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Patterns of segregation:

A European comparison with case studies from Brussels, Vienna and Budapest

4 Cities UNICA Euromaster in Urban Studies

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1 Introduction

Research on spatial segregation is not new, but is gaining momentum over the last decades with increasing differences within the global society. Early research on segregation goes back to the Chicago School, which can be considered as the first group of academics that systematically analysed patterns of segregation in cities. After the Chicago School, further important works were dedicated to urban spatial segregation (e.g. Shevky & Williams (1949), Bell (1953), Shevky & Bell (1955), Murdie (1969), Berry & Kasarda (1977)). Besides Marcuse (1989), Van Kempen (2005), Marcuse & Van Kempen (2000), recent research was carried out by Sassen (1991) and her analysis how economic changes are spatially expressed in social and spatial polarisation in cities using the case studies of New York, London and Tokyo (Van Kempen & Murie 2009).

The purpose of this paper is to present various forms of segregation in European cities. Hereby a clear focus is on its spatial outcomes rather than on the inter-relation of the main drivers of segregation such as globalisation, deindustrialisation, neoliberalism as well as national welfare systems. Thus the paper begins with an explanatory introduction to different forms of segregation and how it can be measured. The main part presents segregation patterns of three different European cities. Hereby Brussels presents a West European, Vienna a Central European and Budapest an East European example. Using these case studies various forms of segregation and its spatial pattern are analysed highlighting national and local variations within Europe and the European Union. To conclude the paper, a cross-European comparison is carried out in the end.

2 Theories of segregation

Segregation can be rudimentarily defined as the separation of two or more groups of people and can exist as spatial segregation, such as physical distance and social structure in space. On the other hand, segregation can also appear as social segregation, a process reflecting social distance in society. These two forms of segregation, broken down into three relevant basic dimensions: demographic segregation, social (class) segregation and ethnic segregation, illustrate both historic and contemporary trends in cities. Many diverse factors, policies, and even public opinion can make these forms of segregation appear in urban areas (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 2007).

When reflecting the current situation in these European cities, one must realize that the three aforementioned dimensions of segregation can exist simultaneously. It is difficult to describe or analyze them independently from one other. Many similarities exist among ethnic and

social segregation, migrant and ethnic minority groups are rarely homogeneous communities with regards to social or economic aspects.

Social, ethnic and residential segregation are frequently discussed themes of municipal integration policies, however they are also very controversial. No definitive answer to the main question of segregation is unilaterally accepted. Segregation research proves that segregation is an ambivalent phenomenon that generally produces negative as well as positive effects for cities. Furthermore, many residents of non-immigrant backgrounds feel threatened by immigration and migrant workers, both for justified and unjustified decisions, made by urban policy makers, controversial when considering integration techniques, as they may conflict with public opinion. Also, when socio-spatial segregation is discussed, the dialogue exists mainly about poorer neighborhoods, whereas middle and upper class social segregation is not frequently cited as a problem.

While introducing measures of segregation, it can therefore be difficult to distinguish between mere class segregation and ethnic segregation and its effects. In reality, these dimensions are often closely related. Social segregation is harder to measure as it can be both *de facto* and *de jure*. However, class segregation can be measured by comparing average incomes, household size, and educational achievement. Ethnic segregation is a trickier qualifier to distinguish, as many European census reports do not ask respondents to identify by race. However, two frequently used measures: the "Index of Dissimilarity" and the "Isolation Index" provide mathematical processes and formulas to analyze segregation with regards to space. Both born from the works of Massey and Denton (1988), they originally sought to see the effects of African-American segregation in the United States, but can be applied to ethnic minorities in countries across the globe.

The "Index of Dissimilarity" measures how two groups of individuals are distributed across a specified geographic area. It illustrates by its calculation the number of people in one group who would have to move to a different geographic area in order to produce a similar composition of two groups in another neighbourhood (Massey & Denton 1988). It can be used to measure inequality in urban areas, and can show clear distinctions between ethnic and social groups.

The "Isolation Index" meanwhile compares groups with regards to the percentage of the group that lives in an area predominantly comprised of members of the same group (Massey & Denton 1988). Therefore, a city where 90% of Roma people live in neighborhoods with more than 50% Roma inhabitants would show that the Roma have a very high Isolation Index within that city. However, as mentioned before, neighborhoods comprised of mainly upper or middle-class residents from the same national background would also have a high Isolation Index, as these individuals are segregated from other groups in the same city.

Van Kempen and Murie (2009) help illustrate a trend across Europe by their work *"The New Divided City"*. With regards to segregation, they argue, European cities in the last three decades have handled economic pressures in different ways than American cities. Differing traditions with regards to a "welfare state", government interventions on a larger scale, and de-commodified housing are much more present in Europe, and therefore the social and spatial outcomes of these economic challenges differ across the ocean. European cities are now faced with the challenges of the welfare state becoming a less effective tool to fight inequalities, less interventionist governments and governments faced with more market oriented economic policies.

In order to present a status-quo of segregation patterns in Europe, three different case studies are going to be analysed in the following. Each of them shows a unique set of socio-spatial composition of people within the urban network. Among them Brussels and Vienna functions as a West and Central European example, which both were influenced by labour immigration during the 1960s and 1970s. In contrast to this, the example of Budapest is highlighting ethnic segregation by focusing on the situation of Roma and Sinti.

