

# Social segregation from the intercultural perspective

## Introduction

This paper intends to initiate a discussion in the RECI Indicators Working Group on the link between the concepts of segregation and interculturality. Segregation implies separation, and in most cases is accompanied by inequalities and discrimination. Segregation processes are clearly not conducive to interculturality, as they go against its fundamental principles of equality, recognition of diversity and interaction.

Although there are different types of segregation, both from a physical and mental perspective, and their causes are closely interrelated, we start from the generic idea that one of the main objectives of interculturality is precisely to prevent and reduce the levels of social segregation in cities.

But how can we usefully analyse this link between segregation and interculturality more closely?

We have identified three lines of work that we believe can be of great interest for RECI cities:

- **Evaluation / indicators.** If we start from the idea that the more segregation the less interculturality, we can enrich evaluation systems and indicators to measure interculturality with the information provided by segregation indicators. We believe that identifying and analysing segregation evaluation systems, which have recently been evolving and incorporating new approaches and tools, can be very useful for us to continue to deepen in the elaboration of diagnoses and indicators from an intercultural perspective.
- **Transversality / Mainstreaming.** Another opportunity arising from the link between segregation and interculturality is to promote collaboration between different municipal areas. Segregation depends on many factors and there are several public policies that should be promoted to prevent and reduce it. From housing or education policies, but also public space, mobility or cultural, social or sports facilities, among others. Incorporating an intercultural perspective in these policies can be easier when it is done on specific and shared challenges and realities, as in the case of segregation.
- **Narratives / communication.** Finally, another important issue is the opportunity that this connection brings from the perspective of creating narratives from an intercultural perspective. Policies to prevent or reduce segregation, whether residential, educational or related to the use of certain services, facilities and public spaces, must be incorporated into

the narrative framework of interculturality. If a given policy related to libraries, public transport or the redesign of a public space has generated new opportunities for greater equality in access to certain spaces and a higher level of social interaction, these policies must be explained from an intercultural perspective. This is why the narratives can be enriched with very concrete examples, grounded in social reality and with a direct impact on people's lives.

Based on this document and the possible lines of action that have been identified, the cities that form part of the RECI indicators working group will assess the priorities and possible actions to be developed within the framework of the group's work. The objective now is simply to offer a first look at this link between segregation and interculturality, and above all to identify some resources, books and reference articles about segregation that can be useful to deepen the issues that will be finally discussed in the working group.

## **What do we talk about when we talk about segregation?**

When we talk about segregation, there is a wide range of definitions that coincide in defining it as a phenomenon of physical separation of human groups. This is a broad definition, from which certain aspects can be nuanced, such as, for example, the profile of the group of people who are separated or the reasons for the separation.

Moreover, with the arrival, development and incorporation of new technologies in our daily lives, segregation is no longer only a physical separation, but also a virtual separation of people.

Segregation, as is the case with other social science phenomena, is a multidimensional concept that encompasses a wide range of realities and needs other disciplines and perspectives to analyse and understand it. Precisely because of this multidimensionality, segregation could be described on the basis of origin, class or socio-economic status, among others.

For all these reasons, segregation has been studied and continues to be studied from fields such as geography, anthropology, economics, political science and sociology, while specific aspects of segregation have become more nuanced. In other words, there is not only segregation, but there are different types of segregation, such as social, spatial or educational segregation, which are based on this initial conception of separation.

### **What types of segregation exist?**

Economic segregation, spatial segregation, educational segregation or ethnic segregation are types of segregation, according to different fields, such as economics, public space, education, health or religion. Moreover, while these types of segregation can be understood and analysed on their own, due to the multidimensionality of segregation, each of these concepts encompasses a broad reality of events, which are interrelated. For example, segregation of groups of people in space often leads to segregation within schools.

The most well-known and historically studied types of segregation have been spatial<sup>1</sup> and educational segregation. Spatial or residential segregation is understood as "the tendency of households and individuals to cluster in urban space according to their social characteristics, mainly income but also other variables" (Nel-lo, 2021:19). Educational segregation refers to the unequal distribution of both vulnerable and non-vulnerable students in different schools (Cuevas & Segurola, 2021).

