

**Musterd, S. (ed.): Handbook of Urban Segregation.** Cheltenham–Northampton, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020. 453 p.

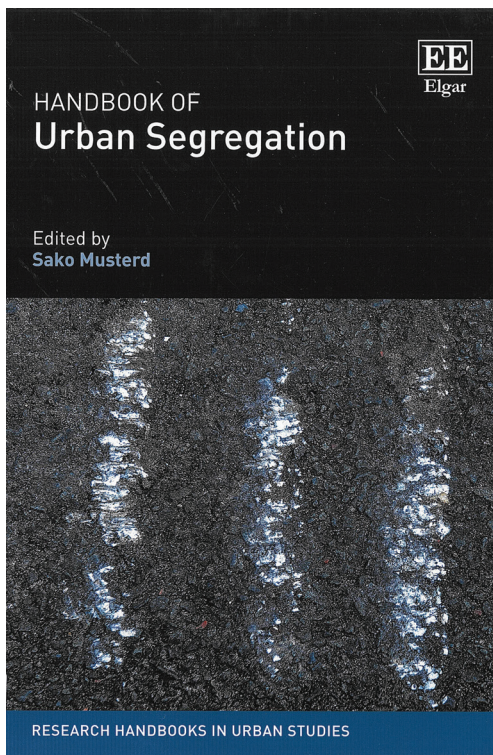
Urban segregation remains a key issue in contemporary urban policy and is fiercely debated in academic circles. A range of disciplines have engaged with it, including urban geography, urban studies, urban and regional planning, political science, housing studies, urban sociology, urban design, urban economics and public policy. Reflections on segregation encompass a number of dimensions, including demography, socio-economic distinctions (class), migrant, ethnic and race aspects, with an emphasis on the role of globalisation and the impact of various local, historically rooted urban and welfare regime contexts. Scholars with various disciplinary backgrounds from across the globe have developed a range of ideas, insights and interpretations regarding urban segregation in residential and other domains of life. A welcome contribution to this ongoing debate can be found in the *Handbook of Urban Segregation*.

The book's 24 chapters offer the reader new interpretations of familiar processes, and present recent

trends in segregation studies. After Chapter 1, which is both introductory and theoretical, the book is made up of three parts: 'key segregation issues across the globe' (Chapters 2–9); 'multiple domains and dimensions of segregation' (Chapters 10–20); 'measuring and conceptualising segregation' (Chapters 21–23). The boundaries between the parts are fluid or even open, nevertheless this division helps us consider the wide variety of segregation in terms of contexts, domains, dimensions and approaches in a structured and comprehensive way. Each chapter has a historical or theoretical preface, allowing the reader to understand the nature of the question being addressed, followed by empirical research. In the epilogue (Chapter 24) MUSTERD, S. points to possible directions of future research into urban segregation.

Part I illustrates the variety of key segregation debates. The reader is taken to each of the earth's continents, over 10 countries and a much larger number of cities, all of which are confronted with pressing segregation issues. The contributions reveal locational specificities and institutional contexts and show that beneath the surface of known segregation aspects, new experiences are unfolding and therefore new comprehensive views on current socio-spatial divisions are needed. In this part of the volume, significant attention is given to racial segregation patterns and how, if at all, they are changing. VAN ROOYEN, J. and LEMANSKI, CH. (Chapter 2) show, on the basis of Cape Town in South Africa, that a quarter of a century of democracy and the ending of apartheid as a system has not erased segregation. The connection identified by the authors between racial and socio-economic segregation is highly significant as it suggests that in the current era neoliberal urban governance perpetuates socio-economic and racial forms of urban segregation. Similarities with South Africa in terms of the current relation between racial and socio-economic segregation can be found in the case of São Paulo in Brazil (Chapter 3) and in US cities (Chapter 9). MARQUES, E. and FRANÇA, D. (Chapter 3) begin with class segregation, which has a long history in São Paulo, but later they point out the increasing connection between class and race segregation, resulting in cumulative urban inequality. JARGOWSKY, P.A. (Chapter 9) stresses the dynamic relation between racial and economic segregation. In my opinion, these chapters show that ethno-racial identity is not the only axis of segregation, and that in cities where ethno-racial diversity is visible, socio-economic position can be a parallel or even central criterion of segregation.

In Chapters 4 and 5 the authors deal with internal changes to the welfare state type and their effects. Market-oriented reforms in the welfare regime ex-



acerbate socio-spatial divisions. LI, Z. and GOU, F. (Chapter 4) focus their discussion of spatial inequality on the segregation of rural migrants who have settled in huge numbers around the centres of large Chinese cities. The authors emphasise the importance of market forces and institutional factors, the obstacles hindering access to urban social housing and community services, and the limited property rights available to individuals with *rural hukou* status. RANDOLPH, B. (Chapter 5) discusses changes in the socio-spatial segregation framework in Australia after the transition to a more liberal-type regime and the subsequent increase in social inequality. The author focuses on the spatial figuration connected with the process of 'urban inversion', in which central areas of cities are transformed by gentrification and lower-class households and migrants are increasingly pushed out to suburban districts.