3 Segregation in Europe

Compared to U.S.-American cities, levels of segregation in European cities are more modest. Nevertheless they are an important issue for the city's inhabitants and policy makers. To carry out a comparative study about segregation patterns in Europe is not an easy task due to Europe's diversification and fragmentation which derives from its rich urban history and its organisation in national states with each having an own welfare system, measurements of segregation and data availability (Musterd 2005). Nonetheless it is aimed to present three different European examples starting with Brussels as a case study followed by Vienna and Budapest. Although all of the parts feature some common details, e.g. the historic development of immigration and segregation, they include some unique focuses. Due to the significant amount of Moroccans and Turks in the city of Brussels, their situation will be highlighted. This is followed by the Central European example of Vienna. Due to its generally low segregation index, an overview about residential patterns of foreigners will be presented. The third and last case study is dealing with the ethnical minorities in Budapest, in particular with residential segregation of Roma and Sinti.

3.1 Segregation patterns in Brussels with special focus on Moroccan and Turkish population

As previously mentioned the first case study will focus on the socio-spatial segregation patterns of Moroccans and Turks population in Brussels. The reasons for choosing specifically these two nationalities are that they both represent a significant part of the population of Brussels - in 2008, Moroccans accounted for around 3.7% of the population of Brussels and Turks for around 1% - (BISA n.d.) and that they present very specific distribution patterns. Indeed, if one looks at maps 1 and 2, it can be observed that Turks and Moroccans population are very concentrated in the Western and Northern part of the pentagon (i.e. the historical medieval city centre).

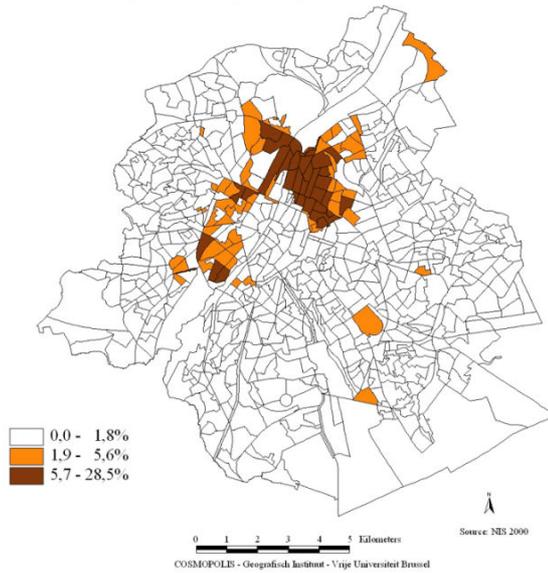
In order to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the socio-spatial segregation patterns in Brussels, it is important to briefly analyse the history of its development from the early 19th century onwards. Until the early 19th century, the growth of the city was contained within the city walls. However, with the advent of industrialisation and the growing population, it was necessary for the city to grow outside of the medieval city limits. The early industries and manufactures mainly settle down along the canal that was a main transport axis. In parallel, working-class housing development were built near those early industries to house the workers. In addition to that, the political powers such as the royal palace, the seat of government or the palace of justice as well as bourgeois upper-class houses historically established in the Eastern part of the city that is located uphill. Having the political power located uphill is very common in many European cities. These two elements have contributed to the development of the city following a East/West axis. Keeping this East/West division in mind is important to understand what follows.

Turks and Moroccans in Brussels were part of the last wave of labour immigration from the Mediterranean basin. They arrived during the 1960's until the early 1970's and the beginning of the economic crisis. They were attracted in order to work in urban industrial sectors such as textile, leather, foodstuffs and low-skilled jobs (Cortie & Kesteloot 1998). Indeed, the demand for unskilled workers was high considering the economic growth and the fact that Belgian workers were unwilling to go for these jobs. Furthermore, there were enough job opportunities for skilled workers thanks to the economic growth and the shift to a service economy.

The spatial distribution of Moroccans and Turks can be seen on map one & two.

Map 1: Spatial distribution of Turks in Brussels in 2000

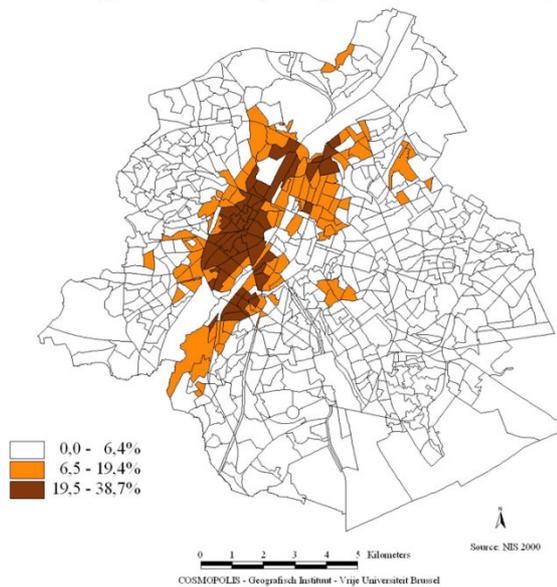
Percentage of Turks per neighbourhood in Brussels (2000)



Source: De Corte 2011

Map 2: Spatial distribution of Moroccans in Brussels in 2000

Percentage of Moroccans per neighbourhood in Brussels (2000)



Source: De Corte 2011

The Moroccans are present all over the western half of the 19th century ring around the pentagon, with slightly lower representation in the south, since European Mediterranean migrants already occupied this zone. The Turks originally concentrated around the North Station (their point of arrival by train), where they could find affordable rental housing. However, in the 1970s the population was evicted from the western part of this zone by the

Manhattan project which intended to transform the area into a modern international business district. As a consequence, concentration of Turks increased in the neighbourhoods to the east of the station.

