market and housing integration for different immigrant groups. Immigration policies tend to sort people into certain niches and workplaces in most migrants-recipient countries, something which can therefore be considered a root cause of segregation. As for labour market segregation, Finland has comparatively high barriers when it comes to low-skilled non-EU immigrants. However, it is open to free mobility for EU nationals of any skills level. Considering the fact that Finland is a wealthier state, it does tend to attract a good many immigrants from less affluent EU countries who are ready to take on low-paid jobs in niche industries and who end up working in immigrant-dense workplaces.

The strong overlap between the level of workplace segregation and industrial niching further relies upon social networks which heavily operate in the process of job searching and job hiring, linking migrants to certain workplaces and industrial niches. While Estonian migrants are not being sorted into certain niches and workplaces by immigration policies, they still end up being highly segregated within the Finnish labour market. This implies that immigration policies and market forces reinforce each other when it comes to segregating migrants on the labour market. Labour markets which suffer from demographic pressures become increasingly global, and increasingly segregated. Hence, the interconnection between various domains of segregation is not forced by local social networks or individual factors; instead global forces contribute to it, while national-level policies aim to mitigate the transmission of high levels of segregation on the labour market into high levels of segregation in the housing market. As income distribution in Finland is relatively compressed it also implies that, within another institutional context, the role of inequalities in the labour market are stronger in terms of shaping segregation processes on the housing market in other contexts which contains compressed income distributions. Residential segregation is also low in Finland due to urban policies which distribute different housing tenures into different neighbourhoods. Therefore the process of moving within the social housing

sector could bring about moves from below-average-income neighbourhoods to above-average-income neighbourhoods. Likewise, a transition from renting to homeownership does not necessarily coincide with moving from low-income to high-income neighbourhoods.

The interconnection in terms of segregation between and within labour and housing markets varies across immigrant groups. This variation partially stems from the relative wealth differences between origin and destination countries. Immigrants from less affluent countries are willing to take on lower-paying jobs because they often compare the more attractive wages in their host country with those of their home country. The same applies to segregation on the housing market. Immigrants from less affluent countries are less well financially equipped upon arrival, which then sees them being sorted into more affordable segments of the housing market. In contrast, more affluent immigrants have a wider housing choice in the housing market. Therefore the bigger the differences may be in levels of affluence between home and host country, the more difficult it is to achieve labour market and housing market integration.

It is often assumed that cultural and linguistic proximity could help to reduce native-immigrant differences in the labour and housing markets. It is expected that immigrant groups which are culturally and linguistically similar to natives would be better able to integrate relative to culturally-distant immigrants. However, the results from the current dissertation (involving Study II and III) reveal that the role of cultural and linguistic similarity may be somewhat overvalued. In an increasingly interconnected world there exists an opportunity for a transnational migration strategy. Being culturally similar may help migrants to achieve their aims in accumulating income which is invested in their home country. Hence those migrants who are culturally similar may have shorter stays in the host country and have a higher likelihood of being more segregated than culturally dissimilar migrants. Estonian migrants in Finland also tend to live transnational lives. They prefer to take advantage both of Finnish and Estonian society, flexibility, and mobility, and often see Finland as an intermediate ground upon which to achieve their lifelong wealth aspirations. Such a transnational strategy therefore shapes migrant residential mobility patterns and their choices on the Finnish labour and housing markets. Hence, being employed in a segregated workplace or niche industry and living in segregated immigrant-dense neighbourhoods may be a rational choice by migrants, the outcome of a transnational life strategy. The institutional setup of the host country does not have a particular role in such strategies, which then leads to more robust interconnections between segregation levels in various domains even if elaborate anti-segregationist policies are in place.

The findings from this thesis also have their limitations. Firstly there exist several alternative measurements of income inequality and residential segregation. The current thesis applies the Gini index in order to measure income inequality, and the dissimilarity index in order to measure residential segregation. Although these are beneficial in terms of comparative analysis, both are sensitive to the calculation method being employed. For example, the Gini index is affected by the precise form of income distribution which is partially related to differences in

the taxation systems of host countries (Heady et al., 2005). Secondly, the empirical strategy which is used in Study II includes a calculation for the location quotient as the measurement of residential segregation. For a meaningful interpretation of the values in the location quotient, one should convert the continuous form of the index into a binary format to be able to identify over or under-representation of immigrants in the particular unit of analysis (whether workplace, neighbourhood, or industry). Although any transformation of the location quotient into binary format had been widely applied in previous segregation research (such as by Consolazio et al., 2023; or Pendakur et al., 2016), this transformation leads to data reduction.

