

Socio-ethnic segregation in discussion: the case of Lisbon in the (Southern) European context

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Jorge Malheiros
CEG – Institute of Geography & Spatial Planning
University of Lisbon
(with contributions of other researchers of
MIGRARE Research Group of CEG)



1. Conceptual remarks;

**2. The Southern European Context in
Perspective;**



**3. The case of Lisbon: peripheralization and
housing disadvantage**

4. Some concluding remarks

0. Context and background

Background

- Research on segregation and spatial clustering of immigrants in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA);
 - Research on the contribution of immigrants to the socio-spatial and economic dynamics in the LMA;
 - Experiences of cross-comparative analysis (Lisbon and other European cities; particular focus in Southern Europe).
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1. Conceptual remarks



Socio-spatial segregation

Spatial segregation (to be separated; to be apart) exists when some areas show **over-representation** and other areas show an **under-representation** of the members of a **certain ethnic or social group**. In most popular uses, the term is applied only to situations in which disadvantaged groups occupy circumscribed territories (Brun & Bonvalet 1998: 319–326; Dangschat 2000a: 209–215).

Basic explanations of residential segregation

- **Institutional discrimination:** a range of discriminatory private practices and public policies that restrict housing opportunities for specific groups and serve to create and perpetuate segregated housing.
 - **Income gaps:** some ethnic groups in general have higher incomes and control more wealth than other minorities, they have more choices in the housing market (Becker 1957; Clark 1986). Although segregation by income does not imply spatial segregation, the two are strongly correlated (Anas 2004: 2).
 - **Individual choice:** most households generally prefer to live in culturally homogeneous neighbourhoods. The housing market, from this perspective, reflects the freely chosen preferences of buyers who make their voluntary decisions in a free market (Glazer 1975; Thernstrom & Thernstrom 1997). This may be valid for the U.S. situation but does not fit for the segmented housing markets in most European metropolises.
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Relationship between segregation and integration

- Since the days of the Chicago School, the relation between segregation and integration has been vividly discussed.
- Many scholars and politicians assume that high levels of social and/or ethnic segregation will obstruct integration and participation in society.
- In terms of integration models, multiculturalism is often associated to lack of social cohesion and higher segregation levels; interculturality tends to be regarded as a process that may contribute to (ethnic) mix and reduction of segregation

In this line, several negative outcomes have been associated to the spatial clustering of ethnic minorities...

- Positive peer effects may be absent in segregated schooling.
 - Spatial isolation can have adverse economic effects such as difficulty in acquiring jobs.
 - Concentration is felt to hamper the social mobility of those with a weak social position and/or low skills, particularly immigrants of non-western origin.
 - Social conflicts and delinquency.
 - Deterioration of the built environment.
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However, some positive effects have been associated to the spatial concentration of different ethnic groups...

- Intra-ethnic support, that may become crucial in societies more closed and reluctant towards the presence of immigrants.
 - A sufficiently large grouping to enable a supportive minority network.
 - Enough “critical mass” to justify the setting up of ethnic business and immigrant-oriented institutions and services.
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Social and ethnic mix as a solution?

- The policies of dispersal of “deprived” social and ethnic groups are often seen as a response to segregation and socio-spatial homogeneity.
- What is the real effectiveness of these policies? What is the segregation threshold that justifies the implementation of a geographical dispersal policy? Does dispersal lead to higher social contacts between different groups and effectively strengthens integration of deprived groups?
- Probably, demolition and geographical dispersal are one among several possible solution. Adjusted in some cases; to be avoided in others...

- 2. The Southern European Context in Perspective

The way the segregation effects are read largely depends on the geographical and political contexts in consideration. For instance, differences between North-American and European perspectives are significant (i)

- The focus in American literature is more on measurements of dissimilarity or effects of race relations laws and other integration efforts, whereas European research focus on residential patterns.
 - The specificity of recent immigration history and economic development in each European state must not be overlooked.
 - In most European cities segregation levels tend to be lower than North American cities - As a matter of fact most migrants in European metropolises live in mixed residential areas.
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The way the segregation effects are read largely depends on the geographical and political contexts in consideration. For instance, differences between North-American and European perspectives are significant (ii)...

- Within Western European metropolitan areas, some degree of socio-spatial segregation between immigrants and the autochthonous population is usual whereas a complete residential mix can hardly be found (Özüekren & Van Kempen 1997a: 22). Ethnic segregation in European cities tends to occur more on the level of houses and blocks; it more seldom occurs at the scale of city districts (White 1987; Kohlbacher & Reeger 2003).
 - Especially in the new immigration countries and cities of Europe, the presence of immigrants in peripheral areas tends to be more relevant than in Northern European and North-American cities.
 - The relationship between spatial concentration and integration levels is less clear in the European case.
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The originality in the spatial position of immigrants in Northern Mediterranean Metropolis

Specific migration contexts

- Recent immigration;
- Relevance of Non-documented immigrants;
- Diversity of immigrant populations;
- Post –industrial migrations;
- High levels of insertion in the informal labour market;
- Specific relationship between internal migration and international migration.

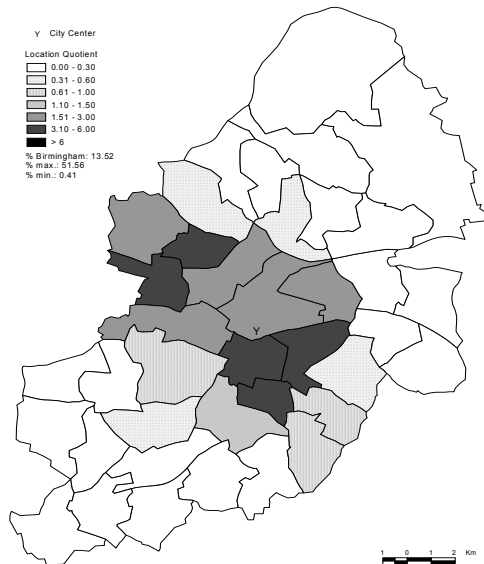
Original features (spatial organisation of immigrants)

- (+) Poor housing conditions;
- (+) Presence in the informal housing market;
- (-) Spatial segregation levels;
- (+) Suburbanisation.

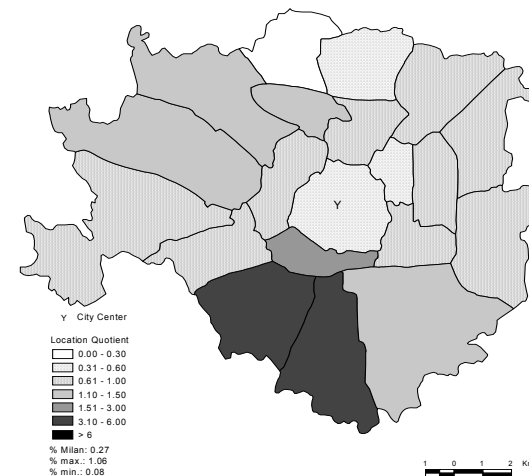
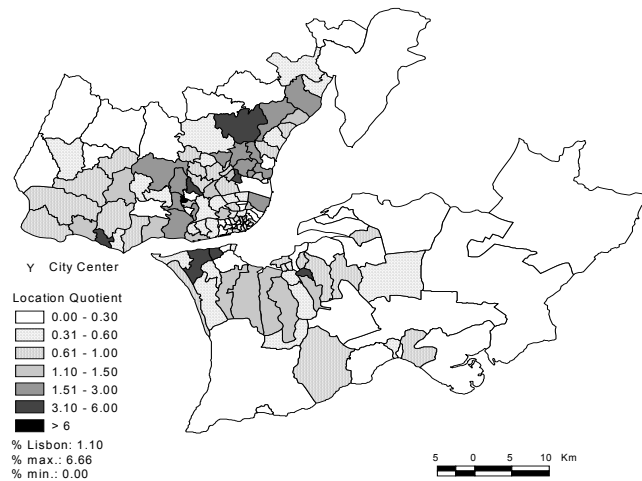
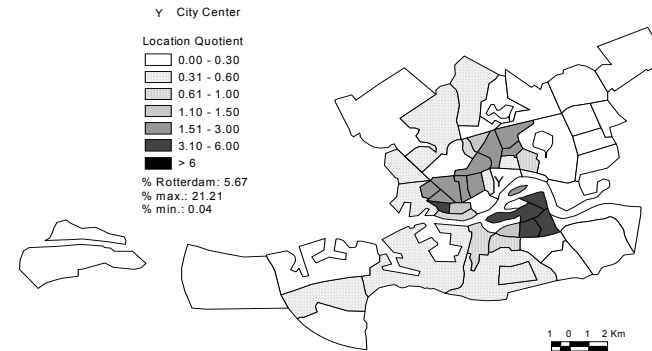
Original city structures / Specific welfare regimes

- Original socio-spatial patterns of location (higher spatial mix);
- Less effective formal regulation systems (urban planning and housing market);
- Housing market strategies (informalisation, buying strategies, lower offer of public housing);
- Coincidence between inner city revalorisation and the acceleration of international migration;
- Late suburbanisation and higher diversity of suburban areas; smaller dichotomy between consolidated city and suburbia.