Beyond spatial and educational segregation, the understanding and ways of measuring these concepts have evolved, while the view of what is understood by segregation and where and how it occurs has also progressively broadened. Thanks to the development of the study of segregation from economic, spatial and educational perspectives, the basis for understanding phenomena linked to structural factors such as social inequalities or globalisation has been consolidated.

The progressive incorporation of a more dynamic perspective in analyses and research on segregation has demonstrated the importance of an intersectional perspective in order to address as much as possible the set of interrelated phenomena that affect and cause segregation. For example, in the case of urban segregation, studies traditionally focused on land and housing prices, and have progressively incorporated broader perspectives such as road construction, housing regulation and even ethnic issues. Additionally, recent studies on the segregation of social networks and new technologies have shown the emergence of new types of segregation such as isolation and inequality in access to information via the internet, or segregation within virtual communities (Chetty, O. Jackson, et al., 2022; Xu & Ratti, 2018).

### Segregation and social capital

Segregation and its link to social capital has been studied for a long time by different authors. Beyond Bourdieu's traditional definition of the accumulation of resources linked to a network of relationships from which to draw, there are other perspectives. One of the most recognised is that of Putnam (1993), who understands social capital as the 'features of social organisations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit'. For Rodon (2022) it is "the set of values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours that characterise collaboration in communities among individuals, often also called civic attitudes or behaviours. Chetty, Jackson, et al. (2022) start from an understanding of three types of social capital: economic connectedness, cohesion, and civic engagement with the community.

According to Mayorga (2012), social capital can be divided into three categories: individual social capital, collective social capital and citizen social capital:

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<sup>1</sup> In 1988, Massey and Denton (1988) pointed out that segregation has five dimensions: 1) evenness refers to the under- or over-representation of a specific population group in a given spatial unit; 2) exposure refers to the potential contact between the different groups under consideration; 3) clustering refers to the potential contact between the different groups under consideration; 4) centralisation is the relationship between the location of one or more groups and the centre of the urban area; and 5) concentration indicates the relative space occupied by groups

- Individual social capital refers to all those structural and non-conjunctural relationships with other individuals that make it possible to acquire the skills and information necessary to solve the problems of everyday life development in different areas: work, residential, educational, cultural, recreational, etc.
- Collective social capital refers to all those structural and non-conjunctural relationships with other individuals that make it possible to create stable interest groups (organisationally and temporarily), with the capacity to mobilise sufficient resources to achieve their goals (i.e. cultural, educational or recreational goals, goals related to the neighbourhood, etc.).
- Citizens' social capital refers to all those structural and non-conjunctural relationships with other individuals that make it possible to forge values around equality, respect for social differences and, therefore, rights and duties as citizens, as a basis for acquiring attitudes towards democracy and its effective practice.

It is evident from these interpretations that segregation has a negative impact on social capital. Separation leads to isolation that is difficult to break through and limits individual possibilities to learn and grow in various directions (education, culture, income or work).

## **Consequences of social segregation in cities**

Questioning the consequences of the separation of human groups in space, and even whether or not they are positive, is a complex reflection that requires both theory and practice to understand how fickle and non-linear the issue is. It should be borne in mind that, often, this natural grouping of people generates a bond that can translate into community, a sense of belonging and even social well-being.

There are different theories that use principles of proximity or contact to justify the way in which groups of people relate to each other and in turn move away from each other. One of the key ideas for understanding the consequences of social segregation in cities is the Rodon space paradox (2022). When two different groups come together, they may do so on the basis of negative stereotypes, but without such contact there would be no possibility of getting to know each other and reducing prejudices.

Social relations are inevitably linked to spatial relations and therefore physical distances are indicators of social distances. Consequently, social space is presented as the distribution in physical space of different goods, services and also of physically located individual agents and groups.

While it is understood that one of the mechanisms for improving the quality of life of the population lies in the generation of feelings of equality and mutual recognition, this is only possible to the extent that interactions take place in the public sphere. Therefore, the processes of segregation weaken the spaces for interaction and the structural basis that sustains the production of social capital.