Thirdly, this dissertation is based on Finnish register data. Despite the richness of that register data, it does not contain all of those variables which help to shape segregation. For example, a recent study (Järv et al., 2020) indicates that self-estimated social status is a more appropriate measurement of sorting than actual income or education. Studies II and III did not make it possible to apply controls for educational level as the Finnish registry does not contain reliable statistics on the educational attainment of recently-arrived migrants. It is notable that, although previous studies recognise the importance of educational background, the registry rarely provides any information about these two areas of control. In most cases survey data (which is often criticised for low response levels and selectivity) can provide some information about this area. But survey data is not suitable for segregation research as samples tend to be small and lack representative details of individual neighbourhoods or workplaces. As additional controlling variables could lower the coefficient of interdependency, models may have overestimated the coefficient of interdependency. This limitation provides insight into future research when it comes to comparing interconnections within the segregation circle which are based on self-estimated income. Study I aimed to aggregate the results for thirteen cities, but this lacked a detailed dataset of each city's context. Hence the 'city' is a sum total of the different contextual variables, including welfare context, housing system, and financial markets.

Finally, none of the three studies allow for any causal explanation. Instead, the dissertation focused on co-evolution and the overlap between segregation processes between and within two domains of interest, these being the labour market and the housing market. Causality could perhaps be addressed in future studies. Although I did take into consideration various forces and mechanisms which also operate within domains of segregation, some of those could bear closer scrutiny and being discussed in a more nuanced way. For example, what is the role played by social networks when it comes to shaping the vicious circle of segregation? The results from Study II and Study III indicate that social and ethnic networks are essential sources of information which help to sort out immigrants, especially newly-arrived immigrants, into particular workplaces and neighbourhoods. However, the social network is not solely based on members of the same immigrant group, and may instead be extended to other group members or even into the digital space. It is, therefore, important to learn to which extent (if any) social network heterogeneity could provide additional (dis)advantages in housing or labour markets.

Despite the limitations, the dissertation's findings have substantially improved our understanding of those links which exist between segregation processes on the labour and housing markets. They have also policy relevance. As one of the central conclusions of the dissertation is the interconnection between segregation – between and within various domains – then policy interventions in one domain could potentially transmit into the other domains. For example, policies which aim towards ensuring residential mixing also need to go hand-in-hand with policies which address the labour market, and immigration policies should better consider their implications in terms of immigrant integration within the housing market. Otherwise eliminating the transmission of disadvantages from one domain (such as the labour market) to another (such as the housing market) could become much more complex. In addition, labour market policies and employer hiring practices which aim themselves towards a single segregation dimension (such as industrial niche-forming) have implications for other segregation dimensions (such as workplace segregation). The overlap of segregation processes is bigger on the labour market than on the housing market, at least within the context of a social democratic welfare regime. Hence, a combined sector-employer-based approach may be the most effective solution for labour market integration. Another finding from the dissertation when it comes to important policy implications is that income inequality may serve to boost residential segregation, thereby triggering the vicious circle of segregation by transmitting segregation which exists within one domain into another domain. This calls for policy approaches which deal with overall levels of income inequality. City-level policies are also important. Facilitating increased access to affordable housing, improving public transport, and promoting mixed-income neighbourhoods could help to reduce residential segregation and increase social mixing.

