

the descriptive power of the analysis, it does not have anything to do with causality. It is therefore difficult to understand why Enos, just 40 pages later, claims: 'Establishing a causal effect of social geography has long been difficult for research on context, with selection casting doubt on many findings, but with the accumulated evidence of this book, the causal effect of social geography seems clear.' (p. 230). Accumulated evidence unfortunately does not imply causality. To conclude, while the interesting descriptive evidence could have been summarised in one or two papers, overall this book does not advance the literature about social geography.

Franco Bonomi Bezzo

INED, Paris

[franco.bonomi-bezzo@ined.fr](mailto:franco.bonomi-bezzo@ined.fr)

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#### The Spaces We Occupy and the Divides We Create

As European countries are experiencing the increasing ethnic diversification of their societies, ethnic segregation and its causes and consequences are becoming issues of concern not only at the domestic but increasingly also at the EU level. In the search to understand this complex phenomenon, Enos's timely book provides a fresh view relevant to both scholars and policy practitioners by convincingly arguing that the spaces we occupy dramatically impact the

construction of racial and ethnic divides. The book's nine chapters develop the evidence in three steps. First, the theoretical scaffolding is built, with an elaboration of the main concepts and their interlinkages. Then the author takes the reader to laboratories, where a set of experiments disentangle the causal effects of space on attitudes and behaviours. The last step is a set of real-life experiments – real, existing situations that the researcher exploits to illustrate that the links observed in the lab experiments do exist in everyday situations and encounters.

In so proceeding, Enos makes a major contribution to the study of the impact of segregation. Many past studies, while providing important insights, suffered from a common problem: they were not able to demonstrate that the correlations they observed between segregation and socio-political outcomes were in fact evidence for causal relationships. Enos's research strategy of relying on ingenious *experiments* – the gold standard in research – more convincingly proves that the way individuals are occupying and experiencing space has an impact on how they perceive others, on the biases they develop, and on how they act.

The book's theoretical foundations build on social sciences and psychology theories. The starting point is the argument that we humans are hard-wired to classify ourselves by group membership. In the process, attributing positive characteristics to some groups ('us') and negative characteristics to other groups ('them') maintains group classifications and builds group identities. Humans use space as a heuristic device to make decisions about the individuals (and groups) inhabiting certain areas. However, Enos argues, it is not simply 'space', but rather how people occupy space that matters (size, proximity, and the degree of segregation) in increasing the salience of a group category. The increased salience has further consequenc-

es for the group-bias that will be elicited from other members of the community, which in turn will have political consequences (for example, party preferences).

Pulling in strands of research in social psychology, public opinion, human geography, urban politics and policies, and ethnic studies, the author creates a dialogue between scholarly domains that do not regularly speak to each other, although they may deal with the same or adjacent social phenomena. In so doing, the book makes a significant contribution to opening a cross-disciplinary dialogue. The author also has the ambition of formulating a general theory of the role of geographical space on political behaviours. The evidence he collects through lab and natural experiments, via a variety of designs and in different locations, is congruent and supports the claim to generality. In Enos's own words, 'the reaction to outgroups, across human societies, is often the same and these reactions are shaped by social geography, so that when people see differences across groups, these differences become distorted and amplified' (p. 179).

The book leaves several issues open. For example, although proximity plays an important role in explaining the emergence of group salience, and thereby group-bias, the author does not elaborate how close is close. In fact, it seems that the proximity effect on political behaviour varies significantly even across the real-world cases the book analyses, from less than 1 km in the case of Chicago housing projects (p. 152) to ca. 20 km in the case of Los Angeles-Latino areas (p. 219). A second issue is the absence of policy suggestions. One could argue that the series of studies in the book were never intended to amount to an empirical case for certain policy proposals in the first place. This would be a fair argument. However, this book starts with the observation that 'countries such as the United States, in which various religions, races and ethnicities all live but are segregated into different parts of the