The fragmentation of society into different groups that barely interact with each other is another risk and consequence of not generating bonds and a shared sense of belonging. Society can be fragmented as a result of the indifferent coexistence of self-contained groups or the segregation of certain groups as a result of discrimination and exclusion.

Segregation can lead to a myriad of inequalities such as socio-economic, educational, cultural or occupational inequalities. Some examples of these inequalities are:

- In the case of urban segregation, the territorial distribution of the population, according to their income and the quality of residential environments, can be an important factor in the reproduction and aggravation of social inequalities. The so-called "zone effects" show how people's place of residence determines their educational, employment and health opportunities, among other aspects.
- In the case of school segregation, this is a growing problem for the quality, equity and freedom of education. Excessive school segregation can become a problem for equal opportunities and the efficiency of the education system, generating greater student failure and dropout and causing greater management difficulties in highly complex educational centres, thus wasting resources and talent.
- The segregation of public services and facilities, such as access to cultural facilities, has consequences insofar as it reduces the cultural capacities of democratic life: expression, informed debate, autonomy, critical perspective, confidence, entrepreneurship, experimentation, knowledge and diversity are relevant aspects that are closely related to the real possibilities of individual and collective progress. Guaranteeing cultural rights is central to further deepening this democratisation, reducing inequalities and expanding citizens' rights and opportunities.

## Measuring segregation

### Types of indicators and their evolution over time

There are a wide variety of indicators to measure segregation: depending on the type of segregation to be measured or on the scale of what is being observed (measuring the degree of segregation of a city is not the same as measuring it in comparison to another city or an entire country).

One of the indicators for analysing and presenting segregation (of whatever type) is the dissimilarity index<sup>2[3]</sup>, as it allows for a relative analysis of the presence of two groups and can be adjusted as a percentage. There are other indicators such as the division of territorial units into

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<sup>2</sup> The Duncan dissimilarity index (D) is one of the main indicators used to quantitatively measure the distribution of a given group in urban space. This index can be interpreted as the proportion of the minority group that would have to change residence in order to achieve a more homogeneous distribution that avoids the concentration of poverty or wealth in specific areas of an urban area. It varies between zero and one, respectively these values correspond to a totally egalitarian distribution and a distribution of maximum segregation.

deciles or the Gini index (economic and political science indicators), the P80/P20 ratio (Cuevas & Segurolo, 2021; Rodon, 2022; Xu & Ratti, 2018), or other indicators that measure segregation based on the analysis of census data, real estate data, economic inequality, residential location and its environment, social interactions, collective patterns of urban mobility or telecommunications.

Thus, with the passage of time and the broadening of the gaze of the sciences dedicated to the study of segregation, the methodological and measurement mechanisms of segregation have emerged and diversified, moving from static tools such as census data to other more dynamic and modern analysis models such as Big Data processors or mobility surveys.

### The impact of new technologies

Precisely because the evolution and incorporation of new technologies in people's daily lives has contributed to the evolution of methodological models for analysing segregation, it is increasingly possible to analyse the impact of segregation on the everyday life of human groups much more closely.

The use of new technologies makes it possible to obtain panoramic and moving images of reality and to view it from an increasingly intersectional perspective. On the one hand, they make it possible to process large amounts of different data, while at the same time combining them to obtain new types of information. On the other hand, the emergence of new technologies has also made it possible to begin to democratise research, since, unlike in the past, working in a compact way and processing large amounts of data is increasingly within the reach of more and more people.

## Conclusions and next steps

Segregation is a concept that encompasses a wide variety of dimensions and is based on the assumption that individuals tend to associate with people who are similar to them. It is therefore necessary to question to what extent, at present, these groupings and separations are occurring voluntarily or whether they are subjugated to established norms and social inequalities.

While there is a wide variety of typologies derived from segregation, for years, spatial, educational and socio-economic segregation have been the most studied, providing a fundamental basis from which to work. However, over time these perspectives, which were initially more static, have mutated towards more intersectional views, thus allowing for a broader focus of study and a deeper understanding of the roots of segregation.