During this period, the economic growth had a strong impact on the distribution of Moroccans and Turks population in Brussels. Indeed, the result of the growth was that the level of income of many working-class Belgians improved. Together with the access to property policies developed by the Belgian government, the result was massive suburbanisation mainly outside the city boundaries. But while the conditions improved for some, the immigrant populations didn't follow this upward mobility trend and remain in central neighbourhoods. Therefore, while middle-class and part of the working-class population left those central neighbourhoods, the immigrant populations settled down there.

Due to the ageing of the Walloons' population, the settling of entire families was encouraged right from the beginning of the immigration wave. Therefore, family reunification was completed within a few years after the arrival of the migrant male worker as soon as he found proper housing and had enough income to house his family. At first, most of these workers idea was to return to their country of origins as soon as they could but most of the workers soon realised that their children, educated in Belgium, couldn't adapt to their parent's country of origin. As a result of this reunification policy and the realisation that the return to the country of origin was not possible, the housing needs of the Moroccans and Turks families changed. Indeed, while at first the migrant worker is alone and is looking for a cheap temporary dwelling, in a second time, when its family is joining him, they look for a larger house. Nevertheless, in Brussels, this change in the type and size of housing is usually taking place within the same area.

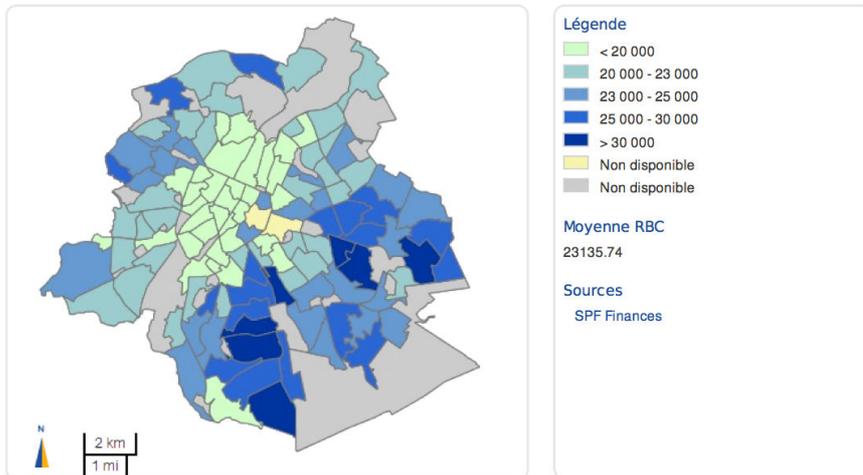
Moroccans and Turks, in majority, started their career in low positions on the labour market hoping to rise up the social scale. However, deindustrialisation and economic crisis during the 1970s made their upward mobility unlikely. Therefore, their positions on the labour market remained low. In addition to low position jobs, foreigners also experience a higher percentage of unemployment than Belgian. The 1991 census data in Brussels showed that 33 per cent of the Moroccan and 30 per cent of the Turkish active population were unemployed compared to 18 per cent for all foreigners and 8 per cent for Belgians (Cortie & Kesteloot 1998). Unfortunately more recent data on this specific topic was not available to the authors but this gap is very likely to be still existing today.

Even though data of income by nationality was not available to the authors, by looking at maps one, two (cf. p. 5) as well as map three (cf. p. 7) one can see that there is a high correlation between low income and high share of Turks and Moroccans. Indeed the areas at

the West and North of the pentagon are also the ones that present the lowest levels of income within Brussels.

Map 3: Average income by tax return per neighbourhood in Brussels in 2000

Revenu moyen par déclaration en 2000 (€)



Source: Monitoring des quartiers n.d.

Another element that is important to take into consideration in order to understand the specific residential pattern of Turks and Moroccans, is the peculiar housing market situation of Brussels in different respects: First, the amount of public rental dwellings in Brussels is very low compared to other cities (8 per cent (De Corte 2011)). As a result, the demand for social housing is much higher than the offer. This consequently leads people to look for housing on the private rental sector, which is an important part of the Brussels housing market.

That leads us to the second key feature of the Brussels housing market. Not only is the number of private rental dwellings high but also within this private rental sector, a high share of these dwellings is part of the residual rental sector. Those residual dwellings are often old and they lie at the bottom of the scale in terms of quality. These dwellings are to a large extent located in the area along the canal and are mainly dating from the industrialisation period in the 19th century. These dwellings offer low rent together with poor quality and that is where migrants find dwellings that are suiting their needs and constraints (affordability and enough space to house the entire family) (Cortie & Kesteloot 1998).

An very important element that migrants take into consideration when deciding where to settle down is the presence or not of a community. Indeed, social networks are essential as

they contribute to survival in difficult economic time. In addition, the presence of shops, services, worship places is also valuable for migrants.

Cortie & Kesteloot (1998) state that:

“Turks generally have very strong social networks (due to their chain migration) and individual households with family ties remain grouped in the same vicinity such that traditional family structures (of rural origin) can still operate. As a consequence, most Turks cling more to their concentration zone than do Moroccans. This reinforces the ethnic character of the zone and gradually expands the socioeconomic range of its population, which in turn offers better opportunities to resist economic stress.”

In conclusion, Turkish and Moroccans people are highly spatially concentrated in Brussels. In fact, as a result of their low income, their positions on the labour market, their specific housing needs and the housing market structure of Brussels, Turkish and Moroccans people have a limited choice when choosing where to settle down. The area at the west and at the north of the pentagon seems to be one of the few in Brussels to present the adequate conditions to welcome them.