country, simply do not function as well as less diverse and less segregated countries. They are less likely to solve the collective action problems that need to be solved for a decent quality of life [...] (p.4). So Enos cues the reader to expect some policy proposals. The author suggests that any public policy that can claim some success at solving the issues uncovered by this study should be aimed at increasing social harmony (p. 249). However, what that means and how it can be done remains an open issue. The third issue concerns the conceptual framework. The author makes a considerable effort to elaborate the approach, the method, the theory, and the conceptual tools for the benefit of the lay reader. However, some conceptual inconsistencies remain, which will leave readers with a social science background in need of more clarity. For example, a core concept that anchors the theoretical argument (and subsequent analyses) is '*local* environment'. But when segregation is defined, the term '*social* environment' is used – with no clarification as to whether the two terms overlap. The term segregation is defined as 'the extent to which individuals of different groups occupy *or* experience different social environments' (p. 22). As Goertz [2006] has argued, the use of '*or*' in definitions to connect the characteristics of a phenomenon results in an increase in the circle of empirical referents of a concept. In this case, it means that the empirical instances of segregation are those characterised by the individuals occupying social environments *and* those characterised by individuals experiencing social environments. It is not a stretch of the imagination to argue that location-based segregation is different from experience-based segregation. For example, a person may not live in a segregated area, but she may nevertheless experience segregation from her social environment. The implication is that location-based segregation and experience-based segregation may have different impacts on attitude formation –

but this distinction is not fully elaborated upon.

A book is valuable when it challenges its readers. And without a doubt, *The Space Between Us* does exactly that. It does so through the intelligent setting of the lab experiments and through the innovative use of natural experiments, which show the reader that keen observation allows the researcher to identify places outside the lab where, with minimal intervention experimental settings can be created. But it does so also by inciting readers to think further, to raise questions for themselves and to develop her own innovative research designs. The book is well written and a pleasure to read. The clever use of personal histories is not simply a plot device to enhance the communication with readers but is also evidence of the keen eye of a scholar who looks at societal interactions and sees puzzles. The scene at Lake Yosemite (p. 17) is illustrative of this.

In addition to the fascinating insights, read from a European perspective, the book prompts students of urban studies, integration, and ethnic diversity to ask themselves to what extent the intergroup relations in Europe are marked by similar dynamics. Europe differs significantly from the United States with respect to its immigration history. At the same time, Musterd [2005] has already shown that certain ethnic groups experience high levels of segregation in many European cities. In this, Europe's largest cities are no different from the United States' major cities. To the best of my knowledge, although segregation in European cities has received plenty of attention, there has yet to be any research exploring the consequences of ethnic segregation on political behaviour in Europe along the lines of Enos's argument. The consequences of how spaces are shared or not can have dramatic political consequences, as Brexit has shown – many Brexit supporters pointed at the recent arrival of Eastern European immigrants to the United Kingdom as the trigger for the

feeling that the familiar spaces did not belong to them anymore. Understanding the connection between Europeans' perceptions of space and their perceptions of 'others' would help to elucidate the mechanisms beneath such political preferences and behaviours. At the same time, they would allow a better evaluation of the policies that are in place to deal with segregation. Denmark has been in the limelight with its 2019 plan to physically dismantle its ghettos and relocate their inhabitants, but this is only one (albeit the most extreme) of the policies that European governments have used to deal with segregation (see, for example, the 2009 special issue of the *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* (volume 24), or the 2019 volume *Ethnic Spatial Segregation in European Cities* (Hans Skifter Andersen, Routledge). Enos's work should inspire a new lens through which these policies are evaluated in terms of their ability to create spaces where the distances between people are not emphasised or exacerbated.

To sum up, *The Space Between Us* is a must read for anyone interested in interethnic relations, social psychology, and urban policies. Policy practitioners will also find gems in this book, as it will remind keen readers that current urban segregation and public transportation networks are the result of previous policy decisions and will thereby prompt an acknowledgement that decisions taken today may have dramatic negative effects in the (not too distant) future.

Romana Careja  
University of Southern Denmark  
rca@sam.sdu.dk

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