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De-Segregation, Peripheralisation and the Social Exclusion of Immigrants: Southern European Cities in the 1990s

Sonia Arbaci and Jorge Malheiros

The unfavourable evolution of social conditions and housing patterns of immigrants in contemporary Southern Europe challenges the association of social inclusion and integration with spatial dispersal. Recent housing and socio-urban changes, involving limited public-housing production and few opportunities for self-build housing, have triggered additional processes of socio-residential exclusion associated with peripheralisation, de-segregation in the context of urban renewal, and gentrification. Finally, the strength and specific composition of the major waves of immigrants in the 1990s and early 2000s have also contributed to narrowing migrants' access to the housing market and promoting distinctive patterns of settlement. Focusing on the six metropolises of Lisbon, Madrid, Barcelona, Turin, Milan and Rome, we explore patterns and dynamics of socio-ethnic segregation in Southern Europe, paying particular attention to the processes of marginalisation through dispersal, and questioning the orthodox association between residential de-segregation and social inclusion. Despite data limitations and the fact that these examples may not be representative of all Southern European metropolises, this paper aims at a more accurate interpretation of the contemporary socio-urban dynamics associated with the presence of immigrants.

Keywords: Peripheralisation; Segregation; De-Segregation; Social Exclusion of Immigrants; Southern European Cities

Introduction

Traditional literature on socio-ethnic segregation tends to associate social and residential exclusion with spatial concentration. Although some authors have

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discussed the advantages and disadvantages of spatial concentration (Body-Gendrot and Martiniello 2000; Bolt 2002; Kesteloot and Meert 2000; van Kempen and Özüekren 1998), the disadvantages seem to prevail, implying that 'desirable' processes of spatial desegregation or population dispersal lead to processes of housing inclusion and upward housing mobility (Marcuse 2002).

Taking the hypothesis that de-segregation and spatial dispersal are not, *de per se*, the major solutions to the problems of the exclusion of vulnerable immigrant groups, we will show in this paper that the contemporary de-concentration processes of immigrant residential settlement in Southern Europe (henceforth S-EU) do not go hand-in-hand with improving social inclusion and housing conditions, therefore challenging the classical assumptions mentioned above.

We start with a short overview of the welfare and housing systems of S-EU, stressing key features and changes in access to housing and its geography since the liberalisation of the housing market (Arbaci 2007a, 2008). Next we point out how, since the mid-1990s, the specific characteristics of the latest major immigrant wave (wide diversity in geographical origin, increasing feminisation, frequent irregular nature and an over-representation in low-skilled sectors such as construction, domestic service and shop-work) have contributed to distinctive patterns of settlement. These generally point to a lower degree of segregation compared to Central and Northern European metropolises and frequently to higher concentrations in the urban peripheries (Malheiros 2002).

In the main body of the article, we explain why the recent housing and socio-urban changes that contributed to de-segregation in the 1990s have also triggered the socio-residential exclusion of immigrants associated with peripheralisation, urban renewal and gentrification. Despite the absence of data enabling longitudinal analysis, basic information from our six study areas is useful for explaining the dynamics of the segregation/de-segregation patterns of immigrants.

Segregation and De-Segregation: Processes and Readings

Ethnic concentration has recurrently been considered as the spatial representation of marginalisation, whilst drawing from the argument that living in socially or ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods has primarily negative effects in terms of aspiration, discrimination, stigmatisation and crime, and hinders processes of upward mobility (Massey and Denton 1993). Ethnic de-segregation/dispersal is thus intuitively regarded as a form or process of integration (Marcuse 2002) or even assimilation (Bolt and van Kempen 2010) and has fed political discourses and planning practices in Western Europe and the US since the 1960s (Goetz 2003).

Because ethnic concentration was defined as an undesirable phenomenon, integration has frequently been advocated or enforced through programmes of ethnic residential dispersal and mixed neighbourhoods (Andersson and Musterd 2005; Behar 2001; Ostendorf *et al.* 2001; Simon 2002). Mixed neighbourhoods as a panacea for integration, though hardly proven (Arthurson 2002; Atkinson and

Kintrea 2001; Bolt and van Kempen 2010), have surfaced on political and urban agendas since the 1960s, somehow projecting the idea of an inclusive society as a mosaic composed of affluent enclaves and socio-ethnically mixed neighbourhoods. These binary and reductive perceptions of segregation (ghetto vs. enclave, segregation/dispersal, exclusion/integration and the panacea of mixed neighbourhoods), periodically re-launched in the US (Varady 2005), are still widely used as a reference or starting-point of discussion, despite being superseded by more advanced urban debates. In fact, there is a growing consensus that, under certain circumstances (such as unfriendly contexts), ethnic concentration facilitates self-support, survival strategies, ethnic entrepreneurship and mechanisms of mixed-embeddedness; it strengthens social networks and reciprocity, and enhances electoral power (Peach 1996; Tarrus 1992; van Kempen and Özüekren 1998).

Such a deconstructed notion of segregation has provided more robust theoretical and operational backgrounds for examining the alleged positive effects of urban policies of mixing and diffusion programmes, such as the *Single Regeneration Budget* (UK) or *Développement Social des Quartiers, Loi d'Orientation pour la Ville* (France). The impact or effectiveness of area-based diffusion policies and compensating policies on ethnic segregation are currently discussed across Northern European cities, as is the myth of mixed or diverse neighbourhoods (Andersson and Musterd 2005; Blokland and van Eijk 2010; Kruythoff 2003; Simon 2002). This has also shed light on the hindering effects of ethnic de-segregation processes, either when related to the negative impacts of renewal schemes and gentrification processes, or when resulting from ethnic dispersal programmes (Giroud 2004; Maloutas 2004; Schnell and Ostendorf 2002).

In some cases, ethnic de-segregation is recognised as a product or instrument of domination and control, as much as a spatial reflection of marginalisation and separateness (Simon 2002). In some extreme occurrences, ethnic de-segregation is regarded as the product of localised ethnic cleansing (Tabakman 2001), or rather the avoidance of social responsibility through gentrification (Atkinson 2003).

These arguments have significant academic and policy implications, raising questions beyond the theoretical premises that (ethnic) de-segregation and social mix are territorial conditions that facilitate ethnic and socio-economic integration and upward mobility. Within our analysis of S-EU metropolises, we will disentangle the social and spatial dimensions of the urban processes to show how de-segregation might instead be associated with urban (territorial) marginalisation and social exclusion.

Urban Housing Dynamics, Renewal and Residential Patterns in Southern European Cities

Structural Factors: A Critical Reading

A set of combined factors affecting both the immigration features and the socio-urban development of the S-EU metropolis may help to explain the distinctiveness of

immigrants' spatial organisation. These features can be synthesised as four distinctive issues: (i) poorer housing conditions; (ii) high informality levels in access to the real-estate market; (iii) lower levels of spatial segregation associated with more complex patterns of residential distribution; and (iv) a higher degree of suburbanisation (Malheiros 2002). However, two of these issues—poorer housing conditions and informality in access to housing—are also emerging in Northern European cities (Leerkes *et al.* 2007), partly because of the characteristics of the latest immigration flows (e.g. increasing illegal entry, gender-selective migration), and partly because of the general decrease in affordable housing associated with recent welfare, housing and urban restructuring. Yet the scale of these conditions diverges greatly between S-EU and N-EU cities. The low level of ethnic spatial segregation and the high degree of suburbanisation are still regarded as distinctive features of the S-EU urban context. These result from the more limited de-population of urban centres, despite the ongoing processes of tertiarisation and urban sprawl, the continuing presence in the city cores of middle- and high-income families and the long-term effect of rent control (Allen *et al.* 2004: 167–74).