The overarching conclusion of this dissertation is that the level of overall integration hinges on complex intersections of host country policies and institutional set-ups on the one hand, and the life strategies of migrants on the other. The framework of vicious circles of segregation overlooks the complexities of those migrant lives which are linked to two countries instead of one, and in ways in which segregation and integration processes evolve not only between life domains but also within them. Hence a more nuanced approach is required in order to measure the overall level of integration for a particular group of immigrants, as each domain represents the place in which interactions are created. This dissertation contributed to a better understanding of how patterns of change in one life domain can lead to changes in other domains. Some domains, such as the labour market, are more flexible and are characterised by higher levels of mobility while others, such as housing, are characterised by lower mobility levels and require more time for adjustment. It also shows that integration processes vary by migrant groups and cultural similarity alone is not sufficient for a smooth integration of migrants into the host society, as is shown by the case of Estonian migrants in Finland. Rather, segregation processes should additionally be understood within the transnational perspective as migrants live segregated lives in destination countries in order to escape from poverty and segregation in their origin countries.

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## APPENDIX

**Annex Table 1.** A conceptual framework for these studies.

Study	Focus	Conceptual framework
Income inequality and residential segregation in European cities ( <i>Study I</i> ).	Link between <b><i>income inequality and residential segregation.</i></b>	At the global level societies with high levels of income inequality therefore experience high levels of housing inequality, namely in the form of residential segregation. The underlying concept of the vicious circle of segregation had been extended by inserting a discussion of global jointly-integrated drivers behind housing and labour market inequalities and the reinforcement behind them. Global factors such as <b><i>globalisation and migration revolved around issues of social polarisation</i></b> which drove inequalities across housing and economic outcomes.
Overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation: the role of immigration policy, culture, and origin country ( <i>Study II</i> ).	The link between <b><i>industrial niching and workplace segregation</i></b> as two interconnected careers in labour market domain.	Newly-arrived immigrants are often the most disadvantaged group on the labour market. Possessing limited opportunities on the labour market, they are pushed by information which has been obtained from ethnic minority individual networks towards immigrant-intensive workplaces which operate in already immigrant-intensive industries. thereby contributing towards increases both in levels of workplace segregation and industrial niche-forming. The underlying concept of the vicious circle of segregation has been extended by inserting a discussion on the <b><i>dualisation of the labour market, leading to the formation of ethnic industrial niches and segregated workplaces.</i></b>
Overlap between migrant housing and neighbourhood mobility ( <i>Study III</i> ).	The link between <b><i>housing segmentation and residential segregation</i></b> as interconnected careers in the housing market domain.	When arriving in a host country, immigrants settle into affordable housing types (often social renting) and in immigrant-intensive neighbourhoods as the act of searching for a place of residence is often network-based. Over time immigrants tend to acculturate and improve their housing position. However, they often face structural constraints and personal obstacles. All together these contribute towards a deceleration of upward housing mobility. The underlying concept of the vicious circle of segregation has been extended by merging the <b><i>spatial assimilation theory which covers upwards housing mobility over the time and place stratification model</i></b> which covers obstacles against and constraints within upward mobility.

**Annex Table 2.** Research questions for the studies

Study	Research questions
Income inequality and residential segregation in European cities ( <i>Study I</i> ).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the relationship between income inequality and socioeconomic segregation;</li> <li>2. What is the relationship between <i>changes in levels</i> of inequality and <i>changes in levels</i> of segregation;</li> <li>3. What is the relationship between <i>levels</i> of inequality and <i>levels</i> of segregation.</li> </ol>
Overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation: the role of immigration policy, culture, and origin country ( <i>Study II</i> ).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To what degree does industrial niching and workplace segregation overlap;</li> <li>2. What are the group differences in terms of countries of origin in terms of any overlapping of industrial niching and workplace segregation;</li> <li>3. Which skills differences tend to overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation.</li> </ol>
Overlap between migrant housing and neighbourhood mobility ( <i>Study III</i> ).	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the likelihood of moving from rental housing to homeownership over time when living in a host country;</li> <li>2. What are immigrant group differences in terms of the probability of being able to enter into homeownership and moving to high income neighbourhoods;</li> <li>3. What is the degree of overlap between housing and neighbourhood careers and to what extent does this vary across immigrant groups.</li> </ol>