3.2 Segregation in Vienna

In contrast to the US, Canada or Australia, Austria does not have a long immigration history but has become like many other Western European countries since the 1960s a state of immigration. Initially integration was not on the political agenda, but with an on-going process of immigration and increasing share of foreign people, immigration and the transition towards an immigration society was publicly discussed and presented as a major problem. Austria before 1918 and after 1945 was neither an ethnical nor a classical country of immigration. The search for the “national identity” was therefore difficult and based on different historical facts. The role of Austria as a country of immigration and emigration played no role in any case.

The transformation process began in the 1960s by the recruitment of guest workers and since then Vienna has become a strong destination of migrants mainly from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. It is relatively easy to explain, why especially these ethnic groups settled in Vienna. After the Second World War and within the economic boom, especially in the building construction sector, there was a need for guest workers. Turkish citizens who came mainly from Anatolia saw a chance for better life in the west and former Yugoslavians because of the closeness to their own country and later as refugees from the Yugoslavian war. Similar to many other Western European cities immigrants of the first major wave of immigration were spatially unequally spread throughout the city. The first trends towards

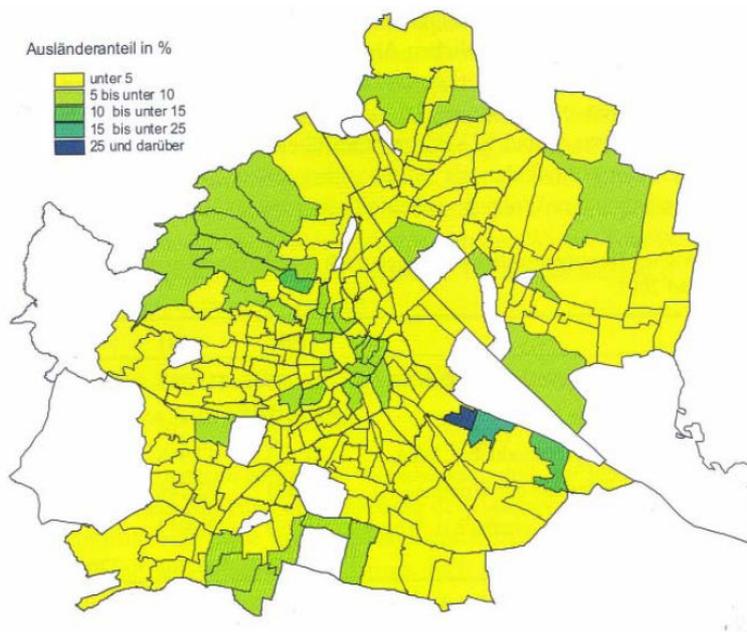
ethnic segregation occurred. In general, the integration of guest workers into the native society was not considered to some extent. It was envisaged that foreign labour force would return after their working period to their countries of origin, thus integration policies did not play a major during the early phase of European migrations. Despite the expectations, guest workers changed their guest residence into a permanent one in 1973 when the guest worker period ended. In contrast to Germany, immigration and integration policies have been neglected in Austria for a long period of time, which leads to the impression that Austria is a “country of immigration without immigration policy” (Bade 1996).

After the failure of the so called “rotation principle”, the recruited guest workers became long-term immigrants and today 153,532 former Yugoslavian (except Slovenia) and 66,804 Turks are living in Vienna (2011 – according to country of origin). Besides the “big” two groups of ex-Yugoslavia and Turkish immigrants, the third largest group of foreigners (47,731) are from Germany, followed by 37,470 immigrants from Poland, which form the fourth largest immigrant group in Vienna. Interesting to mention are also another high share of further East European countries: the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania are counting in total around 49,379 people. In total 30,6% of the total Viennese population have a non-European citizenship (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2012). The first relevant study which is describing the ethnic segregation in Vienna was carried out by Lichtenberger in 1981 (*Guest workers: Live in two societies*). Her analysis was focused on the living conditions of migrant workers and showed that those workers are not necessarily segregated in districts, but rather in different residential plots. According to Lichtenberger this is due to the structural “building blocks” of Vienna: She defines the core city within its inner city limits. For her the inner city is defined into two parts, which is the ‘Imperial’ city structure from the imperial time and the ‘red Vienna social housings’ from the inter war period. At the time of the monarchy the city built up to a compact body with a diameter of around 12 km. Before the First World War, 2.2 million people have lived in the inner city which decreased after the Second World War towards 800,000. Many empty historical substandard flats were empty and the guest workers were able to rent them for their families.

At the beginning of the labor migration in the 1960s the guest workers stayed extremely segregated. They settled in dormitories and shared housing establishments, because they kept their permanent residence in their home country. With the changed conditions from a temporary to a permanent residence at the beginning of the 1970s the housing situation became different. Many migrants settled in substandard housings around the city core. This situation changed rapidly with the start of renovation works in the 1980s in the private tenement sector. Especially densely built areas were renewed and there were hardly new buildings built on the outskirts. The new focus of the immigrant settlers became the Southern and Western districts of the urban belt. Since 1990 the Vienna Housing Policy has been

trying to improve the integration of migrant populations in addition to better living conditions. A first step in this direction represented the inclusion of foreign nationals in the social housing sector. As a consequence foreigners are able to rent social housing flats if they have a valid residence permit and a certain income since the mid-1990s. One of the most recent changes in Austria's legal system and integration as well as housing policies covers the rights to equal access to social housing and subsidized rental housing. This means that immigrants are no longer discriminated on the housing sector since 2006 (Kohlbacher/Reeger, 2006). Having a closer look on the share of foreigners by local districts, the residential pattern of the foreign population becomes clearer:

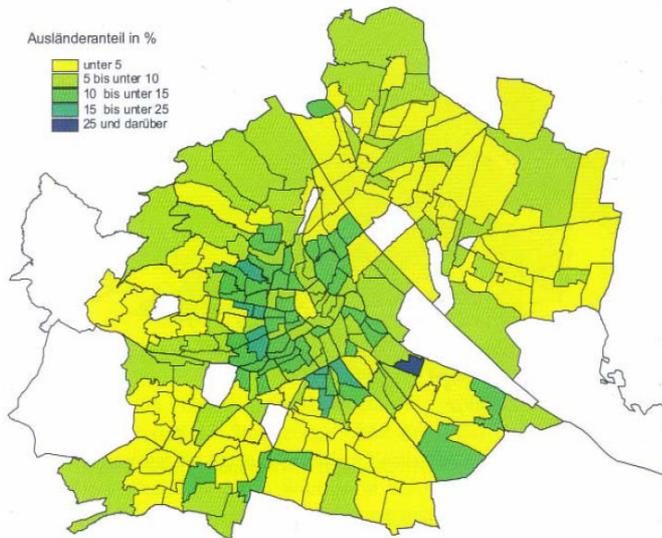
Map 4: Foreign population in Vienna in 1971



Source: Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006 (Survey 1971)

As shown in the map, ethnic and residential segregation did almost not exist in 1971. Solely around the "Simmering gas factory," the proportion of foreign workers was above 25% and in the neighbouring district – "E-Werk Simmering" – more than 15%. The immigration of foreign workers was still in its early stages during the guest worker – era. Vienna in 1971 had 1.61 million inhabitants and 56,525 of them were foreigners representing a number of 3.5%. Smaller shares of immigrants could be observed in parts of the Vienna Woods and the inner districts. These were mainly the residential areas of foreign elites (Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006).

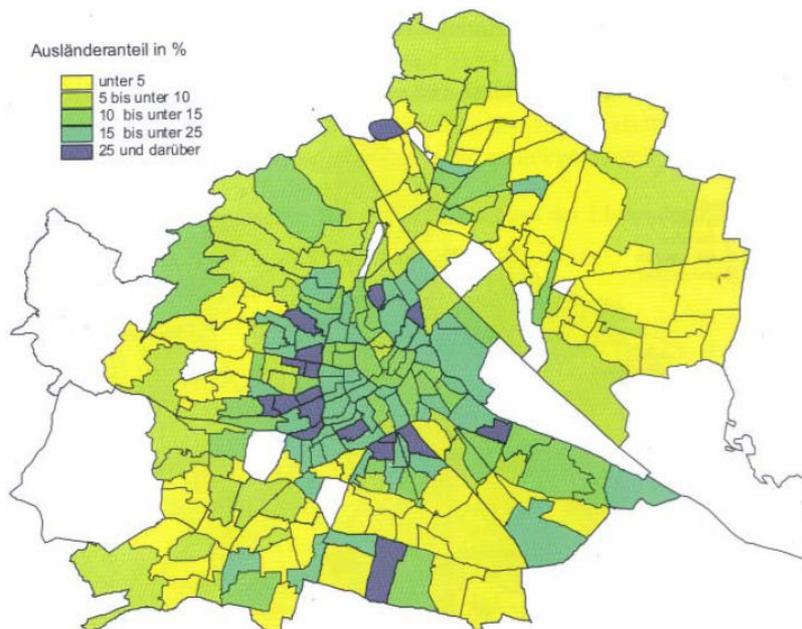
Map 5: Foreign population in Vienna in 1981



Source: Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006 (Survey 1981)

One decade later, concentration processes of immigrants within the city of Vienna could be observed. Migrants started to concentrate and settle in the districts surrounding the urban belt. In this context it is important that an overall increase of foreign population occurred, which led to an overall increase of foreign population throughout the city. The highest shares of foreigners could be found in the districts 10, 15, 16 and 17. Similar to 1971, the district with more than 25% foreigners was still the “Simmering gas factory (Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006).

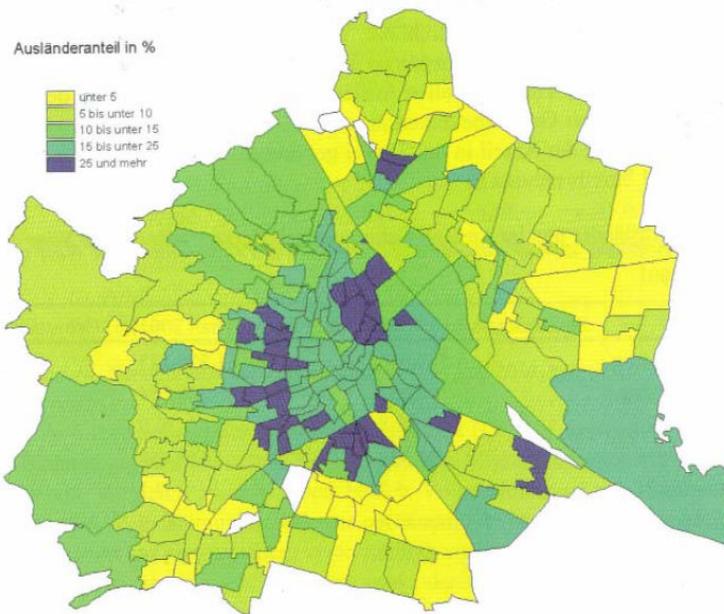
Map 6: Foreign population pattern in Vienna in 1991



Source: Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006 (Survey 1991)

Until 1991 the belt with its working-class neighbourhoods developed also into Vienna's migration district including a clearly defined compact pattern. This area had shares of more than 15% of migrant population. In the 17th, 16th and 15th districts the foreigner's percentages were partially over 25% (Kohlbacher/ Reeger 2006).