However, two important distinctions need to be made. Firstly, the fragmentation processes (Salgueiro 2000) and socio-economic changes in the central areas need to be contextualised within the broader processes of urban renewal and gentrification, and compared with the time of arrival of the immigrants and the nature of migratory waves. Not all S-EU cities have experienced these socio-urban changes at the same time and pace and to the same extent. Particularly in Italy, 'since the mid-1970s, public policies have strongly promoted the rehabilitation of the oldest part of the cities, including their historical centre' (Allen *et al.* 2004: 28). Scattered processes of gentrification started in the 1980s in Milan and Rome and slightly later in Turin, thus limiting the residential access of less-affluent immigrants to certain central areas. In contrast, the 'ethnic presence' in the city cores of Barcelona and Madrid is still significant because pressures to renovate the role and physical conditions of the city centres only began in the early 1990s.

Secondly, there is an extremely weak presence of low- and middle-income immigrants in the traditional working-class neighbourhoods of the first peripheral ring, characterised by home-ownership (Arbaci 2007b). This is a quite distinctive S-EU pattern, as there is no equivalent in Northern European cities, suggesting that there are other important mechanisms at work beyond restructuring and gentrification.

In addition, there are three other distinctive structural or contextual factors that greatly, though indirectly, affect the spatial distribution of immigrants: (i) the extension of the owner-occupation sector, which spans the social spectrum, and its geography, (ii) the role of the family in the access to and provision of housing, both through inheritance processes and material support to home acquisition; and (iii) the low residential mobility amongst long-term residents in all social strata, often related to a traditional patrimonial approach to housing (Allen *et al.* 2004). All these make the ethnic and socio-urban differentiation of the city more complex and clearly reveal that the patterns of ethnic insertion are not a simple function of income and price.

Contemporary Dynamics: Socio-Tenure and Socio-Urban Structures

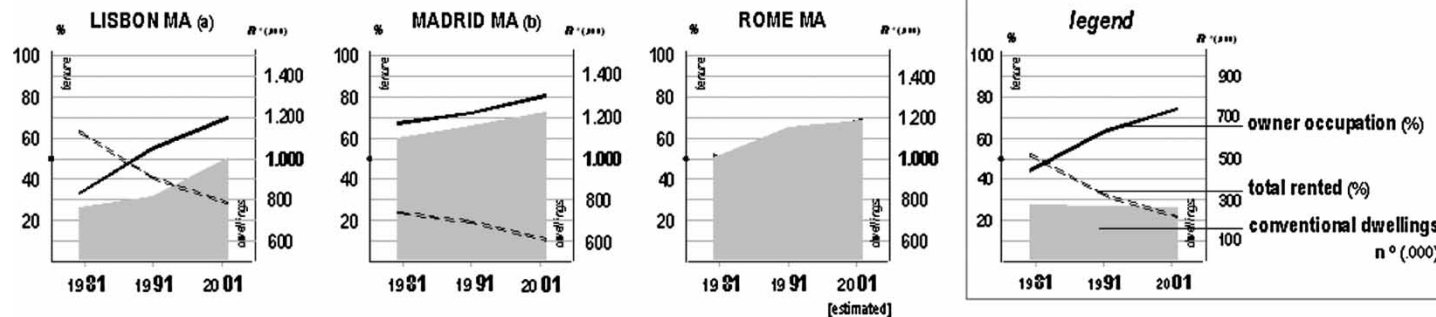
In the last three decades, S-EU metropolises and municipalities have shown a significant expansion in owner-occupation, linked respectively to new housing stock production in the wider metropolitan areas and to tenure change in municipal areas (see Figure 1). This expansion has come as no surprise, as owner-occupation is one of the cardinal elements upon which the Latin Rim housing regimes have been developed and envisaged. The fostering of owner-occupation has always been regarded in S-EU welfare systems as a key political-economic instrument which, on the one hand, boosts employment and economic growth and, on the other, ensures political stability (Allen *et al.* 2004). In this light, it is extremely important to stress that its current expansion is not the result of radical shifts in the housing regime, as it might be in corporatist and social-democratic welfare contexts of Northern Europe, but is the reproduction of a typical S-EU *modus pensanti*, where access to and ownership of land and real estate are crucial elements in the accumulation process of families (Arbaci 2007a, 2008).

This system, readapted in a context of strong liberalisation of the housing market and banking system, has been encouraged since the mid-1980s. It has brought about the abolition of rent control (Table 1), the progressive convergence of controlled rents towards market rents and the privatisation of social housing, together with changes in housing and land policy instruments, credit and fiscal systems (low-rate mortgages and tax benefits for the principal residence), housing production and planning control over land (Emmanuel 2004). Strongly inter-correlated, these changes have led to four major outcomes:

- expansion of owner-occupation and the sharp shrinking of the rental sector, particularly cheap accommodation in central areas;
- progressive growth in nominal housing prices in both tenures, which have been escalating dramatically since the mid-1990s;
- access to ownership now widely dependant on monetary resources and accumulated capital, leading to housing-market speculation;
- erosion of self-build housing (both formal and informal, given the strengthening of the formal planning mechanisms) and those distinctive provisions/productions of affordable housing in the rental sector and owner-occupation (e.g. housing cooperatives and small-scale family developments).¹

This new access to ownership dependent on monetary resources and borrowing (vs. self-build housing and the culture of saving), as well as generous tax benefits, has primarily advantaged households with liquid assets and accumulated capital (anticipated patrimony/inheritance)—usually upper-middle and high-echelon households—whilst fuelling housing-market speculation. As a result, rising house prices and the erosion of self-build schemes and cheap rent are actually constraining access to housing for the lower and low-middle echelons, including immigrants. Additionally, the undocumented situation of many migrants, associated with the

METROPOLITAN AREAS



MUNICIPAL AREAS

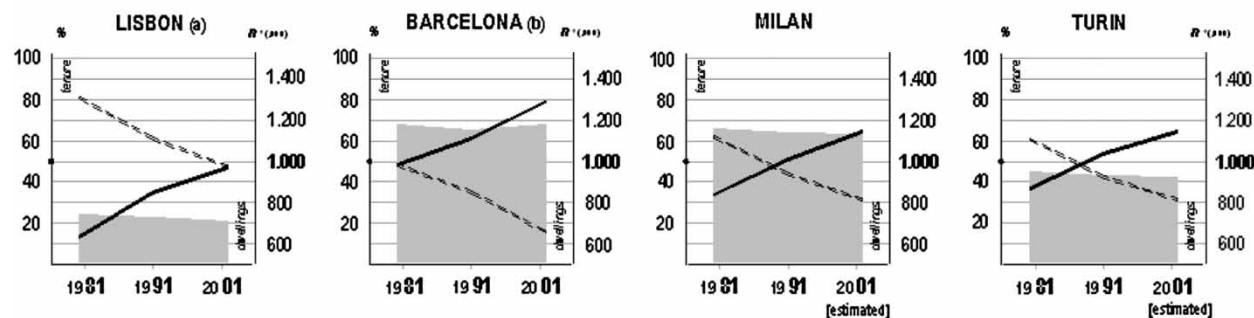


Figure 1. Housing tenure stock change (1981–2001) in selected Southern European cities

Sources: compiled by Arbaci (2007b); data from Urban-Audit (1998), except: (a) Fonseca (1999: 203) and Fonseca *et al.* (2002); (b) INE (2003) for 2001.

Table 1. Chronological synthesis of rent controls in Southern European states

	Portugal	Spain	Italy
First enactment	⊃between two Wars ⊃1948 →early 1970s (only Lisbon & Porto)	⊃1946 →1964	⊃1950s →mid-1960s
Second enactment	⊃1974 →1985 (generalisation to whole country)	⊃ convergence →1985	⊃on/off in the 1970s
Abolition rent control →new rent law	⊃1985 →1990s slow convergence between moderate rent and market rent →2004 enforcement of convergence	⊃1985 (<i>Ley Boyer</i>) →rapid liberalisation	⊃1978 →successive convergences and moderate rent →2004 liberalisation

Source: Interpretation of Allen *et al.* (2004: 157–80).

vulnerability of labour-market ties (short-term contracts, periods in and out of employment, etc.), hinders the fulfilment of regular mortgage outlays, leading to house repossession or the re-negotiation of loans, thus increasing financial risks for the owners and their families. Simultaneously, the privatisation of a relevant fraction of the social rental stock and the abolition of rent control, together with processes of urban renewal and/or gentrification, are generating a significant reduction in the affordable residual rental sector (Allen *et al.* 2004), due to tenure change and a convergence of moderate and residual rents towards market rents (Arbaci 2007b).

