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BOOK REVIEW

Ethnic spatial segregation in European cities, edited by Hans Skifter Andersen, London and New York, Routledge, 2019, 226 pp., £115.00 (hbk), ISBN 978-1-138-35891-1

Hans Skifter Andersen's book illustrates the diversity of contemporary ethnic spatial segregation in European cities. Reporting on research results from the NODES project – Nordic Welfare States and the Dynamics and Effects of Ethnic Residential Segregation – this collection is as a co-operation between researchers from four Nordic European countries.

The book aims to examine the connection between segregation and cities' deprived neighbourhoods. It provides an understanding of determinants of ethnic segregation in European cities. In short Andersen's book is about ethnic and spatial segregation of groups, responding mainly to immigrants in European cities who often live separately from the majority and tend to live in concentrations in specific neighbourhoods. In fact Andersen highlights from its very beginnings that the book is not about the causes of ethnic segregation, rather it aims to show how and why ethnic segregation has emerged and been maintained in the last decades in European cities.

In the introductory chapter Andersen asserts that 'ethnic spatial segregation differs significantly from country to country, to some extent also from city to city within the same country' (p. 2). The driving force for ethnic segregation is *social inequality*, which is determined by the deficit of immigrants' lower incomes than the native majority. It is also presented that labour market and state welfare systems influence urban ethnic segregation. Andersen addresses a need for better integration policies in the areas of employment and education to facilitate access to decent jobs and income. The major message here is that housing policies and urban planning are key mechanisms that can limit ethnic segregation.

Chapter two shows how 'deviant preferences' for housing among ethnic minorities appear in most of the analysed cities. Cultural background and the specific position of immigrants in society can influence their housing choices and preferences. Usually ethnic minorities look for dwellings close to each other, have a preference to live in extended families, and look for reciprocity or feel the obligation to help family and friends who cannot find a dwelling

The so-called 'deviant preferences for neighbourhoods' among ethnic minorities are debated in chapter three. Andersen discusses *the multi-ethnic neighbourhood* which is determined by four dimensions – the physical environment; the socio-cultural environment; access to local public and private services; broader transport access and location. As ethnic groups usually avoid living in the native majority neighbourhoods, self-segregation is typical for many immigrants in European cities, mainly because they prefer to live close to extended networks - based either on motives of sanctuary or enclavisation. Both of these motives appear as a consequence of avoiding prejudice from native populations. While living in enclaves can maintain a separate cultural identity, this is not straightforward for all ethnic groups, as some prefer mixed neighbourhoods, or even native neighbourhoods. Andersen fails to elaborate on the latter however.

Chapter four deals with spatial assimilations and immigrants' locational preferences and choices over time. The major question here is do newly arrived immigrants settle in ethnic enclaves? Based on a thorough literature review, the author's conclusion is that immigrants in Europe only partially settle in ethnic enclaves, a situation which differs from country to country depending on the conditions of the housing market. Another interesting issue discussed in this chapter is whether immigrants inevitably experience integration/assimilation in the course of time, and whether they change their locational preferences. Generally, immigrants do not enter into mainstream society. Andersen highlights that this is a reason for questioning spatial assimilation as an actual process throughout European countries, but it all depends again on the behaviour of ethnic groups and across countries, with income and education important drivers.

Locational preference and moving behavior among the native majority is presented in chapter five. Resistance against mixed neighbourhoods increases with the size of the immigrant population in the city. Also, the *racial proxy hypothesis* is mentioned as a theory which claims that selective migration of natives is caused by antisocial behavior and crime, problematic schools, and low quality housing. Andersen concludes that the complex interplay between schools and neighbourhoods is context-dependent and differs much across cities and countries.

An interesting debate is settled in chapter six. The discussion is anchored on the importance of housing policies and housing markets in European cities, which generally depend on the differences in the welfare state systems. If ethnic minorities are confined to certain segments of housing markets and if this specific housing is concentrated in certain parts of the cities, segregation will be strong. The supply of low-cost rental housing is very important for ethnic minorities, while the supply of social housing and rules for access vary greatly across countries. Andersen is aware that discrimination in the housing market exists: landlord letting strategies can present barriers for ethnic minorities accessing adequate housing for example.

Chapter seven deploys the importance of urban policies and the spatial distribution of housing. *Spatial differentiation* of cities appears on the ground of the distribution of people in space, which is created by interaction between social and cultural differentiation among residents, a structure that is changing due to economic (dis)investments, or as Andersen previously mentioned as 'a product of the social, physical and functional structure of the city' (p.23). As an example the results of a detailed analysis of four Nordic capital cities reveal a strong connection between ethnic composition of neighbourhoods and ethnic concentration, illustrating the importance of the housing market for the spatial distribution of households. Also, the distribution of housing tenures is becoming more important with Helsinki cited as a positive example of how strong planning policies can result in less ethnic segregation,

Finally, chapter eight reveals how welfare state systems influence ethnic segregation. Preference for living in homogeneous neighbourhoods vary by welfare system. It is demonstrated that housing options and housing conditions are better for ethnic minorities in the more developed welfare states. It is asserted that in liberal welfare states (e.g. UK, Ireland, Switzerland, Luxembourg) ethnic minorities are often more dispersed in the housing stock, thereby reducing measures of concentration.

Summing up, Andersen's book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of housing policy challenges for urban ethnic minorities in Europe. These challenges are not restricted by national borders, and despite differences in histories, cultures, institutions and economies across advanced capitalist societies the book reminds us of the many similar housing processes and outcomes for urban ethnic groups. There is much to be learned from this timely

book. The rich contextual details on ethnic minority segregation mean that it will be of interest to housing academics, students, policymakers, practitioners and activists.

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