Chapter 1

Discrimination, Social Exclusion and Social Integration

Social mix and residential area outcomes: Using systematic research strategies to assess the value of a contemporary housing ‘factoid’

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Keywords: social mix, poverty

This paper will draw on a systematic review of extant research literature as a primary strategy to answer the question of what impacts social mix has on neighbourhoods. The review has just begun and will be completed by May next year.

The review is inspired by the implicit view in many treatments of residential sustainability and context-effects of poverty that socially heterogeneous areas deliver inherent benefits to their residents. The evidence for this position as a whole has not been collated before and there are good reasons for assessing the quality and coverage of apparent support or refutation.

The review will look at the evidence for social mix in a number of key domains, age, tenure, social class and political/cultural affiliation and in a variety of neighbourhood contexts, before concluding on the quality, coverage and identifiable lacunae in the research.

The paper concludes by considering the policy implications and implied research agenda of the evidence in the context of the UK Government's aspirations toward social mix. In particular the paper notes that an apparent absence of evidence on the benefits of social mix may not nullify the aim of reducing pockets of concentrated poverty which have been shown to have negative effects on residents.
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Gypsies seen by others: Social proximity in spaces of ethnic coexistence

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Keywords: gypsy community, inter-ethnic coexistence, social proximity

The conclusion of the research project Inter-ethnic coexistence, spaces and social representations (funded by Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, PBIC/CIG/2883/98) that focused on the social representations on the gypsy community in three spaces of co-presence (residential, professional and occasional) opened new paths of investigation that we intend to explore with the present research.

In fact, if physical proximity in the four case studies of the previous project (hospital, market fair, reaccommodation quarters, and parking lands) advanced some conclusions on social representations concerning the gypsy community, yet social proximity remained widely unexplored. In all of the four case studies, the general image of the gypsies was markedly negative, which led us to conclude that physical proximity did not forcefully generate social proximity between gypsies and other ethnic communities.

The central goal of this proposal is to analyse whether certain contexts of inter-ethnic coexistence promote (or not) social proximity between individuals pertaining to the gypsy and other ethnic communities. Thus, we decided to concentrate on contexts in which there is a visible effort to bring together distinct ethnic communities, promoting mutual understanding and positive practices of interaction.

For the completion of these aims, we selected four spaces of co-presence: Residential space: analysis of inter-ethnic representations and interactions in reaccommodation quarters and in the vicinity of parking lands and evaluation of the impact of national/international experiences which have developed structures of shelter for travelling groups.

Professional space: case studies in rural contexts, where gypsies are found in the seasonal agricultural activity.

Public health space: evaluation of representations and practices of inter-ethnic sociability in two health centres (centros de saúde).

Educative space: evaluation of representations and social practices in two schools with gypsy students and gypsy cultural mediators (mediadores culturais ciganos).
In each of these contexts, two case studies will be developed through a qualitative approach: interviews and direct observation complemented with document research and analysis.

Jobs or empowerment? The impacts of area-based initiatives on social integration

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Keywords: labour markets, area-based initiatives, welfare state

Residential segregation of the poor, the non-whites and the singles is ever seen throughout social sciences and among practitioners like urban planners and local politicians as negative. The more this holds for the hot spots of concentrations of lowest strata in least desired neighbourhoods. The fear of the well integrated urban citizens is that these concentrations have negative impacts on socialization processes particularly of male youngsters, which might result in “culture of poverty” structures, deviant behaviour and biographies of criminal activities.

Against the background of increasing insecurities of labour markets the amount of vulnerability of social groups is improving which is enlarged by a general reduction of state activities in social cohesion policies and the increase of control over immigrants. Thus, poverty rates are improving as one part of increasing cleavages of income and employment guarantees. While the fight against poverty was one of the major urban social policy and success story of high Fordism, the recent policies’ shift is to prevent social exclusion while accepting some kinds of poverty. Main strategies in this new policy of intervention are area-based initiatives which directly are intervening in local economic, social and cultural processes.

The market and often state-driven reduction of civil rights for immigrants and strength of the social security systems as much as the limitations of access to labour market, shelter, education and health care impact the processes of structural integration. Following classical positions of integration cycle theories, the integration in general is questioned if structural integration is insufficient.