Overall, this recent housing context, in conjunction with profound socio-urban changes, is introducing additional mechanisms of socio-residential differentiation (Leal 2004; Tabakman 2001; Tosi 2002). We might expect not only an increase in residential inequalities amongst diverse segments of the native social spectrum (particularly between working-class and middle-class segments), but also greater forms of exclusion from the property ladder amongst foreign groups. In this respect, significant differences can also be anticipated between those foreign groups relying solely on income, including middle-income Africans, Eastern Europeans and Latin Americans, and those foreign communities that can also rely on endogenous financial and credit systems—the Chinese, Middle Easterners, and some Hindu groups. In addition, data suggest a stratification in owner-occupation between earlier and more recent cohorts of migrants, the latter being crowded into a declining rental sector, as we will see in the cases of Milan and Lisbon.

These processes entail two main geographic dynamics, one more evident in the peripheries and the other in central and peri-central areas. First, new middle-class developments in suburban areas respond to an increasing demand for owner-occupation triggered by young middle-income people, incentives from tax benefits and low-interest loans. These new residential developments have introduced new patterns of socio-spatial and socio-tenure differentiation, because of the development of middle- or high-income owner-occupied estates around or at the

fringes of less-affluent suburbs of the first peripheral ring, traditionally socially- and tenure-mixed areas of low- and middle-income groups. In areas where the necessary conditions for attracting these new inflows of middle-income owners are not met, due to a shortage of local infrastructure and services, a lack of parking spaces, a low-standard urban fabric, and a down-graded social image, a growing presence of non-EU immigrants is to be found.

Second, the diverse processes of urban renewal, mostly in central and peri-central areas—including the upgrading of the old stock, small infill developments, changes in use and housing typology, and renewal via gentrification or area-based programmes—have been driving the spatial (and social) uplifting of these districts. However, most of these programmes did not embody any actual socially inclusive scope (Delladetsima 2003) and, despite their rhetoric, their final outcome has been physical renovation and the outward expulsion of vulnerable groups towards more peripheral areas.

Current housing and socio-urban changes, therefore, have generated new mechanisms of residential marginalisation which are hindering vulnerable socio-economic groups and particularly non-Western foreigners. As a result, we expect an eventual increase in forms of social residential exclusion. In spatial terms, we anticipate changes in the patterns of segregation and geographic distribution, especially when linked to processes of ethnic peripheralisation, dispersal and de-segregation. Given the lack of comparable data, it is difficult to provide an accurate picture of the magnitude and forms of ethnic residential exclusion across the six cities analysed and across the diverse ethnic groups, but some of these aspects can be still exemplified through a few concrete cases.

(De-)Segregation and Housing Conditions of Immigrants in Southern European Cities: Patterns and Trends

Non-Western immigrants are amongst the most vulnerable groups in S-EU cities facing limitations in access to housing and urban space. Using the examples of six S-EU metropolises,² we identify common and differentiating features in the overall patterns of spatial distribution and segregation of the major immigrant groups. Later, we discuss the (de)segregation trends identified in some groups settled in these cities and how this evidence indicates that there is no clear improvement in their housing conditions.

Although all these cities are in countries included in the S-EU migration turnaround of the mid-1980s and 1990s (King *et al.* 1997), they differ in terms of migration waves and composition of the foreign population. The Italian cities present a highly diverse ethnic composition that involves important groups of Egyptians, Filipinos, Moroccans, Chinese and Bangladeshis, as well as the more recent waves of Eastern Europeans (post mid-1990s)—mostly Albanians, Ukrainians and Romanians. In Barcelona, the presence of small groups of Indians and Pakistanis can be traced back to the 1970s, but the change towards a ‘foreign immigration city’ only happened in the 1980s with the arrival and settlement of Moroccans, Filipinos and the first

significant waves of Latin Americans. In Barcelona and Madrid the origins of the Latin American groups have progressively diversified (from Peruvians to Ecuadorians, Bolivians, Argentineans and others) and the cities (especially Barcelona) have started to receive not only more sub-Saharan Africans but also, particularly, Eastern Europeans—Romanians, Bulgarians and Ukrainians, who have settled over the last 10 years. In Lisbon, the colonial tie is still visible in the composition of immigrant populations. After the limited Cape-Verdean migration of the late 1960s–early 1970s and the early migration wave of the mid-1970s associated with the de-colonisation of the PALOP countries,³ international labour immigration started to become more massive in the mid-1980s, though the migration turnover (the switch from net emigration to net immigration) took place in the early 1990s, considerably later than in Italy and Spain. This led to a diversification of Lisbon's immigrant population, with the arrival of Chinese and South Asians and, after 1999, Eastern Europeans (mainly Ukrainians, Moldavians, Romanians and Russians) and Brazilians, currently the main foreign group in Portugal.

Despite these differences, there are some common elements: similarities in the timing of the waves of migration, the proportionate numbers involved, the recurrent regularisation schemes, the progressive diversification of the immigrant population, the increasing relevance of South Americans and the importance of the Eastern European inflow in the last decade. And in the labour-market basins of the Mediterranean Metropolitan regions we find the dominance of migrants'—frequently informal—insertion in the low-skilled segments of the labour market, the high level of female immigrants in domestic work and child/elderly care, the relevance of the construction 'niche' for male wage-earners and the increasing relevance of the service sector—restaurants, hotels, shops and the leisure industry.

Degrees of Concentration and Geographic Distribution

Comparison of segregation indices (SIs⁴) for the most important immigrant groups in the six metropolises in Table 2 reveals an apparently complex panorama. The first conclusion we can draw is that, with some exceptions in Lisbon and Barcelona, the levels of spatial concentration are low—ranging from 18 to 36—even for those groups that often present patterns of high segregation, such as the Moroccans or the Chinese. Milan and Rome show the lowest levels amongst, respectively, the municipal and metropolitan cities; Barcelona and Lisbon the highest SIs—between 35 and 65, due in part to the fact that the processes of gentrification and embourgeoisement of the central and peri-central areas started later in these latter two cities (Petersen 1998). Both processes have entailed a significant reduction of the affordable and residual rental stock of the central areas, pricing out the low-income population and immigrants towards more peripheral areas. Specific characteristics of the groups displaying the higher levels of segregation may contribute to a better understanding of this situation. In Barcelona, groups with 'strong' ethnicity⁵ and a marked contrast with the autochthonous population (Moroccans and Pakistanis, for instance) display the highest segregation levels, with

Table 2. Segregation Indices and percentage in total resident population of selected foreign groups in six Southern European metropolises (1996–2002)