**Annex Table 3.** An overview of data sources and methods being used in the studies.

Study	Context	Data	Type of segregation	Measure of segregation	Model
Income inequality and residential segregation in European cities ( <i>Study I</i> )	13 EU cities	Census and registry, if available	Residential segregation between top and bottom of socioeconomic groups	'Dissimilarity Index' for residential segregation and Gini index for income inequality	Descriptive (graph)
Overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation: the role of immigration policy, culture, and origin country ( <i>Study II</i> )	Helsinki MA (selective immigration policy context)	Longitudinal Finnish registry data set for 2004–2013	Workplace segregation and industrial niching	Workplace quotient for workplace segregation and niche quotient for industrial niching	Generalised structural equation modelling (GSEM)
Overlap between migrant housing and neighbourhood mobility ( <i>Study III</i> )	Helsinki MA (mix housing policy context)	Longitudinal Finnish registry data set for 2004–2013	Housing segmentation and residential segregation between above-average and below-average incomes	Above and below average income neighbourhood for residential segregation and entering into homeownership for housing segmentation	Duration analysis and generalised structural equation modelling (GSEM)

**Annex Table 4.** The results of the studies.

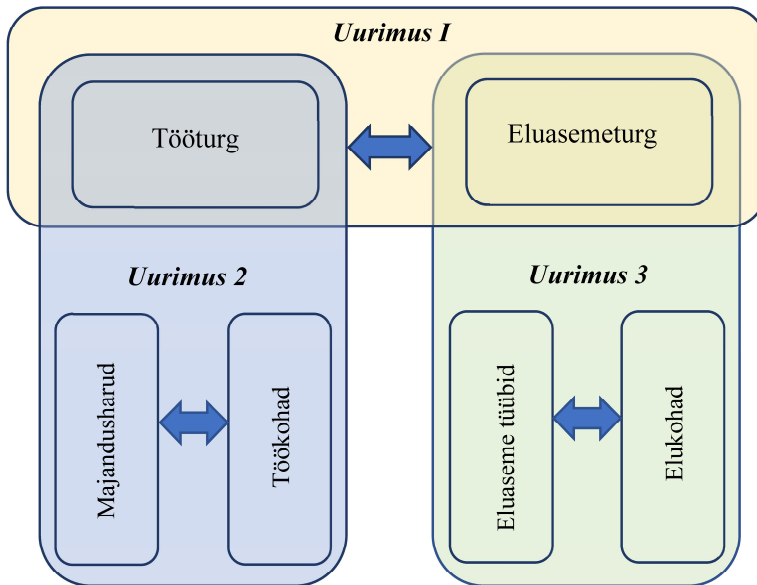
Study	Research questions	Findings
<p>Income inequality and residential segregation in European cities (<i>Study I</i>).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the relationship between income inequality and socioeconomic segregation;</li> <li>2. What is the relationship between <i>changes in levels</i> of inequality and <i>changes in levels</i> of segregation;</li> <li>3. What is the relationship between <i>levels</i> of inequality and <i>levels</i> of segregation.</li> </ol>	<p>In general does an increase in income inequality relate positively to socioeconomic segregation with a ten-year lag;</p> <p>Changes in levels of income inequality follow in line with changes in levels of socioeconomic segregation with a ten-year lag;</p> <p>High and/or low levels of income inequality relate to high and/or low levels of segregation with a ten-year lag.</p>
<p>Overlap between industrial niching and workplace segregation: the role of immigration policy, culture, and origin country (<i>Study II</i>).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To what degree do industrial niching and workplace segregation overlap with each other;</li> <li>2. What are the differences in terms of countries-of-origin group differences overlapping with industrial niching and workplace segregation;</li> <li>3. What skills differences are there in terms of overlapping between industrial niching and workplace segregation.</li> </ol>	<p>A strong and positive overlap was found between industrial niching and workplace segregation;</p> <p>The cultural distance between home and host countries does not play the primary role. Instead, skills selection and overall motivation to migrate identify the degree of overlapping.</p> <p>With an upgrading of skills level, the degree of overlapping decreases with a small difference between middle and high skills levels relative to low skills levels.</p>