The next three chapters present examples from Europe showing the importance of specific local histories and contexts. KOHLBACHER, J. and REEGER, U. (Chapter 6) discuss the connection between migration and segregation in Vienna. The inflow of distinct groups of migrants, from guest workers to asylum seekers, is contextualised within the city's history. Vienna's 'urban welfare policy', visible especially in housing market interventions, has prevented an increase in segregation. The example of Vienna shows that the level of segregation depends to a large extent on government policy, and globalisation has not fundamentally changed this. Energetic government policies usually restrain tendencies to increasing segregation. This is true of welfare state policies developed in Northern and Western Europe, even though their impact may be decreasing or their implementation increasingly fragmented and problematic. OBERTI, M. (Chapter 8) discusses the relation between residential and school segregation in Paris. Research suggests that school segregation is greater than residential segregation and negatively impacts not only school achievement but also perceptions of inequality and even discrimination itself. Kovács, Z. (Chapter 7) draws attention to different European experiences with social and spatial divisions. The author introduces the reader to the history of Central and Eastern Europe's transformation from a state-socialist system characterised by egalitarianism, social mixing, centralised allocation and redistribution, to a system ruled by market forces. He makes the very important observation that rapid transformation may temporarily reduce spatial inequality, even while social inequality in society is proliferating. In the case of Central and Eastern Europe, segregation at micro level occurred first, then later new housing market mechanisms led to an increase in segregation levels. Similar findings were obtained from studies in which the author of this book review has participated on the relationship between social segregation, spatial isolation and changes in housing policy

in Warsaw, Poland (JACZEWSKA, B. and GRZEGORCZYK, A. 2017; GRZEGORCZYK, A. and JACZEWSKA, B. 2018). Example of Central and Eastern European countries demonstrates clearly that policies which result in segregation are not always intended to do so, and similar policies may lead to different outcomes in different contextual conditions.

Part II presents the multiple domains and dimensions of segregation, and is, in my opinion, the most interesting section of the volume. The authors discuss a wide range of spheres of life that give an even more comprehensive view of segregation patterns. Two domains are highlighted first: public spaces and the quality of the environment. MADANIPOUR, A. (Chapter 10) presents insights into the role of public space as a counterweight to social segregation and emphasises that urban development can unintentionally lead to exclusive spaces which deepen social segregation. CUCCA, R. (Chapter 11) deals with the issue of environmental justice and discusses the complex relationship between quality of environment and spatial segregation. The author emphasises three very important processes: the concentration of the most deprived groups in the proximity of polluted areas; the concentration of the most affluent groups in areas with high environmental standards (garden cities) or in green innovation areas (eco-districts); and the process leading to the displacement of less affluent groups when environmental renewal is promoted in degraded areas (environmental gentrification). Such green gentrification leads to a 'green space paradox', in which greening developments are only accessible to more privileged social groups and elites. The processes presented in these two chapters are producing a new domain of segregation.

Chapters 12, 13 and 14 deal with segregation in the residential domain from a demographic perspective, albeit in combination with other dimensions of segregation. BOTERMAN, W.R. (Chapter 12) discusses segregation among children in Amsterdam. He points out that ethnic inequalities are frequently reproduced throughout the course of a person's life. Moreover, these inequalities have a spatial dimension, as at the various stages of life households of differing ethnic groups tend to cluster in the same areas. BRÄMÅ, Å. and ANDERSSON, R. (Chapter 13) examine demographic segregation in the residential domain in Stockholm between 1990 and 2004, and set out to explain the changes in age and family type segregation patterns which occurred during this period. The authors argue that the declining levels of segregation noted might be attributable to the low building rates after 1990. Before 1990, due to large public housing programs which aimed to ensure homes at reasonable prices to all citizens, a firm relationship between residents' age, household type and the built environment could be observed, whereas low building rates after 1990 led to a decrease in levels of demographic segregation.

OWENS, A. (Chapter 14) focuses on the residential segregation (and its spatial mapping) of households with and without children in the hundred most populated metropolitan areas in the USA. It is highly interesting that according to her research, high and low-income households with children seem to be increasingly separated across municipalities, especially between suburbs, but not between cities and suburbs.

In Chapters 15–18 the spotlight is turned towards socio-economic class, with particular reference to the middle and upper layers of society. HANHÖRSTER, H. and WECK, S. (Chapter 15) investigate social interaction between different social groups and illustrate the important role of micro-publics in regular social encounters. PRÉTECEILLE, E. and CARDO, A. (Chapter 16) present a comparative study of socio-economic segregation in Paris, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The authors show that in these three urban areas the upper classes segregate themselves most, while differences in the levels of segregation are ascribed to higher levels of social inequalities in Brazil and stronger public policies and more public housing in France. The chapter is especially worthy of attention due to its well-prepared methodological introduction. ATKINSON, R. and HO, H.K. (Chapter 17) discuss the segregation practices of the very wealthy. They stress that research into the relative containment or segregation of the urban rich is important because this group has the power to shape policy responses directed towards the urban poor and those who reside in areas of poverty. This influence is exercised through lobbying for zoning restrictions, policing measures and urban housing policies intended to maintain the privileges of the wealthy while effectively reinforcing the concentration of zones of poverty outside areas inhabited by the urban rich. The geographies of the wealthiest urbanites can be seen as signalling aspects of the excessive, global and destabilising impact of global capitalist systems and their emphasis on nodal city points in which wealth is invested or realised through life in particular residential locations. The authors note that urban segregation is first a question concerning the rich, and not the poor, contrary to what is implied in much public discourse and policy. The relation between social classes is also discussed by VAN GENT, W. and HOCHSENBACH, C. (Chapter 18), but here the authors relate the waning position of the poorer sections of the population to the activities and residential behaviour of the gentrifying urban middle class.