Metropolis	SI	% total resident population	Metropolis	SI	% total resident population
Lisbon MA (2001)			Milan (1996)		
European Union (15)	39	0.46	West Europe & N. America	29	1.55
Brazilians	28	0.63	Latin Americans	23	0.47
Eastern Europeans	29	0.27	Eastern Europeans (all)	19	0.31
PALOP	36	3.00	Africans (all excl. Egypt)	25	0.70
Cape Verdeans	37	1.07	Moroccans	22	0.27
Angolans	36	1.03	Egyptians	17	0.62
Bissau-Guineans	46	0.50	Filipinos	20	0.57
Indians	54	0.05	Chinese	35	0.29
Chinese	41	0.04			
Madrid MA (1996)			Rome MA (1996)		
W. Europe & N. America	33	0.53	West Europe & N. America	28	1.25
Latin Americans	20	0.65	Latin Americans	20	0.95
Peruvians	22	0.19	East Europeans (all)	21	1.40
Moroccans	27	0.26	Poles	21	0.43
			Africans (all excl. Egypt)	18	1.05
			Egyptians	19	0.25
			Filipinos	25	0.90
Barcelona (1996)			Turin (2002)		
Western Europe	35	0.52	Western Europe	34	0.35
Latin Americans	30	0.61	Latin Americans	26	0.65
Peruvians	23	0.20	Peruvians	26	0.39
Africans (all)	50	0.30	Eastern Europeans (all)	20	1.25
Moroccans	57	0.23	Romanians	22	0.75
Filipinos	65	0.13	Africans	28	1.60
Pakistanis	71	0.04	Moroccans	30	1.05
			Chinese	32	0.29

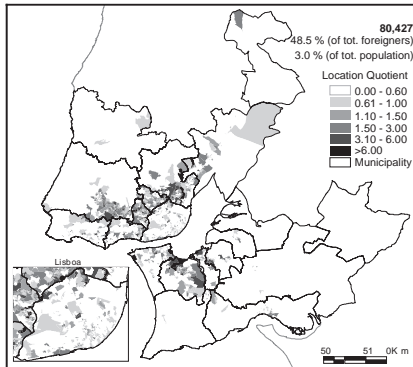
Sources: Malheiros (2002) for Lisbon and Madrid; Arbaci (2007b) for Barcelona, Rome, Milan and Turin.

the exception of the Filipinos. The specific features of this latter group—highly feminised and clearly over-represented in domestic work, frequently of the live-in type—contribute to the increase of spatial concentration in some bourgeois areas of the city, where live-in domestic work is more frequent. In Lisbon, the highest segregation levels are also registered among relatively small groups of immigrants with ‘strong’ ethnicity (Indians, Chinese and Bissau-Guineans, with relatively large proportions of Muslims and animists). The relevance of the internal business strategies of the relatively small groups of South Asians and Chinese may benefit from spatial proximity. In fact, the Chinese and Pakistanis are the two non-Western immigrant groups the most over-represented in the business areas of the Lisbon inner city, where ethnic businesses are clustered (Mapril 2001).

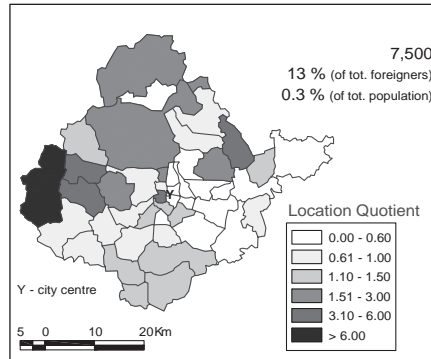
Figures 2 and 3 are a long series of 11 distribution maps of various immigrant nationalities and groupings in the six metropolitan cities under investigation. Figures 2a to 2f refer to the first immigration waves, and Figures 3a to 3c to more recent immigrant waves. As one would expect, in all six cities Eastern Europeans and Latin Americans score very low levels of concentration (SI below 30), evidence of their relative socio-cultural proximity to the autochthonous populations. Despite the variety of geographic distributions of these groups, it is possible to draw some broad conclusions. First, the wide geographical distribution of Africans, Latin Americans and Western European groups in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon, Madrid and Rome (Figure 2) clearly highlights *patterns of scattered peripheral settlement*. These are confirmed also in the peripheral satellite cities of Milan (Foot 2001; IRER 2001) and Barcelona (Miret 2001; Pimentel 2001). However, such patterns of peripheralisation are driven by diverse mechanisms, ranging from (i) strategies of incorporation, following the low-income suburbanisation after the mid-1970s (e.g. the first waves of Argentineans and Chileans in Madrid or PALOP citizens in Lisbon), to (ii) processes of discrimination and eviction (e.g. more recent waves of Moroccans in Madrid and Barcelona). Commonly, these patterns also result from inter-municipal migration after family reunification (e.g. Africans in Rome, Madrid and Turin), as well as from the scarcity of affordable permanent accommodation in the central and peri-central areas (Arbaci 2007b). Finally, there is also the impact of half a century of rent control on the distribution of the pre-1990 Cape-Verdean and other PALOP immigrants in the peripheral shanties and public-housing estates of Lisbon (Figure 2a).

Patterns of peripheralisation seem to be even stronger amongst the newcomer immigrants (e.g. Eastern Europeans and Latin Americans in Rome and more recently Barcelona and Lisbon—Figure 3). This is also shown by the escalating presence of un- and newly documented immigrants in some suburbs of Madrid (Ayuntamiento de Madrid 2003), Milan and Turin (Comune di Torino 2003). The combination of the geography of residual rental stock—greatly decreasing in the central districts and in the first suburban ring—and the consolidated ethnic territorial kinships already established in the ‘ethicised’ peripheries, provide part of the explanation. In addition, the availability of affordable rented housing on the edges of the expansion areas and in the peri-urban spaces may have helped to attract recent immigration waves,

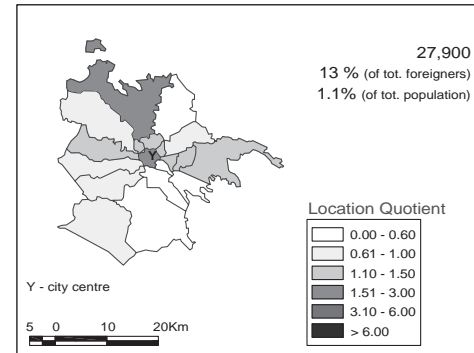
2a PALOP citizens – Lisbon MA 2001



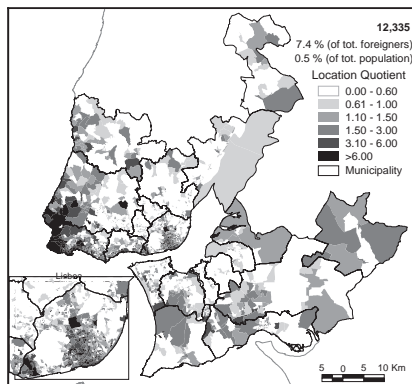
2b Moroccans – Madrid MA 1996



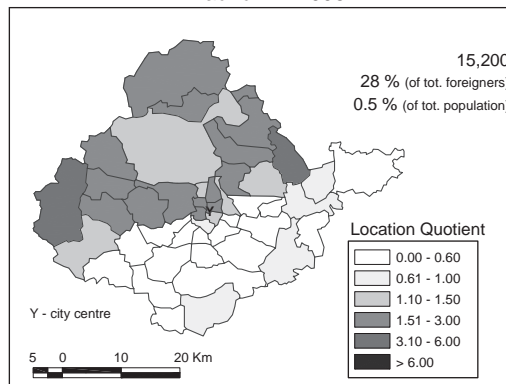
2C Africans (excl. Egyptians) – Rome MA 1996



2d EU citizens – Lisbon MA 2001



2e Western Europeans + North Americans – Madrid MA 1996



2f Latin Americans – Madrid MA 1996

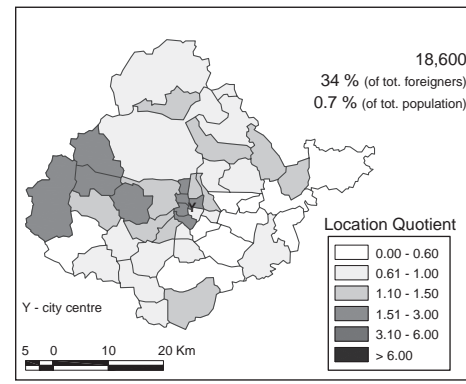
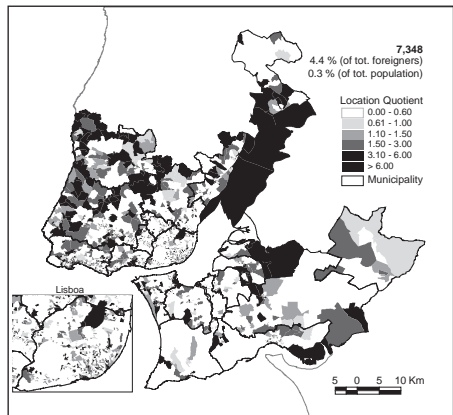