Based on a desk research on the strategies of area-based initiatives within five European countries (UK, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Austria) the new flexible governance regimes are discussed concerning the outcome for the integration quality. Beyond questions whether welfare state “securities” are better than civil society structures of responsibility the respective focal point of the
national/local programs differ between huge investments in housing and infrastructures, job creation by subsidizing start ups or forming new democratic structures of decentralized decision making. Even though a strong welfare state steering capacity still seems to be the prerequisite for social integration in Europe, the quality of the social and political local culture of integration or dis-integration (“habitus of place”) seems to be of major importance.

Thus, the conclusion of the paper is to describe the goals of area-based initiatives as important, and to which degree and how integrative the impacts can be on the local social climate and political culture.

Black access to suburban housing in America’s most racially segregated metropolitan area: Detroit

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Keywords: blacks, suburban housing, segregation

Analysis of 2000 census data revealed that blacks in Metropolitan Detroit are the most racially segregated population group in the United States. Blacks in Metropolitan Detroit reside overwhelmingly in central city housing while whites reside overwhelmingly in suburban housing.

The objective of this paper is to determine whether the low representation of blacks in suburban housing and the lower socio-economic status of blacks compared to whites are related to the extremely high level of black-white residential segregation in Metropolitan Detroit. This paper has implications for the ecological theory that a racial minority group’s level of residential segregation is related to the group’s level of socio-economic status.

Ideological constructions of place: The conflict over Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside

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Keywords: gentrification, Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside, underclass, urban other

As global real-estate markets have become increasingly fluid and governments at all levels have embraced neoliberal policies, pressures of large-scale gentrification and redevelopment in our inner cities have become increasingly prevalent.

This paper examines some of the evolving trends in the guiding ideologies
that have aided this transformation through an examination of the socio-spatial conflict surrounding Vancouver’s Downtown Eastside. How is it that Canadian society, which once took pride in improving the condition of its worst off citizens, has evolved to the point that it accepts and promotes the “revanchist city” (N. Smith, 1996); a city in which the displacement of an entire neighbourhood is not only accepted but celebrated as a natural and positive development? How can we reverse these trends of socio-spatial polarization which are facilitating this ideological transformation?

Through an exploration of one of Canada’s worst cases of socio-spatial polarization, the paper addresses the dominant discourse of urban “otherness” and “underclass” and how it facilitates the moral acceptance of gentrification in Vancouver’s oldest neighbourhood. As sympathy for the “other” has dissolved into fear and resentment, contemporary discourse surrounding the neighbourhood has effectively dehumanized its citizens and morally cleared the path for gentrification and the “cleansing” of the urban realm. With the entire Downtown Eastside pathologized in the media and public discourse, there is growing pressure from pro-growth enthusiasts to “reclaim” the city which has been “stolen by the deviants.” How does this line of popular thinking tarnish the distribution of housing on a city scale, and how can we reverse these anti-social trends?

Before we can successfully address the issues plaguing the Downtown Eastside we must realize that despite the popular rhetoric, drug addiction, prostitution, and crime are not the sole province of the poor, but rather issues infecting our entire society. It is the morally unpleasant nature of these activities that has led to their concentration in a politically weak neighbourhood; and not the preference of its residents. Only when we comprehend the fears and assumptions underlying the discourse of the “urban other” and “underclass” will we be able to move forward and find solutions to the housing shortages and polarization in the Canadian city.

Spiting one’s own nose: Sprawl and NIMBY resistance to housing

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Keywords: Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBY), housing infill, urban sprawl, local politics

Since land-use control in the United States is vested in local governments – usually cities and counties – local officials have a strong influence on the housing market of their community and region. According to the “Homevoter Hypoth-
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esis” (Fischel, 2001) – based on the Tiebout Hypothesis before it (Hoyt and Rosenthal, 1997) – those who have achieved home ownership in the housing market have a disproportionate share of political power over these local officials (who are nearly always counted among them). That is, “homevoters” largely dictate, among other things, the future physical form of their communities.

In particular, this group tends to prevent not only rental housing from being constructed in the housing market, but often even smaller, denser individual units that might become home ownership opportunities for different household types. This “Not In My Back Yard” (NIMBY) sentiment against housing infill and densification forces non-owning (or new-owning) households out of existing residential areas and into new neighbourhoods on the metropolitan edge.