Indian ethnics in Birmingham (1991)



Turk ethnics in Rotterdam (1993)



African Nationals in LMA (1991)

Moroccans in Milan (1996)

Segregation indices for selected population groups in 4 European cities

Metropolis	Indices	% in total population	Number of internal geographical units	Average population per unit
Lisbon	---	---	149	16593
EEC+North American foreigners	37.1	0.44	---	---
Cape Verdeans	43.3	0.56	---	---
Brazilians	30.7	0.18	---	---
Africans (total)	34.8	1.10	---	---
Milan	---	---	20	65838
Egyptians	17.1	0.62	---	---
Filipinos	19.7	0.57	---	---
Chinese	34.8	0.29	---	---
Moroccans	22.1	0.27	---	---
Birmingham	---	---	39	24640
White	58.4	78.50	---	---
Black Caribbean	41.7	5.90	---	---
Indian ethnics	62.1	13.50	---	---
Rotterdam	---	---	55	10838
Dutch	32.7	61.15	---	---
Surinamese	29.9	7.33	---	---
Cape Verdeans	47.0	2.09	---	---
Turks	51.9	5.67	---	---
Moroccans	47.2	3.71	---	---

Housing tenures, housing production forms and degrees of socio-spatial segregation

		Degree of segregation	
		Lower I.S.	Higher
Degree of segregation Lower I.S. Higher I.S.	<i>Housing tenures</i> <i>Production form of residential built environment</i>	Housing socio-tenure balance (unitary rental system) <i>Social dimension</i>	Housing socio-tenure differentiation (dualist rental system) <i>social dimension</i>
	Small scale of production (small and medium firms of builders/developers) <i>spatial dimension</i>	Corporatist welfare cluster → dominance of private rental market → mixed public and speculative land supply → mixed profit regime over building construction and/or development gain	Rudimentary welfare cluster → dominance of home ownership → speculative land supply → profit regime over development gain
	Large scale of production (large firms of builders/developers) <i>spatial dimension</i>	Social democratic welfare cluster → dominance of social rental market → public ownership land supply → profit regime over building construction	Liberal welfare cluster → dominance of home ownership → speculative land supply → profit regime over development gain

Source: Arbaci, 2002

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- 3. The case of immigrants in Lisbon:
peripheralization, housing disadvantage,
discrimination and... de-segregation..?
-

A – Context 1 (Geography and demography)

Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) – 18 municipalities divided into “freguesias” (parishes)



Martim Moniz – Lisbon Historical Center





Gated communities
– Paço do Lumiar
(Lisbon)

Chelas (Lisbon) – Gated community in a social housing neighbourhood (mix promotion...)



Cova da Moura – 1ª Peripheral crown (over-representation of PALOP population)



Invisibilidade espacial e social

- Problemas físicos e sociais
 - Potencialidades sociais e culturais e territoriais
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Quinta do Mocho (Social housing)



Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA)

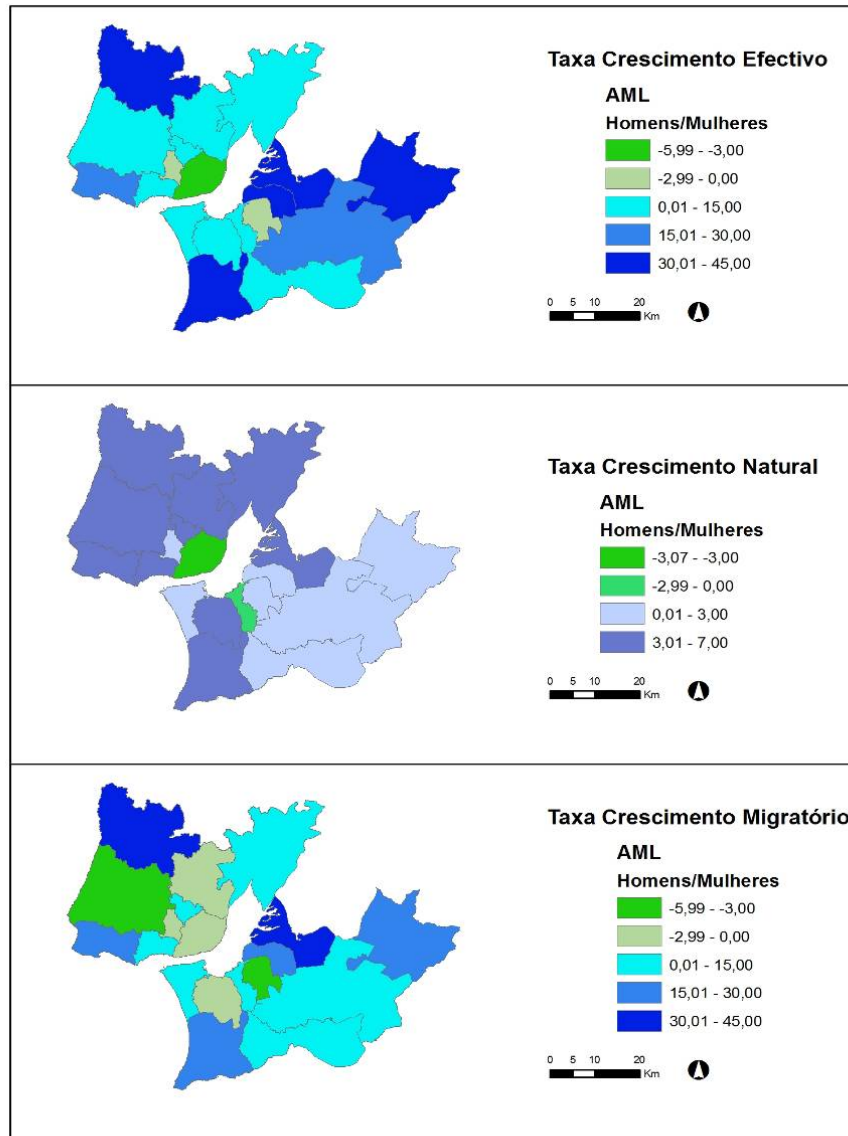
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18 Municipalities
divided into “freguesias”
(parishes)

2,7 M. residents in 2011

População		%
AML Total	2661850	
Grande Lisboa	1947261	73,2
Cascais	170683	6,4
Lisboa	564657	21,2
Loures	199059	7,5
Mafra	54358	2,0
Oeiras	162128	6,1
Sintra	363749	13,7
Vila Franca de Xira	122908	4,6
Amadora	175872	6,6
Odivelas	133847	5,0
Península de Setúbal	714589	26,8
Alcochete	13010	0,5
Almada	160825	6,0
Barreiro	79012	3,0
Moita	67449	2,5
Montijo	39168	1,5
Palmela	53353	2,0
Seixal	150271	5,6
Sesimbra	37567	1,4
Setúbal	113934	4,3

LMA: Demographic Dynamics



- Higher growth levels in peripheral municipalities: Southeast; Sesimbra and Mafra (metropolitan expansion)

Context 2 - HOUSING SECTOR BEHAVIOUR – A READING

CHANGING PROCESSES

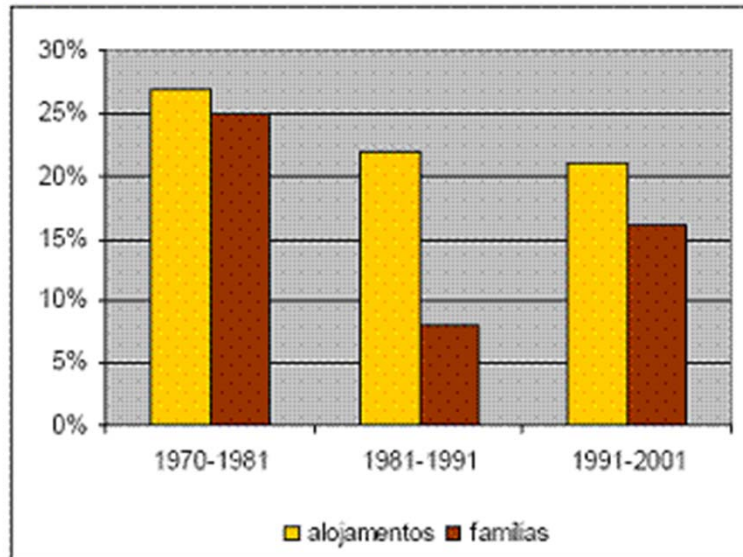
- “New credit systems” (“cheaper”, generalized and cheaper credit)
- Reduction of support to co-operative sector and trend towards the reduction of public offer (except re-housing; large metropolitan slum clearance programme- PER)
- Privatisation of social housing stocks (attempts of “rent selling” to the bank system”)
- Tax exemption on bought residential houses in the period subsequent to the acquisition
- Abolition of rent control with recent liberalization
- Rehabilitation of central areas and historical quarters associated to gentrification; offer of housing for low/middle classes in the peripheries
- Dependency of municipalities on new housing construction and occupation (after the tax exemption period) + reduction of the indebtedness capacity of municipalities