An important issue is the relationship between segregation and social capital, since, as we have seen, segregation has a negative impact on people's social capital. Moreover, due to the socio-economic stratification caused by segregation, it is known that the possibility of interaction between classes is low, directly affecting the ability of people with lower incomes to improve socio-economically. The importance of this fact lies in the fact that in communities where this cross-

class interaction does occur, it allows them to increase the quality of relationships and to create a greater bond, as well as the possibilities for academic or occupational improvement.

Public (intercultural) policies are the key tool to combat the negative consequences of segregation in cities. Designing public policies from an intercultural perspective with a focus on promoting interaction that are capable of encompassing the multidimensionality of segregation would make it possible to reduce poverty, ghettoisation, school dropout or health deficiencies and, therefore, increase the quality of life of individuals and communities.

Segregation requires adopting a territorial/multilevel and cross-cutting approach in all social welfare policies (health, education, employment, culture, etc.), and making an effort to counteract the initial inequalities in these areas between all urban areas.

In this sense, and as a next step, it is necessary to identify examples (successful or not) of public policies in the different RECI and ICC cities and territories that aim to reduce segregation. The focus will be on those initiatives linked to the promotion of interaction in public spaces and proximity facilities, etc. The idea is to find out how we can apply the 'intercultural lens' to these policies.

## **Annex 1. Examples of approaches and studies (not translated).**

**“Efecto barrio. Segregación residencial, desigualdad social y políticas urbanas en las grandes ciudades ibéricas”, Oriol Nel-lo (editor)**

El libro se centra en analizar la relación entre las desigualdades y la segregación residencial. De este modo, los autores ofrecen una revisión de la realidad de distintas ciudades metropolitanas de la Península Ibérica, como Madrid, Barcelona o Lisboa, en que se analizan las principales consecuencias sociales derivadas de la segregación residencial, así como el análisis del papel de las políticas públicas y de las prácticas sociales en materia de segregación (por ejemplo, la distribución de los recursos públicos o la densidad institucional).

Partiendo de la contextualización temporal de las desigualdades en los países europeos occidentales, la investigación tiene en cuenta también la diversidad de situaciones vinculadas a la estructura económica, las condiciones sociales, la tradición política y la acción administrativa en las áreas urbanas estudiadas.

A nivel metodológico, la investigación se ha desarrollado durante tres años, contando con la participación de 21 investigadores de distintas disciplinas como la arquitectura, la sociología, la economía, la geografía y la política.

A modo de conclusión, los autores se centran en revisar y reforzar las implicaciones más relevantes para la implementación de políticas públicas centradas en la disminución de la segregación. Para ello, parten de la revisión de catorce aspectos clave para que estas se

desarrollen de forma adecuada, como por ejemplo el desarrollo de proyectos de vivienda asequible o la promoción de la acción colectiva. Finalmente, remarcan la importancia del desarrollo de políticas adecuadas, recordando cómo la pandemia de COVID-19 evidenció las desigualdades socioeconómicas, urbanas, educativas y de salud.

### “Palacios del pueblo. Políticas para una sociedad más igualitaria”, Eric Klinenberg

Klinenberg, en su libro, parte del planteamiento de la “infraestructura social” refiriéndose a “las condiciones físicas que determinan el desarrollo del capital social” con el fin de incentivar interacciones positivas (e inevitables) entre las personas que los utilizan desde la cotidianidad, la familiaridad y la confianza.

Partiendo de un contexto estadounidense en que los niveles de polarización y segregación están cada vez más marcados, el autor propone replantear determinadas estructuras institucionales como las bibliotecas públicas, guarderías, parques o comunidades religiosas, con tal de favorecer tanto las relaciones inter/intrapersonales, ya que solo a través del disfrute y de la confianza se podrán generar, de forma natural, vínculos y redes de respeto y solidaridad.