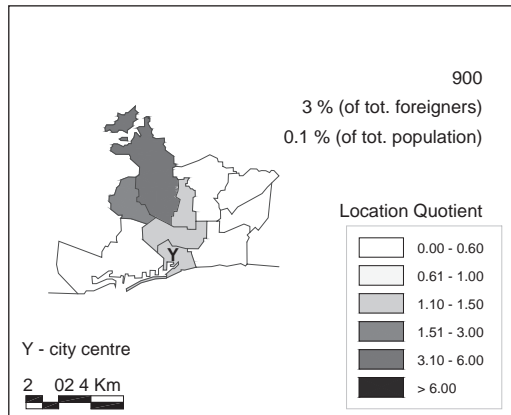
Figure 2. Residential distribution of the first immigration waves of selected foreign groups from Africa, Latin America and Western Europe that integrated to some Southern European cities

Sources: Arbaci (2007b); for Lisbon MA and Madrid MA, Malheiros (2002); for Rome MA, Collicelli *et al.* (1997).

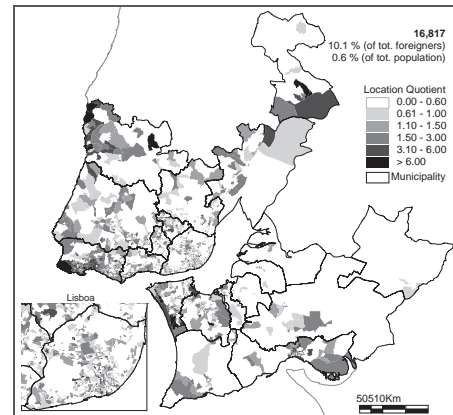
3a Eastern Europeans – Lisbon MA 2001



3b Eastern Europeans – Barcelona 1996



3c Brazilians – Lisbon MA 2001



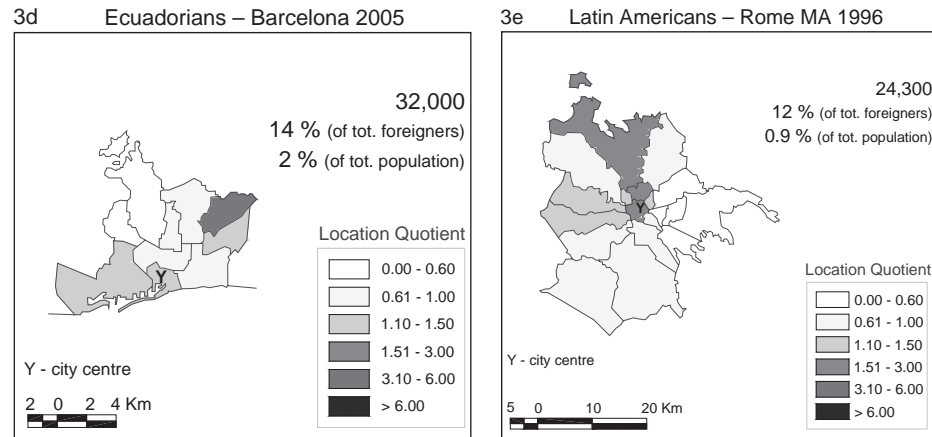


Figure 3. Residential distribution of the most recent immigration waves of selected foreign groups from Eastern Europe and Latin America that integrate to some Southern European cities

Sources: For Lisbon, INE (2001); for Barcelona, Idescat (1996); Ajuntament de Barcelona (2005) and for Rome MA, Collicelli *et al.* (1997).

especially that share of the population employed in jobs requiring a relatively high degree of spatial mobility (e.g. construction), and justifying frequent residential changes or long periods of absence from home.

A closer look at the immigrant groups points up distinct differences in the geographic distribution within each continent of origin. The co-presence of patterns of concentration and dispersal, and differences in the areas of over-representation, are particularly visible amongst the Asians and the Africans, reflecting differences in terms of income, occupation (contrast, for example, middle-income entrepreneurial Egyptians vs. low-waged Moroccans in Milan and Rome) education, kinship (in Lisbon, the long-established Cape-Verdean networks and those of Bissau-Guineans in Cascais), religion (the scattered pattern of Christian and highly educated Goans vs. the spatial concentrations of Hindus in Lisbon) and time of arrival (different locations of former Yugoslavs and recently arrived Romanians in Italian cities).

In contrast, it is also important to highlight convergences in the geographic distribution, resulting from different mechanisms of insertion or from immigrant group characteristics. For example, the centre of Milan includes both middle-high-income Argentineans and low-income Salvadorians engaged in live-in domestic services; and some peripheral areas in the north-west of the Lisbon Metropolis dominated by the private housing market link old-established African residents and their descendants with recently arrived Brazilians.

In conclusion, S-EU cities share similar general patterns of ethnic spatial organisation, in terms of scattered peripheral settlement in metropolitan areas and relative heterogeneity in the composition of 'ethnic neighbourhoods', according to immigrants' macro-characteristics (origin, income, affiliation, moment of flow). However, some divergences can also be found due to specificities of the immigrant populations, housing markets and urban structures.

Immigrants' Residential Insertion Trends: (De-)Segregation and Increasing Marginalisation?

At the start of the paper, we suggested that mechanisms of socio-tenure differentiation might have amplified the scale of housing hardship and marginalisation experienced by the immigrants over the last decade. Using the cases of Lombardy and its capital, Milan, as our first reference (see Figure 4), we observe that, since the early 1990s, there has been a robust increase amongst documented/legal newcomer non-Western groups in all forms of precarious accommodation⁶ (except workplace accommodation) and in rent-sharing with other immigrants, often leading to overcrowded conditions. Moreover, the significant incidence of housing hardship and overcrowding amongst all non-Westerners in 2001 (around 40 per cent in Lombardy and 55 per cent in Milan) suggests that these difficult situations also apply to immigrants with a stable job and an income, whilst indicating constrained housing-market conditions, particularly in the rental sector (Alessandrini 2001; Tosi 2001, 2002). However, we have to remember that sharing and precarious accommodation might also be part of migrants' wider