OUTCOMES

Apparently

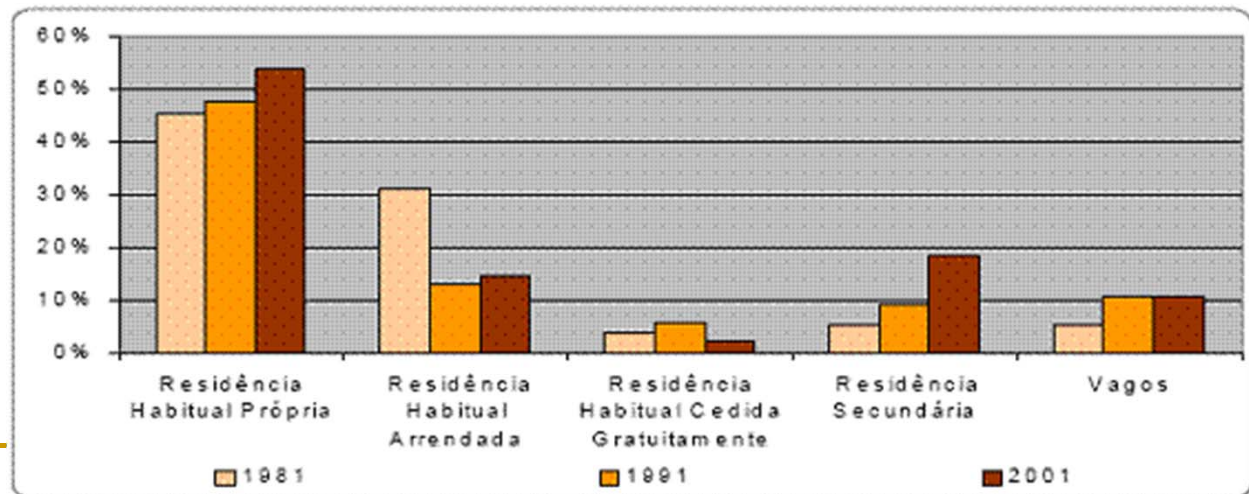
- Generalization of housing property to all social groups
- Home ownership as an economic resource
- Clearance of LMA and OMA shanties
- Political discourse on de-segregation of “ethnic neighbourhoods” supported on contradictory processes

The evolution of the housing sector – a few empirical evidences

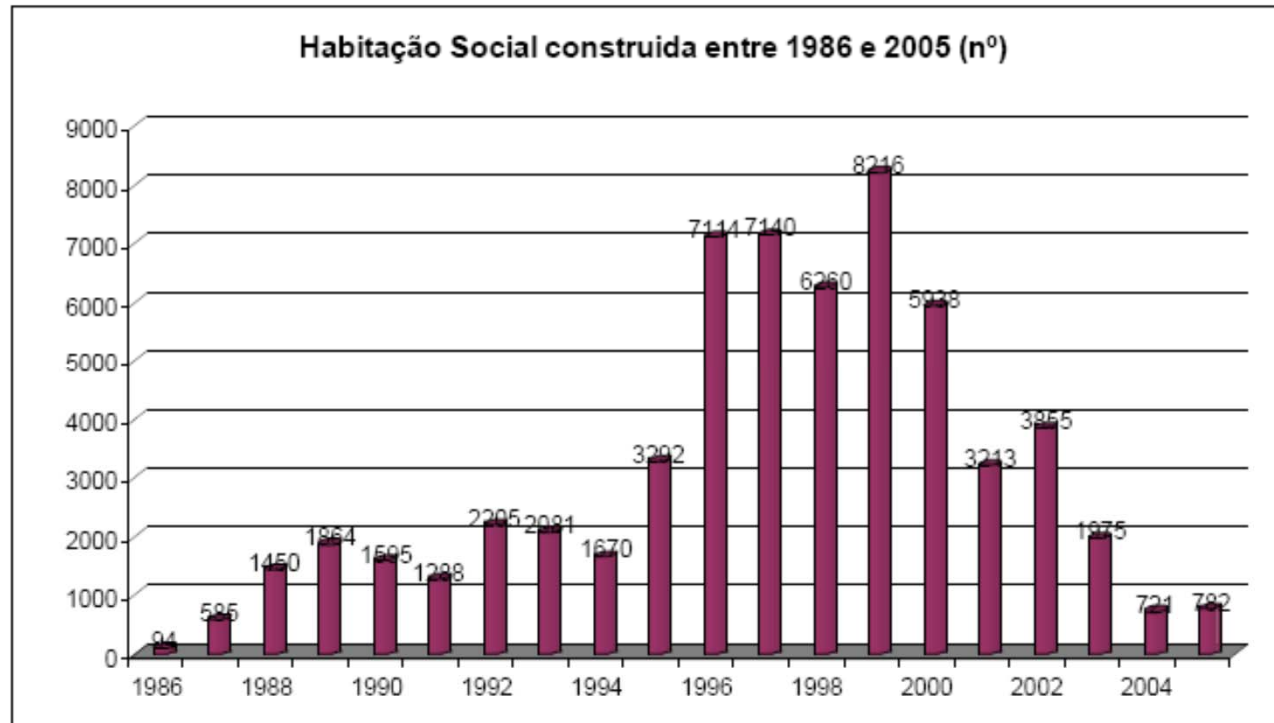


Variation of the family dwellings and family units – 1970 - 2001

Variation in the structure of classic dwellings in Portugal, by type and tenure (1981 and 2001)



The decline in social housing production after 1999



Most of the public investment in housing in the 1990s was directed to support home ownership (tax exemptions and mortgage bonuses)

Public Housing Estates - PER



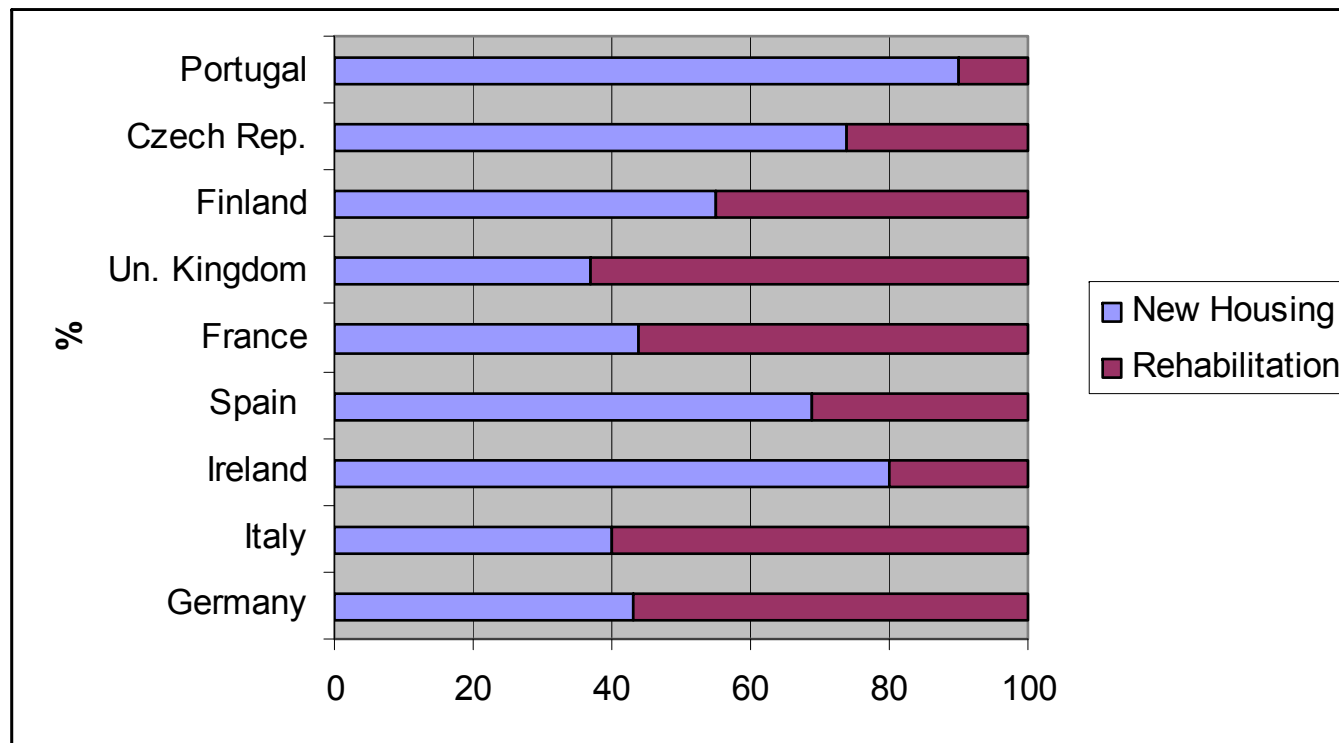
RECENT OUTCOME HOUSING MARKET CRISES

- Strong reduction in the production and transaction levels;
- Incapacity of the families to pay their mortgages and taxes;
- End of the expansion model based in cheap credit, new housing and home ownership

