

LITERATURE

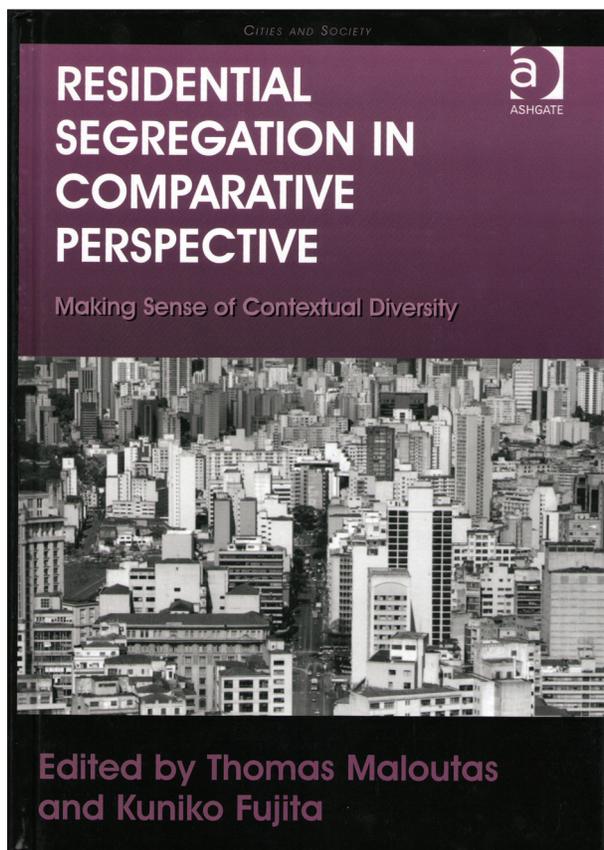
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Maloutas, Th. and Fujita, K. (eds): Residential Segregation in Comparative Perspective. Making Sense of Contextual Diversity. City and Society Series, Ashgate, Farnham, UK, 2012. 329 p.

The main question of this book is whether globalization has increased the spatial segregation in our cities, and if it has, in which respect. Focusing on the last 30–40 years, the authors investigate 11 metropolises worldwide in order to analyze the influencing factors of residential segregation. The case studies describing a Latin-American, six European, and four Asian cities give 11 different answers to the original question. (Though the US cities are often cited as a classic case of segregation, no North-American metropolis was included in the volume.) On the basis of this rich overview of the different urban experiences in social and spatial segregation patterns and rationales, the editor MALOUTAS, Th. claims that not just globalization is responsible for segregation.

One of the main conclusions is that there is a strong need for a model reflecting contextual diversity in the study of urban residential segregation. The model developed by FUJITA, K. emphasizes the relevance of social equality and spatial segregation and it pays special attention to the relation between them.

The cities discussed in the volume are divided into five groups according to the degree of segregation and inequality. The forces which have an impact on residential segregation and institutions and either intensify or counteract social inequality are scrutinized in each group. Three cities (*Beijing, Istanbul and Sao Paolo*) belong to the first group in which spatial segregation is combined with high social inequality. The case of *Beijing* shows that the role of the state, namely the centralized distribution of dwellings, contributes to massive spatial segregation (which already



existed in the past). In *Beijing* education, jobs and social services are available only for the registered inhabitants, while the migrants from rural areas (i.e. floating population) who live in the peripheral areas are very much excluded. LOGAN, J. L. and LI, L. the authors of the study on *Beijing* argue that inequality is maintained by the Chinese bureaucracy and not by market economy or globalization.

The level of segregation in *Istanbul* has not declined over the last few decades, only the characters of the segregated groups have changed: the classic cleavage between the Muslim and non-Muslim groups shifted toward a split between the high and the low income groups in the modern Turkey. Since the non-Muslim population has disappeared, the migrants from rural areas have become the segregated low income groups living in squatters on the periphery of the city. As the author argues, segregation in *Istanbul* is maintained by state clientelism. The property rights remain informal, the patron-client relations overthrow the ineffective laws and rules. Eventually, slum clearance programs give a chance to the population of squatters to move to middle class quarters, but only a very small part of them can participate in these programs, the majority remains in place as TAŞAN-KOK, T. claims.