It is not always clear whether the concerns of homevoters who oppose housing infill and densification are physical or social. That is, little research has explored the components of NIMBY sentiment as it is directed against housing (as opposed to facilities with expected externalities, such as incinerators or adult businesses).

This paper reviews comments made in public hearings by both elected officials and citizens in San Luis Obispo County, California, in order to identify the main threads of concern – including open space, physical form and aesthetics of housing, parking and automobile traffic congestion, noise, and perceived lifestyle of the potential new neighbours. It then reviews literature in each of these areas in order to assess the state of knowledge about actual impacts, and the extent to which such concerns may be misplaced.

Dalits and housing: Segregation and social exclusion in India

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Keywords: Dalits, Untouchables, exclusion, Hindu social order, globalization, India

Though India is known as world’s largest democratic country, which promises its citizens “equality, dignity and justice,” millions of its people are still in sub-human living conditions. About 150 million people known as “Dalits” (untouchables) – constitutionally referred to as Scheduled Castes – are facing
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Humiliation and segregation because of the discriminative housing practices adopted by Hindu society and the Indian state.

Hindu social order prevailing in India for more than 4000 years has prevented “Dalits” from having mainstream social life by branding them as untouchables. Hindu Dharma shastras (Code Books) and shasanas (Acts) imposed several restrictions on their social, economic and cultural activities, mobility and movement including their settlements and segregation. These untouchable castes constitute 19.18 percent of Indian population and practise 76 different occupations like scavenging, leather tanning, etc.

According to Hindu law “untouchables” should reside in separate settlements outside the village and the “Caste Hindus” should not touch them. They have to live in small huts and should not hold any property. This typical social boycott has marginalized “Dalit” communities from mainstream social life and independent economic activity, and led to “homelessness, subordination and bondage.”

Considering this historical injustice the Indian constitution “assured” dignity to all the citizens of India. Untouchability was legally abolished and practice in any form forbidden. These measures helped Dalits in many aspects of their life but certainly not in housing and segregation. In Indian villages “Untouchability” is still a visible reality. Dalit residential settlements are still “outside” the Village.

India is still grappling with unmet basic housing needs. In 1991 the shortage was estimated as 22.90 million units. In some selected States about 60-70 % of Dalits are homeless. Dalits with fully structured houses (Pacca Houses) in Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar of north India are 22.0% and 17.6 % respectively. It is 63.8% and 91.8% among the dominant castes. Dalit houses with electricity are 10.4% in UP and 7.8 % in Bihar, and Dalit houses with toilet facilities are 4.8 % UP and 6.1% Bihar. Among the caste Indians about 50.4% in UP and 89.3% in Bihar got electrification.

In the context of globalization the housing situation among Dalits is getting much worse. After liberalization of Indian economy, governments have reduced the subsidies and support for housing which wiped out the dreams of Dalits to own houses. These policies are further excluding the untouchable social groups from sustainable and dignified life.
Advocacy and organizing for fair housing in the suburban United States

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Keywords: suburbs, residential segregation, anti-discrimination

Despite an overall decline in the residential racial segregation of African-Americans in the metropolitan areas of the United States which was documented in the 2000 U.S. Census, rates of segregation between blacks and whites still remains high in many of the metropolitan areas. 2000 census data also shows a pattern of continuing migration by large numbers of African-Americans from central cities to surrounding suburban areas and increasing suburbanization of Latinos and Asians as well. As suburbs become home to more racial and ethnic minorities, it is important to analyze housing patterns and the housing issues emerging in these places.

This paper examines the efforts of some U.S. suburbs to resist racial segregation. In our cases, community coalitions have worked with municipal governments and institutions like religious groups and philanthropic foundations to create and maintain racially integrated neighbourhoods and schools. There has been mixed success in these suburbs, with policy changes over time. We ask what the experiences of these “intentionally integrated” suburban places can teach us about alternatives to the U.S. pattern of mostly continuing segregated residential neighbourhoods.