REAL EFFECTS

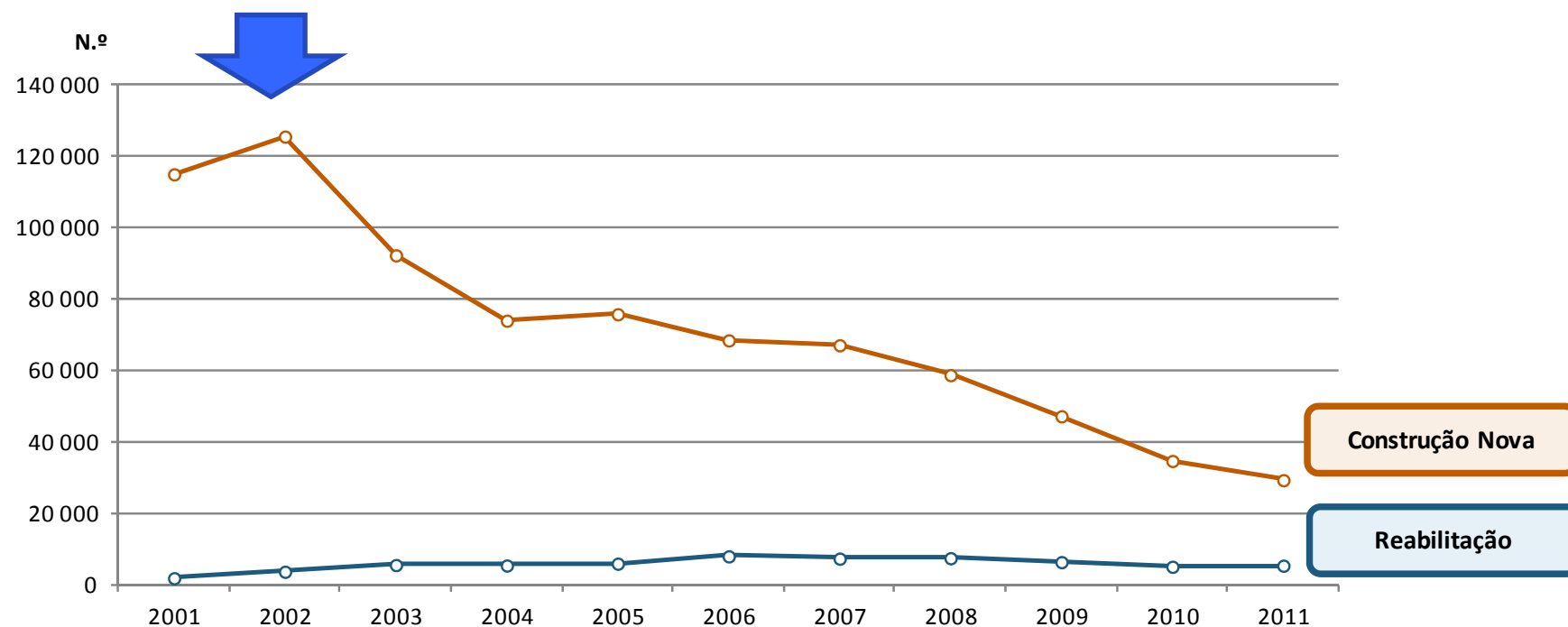
- Incentive to speculation and price increase;
- Relevant growth of the families indebtedness levels (indebtedness level of 117%; housing moved from 12 to 30% in family consumption from 1990 to 2000);
- Reduction of the interest of promoters for low cost or social housing;
- Trends towards the concentration of housing “producers”;
- Reduction of the housing opportunities associated to the informal sector (for the owner self-use), the licensed self-construction or the cheap renting..;
- Growing inequalities in housing access – lower classes, groups that enter the housing market for the first time (youth, immigrants...);
- New socio-spatial segregation patterns, visible in the LMA

Housing Production – New construction and rehabilitation (Portugal, 2003)



Source: *Euroconstruct, "The Outlook for the European Construction Sector 2005-2007, Country Reports"*.

Housing Construction – new houses and rehabilitation - 2001-2011



Source: INE, 2013 (treated and presented by Bárbara Veloso, LNEC, 2013 - adapted).

Evolution of Housing tenures in Portugal (1981-2011)

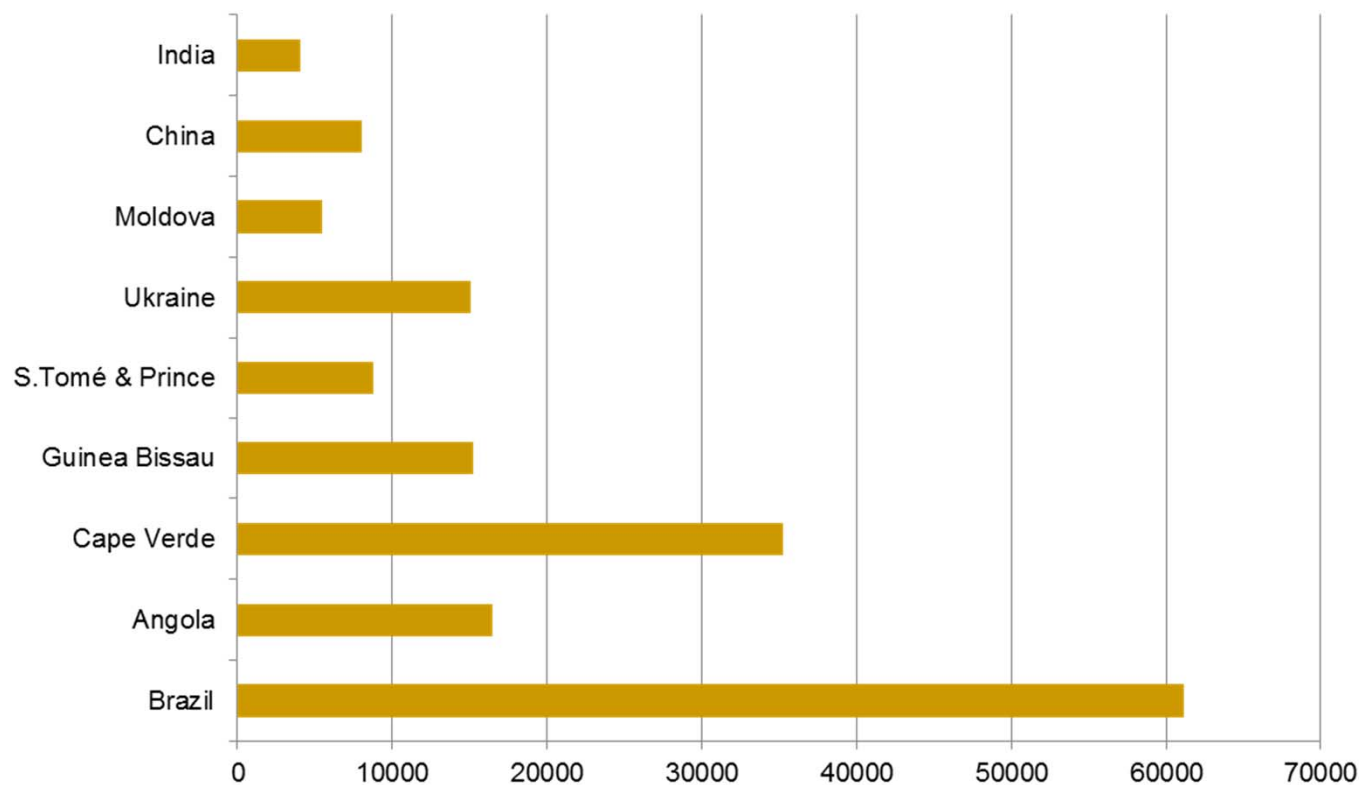


Source: INE, Census

The situation of Immigrants in the housing market in the LMA

- How is the level of residential quality and how it evolved?
- What are the segregation trends and what do they show in terms of spatial marginalization?

Main immigrant groups in the LMA (2012)

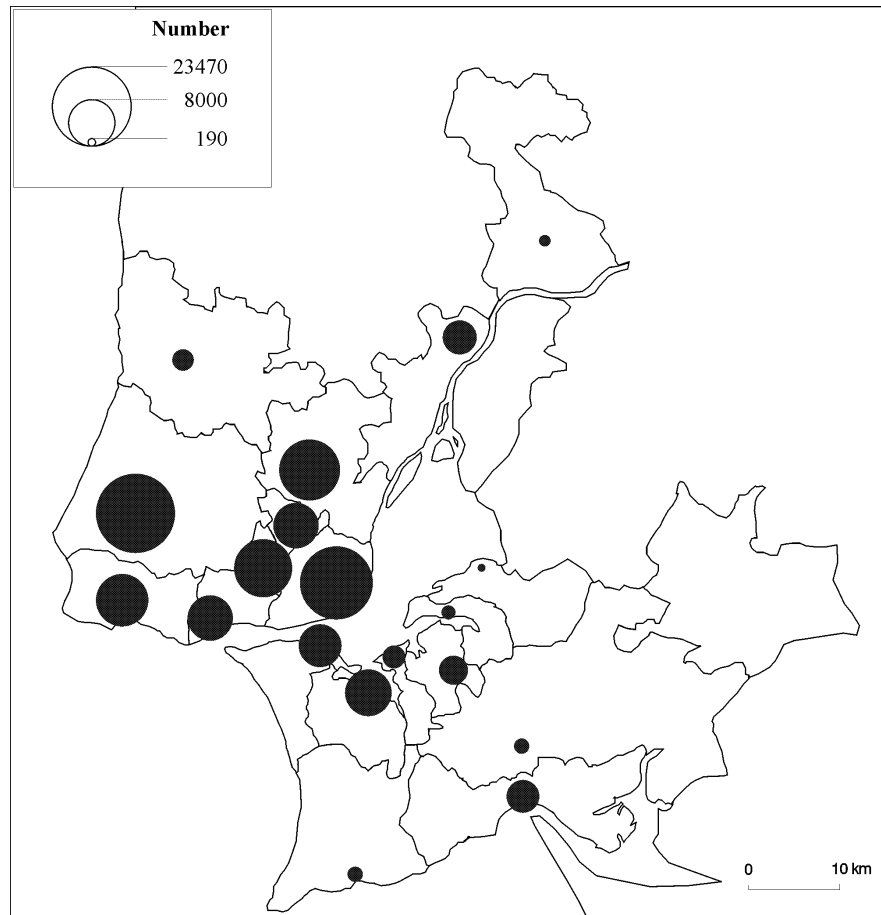


Source: SEF, 2013.