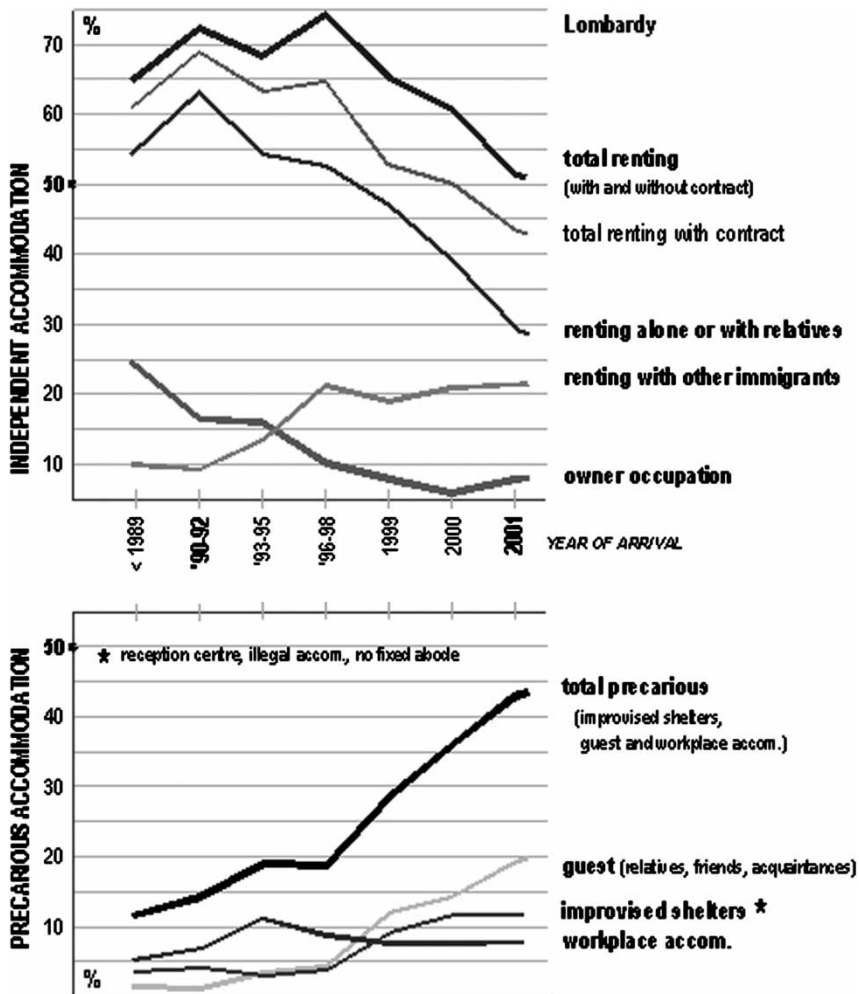


Figure 4. Immigrants' housing insertion in Lombardy (1989–2001), by year of arrival, according to housing tenure and type of accommodation

Sources: compiled by Arbaci (2007b); data from Tosi (2002: 131, 133).

economic strategies (e.g. saving to send remittances), especially amongst gender-selective migratory projects (e.g. Somalian and Filipina women; Chell 1997).

Nevertheless, in Milan (see Table 3), despite the significant incidences of precarious accommodation and rent-sharing, several non-Western groups, according to their continent of origin, saw a slight improvement in their housing conditions between 1990 and 2003, gradually moving from precarious to independent accommodation and, in some cases, accessing home-ownership. However, this global pattern of improvement is shadowed by several contradictory elements. For instance, the increasing incidence of owner-occupation amongst South Americans and Asians might occur only amongst

Table 3. Immigrants' housing insertion in Milan, by housing tenure and type of accommodation (per cent)

	Years	Independent accommodation: owner-occupied and rented				Precarious accommodation				
		Owner-occupation	Rented	% rented shared with other immigrants	Total independent	Guest	Reception centre	Illegal accom.	Hotel/workplace/other	Total precarious
N. Africans	1990	2.4	53.6	–	56.0	7.2	27.1	7.0	1.5	42.8
	2001	3.9	75.5	33.7	79.4	9.7	5.2	2.2	3.5	20.6
	2003	3.7	77.4	29.2	81.1	8.3	4.6	2.8	3.2	18.9
Africans (other)	1990	7.0	55.4	–	62.4	4.5	12.2	4.2	12.2	33.1
	2001	8.5	50.9	34.0	59.4	16.7	11.8	0.5	11.6	40.6
	2003	13.9	48.6	24.3	62.5	4.3	15.7	0.9	16.4	37.3
Lat. Americans	1990	1.1	66.6	–	67.7	9.3	3.5	2.5	16.9	32.2
	2001	7.4	52.4	20.6	59.8	23.2	1.7	0.0	15.3	40.2
	2003	11.4	63.7	24.9	75.1	14.0	1.3	0.0	9.6	24.9
Asians	2001	9.6	57.9	20.6	67.5	7.4	3.6	0.3	21.0	32.3
	2003	11.1	62.5	17.9	73.6	6.2	3.8	0.0	16.5	26.5
E. Europeans	1990	0.0	17.9	–	17.9	23.0	30.0	8.8	20.2	82.0
	2001	5.0	54.2	23.4	59.2	5.7	4.6	9.6	23.3	40.8
	2003	4.4	57.6	30.0	62.0	2.5	5.6	6.9	46.1	38.2
Total non-West.	2001	7.4	58.7	25.5	66.1	12.3	5.0	1.6	3.8	33.9
	2003	9.0	63.4	24.0	72.4	7.5	5.0	1.7	1.5	27.7

Sources: Data to 1990, Tosi (2002: 131, Table 6); Tosi and Lombardi (1999: 26, Table 4). Data to 2001 and 2003, ISMU (2003, 2005).

specific ethnic groups, due to their greater disposable income (Argentines) or their project of investment in the host country (the Chinese, especially as part of their entrepreneurial activities). In addition, the increasing proportion of shared rented dwellings among Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans, groups that arrived more recently, is an indirect indicator of an eventual rise in overcrowding. In fact, the low incidence of independent accommodation among Eastern Europeans can also be explained by their more recent arrival (except for Poles and former Yugoslavians). In the case of North Africans, the marked and constant increase in independent rented accommodation (the highest amongst long-established groups) might indicate the role played by ethnic and family kinships in accommodating successive flows of co-nationals (more in the case of Moroccans than of Egyptians). Thus far, it is very difficult to draw substantial conclusions from the case of Milan without comparing it with other S-EU cities, especially Madrid and Lisbon.

Unfortunately, the limited data available for Madrid (Table 4) prevent a diachronic analysis and do not provide a thorough comparison because they are too generic and ambiguous (e.g. ‘mixed residential unit’ refers to all those situations where Spanish and foreigners co-habit, ranging from mixed marriage to live-in employment; and ‘foreigners’ does not distinguish between Westerners and non-Westerners). Three differences, however, should be stressed: i) the high incidence of outright owner-occupation amongst natives (which also suggests the strong role played by family or inheritance in property access); ii) the very significant differences in tenure patterns between natives and foreigners, with the latter extremely over-represented in rented houses; and iii) a lower quality of foreigner and ‘mixed’ dwellings. The two latter features are partially explained by the recent character of some immigration waves, and reproduce the situation in Milan.

If we compare Milan and Madrid with Lisbon (see Table 5), the whole picture changes substantially, helped by the much more detailed Portuguese data. In 1991,

Table 4. Immigrants’ housing insertion in Madrid MA, by housing tenure and quality, 2001 (per cent)

	Housing tenure			Housing quality				
	Owner-occupation		Rented	Total	New	Other/good quality	Other/poor quality	Other
	Total	Paid	Mortgage/loan					
Foreigners	23.1	12.9	10.2	74.8	8.4	66.9	21.9	2.8
Mixed ^a	59.7	35.9	22.8	38.0	13.0	60.6	24.8	1.6
Spanish	84.7	62.0	22.7	12.5	13.4	69.8	15.7	1.1
Total dwellings	80.9	58.6	22.3	16.6	13.1	69.3	16.3	1.3

Sources: Leal (2004: Tables 6, 7); data from Encuesta de Demanda (INE 2003).

Notes: ^a = live-in employment; mixed couples and home-sharing between nationals and foreigners.