Chapters 19 and 20 describe the vertical segregation in multi-storey housing resulting from housing quality differences between floors. MALOUTAS, T. (Chapter 19) shows that in Athens higher floors are preferred in terms of views, lights, fresh air and reduced noise. It comes as no surprise that the same factors are mentioned by FORRSET, R., TONG, K.S. and WAND, W. (Chapter 20) when explaining the price differences in Hong Kong's high-rise buildings. The authors de-

scribe the phenomenon as the 'social stratification of air', structured by income and occupation, where the height of the buildings continues to be prized for the access it gives to clean air.

Part III of the book highlights issues that have not yet been extensively discussed in the literature but seem to be important for further research into residential segregation. BAILEY, N. (Chapter 21) points out that studies of the processes behind changes in segregation remain in their 'relative infancy' and there is a clear need to develop standardised tools and software packages which will make it easier to produce comparable results from a wider range of contexts. ÖSTH, J. and TÜRK, Ü. (Chapter 22) seek to model a multi-method oriented approach to how the measurement of segregation can be conducted, by comparing outputs from different multi-scale, bespoke neighbourhood methods. WALKS, A. (Chapter 23) examines the origins, definitions, and measurements of the concept of the ghetto, and outlines the political implications of the debates in the scholarly literature on these areas. This chapter corresponds well to the powerful statement by MARCUSE, P. (1994, 41) that 'the central problem of our societies is the division among people, and that division is increasingly reflected by walls dividing them, walls whose social weight and impact has increasingly overshadowed their physical might'.

In the epilogue (Chapter 24) MUSTERD, S. discusses key issues for future research on urban segregation. He emphasises that the examples shown in the present volume confirm that globalisation, neoliberal and other welfare regimes, together with historically rooted economic, social, spatial and institutional contextual conditions all continue to play a crucial role in the development of social inequality and urban segregation, but some of these forces have become overwhelming. In particular, this applies to the ongoing rise of the neoliberal intervention model. A second aspect concerns the framing of the discourse concerning inequality and segregation. Debates that currently feature in the media are based more on ideas relating to exclusion and inequality than inclusion, equality and solidarity. A shift in this emphasis could lead to a positive reframing of the discussion concerning segregation. MUSTERD stresses that there is much debate about 'just cities': 'cities characterised by a high decommodification, by the avoidance of a residualisation of the social housing sector, by the availability of affordable and accessible housing for all social classes and by limited social inequality; all of which result in limited spatial inequalities, and an absence of no-go or gated communities' (p. 422). I agree that this spatial justice debate is worth continuing.

An undoubted strength of the book is the fact that it presents varied urban settings from around the world, involving multiple versions of segregation that are not amenable to simple and universal explanations regarding their formative processes, their patterns and their

impacts. The vast majority of the chapters have been authored by scholars with extensive research experience in urban segregation and are often based on well-known examples. At first glance I had the impression that the authors merely present the reader with processes which are already familiar. Nevertheless, after careful reading I have come to the view that the volume does, in fact, set out new interpretations of familiar processes and as such should be considered a continuation of prior research (such as MALOUTAS, T. and FUJITA, K. 2012). I was particularly interested in the chapters dealing with issues which are not so commonly addressed in the segregation debate, like environmental justice and environmental gentrification. Of great importance in my view is the inference that the diversity of contemporary segregation patterns means that it is increasingly difficult to describe them and foresee their likely impact. International comparative research has revealed the crucial importance of confronting different contexts in understanding urban dynamics. Such physical, economic, social, cultural, and institutional contexts not only differ in the way they have developed over time, but also in how they shape contemporary realities. The studies contained in this volume attempt to find a balance between the importance of global and local factors. This allows the reader to look for the common characteristics of segregation, but also understand its specific nature in each case, in line with the assumption that a global process can manifest itself in the form of diverse local phenomena.

The book can be recommended to a wide audience, including scholars, students and all those interested in urban segregation. It will be of particular assistance to researchers in Central and Eastern European, especially if they are seeking inspiration as to ways of approaching the complexity of urban segregation. It is worth noting in this connection that Central and Eastern European countries are also experiencing an increase in urban segregation, the concentration of the middle and upper classes in gated communities, and even if the segregation indices are still quite low, this does not necessarily mean less inequality and more intense and effective contact between different groups.

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