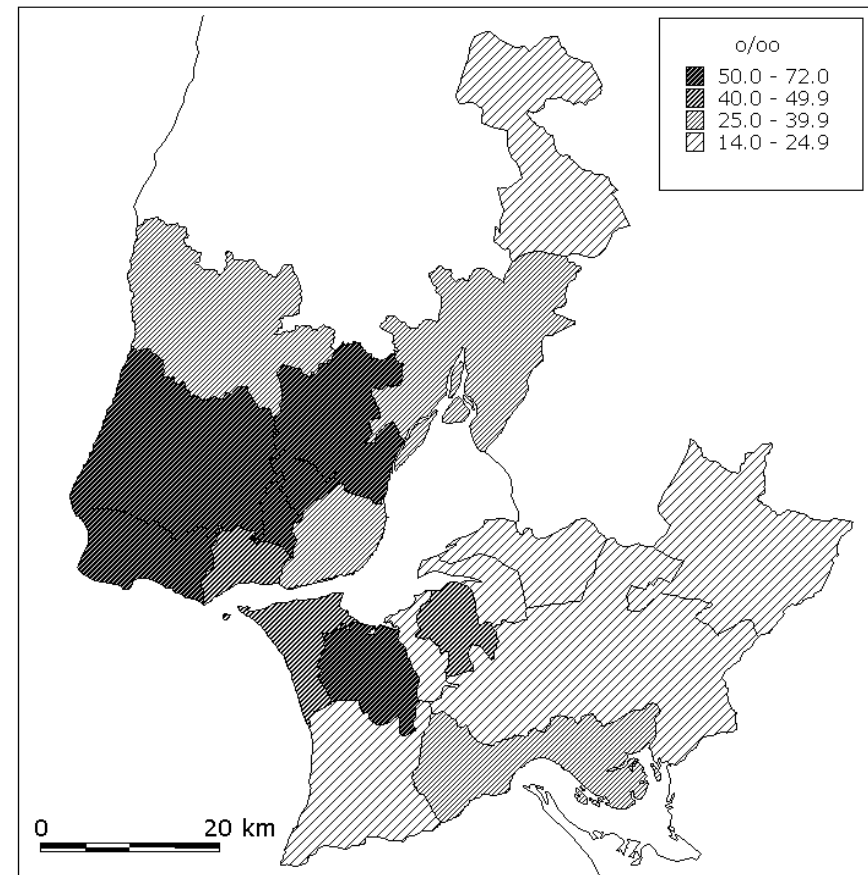
Total foreigners in the LMA (2012) – 417 000 (approx. 51% of the total in Portugal)

Imigrantes na Área Metropolitana de Lisboa

Number of foreigners in 2001
(LMA municipalities)