Table 5. Immigrants' housing insertion in Lisbon MA, by housing tenure and quality, 1991 and 2001

	No. residents	Years	Housing tenure (%)					Housing quality (%)			
			Owner-occupation			Rented		Shanties/ non-classic	Over- crowded ^b	Shared >1 family	
			Total	Paid	Mortgage/ loan	Total	Affordable ^a				
AFRICANS–PALOP	25,601	1991	44.3	17.4	26.9	55.7	20.4	24.0	67.9	8.6	
	80,427	2001	53.9	34.9	19.0	46.1	12.5	9.3	64.2	8.9	
Cape Verdeans	13,943	1991	46.7	14.2	32.6	53.3	23.6	29.5	67.6	5.7	
	28,702	2001	51.9	29.4	22.5	48.1	21.0	14.1	60.5	5.8	
Angolans	5,025	1991	44.3	21.3	23.0	55.7	19.4	11.6	66.7	9.2	
	27,706	2001	55.2	38.3	16.9	44.8	6.4	4.3	65.8	9.2	
AFRICANS–Other	1,666	1991	44.0	19.4	24.7	56.0	12.8	21.5	56.7	11.8	
	1,850	2001	41.4	23.5	17.8	58.6	4.6	2.0	52.5	24.3	
LAT. AMER (excl. Brazil)	717	1991	52.0	19.8	32.2	48.0	12.4	0.6	30.9	5.6	
	1,110	2001	56.0	32.3	23.7	44.0	3.8	0.7	29.3	5.5	
Brazilians	4,400	1991	40.5	19.5	21.0	59.5	11.7	0.4	30.1	8.0	
	16,817	2001	28.3	17.3	11.0	71.7	3.1	1.3	51.6	23.0	
ASIANs (excl. India, Pak., China)	445	1991	41.1	11.5	29.6	58.9	13.8	0.5	17.2	5.9	
	974	2001	40.4	16.0	24.3	59.6	5.9	0.3	38.8	23.5	
India, Pakistan, China	861	1991	59.6	29.2	30.3	40.4	8.7	2.2	50.6	8.3	
	3,225	2001	34.7	16.3	18.3	65.3	5.4	1.3	65.7	31.7	
EASTERN EUROPEANS	227	1991	32.2	14.9	17.3	67.8	11.5	4.1	27.9	8.8	
	7,348	2001	20.4	8.8	11.6	79.6	5.0	4.7	64.9	41.4	
EU 15	10,095	1991	51.1	16.1	35.0	48.9	19.8	1.0	16.2	4.0	
	12,335	2001	54.7	22.8	31.8	45.3	7.9	0.7	14.6	5.8	
NORTH AMERICANS	1,302	1991	50.0	15.1	35.0	50.0	9.6	0.2	14.3	4.2	
	1,242	2001	61.6	22.1	39.4	38.4	5.4	0.6	12.0	4.6	

Table 5 (Continued)

	No. residents	Years	Housing tenure (%)				Housing quality (%)			
			Owner-occupation			Rented		Shanties/ non-classic	Over- crowded ^b	Shared >1 family
			Total	Paid	Mortgage/ loan	Total	Affordable ^a			
PORTUGUESE	2,481,800	1991	55.5	27.1	28.4	44.5	32.6	1.9	32.2	2.4
	2,516,812	2001	70.6	36.8	33.8	29.4	18.1	1.1	23.2	1.8
TOTAL POPULATION	2,540,276	1991	55.4	26.9	28.5	44.6	32.3	2.1	32.4	2.5
	2,682,687	2001	69.6	36.5	33.1	30.4	17.6	1.4	24.7	2.3

Source: INE Census 1991 and 2001.

Note: ^a Monthly rent <€60 in 1991, €100 in 2001; ^bOver-crowding = relationship established by INE between composition of household (age, sex, parenthood) and no. of rooms in dwelling. If no. considered necessary for family typology is below reference standards, house/flat is considered over-crowded. The specific no. of rooms per person or per “two people” used as reference for over-crowding can be found at <http://metaweb.ine.pt/sim/conceitos/Conceitos.aspx#I> (*Índice de Lotação do Alojamento*).

differences between foreign ethnic groups and the Portuguese were relatively moderate in terms of the percentages of home-ownership and their respective presence in the rental sector. In fact, until 1991, the moderate tenure differentiation between Portuguese and PALOP citizens can be attributed primarily to the fact that the earlier migratory flows from the former colonies took place in the second half of the 1960s and during the mid-1970s de-colonisation process, and were relatively simultaneous with Portuguese internal migration. Both internal and international migrant groups thus faced a similar urban and housing context (e.g. rent control in Lisbon municipality; scarcity in the supply of formal housing for the low and middle classes), and both took part in the process of suburbanisation, resulting in different forms of affordable owner-occupation, including shanties, clandestine neighbourhoods and self-builds (Fonseca 1999). Moreover, a large proportion of—particularly residual and affordable—rental stock, together with the informal rental market, played an enormous role in keeping housing costs to a minimum and allowing savings for the future enhancement of housing conditions, including access to owner-occupation. Therefore, the relatively significant levels of home-ownership recorded among immigrant groups in Lisbon—in contrast with the situation in the other S-EU cities—can be explained by the steady presence of a larger and more affordable rental sector, and the type of affordable housing production, including the informal, accessible to both internal and international migrants at least until the 1980s.

Despite this presence of foreign citizens, especially from PALOP countries, in the home-ownership sector, their housing conditions were not necessarily equivalent to those of the indigenous population. If we look at the data for 1991, we see that the percentage of PALOP citizens in shanties reached almost 25 per cent (cf. 2 per cent of Portuguese) and that approximately two-thirds were living in overcrowded dwellings.

During the 1990s, the housing conditions of a number of first-wave immigrants registered some improvement, but their difference in relation to the Portuguese population seems to have remained the same or even widened. For instance, as shown in Table 5, the rate of owner-occupation has grown slightly faster for the Portuguese than for PALOP migrants and has even decreased amongst more recent groups such as Asians, Brazilians and Eastern Europeans. In addition, the significant reduction of people living in shanties due to the application of the re-housing programme *PER* (*Plano Especial de Realojamento*), and to a lesser extent the *PER*-families programme, seems to have particularly benefited the over-represented PALOP citizens.⁷ Despite this shift towards their higher presence in classical housing types, the absolute number of PALOP citizens living in shanties increased by 22 per cent according to the 1991 and 2001 censuses, indicating that the population remaining in the shanties was much more ethnicised than in the previous decade.

The presence of mechanisms of socio-ethnic differentiation and the growing residential exclusion affecting immigrants are reflected in the reduction of their share of mortgages and affordable rents, as well as in the increase in the scale of overcrowding. In fact, over the decade the share of mortgages decreased amongst all

foreign groups (except for Mozambicans, Santomese and North Americans), whilst increasing amongst the Portuguese, thus indicating that the gap in new access to housing via monetary resources is gradually widening between natives and non-Westerners.

Finally, if we take into consideration only the new waves of immigrants (Brazilians, Eastern Europeans, Pakistanis and Chinese), the deterioration of housing conditions becomes even more evident (see Table 5). Not only has the percentage of Brazilians and Eastern Europeans living in shanties grown over the 1990s, but also their levels of residential over-crowding and shared dwellings, reaching some of the highest values ever observed. As expected, these migrants are destined almost exclusively for the rental market. Their recent arrival, associated with their short-term economic strategies and their frequent focus on savings and remittances, help to explain the predominant tenure option and also their acceptance of harsher housing conditions. However, their limited presence in the cheap rental housing market shows the perversity of the system and discloses eventual processes of housing-market exploitation.

Despite this evidence of the over-representation of immigrants in sub-standard housing, associated with a relatively limited improvement in housing conditions even for the members of the older immigration waves, a move towards the reduction of segregation levels can be found for almost all immigrant groups (Figure 5). This situation is produced both as a result of the implementation of the aforementioned PER programme and as a consequence of the upward social mobility of older immigrants from PALOP countries who sought houses outside the shanty neighbourhoods and public-housing estates (Malheiros and Vala 2004).

Traditional political and technical rhetoric could easily lead to a positive reading of these declining segregation indices. However, as we have seen from the previous analysis, (de)segregation does not necessarily mean an improvement in housing conditions—in fact, as Figure 5 shows, for recent immigration groups (de)segregation goes hand-in-hand with a further deterioration in levels of residential overcrowding, and for well-established PALOP immigrants the slight reduction of overcrowding is less evident than the decrease in segregation levels. Amongst long-established groups (e.g. Cape Verdeans), crude conclusions that a high proportion of owner-occupation indicates a successful housing career have to be reviewed in light of the multiple forms of residential marginalisation and precarious conditions that have been identified.

