

Musterd, S.: Advanced Introduction to Urban Segregation. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2023. 194 p.

Collecting, analysing and summarising the essence of more than a hundred years of research on segregation is not an easy task. Myriads of authors have examined this topic from several angles (e.g., education, income, religion, etc.), on different territorial scales and with several qualitative and quantitative (mathematical and statistical) methods, and have developed concepts on social inequalities and their spatial formations (MALOUTAS, T. and KARADIMITRIOU, N. 2001; REARDON, S.F. and O'SULLIVAN, D. 2004; SIMPSON, L. 2004; MALOUTAS, T. and BOTTON, H. 2021). This book is seminal in the literature on urban segregation and a basic reading for those who are interested in the subject. Sako MUSTERD, the author of the book from the University of Amsterdam has been working on segregation for three decades and has collected ample experiences and international reputation (MUSTERD, S. 2005, 2022; MUSTERD, S. and ANDERSSON, R. 2005).

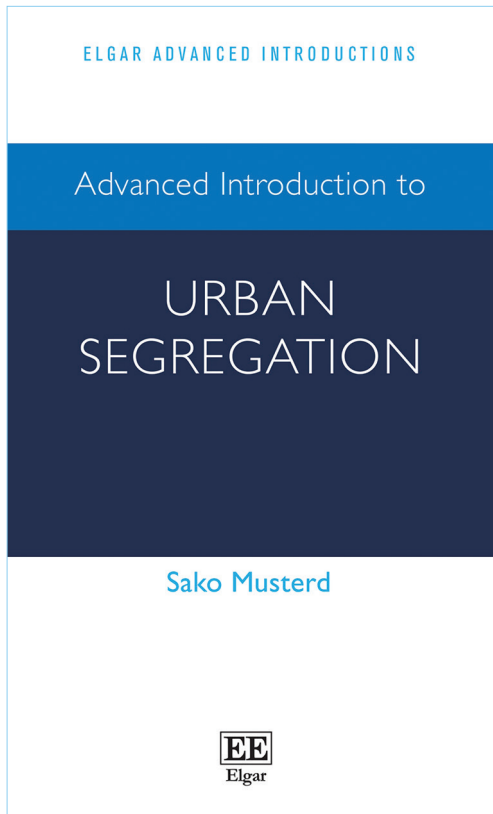
In addition to his own professional experience, he presents in this book the results of several well-known researchers in the field from many different countries of the world thereby helping the reader navigate the abundant literature. The book discusses various dimensions of socio-spatial separation and helps us understand this complex process via eight chapters, and by the end of the book readers can gain a comprehensive picture of urban social segregation.

In the first chapter, the author introduces basic terms and concepts, the knowledge of which is essential when it comes to segregation research. Within urban segregation, there is a specific focus on ethnic segregation in the literature, but in this regard, there are also marked differences between European and American segregation research. The most important studies in the field published in the 20th century are introduced and discussed mainly in this chapter.

After the general picture of urban segregation, the second chapter answers the questions that often come to the fore regarding segregation, and also indicated in the title: *Contemporary debates on urban segregation: 'why', 'who' and 'what' questions*. MUSTERD points out that there is a stigmatisation of segregation both within the society and in politics, but we cannot scientifically distinguish between good and bad segregation, and we should not lose sight of this. In this chapter, segregation is portrayed and discussed as a result of personal choices and social constraints. Although everyone is free to choose their place of residence, the guiding principle is to be close to specific income or social groups (e.g., people with the same high income are concentrated in urban areas), but urban policy aimed at social and cultural mixing is also at play. The degree of segregation in urban space varies widely, and the author raises the question of whether it is necessary to address the degree of segregation. Even if it is only present to a small extent, it still causes problems and challenges, and needs to be addressed.

In the third chapter, the author uses European and American examples to present concepts and dimensions related to urban segregation. Four spatial forms come to the fore: dispersal, colony, enclave, and ghetto. In each case, the term explores the relationship between immigrants and the host society.

