

MULTI-ETHNIC METROPOLIS: PATTERNS AND POLICIES by Sako Musterd, Wim Ostendorf and Matthijs Breebnart. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press, 1998.

Great cities are, as a general rule, multi-ethnic places of social encounter and cultural exchange. This, in particular, was one of the features of a number of great European capitals in the past, beginning with ancient Rome and more recently Vienna, Paris or Berlin, all of which attracted incoming immigrants from surrounding regions, countries or multi-ethnic empires. What has changed since WWII is that this phenomenon greatly expanded throughout the Western European cities, irrespective of their size and function. The increasing numbers and proportion of foreigners, and more particularly of what can be labeled as ethnic 'visible minorities', has thus become a dominant social factor regarding contemporary urban reality. Indeed, the sight of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent in British cities, or Arabs and Turks in French or German towns is, no doubt, a new phenomenon to be explored and conceptualized.

The authors of *Multi-ethnic Metropolis: Patterns and Policies* undertook to present and analyze some basic characteristics of this phenomenon in several major West European cities in a comparative perspective. As Amsterdam based geographers they first refer to this city as a model case study to be followed by Frankfurt-am-Mein and Düsseldorf for Germany, London and Manchester for Great Britain, as well as the notable cases of Stockholm, Brussels and Paris. In addition, the case of Toronto, Canada, is examined as a sort of control example standing mid-way between the North-American and European types of urban social geography.

Within each chapter devoted to one of these cities, the sections dealing with patterns explore a host of available quantitative materials concerning minority groups and their spatial distribution in both the central city and the metropolitan area. Statistical data at neighborhood level and indices of dissimilarity serve as principle, comparable, measures of residential concentration and segregation. Thus, the book contains first hand basic and valuable information exposing a whole range of characteristics shared by the various cities examined, as against some notable variations. This is generally true with regard to the successive migration waves, beginning with those originating from the former colonies in the 1950s, the waves of guest workers during the 1960s and 1970s, to be followed by their family members in the eighties, the latest immigration wave consisting mostly of refugees of different kind and origin. What the data further reveals are the considerable numbers and proportions of the minority populations, approaching the level of 30 percent in cities like Amsterdam, Brussels and Frankfurt, around 20 percent in greater London and over 15 percent within the city limits of Paris. Part of these discrepancies reflect the sheer size and extent of the central city boundaries in question. These rates are considerably higher in specific neighborhoods, generally in the inner city, and in some cases—such as in Amsterdam and Paris—in a number of low income public housing projects in the metropolitan periphery. Overall segregation rates are likewise relatively high, yet somewhat differ across the different cities and with respect to the various immi-

grant groups. Moreover, as already outlined in a number of previous studies, significant segregation rates also exist between different minority groups themselves, such as between Turks and Moroccans in Brussels, or between Indians, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis in London. In a broader perspective, the authors clearly show and emphasize the fact that segregation figures in European cities are significantly lower compared to the 'American Black ghetto metaphor'.

The sections devoted to policies also focus mainly on issues related to residential segregation, based on published resources and interviews with officials and academics. Two general types of formal policies are outlined: those defined as spatial dispersal policies, designed to lower the share of immigrant concentrations, and alternative ones termed compensation policies, where resources are more directly allocated to improve the living conditions in the problematic neighborhoods themselves. Another distinction contrasts specific migration-oriented policies as against more general housing and social policies. Indeed, while there is no apparent relationship between policies and minority residential patterns in the first case, it is for the most part the existence and nature of public housing projects and urban development trends in general that created different patterns of ethnic spatial distribution.

Generally speaking, however, the authors devote a much greater effort to methodology and classification rather than to interpretation and explanation. To allow a meaningful comparison of the statistical data, questions related to the different definition and status of foreigners or immigrants are dealt with extensively. The availability and scale of the spatial sub division of the data is likewise a well-known problem when comparing segregation measures. By contrast, the treatment of the underlying reasons for the different patterns found in the various cities, or relating patterns to policies is by far more complicated and remains intriguing. Thus, for example, the question arises whether the lower segregation rates in European versus American cities can be explained by the different housing markets and policies or rather by the specific kind of racial segregation compared to that involving other ethnic categories; an issue long debated in the North American context. Referring to various other aspects widely discussed in the geographic literature on segregation would be equally relevant and interesting to explore. In particular, to what extent immigrant segregation is a matter of choice or constraint and or a function of ethnic versus socio-economic factors? By the same token, are the manifestations of ethnic exclusion and tension linked to the increasing ratio of the immigrant population, to their absolute numbers and concentration, or rather to their visibility and problematic integration? It should be recalled that what has essentially changed even with respect to those European metropolis that had a long tradition of ethnic pluralism is not only the considerable volume of newcomers but also and foremost their non-European, non-Christian origin.

A final general remark is in point, should we farther expand our geographic and historic perspective. It relates to the fact that multi-ethnic metropolis existed for centuries around the shores of the Mediterranean and within the confines of ethnically mixed political entities, such as the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian

Empires. This was the case of cities ranging from Alexandria to Thessaloniki, Sarajevo and many more. Yet, for the most part these cities have known varied processes of 'ethnic cleansing' since the rise of nationalism. By contrast, it is precisely in the relatively homogenous West European cities that pluralism again emerges under a new form and changing conditions.

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THE DRAGON'S HEAD: SHANGHAI, CHINA'S EMERGING MEGACITY edited by Harold D. Foster, David Chuenyan Lai, and Zhou Naisheng. Victoria, B.C.: Canadian Western Geographical Series, Vol. 34, Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1998.

This volume represents a tangible result of an exchange program between the departments of Geography at the University of Victoria and at East China Normal University. Since 1982, each year two faculty members from East China Normal University have had the opportunity to study in Victoria, while two students from the University of Victoria have studied in Shanghai.

The book consists of a series of twenty-three chapters by the Chinese faculty who studied in Victoria. The materials are grouped around five main themes: Physical Milieu, Resources, Transportation, Urban Growth, Commercial and Industrial Development. The chapters are all short, averaging some 12 pages each. The time period covered in the essays focuses on the early to mid-1990s. Data sets covering similar topics, however, are not necessarily consistent in terms of either time or quantity. In general the methodological approach used in virtually all the essays is descriptive rather than analytical. Many chapters, such as the ones on vegetation and soils, contain long lists with little or any commentary or explication. In addition, there appears to be little attempt to explain what has been described. Only rarely, such as in the case of the relationship between rainfall and flooding, are attempts made to suggest what future research needs to be carried out in the Shanghai area.

In presenting the materials, the authors cite only recent works in Chinese, even when materials in English by Chinese authors are readily available. By limiting the background literature, the authors rob the reader of any sense of how the questions addressed in the book were dealt with over time. As such, there is little feeling for the process of evaluating materials and creating or deriving conclusions. Given the many changes in policy regarding how the economy of China should be developed, such omissions restrict our ability to fully understand the hopes that planners have for transforming Shanghai into a world financial center, a theme which is found in many of the chapters dealing with economic geography and planning. A final characteristic of how the diverse materials have been approached is the very uneven use of maps. The best and most frequent use of maps are to be found in the chapters on physical topics, such as those dealing with rain storms or the urban heat island, although even here longish lists of data sometimes do not match well with the graphics.