Sao Paulo as a typical Latin-American metropolis is traditionally highly segregated: the urban poor live in the periphery, the middle and the higher classes in the center and in the gated communities. The democratic changes in the 1990s broadened the availability of health institutions, but did not result in significant improvements in other segments like education, housing, jobs, etc. According to MARQUES, E., the separation of social classes is maintained by the patron-client relations; neither democratization nor global process have changed it. Those cases are similar to the classic American pattern, but there is also a major difference: in the United States the welfare system exists and public services are available for everyone at a low level.

The second group consists of two cities: the moderately separated but highly unequal *Paris* and *Budapest*. In *Paris*, the traditional differences between the high status and the working-class quarters have narrowed due to the process of gentrification since the 1980s. As PRÉTECEILLE, E. argues, *Paris* is far from completely segregated and most of its quarters are rather mixed. Nevertheless, there are some low status areas inhabited by groups of migrants which make a challenge. The welfare state is not effective enough to solve their problems despite the reforms and anti-discrimination programs. The public rental system keeps low income groups in the cheap districts where services and jobs are often not available, thus the inequality is reproduced. In *Budapest* segregation did not start with the change of regime, it existed well before the socialist time and its basic patterns are inherited from the 19th century. According to Kovács, Z., the housing privatization and the radical transformation of the local public administration resulted in significant changes in the socio-spatial structure and increased the level of residential segregation in the city.

Copenhagen, the only city which belongs to the third group, is separated but equal. Similarly to *Paris*, traditional low and high status quarters have co-existed here for centuries. The welfare state itself also contributes to the preservation of the traditional segregation pattern through financing the social rental dwellings. However, due to the highly developed welfare system, the spatial separation is not combined with social inequality as ANDERSEN, H.T. claims. In the Danish capital, public services and the highly developed education lower the level of segregation. The coordinated capitalism and the welfare state can protect the most vulnerable social groups, even if the spatial segregation exists because of the concentration of social dwellings.

The fourth group is the opposite of the previous model; it consists of non-separated but unequal cities, *Hong Kong*, *Athens* and *Madrid*, According to YIP, N., *Hong Kong* inherited its city structure from the colonial past. The substantial public housing sector attracts people

not only from the lower class, but also from the middle and higher strata. This explains why the different social classes are spatially so mixed (except for the narrow upper-class) in the whole city. The lack of spatial segregation does not mean that differences between the social groups do not exist or are insignificant. The availability of the services is unequal what is true for the Mediterranean cities, as well.

In *Athens*, the low level of spatial segregation is the result of the increasing social mobility combined with low spatial mobility. The explanation of the latter is the Mediterranean family-centered welfare model and the high rate of home ownership. The construction of new residential areas all over the city also makes the neighbourhoods mixed.

The segregation has also declined in *Madrid* where the economic growth and the real estate boom have shaped the city more mixed over the last two decades. Similarly to *Athens*, the young upwardly mobile groups have settled close to their parents in the working class neighbourhoods in compliance with the South European family-centered welfare model. The increasing international migration also has an anti-segregation impact: the newcomers live in mixed quarters due to the lack of social housing as DOMÍNGUEZ, M. *et al.* concluded.

The last group of cities includes two Asian metropolises (*Taipei* and *Tokyo*) where the level of spatial and social segregation is very low. The case of the Taiwanese capital represents the influence of urban policies on segregation. Urban regeneration projects like the construction of a new governmental district, the renovation of old neighbourhoods have turned *Taipei* into a multi-pole metropolis and they have had a considerable effect on social mix in the city. Besides urban planning and policy, the high and increasing proportion of the middle class is another important explanatory factor which is an outcome of the government's economic policy, the state support to the small business networks. Those who cannot afford to live in *Taipei* city usually move to the periphery or other towns, as WANG, C-H. and LI, C-H. claim.

In *Tokyo*, the developmental state is also an important factor, its institutions like the compressed wage system, the companies functioning as communities keep the segregation at a low level. The urban structure of *Tokyo* has also been formed by the real estate booms and busts over the last decades; the central districts have become a very high valued area. The equality in *Tokyo* means that there is no correlation between the land value and the occupation groups. According to authors (FUJITA, K and HILL, R.C.), all the quarters are socially integrated, the education and the services are available for all.

The studies of eleven different cities do not support the central hypothesis that globalization results in similar urban development and segregation pattern all over the world. They rather suggest that the role of the institutions, local and national politics, regionalism have remained important. The basic patterns of segregation are relatively stable everywhere despite the changes which have occurred in the economy and society over the last few decades.

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