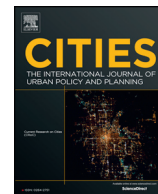




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Guest Editorial/ Editorial

Beyond residential segregation: Introduction[☆]

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ABSTRACT

This essay introduces the special issue and explains its rationale. It argues that, while the residential location and neighbourhood remain significant, urban segregation needs to be understood and examined in terms of everyday activities, social networks and mobility within the context of broader social and political-economic processes. This broader focus is needed, among others, because of the emergence and diffusion of uneven urban infrastructures and enhanced – albeit unequal – physical mobilities within and between cities. After briefly reviewing recent work that understands and analyses segregation as dynamic and multi-dimensional, the essay summarises the contributions of the eight papers to the existing literature. These lie primarily in the analysis of how exposure to social difference and to opportunities for upward social mobility – as both indication and antecedent of segregation – is shaped by everyday activities and mobility in a wider context of unevenly networked urbanism.

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1. Early developments: The U.S. city as norm

Residential segregation has been one of the returning topics of urban research since the early twentieth century. Triggered by the rapid segregation of African-Americans after the turn of the century (cf. Massey & Denton, 1993), this initially resulted in an exclusively American discussion. Not surprisingly, this discussion reflected the socio-cultural and spatial context of American cities and their institutional settings that translate into direct links between neighbourhoods and the quality of urban services. Prompted by new migrant concentrations in European cities, an additional European literature has emerged since the 1980s (e.g., Musterd, 2005; Van Kempen, 2005). Still more recently, segregation in the global South started to receive attention as well (e.g., Monkkonen (2010) on urban Mexico, and Logan and Li (2012) on Beijing). For a long time, the different settings of segregation in these cities were hardly thematised. Instead, attention focused on the measurement of segregation, resulting in alternate periods of vigorous debate and relative agreement (Cortese, Falk, & Cohen, 1976; Duncan & Duncan, 1957; Lieberman, 1981; Massey & Denton, 1988; Taeuber & Taeuber, 1965). Generally, this research had one key characteristic in

common: it took the place of residence as starting point of analysis (Van Kempen & Wissink, 2014; Wong & Shaw, 2011), assuming that the residential location is crucial and sufficient in understanding the intersections between space and inequality. This assumption reflected urban U.S. realities, and also aligned with a broader convention in research on contextual effects on the behaviours, experiences and upward social mobility of individuals and social groups (Kwan, 2013). It resulted in a burgeoning literature presenting indices and mappings based on large data sets, comparing the residential segregation of income groups and minority ethnic groups in almost every city in the global North and beyond.

In view of the historical development of segregation research, it is not surprising that most discussions on the consequences of segregation start from a U.S. perspective. Overall, these discussions view segregation very negatively (Musterd, 2003). Lewis (1966), for instance, argues that segregation results in ‘cultures of poverty’ that have myriad negative impacts on individuals and social groups. Wilson (1987) concurs that simply living in U.S. ghettos creates social problems, and Massey and Denton (1993, page 2) stress that residential segregation “systematically undermines the social and economic well-being of Blacks in the United States.” In a systematic analysis of the wrongs of residential segregation, Young (2000, page 205) argues against focusing on group clustering itself as a moral problem, instead foregrounding “processes of exclusion from privileges and benefits.” She suggests that: 1) segregation results from racial discrimination regarding access to housing, limiting freedom of housing choice; 2) residential segregation reproduces inequalities because urban services in poor neighbourhoods are sub-standard, while inadequate socialisation generates behaviours and

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¹ In February this year Ronald passed away. We are shocked beyond belief to lose this committed, straight shooting, fun loving and most generous colleague and friend. This special issue on which we were working together is in Ronald’s memory..

values impeding residents to use the opportunities that do exist; 3) segregation obscures these inequalities because privileged groups do not visit poor neighbourhoods; and 4) segregation impedes communication between these groups, thus standing in the way of political solutions. In response to this U.S. literature, increased attention has been paid to variations in the consequences of residential segregation between cities in recent years. Musterd (2003), for instance, argues that in Dutch cities residential segregation is not the prime indicator for social integration, suggesting that policies should focus on access to education and the labour market and not on de-segregation. In line with the recent literature on comparative urbanism, this reminds us that the U.S. city might not be the only model to think about residential segregation and its consequences (Roy & Ong, 2011; Robinson, 2011). Indeed, given the geographically and historically specific character of housing markets and the formation of neighbourhoods and ghettos in U.S. cities, a focus on segregation beyond the residential location can be seen as contributing to the 'provincialisation' (Sheppard, Leitner, & Maringanti, 2013) of urban theory and research.

2. Enclaves, infrastructures and mobility

In recent years, two developments have influenced residential segregation and its effects. First, numerous state and business-led urban regeneration initiatives in conjunction with the formation of new 'premium' infrastructures linking up and privileging selective sites – typically those where elites live, work and consume – have radicalised the socio-spatial fragmentation of cities (Amin, 2013a; Graham & Marvin, 2001). Superimposing new configurations of interconnected enclaves on cities where neighbourhoods were already to varying degrees segregated along lines of class and ethnicity, these developments support the emergence of 'networked' or 'enclave urbanism' in which cities are restructured into networks of (physically, legally, and/or socially) bounded enclaves that are each home to selected groups or activities (Douglass, Wissink, & Van Kempen, 2012; Wissink, van Kempen, Fang, & Li, 2012). Connectivity rather than physical proximity has become the crucial factor, as premium enclaves are well connected by new privatised infrastructures, while enclaves for the underprivileged are increasingly cut-off (Castells, 1996; Graham & Marvin, 2001). These developments are certainly not limited to the Western world. With increasing inequalities, cities in the global South are marked with even more radical forms of enclave urbanism (He, 2013; UN Habitat, 2008; Wissink, 2013). Undertaking research into segregation across cities in the global South is thus more relevant than ever before.