Map 7: Foreign population in Vienna in 2001



Source: Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006 (Survey 2001)

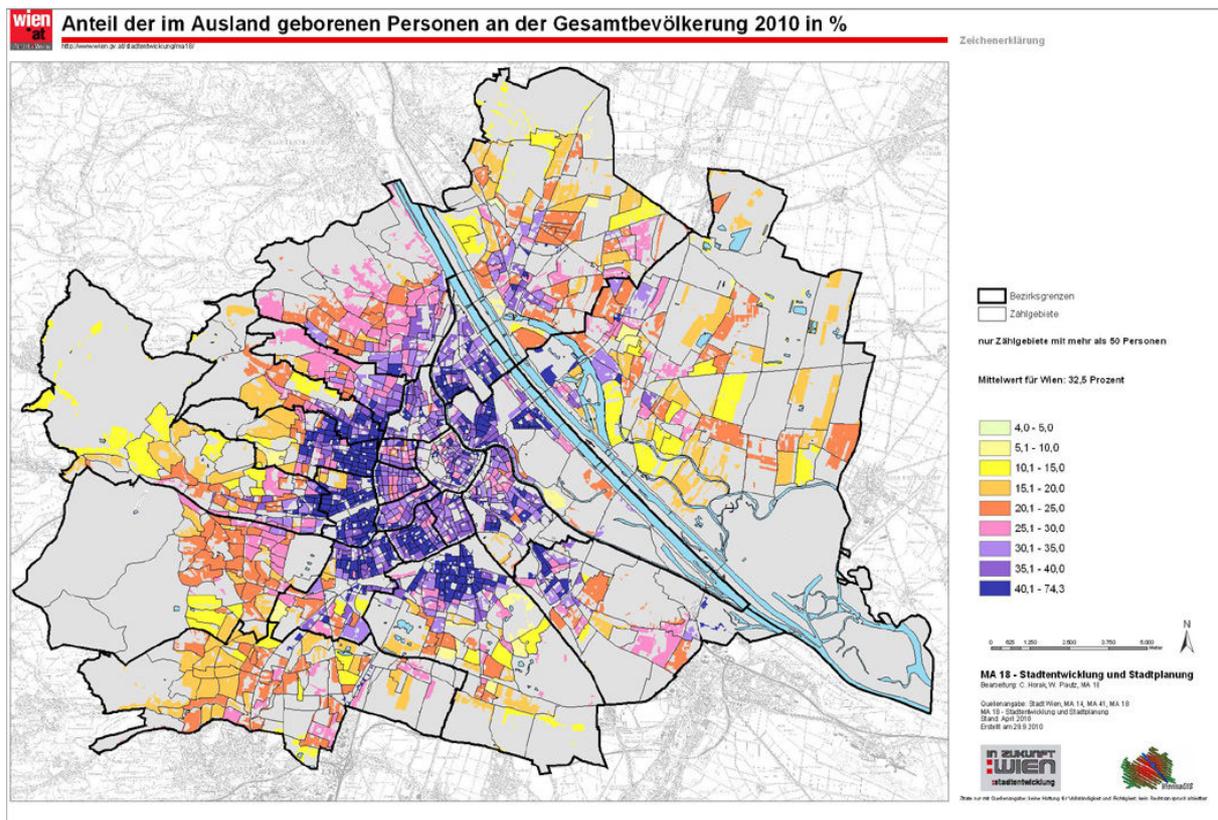
With on-going concentration processes the percentages of foreigners around the belt are increasing, which is shown on map XY. Almost each of the outer belt districts showed foreigner's proportions of 15 to 25%. Similar patterns are also obtained for the 10th and 20th district. The residential areas in the Vienna Woods and in Hietzing, Penzings, Währings and Döbling changed not that much compared to 1991. Also the districts beyond the Danube, Donaustadt and Floridsdorf have been changed their residential patterns in a significant way (Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006).

Kohlbacher and Reeger (2006) conclude that concentration processes are very stable since the era of the guest worker immigrations. Like in most European cities Vienna has layers of component migration, especially in less competitive districts concerning their economic constraints in many segments of the housing market. While in Vienna the influx of migrants continued to focus primarily on the residential areas along the entire southern and western

belt Migrants in other European cities like Paris and London were settling more towards the suburbs.

In Vienna we can also highlight the small-scale manifestation of ethnic segregation in the form of the “Baublockebene” as an essential characteristic of segregation and immigration. These concentrations can be seen in the following graph that represents the proportion of foreigners in Vienna at the level of the building blocks in 2010. Social segregation is not only concentrated towards quarters or district but can be defined verify by different building plots towards the city belt and the inner city (cf. map eight).

Map 8: Migrants in Vienna on the level of the different building plots



Source: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, MA 18 – Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung 2010

Out of the legal situation, the choice was limited in the housing market for foreign nationals. As the access to social housing has opened only in recent years, the spatial concentration of the Turkish, ex-Yugoslav and East-Central European guest workers are on non-renovated buildings and private tenement housing from the Biedermeier period (1815-1848) and Gründerzeit (1867 -1914). This distribution pattern is essential for those "problems" of ethnic segregation in Vienna (Fassmann/ Münz 1995). Still today the population with a migrant background is still concentrated in the areas around the belt (Gürtel). The private tenement housing is clearly dominant, older, poorly equipped and non-renovated. These buildings are the framework of the ethnic segregation in Vienna (Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006). The houses

are mostly owned by private persons or housing corporations. The price of rent varies on location and immigrants had always a legally restricted access to that segment of the housing market. (Kohlbacher/Reeger 2006).