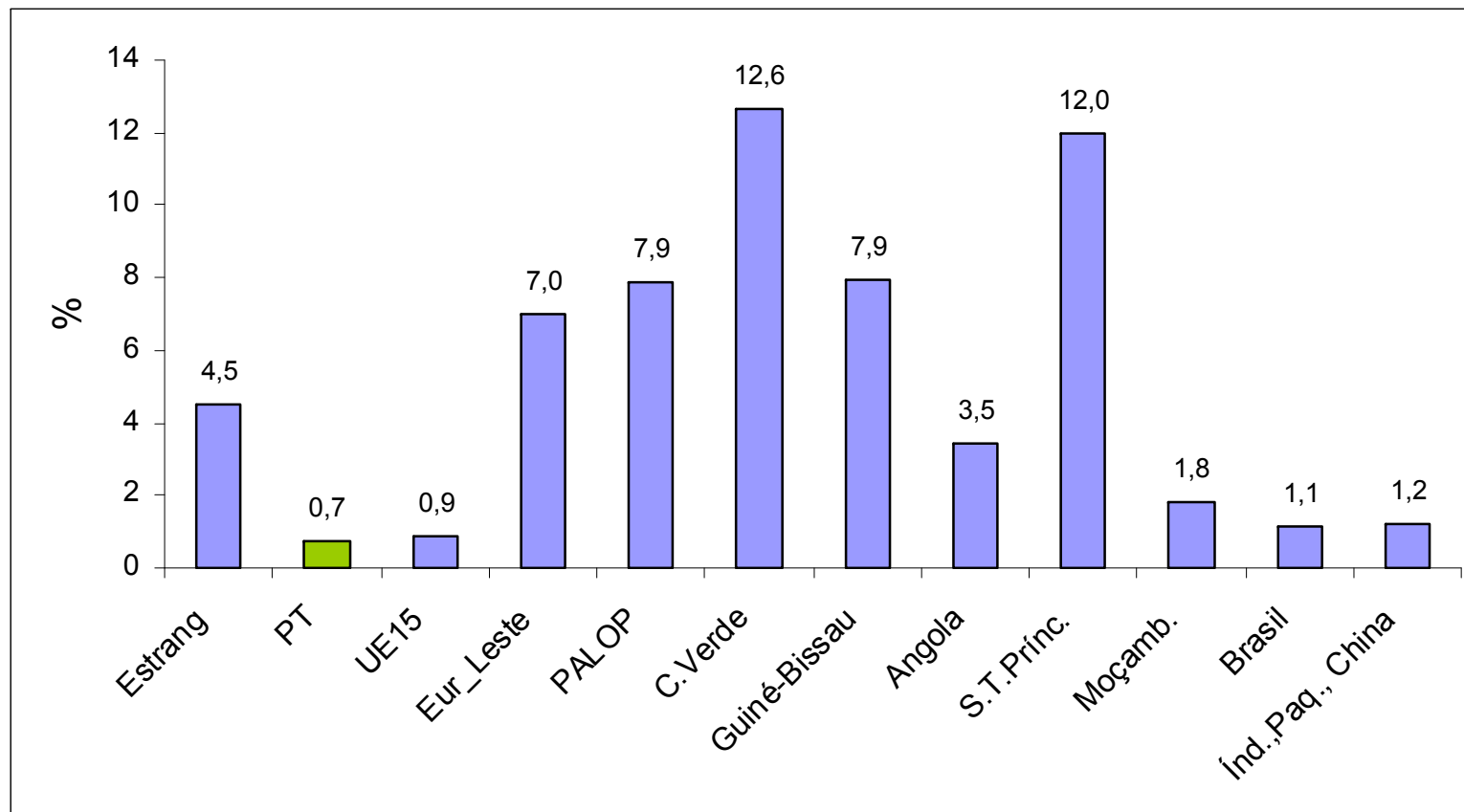


% of foreigners in each
municipality of LMA in 2001



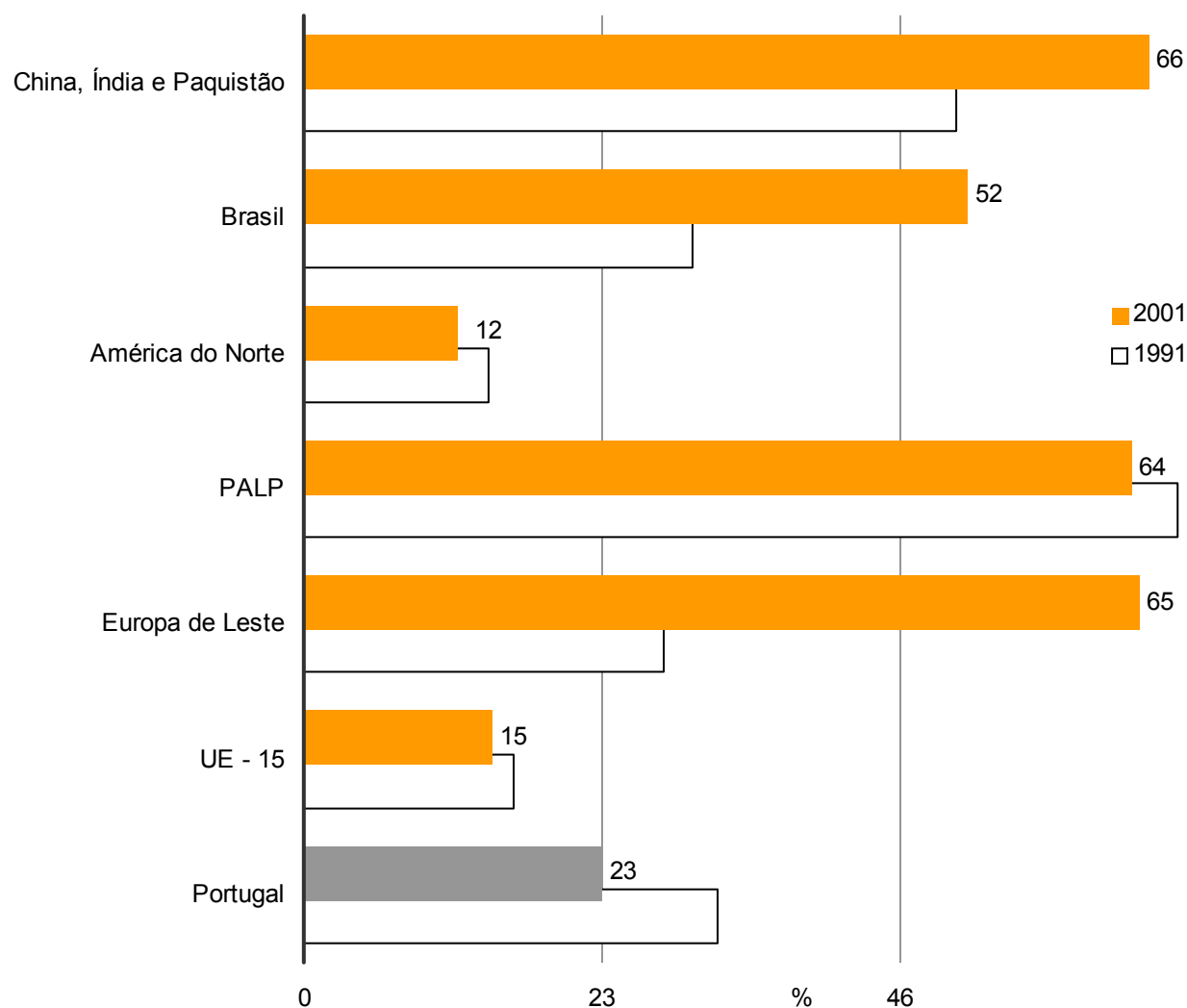
Source: Fonseca et al. (2002). Data from 2001 Census.

Population living in shanties by nationality, 2001



Source: INE, Census 2001.

Overcrowded dwellings by immigrant groups- LMA

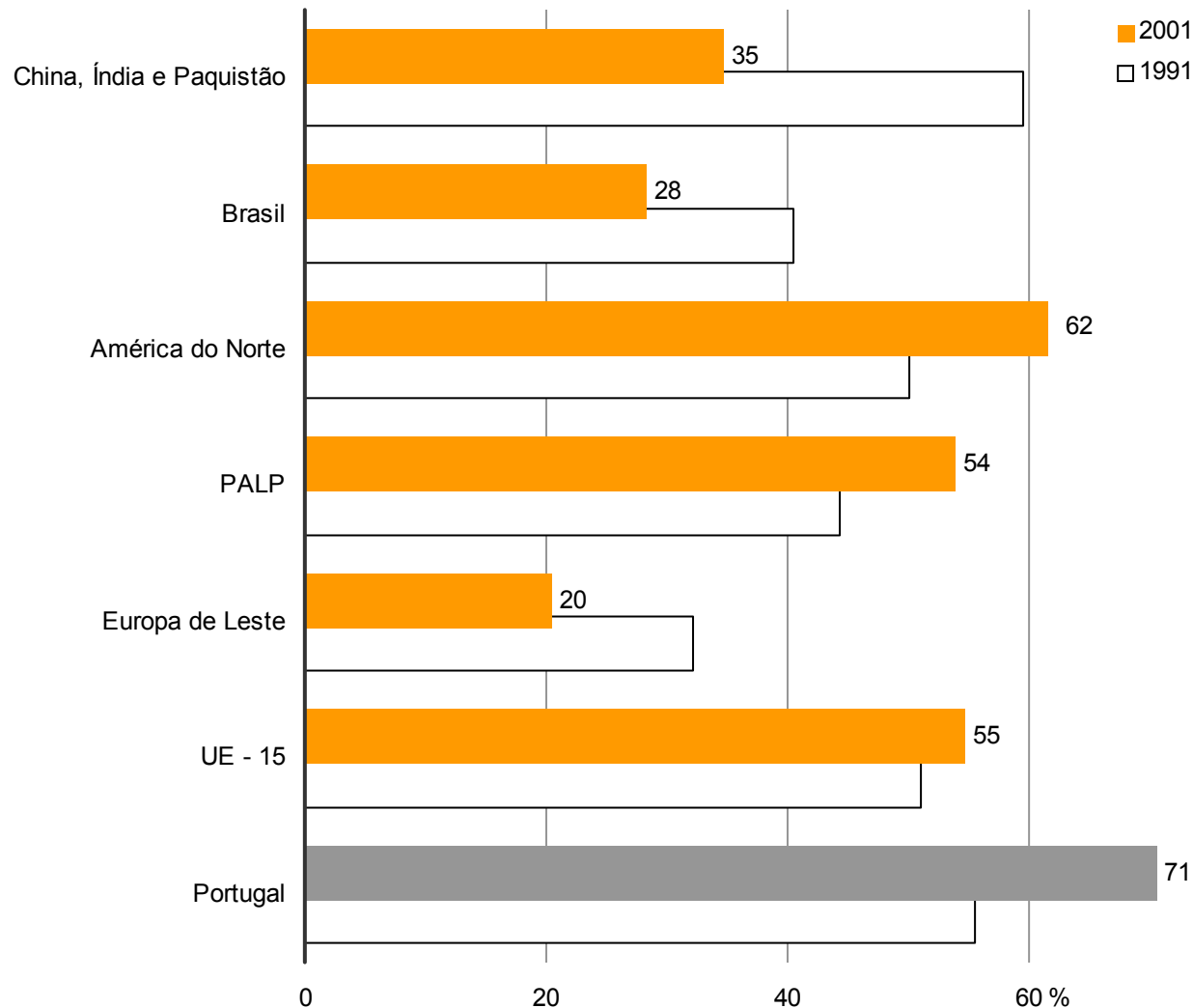


- The proportion of overcrowded dwellings increased between 1991 and 2001 and is especially relevant among new immigration waves

- More than 60% of the PALOP citizens live in overcrowded dwellings

Fonte: Malheiros e Vala (2004). Dados: INE (Censos 1991 e 2001)

Population living in owned classical dwellings

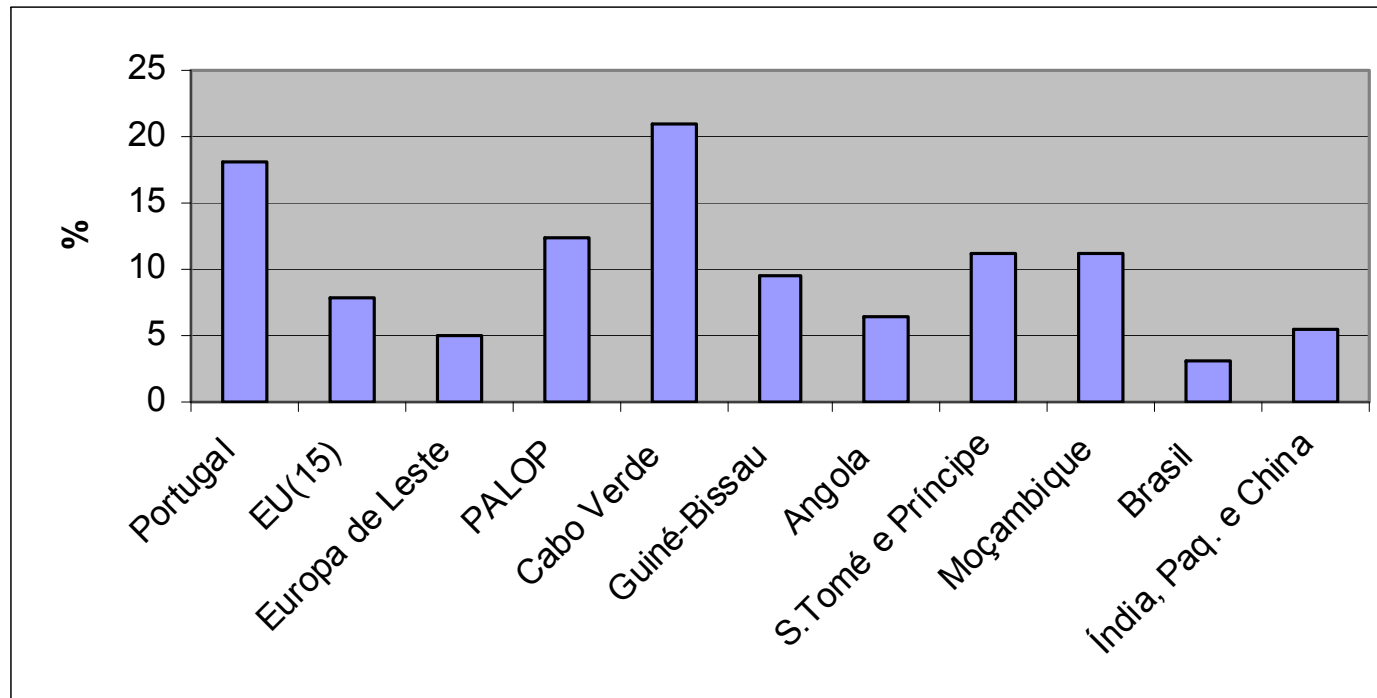


Fonte: Maineiros e Vaia (2004). Dados: INE (Censos 1991 e 2001)

Significant growth in home ownership... increase in older immigrant groups, but especially among Portuguese

New wave immigrants – decrease in home ownership, clear dominance of rental market

% of population living in cheap rented dwellings (< 99.76 euro) - Lisbon Metropolitan Area - 2001



Fonte: INE, Censos de 2001

The paradox of high rents - Frequently, non-western immigrants, particularly Eastern Europeans, Brazilians and Asians, that on average have the lowest salaries are under-represented in the classes of less-expensive rents when compared to EU(foreigners) and especially nationals.