Study	Research questions	Findings
<p>Overlap between migrant housing and neighbourhood mobility (<i>Study III</i>).</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. What is the likelihood of moving from rental housing into homeownership over time when living in a host country;</li> <li>2. What are immigrant group differences in terms of the probability of entering into homeownership and moving to high income neighbourhoods;</li> <li>3. What is the degree of overlap between housing and neighbourhood careers and to what extent does it vary across immigrant groups.</li> </ol>	<p>Over time immigrant groups are more likely enter into homeownership, but not moving to an above-average neighbourhood. I refer this result to hidden discrimination, place attachment, and ethnic social networks.</p> <p>Western immigrant groups which are culturally close to Finns have the highest likelihood of entering into homeownership and moving to above-average neighbourhoods. However, another culturally-close group, Estonian immigrants, does not enter into homeownership and has quite modest levels of residential integration.</p> <p>Within the context of strong anti-segregation policy, a weak level of overlapping was found between housing and neighbourhood careers. However, this does not hold true for all immigrant groups. Other factors such as life income profile serves to identify the degree of overlapping.</p>

## SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Seosed töö- ja eluasemeturu vahel Soome sisserrändajate näitel

Käesoleva doktoritöö lähtekohaks oli van Hami ja Tammaru (2016) ning Tammaru jt (2021) segregatsiooni nõiaringi raamistik. Selle raamistiku kohaselt on segregatsioon erinevates eluvaldkondades nagu tööturg ja eluasemeturg omavahel seotud ning varieerub nii ajas kui ruumis. Täpsemalt käsitleb doktoritöö kolme uuringu abil järgmisi eluvaldkondade vahelisi ja eluvaldkondade sisesid segregatsiooniprotsesse (joonis 3): (a) sissetulekute erinevuse ja elukoha segregatsioon (uuring I), (b) uussisserrändajate lõimumine tööturul (uuring II) ning (c) uussisserrändajate lõimumine eluasemeturul (uuring III). Nende kolme uuringu peamine järeldus on, et kuigi segregatsioon erinevate eluvaldkondade vahel ja sees on seotud, on kattuvuse ulatus siiski erinev.



**Joonis 3.** Doktoritöö ülesehitus ja artiklite (uuringute) plaan.

Esimese uuringu aluseks oli küsimus, kas sissetulekute ebavõrdsus ja elukoha segregatsioon on omavahel seotud ja kui jah, siis kuidas. Sellele küsimusele vastust otsides loodi käesoleva doktoritöö jaoks laiem raamistik mõistmaks eristumising lõimumisprotsesse töö- ja eluasemeturgudel. Uuringu peamine tulemus näitas, et sissetulekute ebavõrdsus on seotud elukoha segregatsiooniga positiivselt, ent 10aastase viivitusega. Olulised erinevused ilmsesid riikide heaolusüsteemide lõikes. Nii sissetulekute ebavõrdsus kui ka elukoha erinevused kipuvad olema kõrgemad liberaalsetes heaolusüsteemides ja madalaim sotsiaaldemokraatlikes heaolusüsteemides. Seega on elukoha segregatsioon Tallinnas Euroopa pealinnade seas üks kõrgemaid, kuid Helsingis üks madalamaid. See tähendab, et institut-

siooniline kontekst on oluline ning ebavõrdsuse ja segregatsiooni kõrge tasemega on võimalik tegeleda süstemaatiliste poliitikate ja linnaplaneerimise abil.

Teise uuringu aluseks oli küsimus, kui suur on äsja saabunud ehk uussisserändajate hulgas segregatsiooni kattuvus majandusharude harude ja töökohtade vahel. Näiteks kas Helsingisse saabunud sisserändajad asuvad üheaegselt tööle kindlates majandusharudes nagu näiteks ehitus ja sellistes töökohtades, kus töökaaslasteks on peamiselt teised sisserändajad. Peamine tulemus näitab, et selline kattuvus on tõepoolest väga suur. Sisserändajate üheaegne tööleasumine nii sellistes tööstusharudes kui ka töökohtades, kus on palju teisi sisserändajaid, näitab, et tööturg on väga segregeeritud isegi sellises sotsiaaldemokraatliku heaolusüsteemiga riigis nagu Soome. Segregatsiooniprotsessid saavad sisseränderiikides seega alguse immigratsioonipoliitikast, mis „suunab“ sisserändajad tööturu spetsiifilistesse segmentidesse, kust see kipub omakorda edasi kanduma ka eluasemeturule. Vaid eesmärgipärane erinevusi tasandav eluasemepoliitika Helsingis aitab vältida tööturu segregatsiooni ulatuslikku ülekandumist eluasemeturule.