Also Schallaböck/Fassmann (2008) came to the conclusion that the distribution of the foreign population in recent decades has not changed. The residential areas of foreigners form a "ring-shaped distribution pattern, which is located in the north of 20th district and on the Western former workers "districts" (17, 16, 15, 12). It extends towards the Southern districts such as Favoriten and includes parts of the district Leopoldstadt. The belt is one of the busiest streets of Vienna's city limits and the main residential areas of foreign residents in the West and South of the metropolitan area. The so-called 'guest workers' district areas around the belt haven't really changed since the 1970s (Schallaböck/Fassmann 2008).

3.3 Social and ethnic residential segregation in Budapest with special focus on Roma & Sinti

According to estimates by the Council of Europe, there are some 12 million Roma people living around the world. The European Gypsy population is estimated to be 8 million people including communities of various sizes in almost every state in Europe. Around 70 per cent of the European Gypsy population lives in Central and Eastern Europe. In terms of estimated figures for the number of Gypsies resident, Hungary lies in the fourth place of 38 European countries after Romania, Bulgaria and Spain. The Gypsy population forms the largest ethnic minority in Hungary, with estimates situating their number at between 400,000 and 800,000. The discrepancy between the use of the term Roma and Gypsy is vibrant and not well define. The debate goes into the core of the definition of ethnicity, what does it represent and mean. For practical reason, no distinction between both terms is made. For a detailed discussion on the term Roma and Gypsy further readings are recommended.

Budapest is divided into 23 districts, and few of the districts form sociologically homogeneous spatial units. The 23 district authorities are not subordinated to Budapest's central metropolitan authority. Historically the district municipalities of Budapest were instrumental in reducing the size and homogeneity of the ethnic ghetto of inner areas of Pest. But they did not reach that goal by employing social rehabilitation projects in the real sense of the term. Instead, simply by tearing down many old houses and thereby compelling the poor to leave the areas (Ladányi 2005). As a consequence to this the number of the residents of ethnic ghettos did not considerably decrease in Budapest but the pattern changed. As a result to this the concentration of the poorest families increased in poor quarters on the perimeters of Budapest. Displacement processes reinforced segregation between Budapest's social and ethnic groups, this drift will be explained in the following.

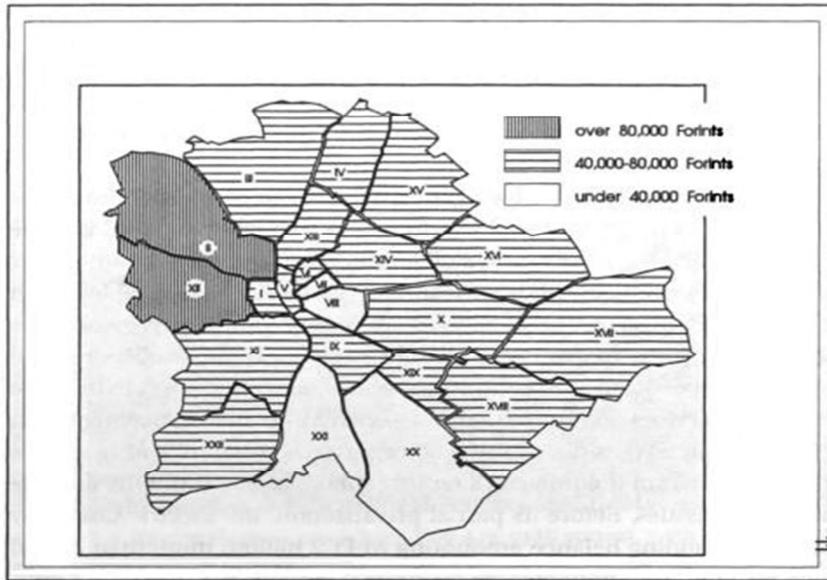
Budapest marks clear drifts of social and ethnic residential segregation, despite all difficulties of historical comparison. Different trends in historic residential segregation can be perceived in Budapest:

“Residential segregation slightly increased in Budapest between 1930 and 1939. After this it decreased, probably due to the great social changes of the second half of the 1940s. However, this decrease was not a result of state socialist urban and housing policy. Statistics showed that as early as the 1950s the decrease in segregation slowed down. During the 1960s segregation began gradually to increase. By the 1970s the high rate of the end of the previous decade leveled off. During the 1980s segregation further increased (Ladányi 1989).”

Budapest - as the majority of European cities - follows a tendency for higher-status groups to be clustered in spatially coherent areas, whereas lower-status groups are usually segregated in several, smaller, spatially non-coherent ones. Due to historical and geographical reason a two-fold structure developed in Budapest. While Buda is known as the more homogenous and richer part of the city, poor people are spatially distributed non-coherently around the city (traditionally in the Pest side). The spatially distribution of Roma and Sinti – as the only disadvantage minority with a considerable size in Budapest – reinforces the socio-spatial structure of the city (cf. map nine, p. 19):

“Nearly half of the Gypsy population lived in the inner Pest slum belt, typically in old state-owned tenements, and their presence there grew dynamically. By contrast, in the high-status parts of the hilly areas of Buda, where mostly privately owned condominiums could be found, there were hardly any Gypsies families (Ladányi 1993).”

Szelényi (1972) voices a well-defined story about what was going on in the real state in Budapest in the 1970s. A massive construction of new housing estates, consisting of high-rise blocks of flats occurs in the early 1970s. The vast majority of state housing projects were increasingly concentrated in the outer regions of the city, whereas the areas in inner Pest. At the same time, central Pest became increasingly the location of an ageing population, whose average status became gradually lower. Especially since the mid and late 1960s, the moving of high-status families to the green belt on the Buda side accelerated. Evidently, deterioration of areas dominated by state-owned flats took place in almost every part of the city. The decline of neighborhoods of state-owned apartment houses can be explained according to Szelényi' (1972). He argues that heavily subsidized rents were insufficient to cover renovation of the existing housing stock.