Conclusion

In this paper we have shown how the housing standards of immigrants in S-EU metropolises have not improved during the 1990s. Overall, it seems that current mechanisms of differentiation are *de facto* amplifying the residential exclusion of immigrants and the differences between natives and non-Westerners in terms of

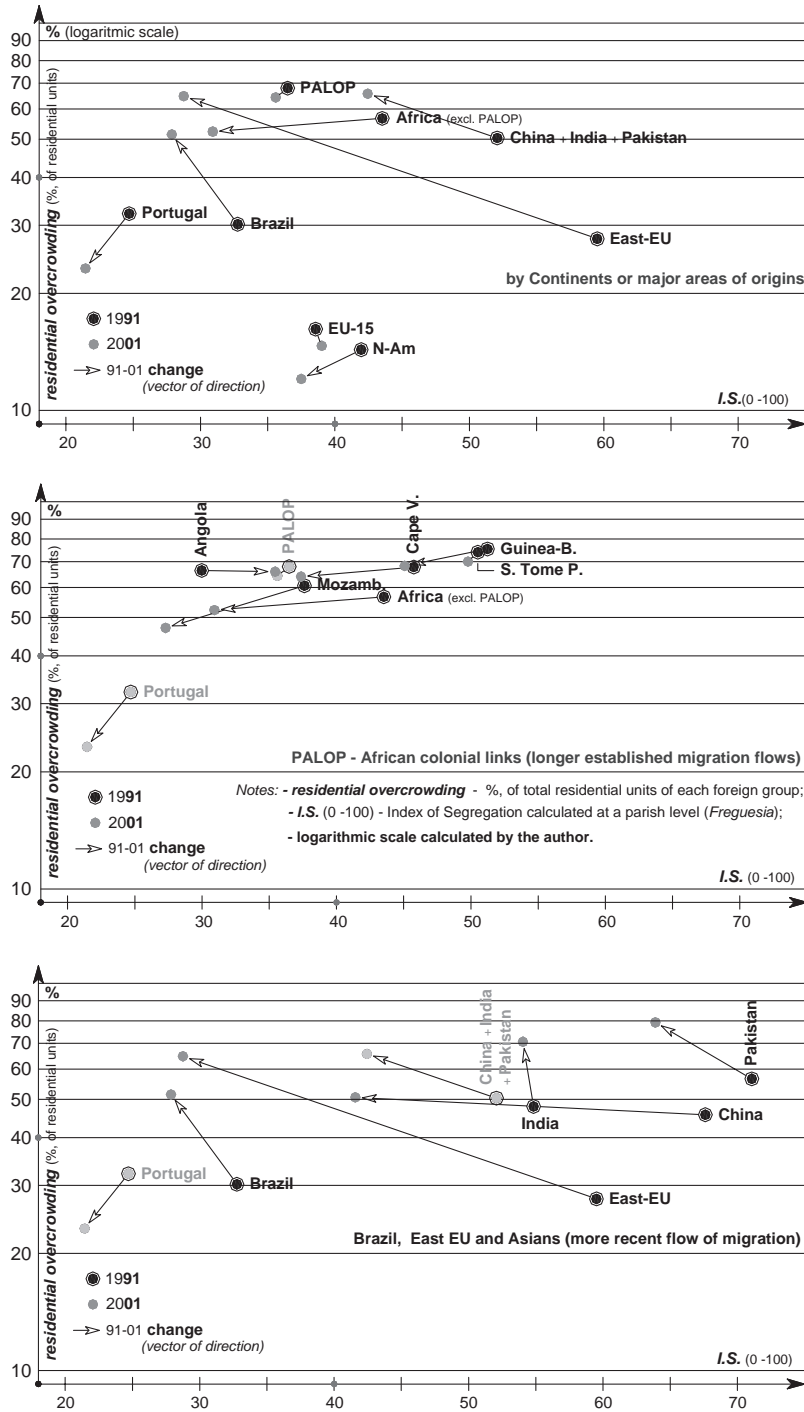


Figure 5. Housing insertion of selected foreign groups in Lisbon MA, 1991–2001: level of spatial concentration (I.S.), residential overcrowding (%) and their changes

access to formal tenures and housing quality. The magnitude of the process is not always evident because the geography—scattered and peripheral—in which this ethnic residential marginalisation takes place in Barcelona, Turin, Rome, and especially Lombardy/Milan, Madrid and Lisbon remains unexplored. Despite the barriers to comparability and the limitations of the data, our case-studies have helped to build a more tangible, though fragmented, picture of the ethnic residential evolution, whilst taking into account the diverse forms in which current mechanisms of differentiation are hindering immigrants' insertion.

In the 1990s, the segregation levels of most immigrant groups in S-EU metropolises displayed a declining tendency. Nevertheless, this trend towards de-segregation is less the result of an explicit policy than the consequence of several processes related to the liberalisation of the housing and credit markets. These have involved the change in the tenure regimes fostering home-ownership and access through monetary resources (vs. self-build), leading to the sharp reduction of the rental sector, particularly its affordable and cheap segment, the development of new middle-class suburban areas and the gentrification of central and peri-central areas. This promotes the exclusion of the lower-income groups, including immigrants, from the central municipal areas, increasing their peripheralisation. In addition, the effort to promote social mix in the areas of social housing is also contributing to the geographical dispersal of immigrants, associated with a push towards expanding urban peripheries, where accessibility levels are lower and the housing on offer is frequently cheaper. These processes of ethnic de-segregation and peripheralisation appear to go hand-in-hand with the increased housing hardship experienced by vulnerable groups, especially non-Western immigrants.

Within this context, the increasing gap between the housing conditions of immigrants and of nationals in S-EU metropolises is no surprise. Increased housing hardship, expressed in terms of overcrowding or settlement in precarious or sub-standard accommodation, has been identified in several of the S-EU metropolises studied, especially for the most recent immigrant waves. It can be argued that this is just a transitory process, associated with the recent character of these migrants and also with their home-oriented strategies, leading to a 'disinvestment' in standards of comfort in the host country. However, the relatively limited evolution of the housing conditions of long-established immigrants, the high level of housing exploitation to which immigrants are exposed, and their difficult access to bank loans, lead us to assume that the present market-led housing dynamics are a driving mechanism for increased inequality in access to housing.

Notes

- [1] Traditionally, self-build schemes were pivotal in enabling the span of owner-occupation amongst middle and low strata of S-EU societies, including the internal migrants of the 1950s–70s.
- [2] The simultaneous inclusion of municipal (Barcelona, Milan and Turin) and metropolitan (Lisbon, Madrid, Rome) areas is required by the significant presence of immigrants at both

urban levels and by the necessity to visualise the scale of the metropolitan peripheralisation of the immigrants relative to their presence in the central and peri-central areas of the cities. Moreover, depending on the city, the data on immigrants' distribution are available at either a metropolitan or a municipal level.

- [3] PALOP stands for Portuguese-Speaking African Country.
- [4] The SI or Segregation Index ranges between 0 (no segregation—equal geographical distribution of the group and the global resident population) and 100 (total segregation—population of the group under analysis lives concentrated and separated from the rest of the population).
- [5] By 'strong' ethnicity we mean a high level of internal cohesion within the ethnic group and a strong sense of belonging to a community that is culturally distinct—in terms of religion, values, etc.—from the majority of the population. On the issue of ethnicity levels and contrasts, see Machado (2002).
- [6] Precarious accommodation covers reception centres, illegal accommodation, guests of co-ethnics, hotels and guesthouses, as well as work-place accommodation.
- [7] The PER Programme was a governmental initiative, launched in 1993 by the National Institute of Housing. It affected more than 50,000 families in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and aimed to eradicate shanties by 2009.

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