Segregation and... a desegregation trend...

Classical segregation indices – Main nationalities (freguesias, LMA, 1991 and 2001)

Nationality	Freguesias 1991	Freguesias 2001	Diference 91-2001
North America	42,0	37,3	-4,7
Brazil	32,7	27,7	-5,0
China, Índia and Pakistan	52,3	42,4	-9,9
<i>China</i>	67,5	41,2	-26,3
<i>Índia</i>	54,4	54,0	-0,4
<i>Pakistan</i>	71,0	63,8	-7,2
Eastern Europe	59,4	28,8	-30,6
Others - Africa	43,5	30,8	-12,7
PALP	36,6	35,7	-0,9
<i>Angola</i>	30,0	35,5	5,5
<i>Cape Verde</i>	45,6	37,4	-8,1
<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>	51,3	45,7	-5,6
<i>Mozambique</i>	37,6	27,2	-10,4
<i>S_ Tomé and Príncipe</i>	50,4	49,9	-0,6
Portugal	24,8	21,5	-3,3
EU - 15	38,6	39,0	0,4

Indice trend

	Relative stabilization
	increase
	reduction

Reasons:

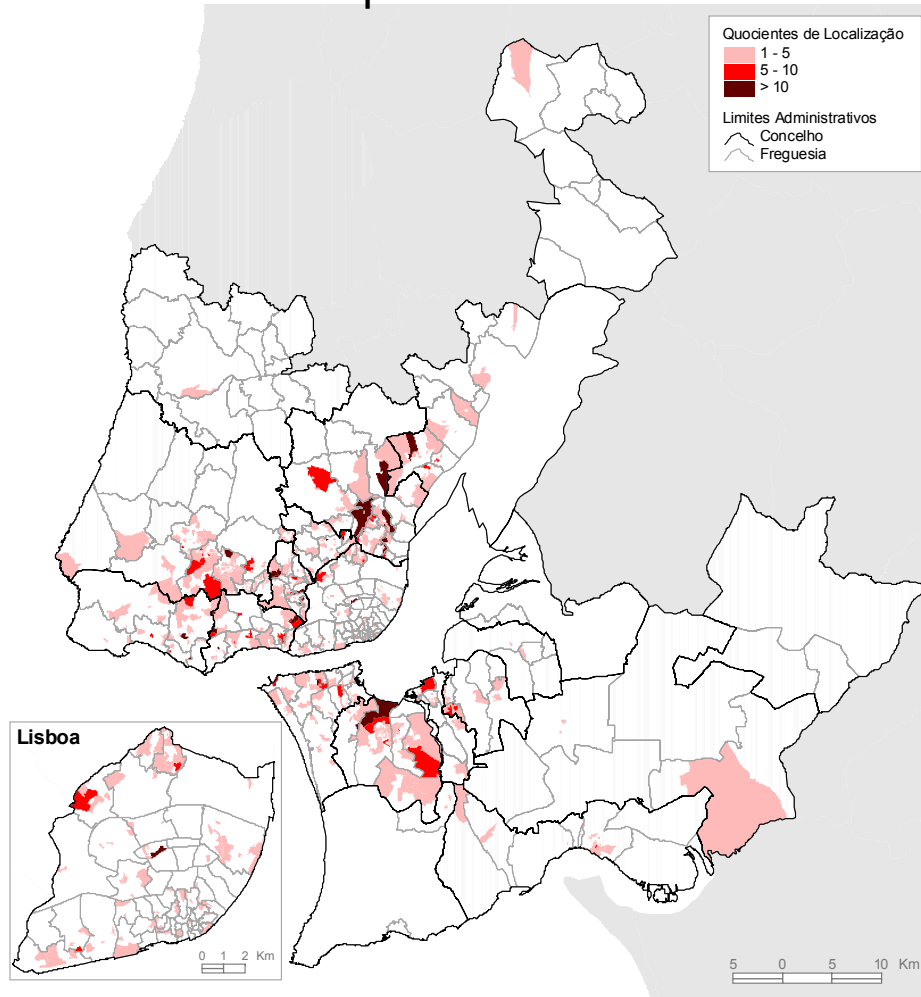
- Statistical effect (growing number of immigrants);

- Policy effect (Rehousing and rehabilitation);

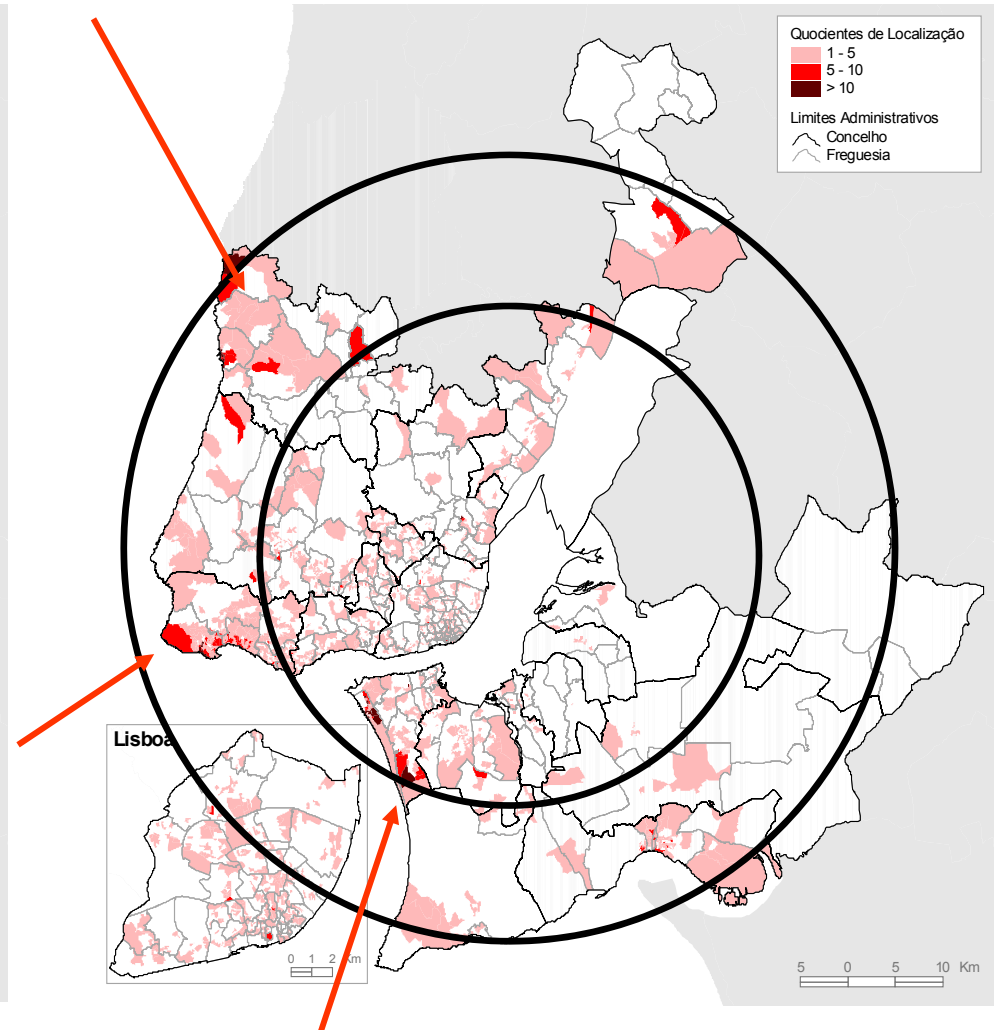
- Social mobility effect (Socio-economic career of certain groups, particularly from the PALOP);