Second, over the last decades people have become increasingly mobile, on average travelling more frequently and over longer distances (e.g. Frändberg & Vilhelmson, 2011; Pooley, Turnbull, & Adams, 2005; Scheiner, 2010). Earlier research already paid attention to the mobility of (some) people, thus relativising the importance of the residential neighbourhood (Fischer, 1982; Janelle, 1973; Merton, 1957; Stein, 1972; Webber, 1964). On top of this, more recent and often more affordable mobility systems such as bus rapid transit, urban light rail, budget airlines and smartphone based taxi-like services have made physical mobility accessible to many more – though certainly not all – urban residents. The numbers of people who move between and within countries and cities have increased markedly, and they travel, commute, and move for all sorts of activities. Furthermore, in the global North 'peak car use' (Newman & Kenworthy, 2011; Goodwin & Van Dender, 2013) – a possible reversal, or at least stabilisation, of the growth of car use and ownership among younger generations, especially in cities – and the revival of public transport and cycling mean that repetitive exposure to ethnic and cultural diversity on commutes and other trips has intensified (e.g., Lobo, 2014; Wilson, 2011). In the social sciences, this increased mobility has resulted in the emergence of a distinct body of scholarship known as the new mobilities paradigm or mobilities turn (Adey, Bissell, Hannam, Merriman, & Sheller, 2013; Sheller & Urry, 2006, 2016) focusing on this world of flux. Noting

that mobility is not increasing in the same way for everybody, it argues that opportunities and capabilities to fulfil mobility needs are increasingly unequal, as the increased speed and spatial extension in the movements of certain groups is often enabled by the immobilisation of others (Cresswell, 2006; Elliot & Urry, 2010). These developments have contributed to 'mobility related social exclusion' (Kenyon, Lyons & Rafferty, 2002; Lucas, 2012; Birtchnell & Caletrio, 2014; Schwanen, Lucas, Akyelken, Solsona, & Carrasco, 2015; Koh & Wissink, forthcoming). As a result, for some groups, the residential neighbourhood has continued importance (Van Kempen & Wissink, 2014; Wissink & Hazelzet, 2012).

This radicalised albeit uneven mobility potentially has a huge impact on residential segregation as it might influence several of the 'wrongs' that Young (2000) discussed above. Possibly, it increases the urban services within reach of (some) residents (Hendrikx & Wissink, 2016). It might also expand exposure to social difference and opportunities to meet 'others', which could impact positively on both socialisation and intergroup dialogues as preconditions for democracy. Obviously, unevenness might be one reason why increased mobility does not have such ameliorating effects. Furthermore, despite initial optimism (e.g., Amin, 2002; Thrift, 2005), geographical research into 'encounters' shows that often they do not result in cosmopolitan lifestyles, civic cultures, and community cohesion (Amin, 2013b; Matejskova & Leitner, 2011; Valentine, 2008). Thus, various studies have highlighted the myriad ways in which everyday encounters are conditioned by the socially shared rules of everyday interaction (Valentine, 2008) and "much broader and complex processes of marginalization and deeply entrenched unequal power relations among different social groups, operated and enacted at multiple sites and scales" (Matejskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 736). As a result, encounters can support empathy and cosmopolitanism, but also, and especially in times of insecurity, deepen prejudices and withdrawal from 'others'. It is likely that these dynamics are dependent on and mediated by the characteristics of local spatial practices in specific cities, strengthening the need for comparative research.

3. Recent developments in segregation research

These two developments have considerable consequences for segregation research. On the one hand, they imply that attention to residential segregation is as relevant as ever. At the same time, however, they suggest that place-based studies need to be supplemented with research beyond the residential neighbourhood. After all, as Kwan (2013, page 1079) has observed, "people experience segregation or social exclusion not only in their residential neighbourhoods but also in other spaces as their daily lives unfold, including their workplaces and sites for social and recreational activities". She therefore urges others to develop person-based perspectives on segregation. Similarly, Wong and Shaw (2011, page 142) have argued that "[f]ocussing on just one socio-geographical space exclusively very much ignores the potential moderating effects brought by the exposure to other population groups in other relevant spaces". Such moderating effects are, as we have seen, highly location specific.

These observations are reflected in new empirical research in cities around the world that has moved beyond the residential neighbourhood. Early examples are the studies by Ellis, Wright, and Parks (2004) and Atkins and Flint (2004). The former have studied differences between ethnic segregation at home and at work in Los Angeles. They show that segregation by work tract is considerably lower than by residential tract, suggesting that intergroup interaction during working hours exceeds such interaction at home. The latter have analysed what they term the 'space-time trajectories of segregation' of gated community residents in England in which everyday movements – typically by private cars – link together secluded spaces of care, employment and consumption.

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