Looking at the suburban experience is critical not only because most Americans live in the suburbs of metropolitan areas, but also because these are usually the locations of job growth, good schools and high home values (compared to their central cities). A home in the suburbs can translate into social opportunity and mobility. Ensuring equal access to housing in the suburbs is critical for the promotion of diversity. To an extent, the suburbanization of minorities reflected in the recent census reflects the efforts of community organizations promoting “fair housing” to use federal anti-discrimination legislation to increase access to housing and housing finance for minorities. For example, community coalitions have played key roles in obtaining agreements from lenders to expand lending in disinvested urban communities through the Community Reinvestment Act or CRA (Squires, 2003). Mara Sidney has analyzed local CRA-based advocacy in the cities of Denver and Minneapolis (Sidney, 2003).
We will focus this paper on case studies of several communities in suburban Cleveland, Ohio, and Essex County, New Jersey. While metropolitan Cleveland remains among the most racially segregated in the United States, the suburbs of Cleveland Heights and Shaker Heights are among the national models for the promotion of racial integration and diversity (Keating, 1994). More recently, two towns in the Newark, New Jersey, metropolitan area have undertaken efforts to preserve integration. After briefly reviewing the history of these communities, we will be analyzing the organization, goals, activities, and impact of fair housing groups in these suburbs and the policies of their municipal governments and school districts. These suburbs and fair housing organizations are part of a larger study of diverse suburban communities in the United States.

Exclusivity or social integration? Gated communities in the United Kingdom

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Keywords: gated communities, social cohesion, empowerment

There has been a considerable growth of interest in recent years into the emergence of gated communities, fortified enclaves, and other forms of privatized public space. The growth of such communities has been associated with the emergence of global city-regions, which has resulted from the twin forces of economic growth and globalization.

Such regions bring together substantial disparities of wealth and poverty, resulting in increased social tensions in the “mega-city.” Gated communities and other fortified enclave developments are a spatial expression of these socio-economic inequalities and are often associated with a culture of fear experienced within inner-city environments. Normally viewed as a negative phenomenon and a further contribution to social and spatial polarization, the conventional assumption is that the majority of such developments have been designed for higher income households.

This view of gated communities in cities such as Mexico City or Sao Paolo has also been applied in the USA by writers who emphasis the Fortress America interpretation of these residential neighbourhoods. However, contrary to received wisdom, there is evidence (from the USA 2000 census amongst other sources) that such developments are not exclusively for affluent residents.

This paper reviews the evidence on the emergence of lower-income gated communities in both private and public sectors within a UK context, developments that have been largely ignored to date. The paper uses the concept of
"club economics" to consider the critical issues behind the development of private neighbourhoods within public housing contexts. It contends that while gating may exemplify a form of privatism, it may also provide a contribution to social cohesion through the establishment of new forms of territorial relationship.

It considers how democratic accountability can be established within such environments and how management structures can either facilitate or prevent resident empowerment. By formulating a typology of private and public neighbourhoods the paper aims to add to existing critical discussion, arguing that in certain circumstances gating can be a contribution to social integration and can increase participatory democracy.

Towards non-polarized residential development in Botswana's urban areas
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Key words: segregation, polarization, residential area mix, Botswana

The planning of residential areas in Botswana has a chequered history. Both traditional and modern residential areas have a history of segregation in planning and development. Spatial areas in traditional residential areas were zoned according to royalty.

Immediately after independence in 1966, modern planning was introduced in the major urban areas embracing western ideologies in which residential areas were segregated in terms of income, not race as in the apartheid system of South Africa. However, after a while, the government became disenchanted with the resulting neighbourhoods that had the poor people living in low-income areas in the periphery of the urban areas, dubbed "ghettoes," the middle class residing in middle-income areas and the rich living in up-market neighbourhoods.

The President decreed that all new residential areas had to be planned in a mixed manner whereby neighbourhoods/communities had all classes of people living together, eliminating polarity. This was adopted as a major policy in urban development to create a classless society. Since then, residential development in all urban areas and in the major villages has been guided by this policy. Though noble and idealistic/socialistic, this policy has had its proponents and opponents; and merits and demerits, and these will be covered in the paper.

Suffice to say that in the last 10 years or so, some community members who have not been very happy with this system have opted out. New enclaves of the
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rich are sprouting up in the peri-urban areas. It is easy to promulgate idealistic policies, but difficult to shape how people choose to live in urban areas.