Kolmanda uuringu aluseks oli küsimus, millisel määral on eluasemetüüpide ja asumite vaheline segregatsioon omavahel seotud. Näiteks kas Helsingisse elama asunud sisserändajad asuvad üheaegselt elama sotsiaalkorteritesse ja keskmisest vaesematesse asumitesse. Peamine tulemus näitab, et selline kattuvus on vähene. Asjaolu, et eluasemeturu segregatsiooni kaks mõõdet ei ole omavahel tihedalt seotud, kinnitab, et süstemaatiline eluasemepoliitika ja linnaplaneerimine aitavad hoida eluaseme erinevusi Helsingis suhteliselt madalal tasemel võrreldes teiste Euroopa pealinnadega. Saadud tulemus kehtib erinevatest päritoluriikidest sisserändajate kohta. Helsingi on üürnike linn, kus on suur sotsiaalkorterite osakaal, kus üüri tase on madalam kui eraüüriturul. Siit võib järeldada, et tugevalt turupõhise eluasemesüsteemi tingimustes on raske saavutada madalat eluaseme erinevuste taset, ehk vaja on avaliku sektori sekkumist.

Kõik kolm uuringut peavad segregatsiooni negatiivseks protsessiks mitmel põhjusel: see soodustab sotsiaalset ja majanduslikku ebavõrdsust, võib süvendada kultuurilisi lõhesid ja vähendada ühiskonna sidusust. Lisaks võib piiratud kokkupuude erinevate kogukondadega tekitada eelarvamusi ja stereotüüpe, mis omakorda pärsivad sotsiaalset sidusust ja lõimumist. Kolme uuringu ühisosa põhjal võib järeldada, et segregatsiooni nõiaringist on keeruline mööda minna, ja selle vältimiseks on vaja väga süsteemseid poliitikaid. Erinevused kipuvad kanduma ühest eluvaldkonnast (nt tööturg) teise (nt eluasemeturg). Ülekandumist ühest valdkonnast teise saab siiski poliitikatega mõjutada. Käesoleva doktoritöö järeldused põhinevad Helsingi linnapiirkonnal, mida iseloomustab sotsiaaldemokraatlik heaolusüsteem. See tähendab, et järeldusi ei saa otseselt rakendada teistsuguste heaolusüsteemidega riikides. Siiski saab Soome näitest palju õppida, sh erinevate immigrantrühmade tööturu- ja eluasemeerinevuste kohta. Rändepoliitika kipub enamikus sisseränderiikides suunama inimesi teatud majandusharudesse, ja see käivitab pahatihti segregatsiooni teistes eluvaldkondades. Soome sisserändepoliitika on saabujate tööturu oskuste osas valiv, kuid sugugi mitte kõik saabujad ei tee oma oskustele vastavat tööd. Lisaks on Soome tööturg avatud kõigile ELi kodanikele sõltumata nende oskustest. Soome oma jõukuse ja heaoluga tõmbab

vähem jõukatest ELi riikidest, sh Eestist, ligi immigrante, kes on valmis asuma madalalpalgalistele töökohtadele kindlates majandusharudes, kus pakutakse selliseid töökohti, kus on palju ka teisi sisserändajaid.