Peripheralisation and marginalization I

Cape Verdians



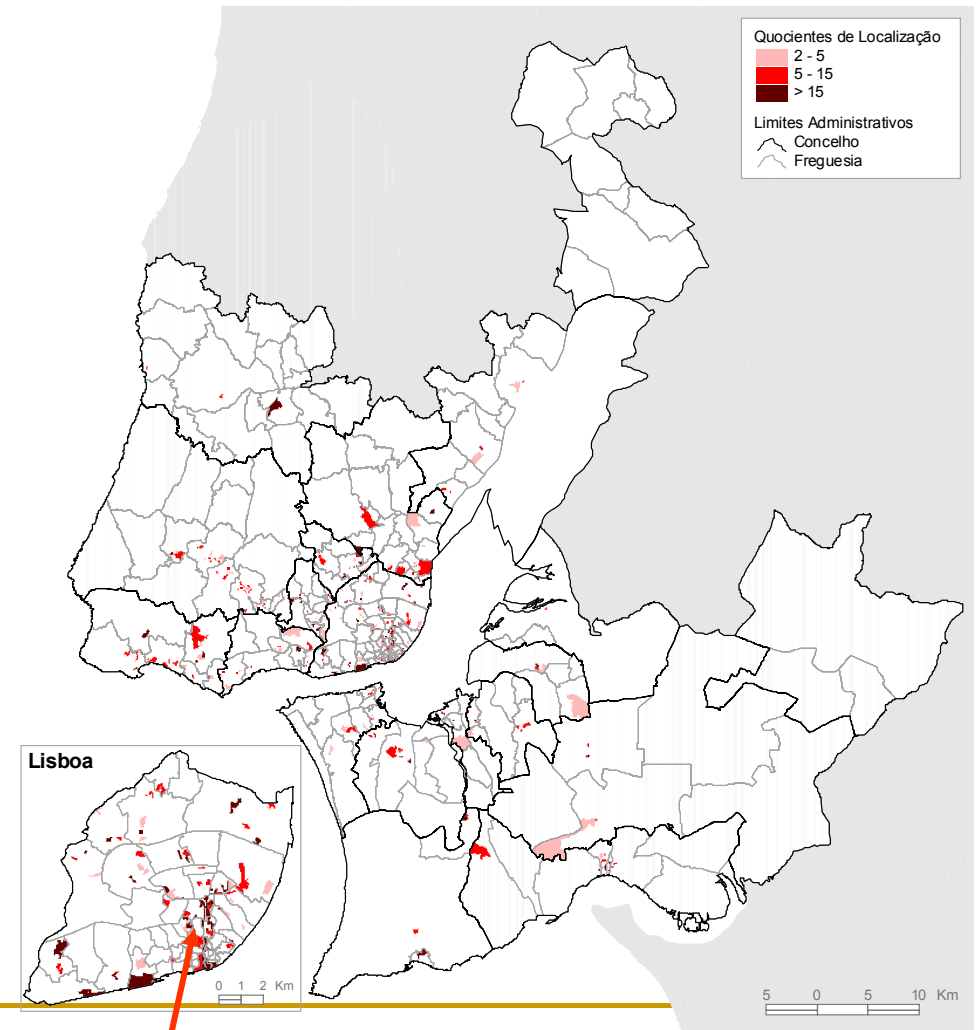
Brazilians



A trend that involves the residential settlement of the most recent waves in the second peripheral area

Peripheralisation and marginalization II

Expansion of foreigners residences, particularly of Asians in some specific inner city areas –
Emergence of the inner city as an area of immigrants' settlement



+

Chinese

Intra-metropolitan dynamics of immigrant groups 1991 - 2001

Nationality	Lisbon municipality	Suburban areas	Periurban areas	Total
	Percentage			
Total	-14,9	12,4	14,5	5,6
Portugal	-17,1	7,0	11,6	1,4
EU - 15	16,8	21,6	41,7	22,2
Eastern Europe	1563,0	3275,7	6735,5	3137,0
PALP	67,5	249,2	196,4	214,2
<i>Cape Verde</i>	21,2	122,2	137,8	105,9
<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>	153,5	430,1	532,0	389,0
<i>Angola</i>	146,0	560,4	321,6	451,4
<i>S.Tomé and Príncipe</i>	76,3	413,4	130,3	336,4
<i>Mozambique</i>	20,2	31,8	55,2	31,8
Africa - Others	85,2	-7,1	102,8	11,0
North America	-6,0	-8,1	15,9	-4,6
Brazil	107,4	275,7	1057,6	282,2
South and Central America - Others	42,0	55,8	77,2	54,8
China, India and Pakistan	67,5	249,2	196,4	214,2
<i>Pakistan</i>	303,7	640,3	2700,0	490,5
<i>India</i>	430,4	208,6	15,8	259,0
<i>China</i>	590,7	79,3	500,0	155,3
Asia - Others	199,2	87,7	95,7	118,9

**Geographical
distribution of
various national
groups: Lisbon
city, suburbia and
peri-urban space
LMA (2001)**

Nationality	Lisbon municipality	Suburban areas	Periurban areas
	Percentage		
Total	21,0	62,7	16,3
Portugal	21,4	61,9	16,7
EU - 15	34,8	51,5	13,6
Eastern Europe	18,3	52,8	28,8
PALP	9,5	85,5	5,0
<i>Cape Verde</i>	9,9	84,7	5,4
<i>Guinea-Bissau</i>	8,1	89,6	2,3
<i>Angola</i>	9,7	84,2	6,1
<i>S.Tomé and Príncipe</i>	7,5	89,8	2,6
<i>Mozambique</i>	14,9	75,9	9,3
Africa - Others	24,3	67,9	7,8
North America	21,3	63,4	15,3
Brazil	16,3	61,6	22,1
South and Central America - Others	22,3	65,1	12,6
China, India and Pakistan	39,6	56,0	4,3
<i>Pakistan</i>	39,4	59,8	0,8
<i>India</i>	40,1	58,3	1,6
<i>China</i>	39,2	50,8	10,0
Asia - Others	39,1	51,4	9,5

Does ethnic and racial discrimination contribute to housing disadvantage and segregation?

What is the contribution of discrimination to the poorer housing conditions of non-western immigrants?

How expanded are the discriminatory attitudes of the main housing market agents (banks, landlords, real estate agents, public housing corporations)?

What is the rationale behind the prejudice and the perception related to the attitudes towards the immigrant groups?

Discrimination the LMA rental housing market - Experimental Methodology -

- Test of the discrimination against African and Brazilian immigrants in the residential rental housing market
 - Following Bovenkerk's methodology (a type of correspondence-testing methodology):
 - Pairs of testers – 1 native/1 foreign – with similar characteristics apart from national/regional/ethnic origin
 - Simultaneous application/contact (employment, housing...) by each pair
 - Aim: to identify/compare the rejection rate for foreigners *vis a vis* native applicants and the time until rejection (first contact or after)
 - About 100 phone calls and 30 visits
 - Characteristics of the testers in the case study – housing in LMA:
 - Profile of the group (national and foreign): young professionals (aged 22-30) with monthly income 800-1000€.

Discrimination the LMA rental housing market

- Results I -

- Main differences during phone calls occurred in:
 - Kindness showed during the conversation
 - Availability to rent the house
 - Value of the rent

	<i>Net Discrimination against Brazilian Pair</i>	<i>Net Discrimination against African Pair</i>	<i>Net Discrimination Global</i>
Kindness	3	3	6
Availability to rent	5	1	6
Rent	4	1	5
Note: Net Discrimination = No. Cases Portuguese favoured - No. Cases foreigner(s) favoured Favoured = higher kindness/higher availability to rent/lower rent			

Discrimination test - Results II

- Comments made during visits:

- About **Brazilians**: ‘*The concern with the numbers*’:

- “... I know that sooner or later she (the Brazilian candidate) will get more people in here, the Brazilians always do that.”

- About **Africans**: ‘*The race prejudice*’

- “I like to meet the person who rents the house because I don’t want blacks or Brazilian here.”

One landlord indicated to the Portuguese couple that he would prefer them over the ‘colored’ couple that had visited the house before them saying that he considered that the Portuguese had ‘better culture’.

Another landlord said to the African couple that the home had already been rented and one hour later stated that flat was still available while talking to the Portuguese couple.

4. Some concluding remarks

Concluding remarks I – on geographical patterns and housing conditions

- Immigrants, as expected, experience higher levels of housing vulnerability. Process related to:
 - Income differentials;
 - Time of arrivals;
 - Evolving housing market features and...
 - Housing discrimination;
- There is a progressive peripheralization of the successive waves of labour immigrants (in the city centre – more EU(15) Europeans and Asians)

Concluding remarks II – on housing conditions and segregation

Segregation decrease is not necessarily associated to an improvement process of housing conditions of immigrants;

Policies based in ethnic mix and spatial homogeneity are not “the solution”. They may be circumstantially positive (a solution among other).

(De)segregation and ethnic “dispersal” do not mean necessarily stronger cohesion levels

Concluding remarks III – on housing discrimination

- Discriminatory attitudes towards Brazilians and Africans are sustained by distinct prejudices and representations (“negative social practices”+numerous arrivals vs. racial+low “cultural level”);
 - Discrimination plays a role in housing market disadvantage **but it does not seem to be the main explanation factor** (it combines with other factors that may overlap it);
-

4... and future research in a new context (strong reduction of immigration and new housing market features?)

- To know more about:
 - The effective results of socio-ethnic mix;
 - The eventual limits to the process of peripheralization of immigrants and the slackening of the de-segregation process;
 - The eventual expansion of socio-spatial segregation at the micro level – in a fragmented city, micro-segregation may replace “ordinary segregation”;
 - The global situation in rehabilitated areas and in public housing estates and the position of immigrants (and their offspring) in terms of housing careers;