Map 9: Mean per capita personal income tax by district in Budapest, fiscal year 1994

Source: Judit 2000

However, the pattern of residential segregation did not only change for the above reasons. According to Ladányi (2005), the fundamental change of the pattern of residential segregation in Budapest was primarily caused by the rapid shift of Gypsies into the state-owned flats in the much-deteriorated belt of apartment houses of inner Pest during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1971 the ratio of Gypsy population in Budapest stood at 1.3 per cent. In 1993 it was almost double the figure: 2.4 per cent, which was half of the Hungarian national average (Kemény 1997). In 1986 already 46 per cent of the Budapest Gypsies lived in deteriorated state-owned flats of the city, this proportion increased to well over 50 per cent by the early 1990s. The tendency of ghettoization in the city continued during the first half of the 1990s and even the residential and school segregation increased (Ladány 2002).

This growing ghettoization in the inner parts of Pest started two decades before the collapse of socialism. Under the conditions of post-communist transition, this process expanded. According to Ladányi and Szelényi, (2006) this can be mainly described by the internal migration processes, which began in the time as the political transition. It is relevant to point out that just before the change of regime, the population of Budapest declined for the first time in the history of Hungary. In distinction, the population of Hungarian rural areas boosted. Part of this process can be attributed to suburbanization of the middle and the upper-middle class. Another reason of ghettoization can be attributed to migrations from the cities to rural areas beyond the suburbs by low educated groups of gypsies, who had just lost their jobs in the cities (Ladányi/Szelényi 2006). As a consequence a new type of settlement emerges on the peripheries of the Hungarian settlement system: the ghetto village, which is particular notorious in Budapest.

Ghettoization entered a new phase in Budapest in the early to mid-1990s. Until 1990s families that rose into the middle class moved to better homes without leaving the ethnic ghetto. But till mid-1990s Roma families that had risen into the middle class tended to leave the ghetto to the commuter belt. As a consequence, the concentration of the poorest Gypsy families continued in the most run-down areas, and ghettoization picked up speed and spread to new areas (Ladányi 1993).

To conclude it is relevant to develop some final thoughts about social and ethnic residential segregation in Budapest. After three decades of a tendency for residential segregation, the pattern of ethnic ghettoization has markedly changed in the city. Despite the widening ethnic gap between Roma and non-Roma Hungarians the spatial segregation of their ethnic group is primary by social strata than ethnic resemblance. Nowadays in Budapest there is a higher number of smaller but more homogeneous ethnic ghettos than before primary populated by low-income residents from a single social group. This conjecture gets into several reflections about the real definition of an ethnicity or a way of leaving that tight people together, in the sense the distinction between someone consider Roma or Gypsy is in an open query by where they reside in the city.

4 Conclusions

The aim of the present paper is to present various forms of segregation across European cities. With examples from Budapest, Vienna and Brussels the authors intended to discuss the broad variety of European cities and their segregation patterns, although being aware of the fact, that South East Europe is somehow excluded from the comparison. Nevertheless some general conclusions can be drawn: it can be assumed for the whole of Europe that international immigrants, more specifically the moving, low skilled labour force, often live in substandard housing with depressing living conditions. Immigration in general and residential segregation on the local level in particular is not only driven by economic factors, but often also by ethnic reasons. This is especially valid for the second wave of labour migration during the 1980s or family reunions. While both Brussels and Budapest show a strong segregation of people according to the topography, Vienna does not show a “river-hill-divide” as the Danube plays a minor role for segregation processes in the city. Not only in Brussels, but also in Budapest, the uphill urban territory is mainly inhabited by richer people while people with less income gather around the districts close to the water. This goes back to history and early urban development and settlement activities. In Vienna the built environment and built urban structure plays a significant role for residential segregations. The concentration of immigrants around the urban belt in the more peripheral districts evolved over time. (International) Migrations can be introduced to a variety of factors,

nevertheless governmental programmes, that facilitated international labour migration, can be considered as a starting point of migratory movements on a large-scale, which influenced Brussels and Vienna in a similar way. Despite some common features, all three case studies attract different foreign ethnicities. Due to Brussels position as the capital of Europe and the economic possibilities Belgium offered to the international labour force, it was attractive for Turkish and Moroccan people. Besides Turkish workers, Austria attracted also migrants from Ex-Yugoslavia during the labour movement. With the Fall of the Iron Curtain, people from East European increasingly started to migrate to Vienna. Besides these tendencies, also a strong movement of Germans into the Austria's capital is observable due to various reasons. In contrast to these two West and Central European examples, Budapest was not affected by international labour movements during the 1960s/1970s due to its socialist regime. As a capital in a central organised state, Budapest was especially attractive for the Hungarians themselves, which lead also to an increasing share of ethnic minorities such as Roma & Sinti in the city.

Whether and how segregation processes will further develop in European cities is unclear due to recent developments including welfare cuts with a parallel increasing privatisation of public affairs. As this without any doubts affects the provision of housing, private investments and thus gentrification will play a decisive role for urban segregation. To avoid increasing displacement of people and to achieve an equal balance of people throughout the urban area, a change of thinking within urban policies has to occur. Urban authorities are now facing a turning point, on which they have to decide whether improvements in the housing stock and rebuilding housing will lead re-enforcement of segregation patterns or a more equal distribution of people across the urban area.

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