In this paper the issues raised above will be examined to document the progress that has been made by Botswana in adopting a non-segregated residential development model. The paper is structured as follows: section 1 covers a theoretical framework of residential segregation; section 2, a literature review of the subject, and section 3, an experience of Botswana in planning for mixed residential development. The paper concludes by looking at emerging trends in segregation.

Crossing the highway: Barriers to inclusionary zoning in Austin, Texas

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Keywords: inclusionary zoning, integration, growth politics

Inclusionary zoning refers to a set of strategies operating in communities around the country that either require or encourage developers whose projects surpass certain size thresholds to make a percentage of overall units “affordable.” Advocates point to two main benefits: 1) an increase in the volume of affordable units produced; and 2) a more geographically dispersed distribution of affordable housing, resulting in increased economic and racial integration. Often, these two goals are in tension: maximizing integration of units into higher income areas may mean production of few affordable units due to greater community resistance.

After years of rapid population and economic growth, Austin, Texas, continues to face a housing crisis. The region remains the least affordable housing market in the state: thirty-seven percent of households could not afford the median priced home ($158,200) in 2003. Only half of renter households are able to afford the median rent and utility costs for a two-bedroom apartment. Close to 70% of renters in extremely low income households paid more than half their monthly income for rent and utilities in 2000. Historically segregated, the city remains economically and racially divided. In this context, interest has been growing in “inclusionary zoning.”

This report presents information on the potential scale and location of affordable units that would have been produced between 1992 and 2003 had Austin had a mandatory inclusionary zoning policy in place. Our results are based on analysis of city permit data for developments completed between January 1992 and August 2003.
At first glance, inclusionary zoning shows great potential to increase the number and disperse the location of affordable housing in Austin. Between 1992 and 2003, a period of substantial market growth, a fifteen percent set aside would have produced at least 5,649 new affordable apartments and 3,010 affordable single family homes, more widely dispersed throughout the city than existing affordable housing. However, some critical barriers stand in the way of achieving similar results in the future.

Analysis of these barriers yields several conclusions: first, for the goals of advocates to be achieved, substantial additional resources would need to be identified; second, political will would need to be marshalled in favour of integration; finally, and most importantly, the development community's opposition would need to be confronted. A review of recent disputes over development restrictions underlines the power of the development community, and the strength and sophistication any movement to oppose them will require.

Social or racial discrimination? The growth of favelas, irregular lots, and public housing in Rio de Janeiro

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Keywords: racial segregation, favelas, Rio de Janeiro, poverty, afro-Brazilians

I will examine how government policies affected these settlement patterns. The research demonstrates that although residential segregation by race and class are interrelated, and driven by similar socio-economic factors, the state, through public policies, plays a significant role in furthering the process of isolation of racial groups, which historically have been marginalized in society. These trends resulted not only in the concentration of poor people but also in the overall growth of poverty for blacks in centre city. But favelas also remain settlements areas for Brazil's racial minorities.

I will examine some of the places that could present a form of racial segregation in the city, although they are not seen as the real places of segregation but as the areas for the urban poor. This study examines the role that race and class have played in the geography of poverty and the formation of the settlements of the poor. The state, representing the interests of the more powerful groups, acts not as a pure mediator of diverse interests, but as a legitimator of the differences upon which the society is based. The state is complicit in perpetuating the socially created myths which in the case of Brazil is the myth of “racial democracy.” In Brazil, where race-based policies have never been systematically
applied, social mobility among Brazilians of African descent has historically been the lowest among all ethnic groups. In metropolitan Rio de Janeiro the afro-Brazilians suffered the economic decay in the country more intensely.

I will outline the intensification of the poverty rate in its population as well as a "peripheralization" and "favelization" of the poor. These tendencies have hurt African descendants more—blacks that are almost half of the population. The favelization refers to the distribution of the favelas in the more central areas of the cities and peripheralization refers to distribution of poverty in the periphery. This tendency causes blacks to suffer because they are the majority of the group living in the favelas and in poverty, and the majority of the population in the distant areas of the city.

Residential segregation and inequality at nine feet below sea level: The distribution of despair by ethnicity and class in New Orleans, Louisiana

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Keywords: residential segregation, ethnicity and class, structural discrimination

New Orleans exists mainly below sea level and is surrounded by water including swamps. Nevertheless, it is strategically located near the mouth of the Mississippi River and is home of one of the largest ports in the country. The social and economic impact of the port is much less important than in the past, but has played a major role in defining the character of the city.