Tugev seos majandusharu ja töökohta vahel tuleneb ka sotsiaalsetest võrgustikest, mis suurel määral mõjutavad töö otsimist ja töötõu värbamist, suunates uued tulijad teatud majandusharudesse ja ametikohtadele. Kuigi Eestist pärit sisserändajaid ei mõjuta sisserändepoliitika, on nad Soome tööturul siiski väga segregeeritud. See tähendab, et nii sisserändepoliitika kui ka ettevõtete töötõuvajadus toetavad teineteist ja suurendavad eraldatust tööturul nii, et sisserändajad ja kohalikud töötavad erinevates majandusharudes ning erinevatel töökohtadel. Demograafilise surve all kannatavad tööturud muutuvad seega üheaegselt nii globaalsemaks kui ka segregeeritumaks, samas kui riikide lõimumispoliitika eesmärk on vähendada segregatsiooni, samuti sissetulekute erinevusest tingitud ebavõrdsuse kandumist eluasemeturule. Soome sotsiaaldemokraatlikus heaolühiskonnas aitab sellist ülekandumist vähendada sissetulekute ühtlustamist toetav maksupoliitika, mõnedes teistes heaolusüsteemides on tööturu ebavõrdsuse roll eluasemeturu segregatsiooniprotsesside kujundamisel suurem. Eluasemeerinevused on Soomes väikesed ka linnapoliitika tõttu, mis hajutab erinevat tüüpi eluasemeid erinevatesse linnaosadesse. Seetõttu võib sotsiaalkorterite vahetamisega kaasneda kolimine alla keskmise sissetulekuga asumist keskmisest kõrgema sissetulekuga asumisse. Samas ei pruugi üleminek üürniku staatusest koduomanikuks tuua kaasa kolimist madala sissetulekuga asumist kõrge sissetulekuga asumisse.

Segregatsiooniprotsessid töö- ja eluasemeturgudel erinevad ka sisserändajate rühmade lõikes, kusjuures erinevused tulenevad osaliselt päritolu- ja sihtriikide jõukuse erinevustest. Vähem jõukatest riikidest pärit sisserändajad on nõus võtma vastu madalamalpalgalisi töökohti, sest sageli võrdlevad nad vastuvõtva riigi palgaksid oma koduriigi palkadega. Sama kehtib ka segregatsiooni kohta eluasemeturul. Vähem jõukatest riikidest pärit sisserändajate rahalised võimalused on piiratumad, mistõttu on suurem tõenäosus, et nad kolivad odavamatele elamispiindadele, näiteks sotsiaalkorteritesse. Seevastu jõukamate riikidest pärit sisserändajate rahalised võimalused on suuremad ning tänu sellele on suurem ka nende valikuvõimalus eluasemeturul. Seega, mida suurem on jõukuse erinevus päritolu- ja sihtriigis, seda raskem on värskest saabunutel töö- ja eluasemeturgudel kiiresti lõimuda.

Sageli eeldatakse, et kultuuriline ja keeleline lähedus võib aidata vähendada sisserändajate ja kohalike elanike erinevusi töö- ja eluasemeturul. Käesoleva doktoritöö (uuringud II ja III) tulemused näitavad, et kultuurilise ja keelelise sarnasuse roll lõimumisel võib olla üle hinnatud. Kultuuriliselt ja geograafiliselt lähedaste riikide vahel võivad tekkida oluliselt keerulisemad rändesidemed, mis mõjutavad otseselt segregeerumist töö- ja eluasemeturul. Keeleline ja kultuuriline sarnasus võib aidata sisserändajatel kiiremini saavutada sihtriigis oma rahalisi eesmärke, mis võib tähendada nii lühemaajalist viibimist sihtriigis kui ka suuremat eraldatust, sest teenitud raha soovitakse pigem kasutada oma elamistingimuste parandamiseks päritoluriigis kui kulutada sihtriigis. Ka Soomes elavad eestlastest sisserändajad kipuvad elama hargmaist elu, kasutades nii Soome kui ka Eesti ühiskonna

eeliseid. Nad on paindlikud ja mobiilsed ning näevad Soomet pigem ühe vaheetapina oma tööelus, mis aitab suurendada isiklikku heaolu. Nii on töötamine majandusharudes ja töökohtadel, kus on palju teisi sisserändajaid, sageli ka lihtsalt ratsionaalne valik. Vastuvõtva riigi heaolusüsteemil ei ole nendes strateegiates erilist rolli. See omakorda toob kaasa eraldatuse töö- ja eluasemeturgudel isegi siis, kui riigis on välja töötatud hästi toimivad segregatsioonivastased poliitikad.