The fourth chapter (*Measuring segregation: 'how' questions*) provides guidance on how such a diverse phenomenon as segregation can be measured. First, the relevance of the size of the study area is considered, since irrespective of what scale it is on, the smaller units we study, the higher value we can get, and this is demonstrated by the example of the dissimilarity



index. Furthermore, the author draws the attention of the reader to the fact that existing censuses carry the gerrymandering effect, i.e., units are separated that can produce results suitable for the given municipality or party in an election. MUSTERD walks through the evolution of computational indices related to segregation, but he also briefly criticises them. Mathematical and statistical calculations can provide a general picture of urban segregation, but qualitative research is essential to gain a deeper understanding of the causes of social segregation. The author also draws attention to the need to be critical of statements that are deemed acceptable, as this is the key to progress. After the classic measurement methods, MUSTERD presents the new trends of the 21st century, which he briefly calls the next generation of methods. What makes it different from previous approaches is that they dynamically explore the phenomenon of segregation. Research no longer looks only at where certain groups of people live, but also pays attention to people's daily activities, which has been made possible by the availability of Big Data approaches. Another contemporary innovation is the emergence of a new scale in segregation research, namely the micro scale, which puts the small-scale mechanisms and forms (units below the level of the neighbourhood) in the focus of investigation. In this chapter, readers may feel a sense of lack because there are fewer examples behind the statements, at least compared to the previous chapters.

Although the book as a whole is intended to help the reader understand the complexity of segregation, MUSTERD devotes a chapter to making urban segregation understandable. In the fifth chapter, the author uses European examples to demonstrate how different forms of segregation look like. The differences may arise from the size and characteristics of the study area or the investigated groups. In addition, the chapter deals with the interpretation and degree of assimilation, showing urban examples of why a group can or cannot assimilate into the majority society. After this, the reader may legitimately ask how urban segregation should be interpreted and, last but not least, understood. In this chapter, the author answers this question, highlighting some aspects that play a role in the fact that urban segregation appears in different ways in different countries of the world. One aspect MUSTERD points out is the proximity of social groups to each other or even their distance. In addition, the behaviour of individuals is linked to territorial segregation. Finally, he highlights the historical development of cities and cultural factors, which all influence the development of segregation.

The sixth chapter is about synthesising the knowledge acquired so far and bringing the neighbourhood level to the fore. The neighbourhood level has already been mentioned, but in this chapter, the author connects and elaborates on the importance of the territorial level in general in segregation research.

Furthermore, he discusses the methodological problems in segregation research that may influence the results produced.

The first part of the book, including six chapters, is about segregation research, the main results achieved in the field, and in what direction it is currently developing. In the seventh chapter, however, the solution options are discussed that have been born on the side of decision-makers. MUSTERD cites ESPING-ANDERSEN'S work and use it to show how the three categories of the welfare state (liberal, conservative-corporatist, social democratic) relate to and manage urban segregation. The author presents social mixing at the neighbourhood level as a possible solution to overcome social and spatial inequalities and separation. This approach aims to bring social groups together within a given geographical area, thereby ensuring equality between groups (e.g., in access to health or education). There have been certain criticisms in the literature about mixing neighbourhoods, which the author also presents here. MUSTERD'S presentation of multiple sides provides an overall picture of how difficult it is to understand and handle segregation. Although it can be stated that the initiative of the mixing neighbourhood or even the Danish Ghetto is solution-oriented and has a positive vision, they often have some negative consequences as well.

In the last (eighth) chapter of the book, the author reflects on the emerging questions and problems discussed partly in earlier parts of the book but have not been elaborated in detail. First, the issue of micro-level segregation research is discussed. Research results on this aspect of segregation have been published in the past two decades, but the phenomenon had existed well before. The process of motorisation and suburbanisation has reduced the degree of and attention to micro-segregation, and the study of social separation is increasingly concentrated on larger territorial units. The city centre has become the residence of the lower and middle classes, which, for example, did not show any differences between social groups at the district level. Research on a micro scale (e.g., at street level), however, offers a new opportunity to present areas that previously appeared socially homogeneous as heterogeneous, seen from a different perspective. As a result, previously unknown social tensions and conflicts that determine urban dynamics can be revealed. The exploration of conflicts between social groups in cities is necessary because it can reveal the existing gaps between them. Another message of this chapter is the geographical study of segregation. Residential segregation is often studied and statistically interpreted at the macro scale as the spatial separation of groups within society. In segregation research, however, the use of public spaces or mobility and related conflicts are less frequently discussed, and according to the author, more attention should be paid to these aspects as well. Finally,

MUSTERD formulates a critique of nomenclature, i.e. that the term ethnic and immigrant segregation, even by its formulation, implies opinion and feeling. The author encourages interested readers to create a neutral demographic indicator of the topic.

Overall, this book is a great overview of urban segregation and fulfils all expectations of potential readers. The author presents social separation and its myriad faces through Asian, American, and European examples. The book can be recommended not only for university students but also for those who are interested in urban social geography, the history and contemporary forms of urban segregation. The most important milestones of segregation research are introduced and discussed in the volume, but it can also serve as a starting point for those who are interested in the topic and want to explore the basic literature.

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