Nouvelle Orleans is unquestionably one of the most unique cities in the United States. In part, this is a product of its physical environment but also of great importance are its socio-historical roots. New Orleans was a French and Spanish colony, never British from which the most of the nation claims its primary colonial heritage. This has produced many profoundly different types of social and structural institutions and cultural values that are in contrast to most of the U.S. and especially its neighbouring southern region.

Although today it is clearly assimilated into the dominant national culture there are many features of the city and Louisiana that reflect its colonial history. This has produced many position attributes and provides portions of the city's population with a rich culture within to "play." It also brings millions of tourists per year to enjoy the city's pleasures. On the other hand, the majority of the population does not share in its economic and social profits of their home. They
The city of extremes: Socio-spatial inequalities in São Paulo

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Keywords: socio-spatial inequalities, segregation, squatter settlements, gated condominiums, Brazil

The article aims to show striking aspects of the socio-spatial inequalities in the city of São Paulo: at one extreme, the favelas and at the other extreme, the gated condominiums.

It shows the evolution of the population of greater São Paulo and that of the city itself and its pattern of spatial growth, namely the spread of the poor peripheral population. The population of the city is aging, although the spatialization of the age structure shows that all the population of the periphery is still younger. The association between income, education, and place of living is clear: lower incomes and less education in the peripheral ring.

The article also describes the formation of the city, its huge expansion in the 1940s and its impoverishment at the turn of the century. The social segregation, previously confined to the periphery, is spreading to other parts of the city. The...
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Favelas are increasing, and more gated condominiums are being built, even in poor neighbourhoods.

A remarkable characteristic of housing in São Paulo at the end of last century is the growth of favelas and that of gated condominiums. The population of favelas represents more than 10% of the total population of the municipality and there were 2,500 new condominium units launched in 2000.

The article belies some myths about favelas and condominiums. The favela space is very similar to the urban space and its units are also in the housing market. Nevertheless, there are some peculiarities in the favela fabric. The proportion of formal employment in favelas is the same as that in the municipality. Favelas differ from each other, be it in what concerns physical space or in the type of population.

Gated condominiums also house social groups of lower income, being found in the poor and polluted periphery. The absence of city authorities makes this urban space prone to misdemeanours.

A similarity between the two extremes is the lack of democratic values, of respect for the law, of the right to come and go freely, and the existence of public and egalitarian spaces.

The suburbanization of social disadvantage in Australian cities

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Keywords: social disadvantage, middle ring suburbs, social polarization, housing markets

Many of the older middle ring suburbs of Australian cities are maturing and ageing. Built largely between the 1930s and the end of the 1960s, these suburbs represent the result of the first wave of large-scale, low density urban expansion in the post-war period. Comparable areas characterize the middle suburbs of Sydney, Melbourne and other Australian cities.

These areas are characterized by increasing levels of diversity - in terms of housing market structure, social characteristics and multi-cultural make up. Many of the most recent overseas migrants locate in these areas. These new multi-cultural populations are replacing the older Anglo-Australian residents who moved into these areas when they were built and who are now passing into late retirement. An associated process of urban consolidation, through the redevelopment of older housing to higher densities, as well as piecemeal renewal of some of the housing stock, represents a major phase of restructuring
which is now gathering pace. An associated process of the suburbanization of the lower income private rental sector has accompanied these changes.

Most importantly, the middle ring suburbs are now the places in Australian cities where the concentration of greatest social disadvantage are located. These declining suburbs represent a qualitatively new feature of our cities, located between the largely gentrified inner city and the increasingly middle and upper income outer suburbs.

Levels of community stress have grown over the last two decades in these middle ring suburbs, leading to the out migration of those who have the economic capacity to move away. These “aspirational” households overwhelmingly move to the new housing opportunities on the urban fringe, or to retirement to locations outside the city, typically to coastal areas. In the process, the suburbs are polarizing socially.