Käesoleval doktoritööl on ka omad piirangud. Sissetulekute ebavõrdsust ja elukohasegregatsiooni saab mõõta väga erinevalt. Doktoritöös kasutati sissetulekute ebavõrdsuse mõõtmiseks Gini indeksit ja elukohasegregatsiooni mõõtmiseks erinevuse indeksit. Need on laialt levinud mõõdikud ning aitavad võrrelda Soomet teiste riikidega. Samas on mõlemad mõõdikud tundlikud selles osas, kuidas inimesed jaotuvad tulurühmade ja ruumiüksuste vahel. Näiteks Gini indeksit mõjutab tulujaotuse kuju, mis on omakorda osaliselt seotud riikide maksusüsteemiga (Heady *et al.*, 2005). Esimeses uuringus võrreldi ruumilist segregatsiooni 13 Euroopa pealinna näitel, kuid puudusid andmed sissetulekute ebavõrdsuse kohta linnade tasandil. Kuigi doktoritöös kasutatud Soome rahvastikuregistri isikuandmed on rikkalikud, ei ole ka need täielikud. Näiteks ei kajastu registriandmetes uussisserändajate täpne haridustase.

Uuring ei loo põhjuslikku seost erinevate valdkondade segregatsiooni vahel. Selle asemel keskendus doktoritöö segregatsiooniprotsesside koostoimele ning seostele tööturu ja eluasemeturu vahel.

Vaatamata eelpool nimetatud piirangutele aitavad doktoriväitekirja tulemused mõista paremini segregatsiooniprotsesside toimimist. Neil on tähtsust ka poliitika kujundamise vaatenurgast. Kuna selle töö üks keskseid järeldusi on segregatsiooni vastastikune seos erinevate valdkondade vahel ja sees, võivad poliitilised sekumised ühes valdkonnas (nt tööturul) edasi kanduda ka teistesse valdkondadesse (nt eluasemeturule), see aga omakorda tekitab segregatsiooni nõiaringi. Nii peavad eluasemesegregatsiooni vähendamisele suunatud poliitikad käima käsikäes tööjõupoliitikaga. Sisserändepoliitika peaks aga paremini arvestama seda, kuidas sisserändajad lõimuvad eluasemeturul, mitte keskendumaks kitsalt tööturu ja ettevõtete vajadusele. Segregatsiooniprotsesside omavaheline kattumine on suurem tööturul (majandusharu ja töökoht) kui eluasemeturul (eluaseme tüüp ja elukoht).

Dokoritöö kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, et sisserändajate terviklik lõimumine sõltub ühelt poolt vastuvõtva riigi poliitikatest ja institutsionaalsest ülesehitusest (heaolusüsteemist) ning teiselt poolt sisserändajate elustrateegiade omavahelisest keerulisest koostoimest. Segregatsiooni nõiaringi kontseptsioon ei hõlma kogu sisserändajate elu keerukust. Näiteks seda, et inimeste otsused ei ole seotud üksnes sihtriigiga, vaid ka päritoluriigiga, et otsused erinevad erinevate päritoluriikide lõikes või et eraldumise ja lõimumise protsessid arenevad mitte ainult eluvaldkondade vahel, vaid ka nende sees. Seetõttu on konkreetse sisserändajate rühma lõimumise mõistmiseks vaja nüanssirikkamat lähenemist. Käesolev doktoritöö aitas neid nüansse pisut paremini mõista. Mõned ühiskonnaelu valdkonnad, nagu nt tööturg, on paindlikumad ja neid iseloomustab suurem liikuvus, samas kui mõnd teist ühiskonnaelu valdkonda – nt eluasemeturg – iseloomustab väiksem liikuvus ja kohanemiseks vajatakse rohkem aega. Käesolev töö näitab, et lõimumis-

protsessid on rändajarühmade lõikes mitte lihtsalt erinevad, vaid et ka kultuurilisest sarnasusest üksi ei piisa sisserändajate sujuvaks lõimumiseks vastuvõtvasse ühiskonda. Seda iseloomustab hästi eestlaste segregatsioon Soome tööturul. Segregatsiooniprotsesse tuleks mõista ka riikidevahelisest perspektiivist, kuna sisserändajad võivad sihtriikides elada eraldatud elu selleks, et pääseda vaesusest ja segregatsioonist päritoluriikides.

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Ränne, segregatsioon, töö-ökonomika, Hiina majandus ja kaubandus

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