Partiendo del análisis del aumento de las desigualdades a raíz de los procesos de industrialización de 1970 y del cambio de paradigma relacional como consecuencia de la aparición de las nuevas tecnologías, el autor remarca la segregación social y el deterioro de las relaciones sociales como consecuencias directas.

Klinenberg establece una relación entre las infraestructuras sociales y el capital social (entendido como lo define Bourdieu), ya que plantea las primeras como escenario previo a partir del cual desarrollar el capital social. Además, es importante darse cuenta de la relación simbiótica entre infraestructuras físicas y sociales, ya que necesitan una de la otra para desarrollarse de forma plena. Aunque a menudo a las infraestructuras sociales se les presta menos atención al ser menos visibles que las físicas, también demuestran su importancia; como por ejemplo, construir paseos marítimos en los diques costeros, para favorecer el desarrollo de relaciones y actividades al aire libre, o el de las bibliotecas públicas, las cuales más allá del préstamo de libros pueden servir como lugar de conocimiento, refugio e intercambio de realidades y experiencias diversas que permitan tejer una red de relaciones y de participación comunitaria.

Las conclusiones del libro se centran en, a partir de una importante crítica a los intereses privados de líderes corporativos o políticos, como Mark Zuckerberg, fundador de Facebook, (los cuales son parte del problema de la segregación y la polarización social) en animar a las personas, a los entes públicos en procurar reconstruir la sociedad hacia la reparación del deterioro y la creación de nuevas de las infraestructuras sociales. Solo a través de la construcción de espacios que tengan en cuenta la importancia tanto física y social de las infraestructuras sociales, seremos capaces de crecer hacia un mundo mejor.

### “Quan el teu veí és diferent. La relació entre la segregació i el capital social”, de Toni Rodon



El libro ofrece, en primer lugar, en una introducción acerca de las principales teorías y conocimientos sobre la segregación, como la teoría de la identidad social, la teoría de la amenaza de grupo o la teoría del contacto, así como en un breve repaso sobre la segregación urbana, el capital social y la diversidad. Más adelante desarrolla los métodos usados en la investigación para, a continuación, presentar los resultados centrados en el análisis empírico de la ciudad de Barcelona. Finalmente, profundiza sobre la relación entre la segregación y capital social en el marco territorial de Cataluña.

Así pues, los objetivos del libro se centran en reflexionar sobre los retos urbanos en materia de segregación espacial, así como en analizar la relación entre segregación y capital social, con tal de identificar los comportamientos electorales en función del grado de segregación territorial de las personas. Estos análisis parten de la segregación por origen y renta con respecto a diferentes actitudes y comportamientos asociados al capital social, a partir de estudios concretos centrados en Barcelona y Cataluña.

Partiendo de la comprensión de la segregación como un concepto multidimensional, el autor desarrolla la metodología de la investigación a partir del uso de más de cincuenta indicadores distintos, empleados en función de la localización y de la intención del análisis concreto.

Algunas de las conclusiones principales obtenidas por Rodon se centran en cómo la separación de grupos humanos de forma no aleatoria acaba resultando en la segregación en función de unos conceptos base agravados por, entre otros aspectos, la distribución urbanística de las ciudades, así como las desigualdades socioeconómicas. De esta manera, la relación entre segregación y capital social se hace evidente, mostrando la importancia de desarrollar espacios que permitan desarrollar actitudes cívicas para todo el mundo. Además, a partir del análisis de la vinculación de la segregación con la identidad política, afirma que los barrios de renta y educación más bajos son los menos vinculados políticamente, así como los menos participativos en cuestiones públicas.

Finalmente, hace un llamamiento al sector público para que se convierta en un agente activo en la tarea de disminuir las consecuencias negativas de la segregación y animando al desarrollo de políticas públicas territoriales que fomenten tanto mejoras urbanísticas como programas concretos de educación y formación.