The paper presents a new analysis of the concentration of disadvantage in the middle ring suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, charting the location of social disadvantage and the evidence for growing concentration of disadvantage in these areas. The role played by the housing market in creating and maintaining increased patterns of social polarization forms a central component of the paper. The characteristics of the housing markets and the households in these areas will be discussed, as will the migration dynamics that are leading to increased social polarization. The implications for urban planning and policy interventions to address the social problems facing these middle suburbs are reviewed.

Relocation projects for ghetto neighbourhoods: Housing practices underlying stereotypical discourses

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Keywords: social housing, social exclusion, Romania

The article analyses social housing neighbourhoods that several municipalities in Romania have put in place for very poor residents of the commonly called “ghetto” buildings, mostly Roma / Gypsy ethnic. The research consists of six case studies, based on interviews with residents, local authorities, community leaders, and other stakeholders, trying to assess the impact that relocation into these neighbourhoods has had on people's lives, and whether these practices promote segregation or social inclusion.

Case studies indicate that neighbourhood management practices can make a great difference in the welfare of the people. Active public management may
avoid typical pitfalls (such as lack of minimal safety nets, lack of debt monitoring and management, or utilities distributed collectively) that lead to rapid deterioration of living and housing standards.

Such relocation projects are underlined by a segregationist discourse of the public authorities, and have been put in place as eviction strategies for residents of dilapidated buildings situated in residential neighbourhoods.

Still, in practice they do not necessarily lead to ethnic segregation, since specific measures may be taken to relocate Roma and non-Roma residents in the same neighbourhoods. Still, the risk of segregation remains, and it needs to be addressed urgently, by regulating relocations at national level.

Issues of accessibility to schooling are also a priority for these neighbourhoods, especially when they are situated at the periphery of the locality. Access to quality education for Roma pupils is very low throughout the country. A long distance to school is an obstacle that may prove unsurpassable for poor families. Research indicates that schooling issues must be a central concern in designing relocation projects.

Social housing for very poor people has not been a priority in Romania after the fall of communism in 1989. The case studies focus on initiatives that are locally funded. Still, delegating such problems to local authorities leads to social exclusion of many residents that lack adequate formal ID papers, and to a deep housing crisis at national level. There are frequent cases of evictions of families without providing alternative shelter, and facilities for the homeless are virtually absent in Romania. The ID system ties residents to the locality where their ID has been issued and they cannot claim housing support from another locality, even if they have been residing there for years. A system must be put in place to eliminate social exclusion due to lack of formal ID papers.

This research has been supported by the Open Society Institute with the contribution of the International Policy Fellowships of OSI – Budapest.

International policy and the “Canadian way” in urban Aboriginal housing

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Keywords: Aboriginal housing, self-determination

Aboriginal people are the most poorly housed social group in Canadian cities. This paper examines housing for urban Aboriginal people through the lens of changing rights discourses in the housing sector and with respect to the inherent right of Aboriginal peoples to self-determination/self-government. Changes in international policy, represented by the Habitat I (Vancouver) and
Habitat II (Istanbul) declarations on housing and the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, are used as a springboard into an examination of changes in Canadian policy from the 1970s to today. An analysis of Canadian policy on low-cost housing and Aboriginal governance over a 30-year period reveals two themes. On the one hand, the political discourse around Aboriginal self-government has expanded steadily from the 1970s to today. On the other, housing policy that favoured a form of Aboriginal self-government in the urban housing sector during the 1970s and 1980s has regressed steadily during the 1990s. Looking forward, recent statements of intention by the Canadian government are examined through the Report of the Prime Minister’s Caucus Task Force on Urban Issues and the 2004 Speech from the Throne, indicating possibilities for regaining lost ground in the self-determination of housing programs by Aboriginal people in urban areas.

The paper ends with a presentation of narratives - drawn from interviews with Aboriginal housing stakeholders in Winnipeg and Ottawa - outlining a vision for a new national urban Aboriginal housing strategy that addresses both the right to adequate housing and to self-determination. This strategy overcomes systemic racism in mainstream housing programs through the provision of culturally appropriate low-cost housing by Aboriginal community-based organizations. At the same time, the strategy develops alongside mainstream housing programs in a complementary fashion. This paper will interest housing academics and policy-makers working in countries that deal with indigenous peoples experiencing disproportionate housing hardship or who are pursuing self-determination in urban areas.