### ¿Hacia una nueva ilustración? Una década trascendente. A la conquista de las ciudades divididas. Yang Xu y Carlo Ratti

En el texto, Xu y Ratti analizan, a partir del aumento de la segregación socioeconómica en las ciudades, nuevas fórmulas metodológicas para comprender y abarcar la segregación. Partiendo de una revisión histórica explican como inicialmente las investigaciones se centraban, principalmente, en la segregación residencial desde perspectivas bastante estéticas y poco holísticas de la realidad. Con el tiempo, y sobre todo con la llegada de las nuevas tecnologías, los estudios en materia de segregación han ido ampliando el foco del fenómeno, junto con el desarrollo de nuevas metodologías más dinámicas, comprendiendo así la multidimensionalidad y la importancia de la interseccionalidad de la segregación.

Así pues, los autores se centran en el análisis de la segregación desde un dinamismo que permite observarlo tanto en el espacio como en el tiempo, e incluso más allá de su forma física, adentrándose en el ciberespacio y en las formas de segregación virtual cada vez más comunes en nuestro mundo.

De esta forma, las conclusiones de Xu y Ratti reafirman que, precisamente porque las formas de relación interpersonal han cambiado y ya no se dan exclusivamente de forma presencial, es necesario adaptar las metodologías a las nuevas tecnologías, como en el caso de los teléfonos móviles, el correo electrónico y las redes sociales. Es decir, proponen ir más allá de las miradas tradicionales y usar las nuevas tecnologías, junto con procesos de análisis tradicionales, para diseñar y desarrollar planes y políticas públicas centradas en espacios urbanos que sirvan como puentes entre las distintas clases sociales. Es por eso que también afirman la necesidad de desarrollar normativas que garanticen la igualdad de acceso a la información a través de internet en todos los grupos sociales.

**“Social capital and economic mobility”, de Raj Chetty, Matthew O. Jackson, Theresa Kuchler, Johannes Stroebe, Abigail Hiller, Sarah Oppenheimer & The Opportunity insights team**

La investigación parte de la presentación del portal de visualización de datos llamado “[Atlas de capital social](#)” como herramienta que permite explorar la realidad socioeconómica, aunque también de origen o género, de los diferentes estados de Estados Unidos. A través de este recurso, los autores permiten que cualquier persona pueda acceder como usuaria del portal y explorar el capital social de cualquier comunidad de los EEUU, así como la forma en que este tipo de capital muestra las probabilidades de los niños y niñas de salir de la pobreza.

De este modo, los autores tienen como objetivo no sólo comprender las formas existentes de capital social de los estados, sino también entender de qué forma aumentarlo con el fin de favorecer la movilidad económica y, en consecuencia, la posibilidad de sobrepasar el umbral de pobreza de los individuos.

Para ello, los autores utilizan la red social Facebook como fuente principal de datos; en concreto, procesaron 72,4 millones de perfiles de usuarios y, cruzando estos perfiles con fuentes estadísticas públicas diversas, como los datos sobre los ingresos medios, datos sobre la movilidad económica por sectores censales y país del “[Atlas de oportunidades](#)” y medidas del nivel estatal y características del código postal, como por ejemplo la proporción de población por raza y etnia y la proporción de progenitores solteros.

A partir de este planteamiento metodológico, los seis resultados obtenidos en la investigación se centran en conceptos como la estratificación socioeconómica; la importancia de la interacción entre clases con el fin de reducir la segregación y mejorar la convivencia; el papel del compromiso civil o la cohesión social respecto a la movilidad económica; la trascendencia de la (des)conexión económica en relación con la movilidad ascendente y la vinculación de esta con las tasas de pobreza y la segregación étnica; así como la relevancia de los entornos sociales y del sesgo de

amistades para con la desconexión social; y, finalmente, en el efecto determinante de la estructura de las instituciones en la segregación y el sesgo de amistad.

De este modo, los autores finalizan remarcando que, si bien es necesario valorar positivamente los esfuerzos políticos en cuanto al desarrollo de iniciativas centradas en la disminución de la segregación a través de planes urbanísticos o de viviendas sociales, es necesario fomentar la interacción entre clases a partir del desarrollo de proyectos que tengan la capacidad de contextualizar las necesidades y objetivos específicos de cada barrio, comunidad o ciudad.

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