

Clémentine Cottineau, Julie Vallée (eds.), Les inégalités dans l'espace géographique [Inequalities in Geographical Space], 2022, ISTE Editions, 266 pages

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▶ To cite this version:

Julie Fromentin. Clémentine Cottineau, Julie Vallée (eds.), Les inégalités dans l'espace géographique [Inequalities in Geographical Space], 2022, ISTE Editions, 266 pages. Population (English edition), 2024, Book reviews, 79 (1), pp.165-167. 16710.3917/popu.2401.0169. hal-04701314

HAL Id: hal-04701314 https://hal.science/hal-04701314v1

Submitted on 18 Sep 2024

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This collective volume, coordinated by the geographers Clémentine Cottineau and Julie Vallée, features contributions from a range of social scientists (sociologists, economists and geographers). It is part of the SCIENCES Encyclopedia, a series of volumes progressively published by ISTE since 2020 aimed at providing an overview of current knowledge in different scientific and technological fields, along with open questions and ongoing controversies. This volume is part of the 'Geography and Demography' section of the Encyclopedia (edited by Denise Pumain), and focuses, as the title indicates, on the question of inequalities in geographical space.

Today, inequalities are both a subject of public political debate and an increasingly widespread conceptual focus in research. In this context, the objective of this book is more specifically to capture and characterize the 'role of geographical space in documenting inequalities between individuals and social groups, as well as change in these inequalities over time' (p. 2). The notion of inequality is often used but not systematically defined. A strength of this book is its presentation of clear definition of its object of study from the outset, in the introduction. The authors specify the meaning of the notion of inequality in relation to other commonly used concepts (disparity, diversity, injustice, etc.), and explicitly identify and distinguish the subjects and objects of inequality. The book is thus able to pursue a twofold ambition: describing how inequalities are projected into geographical space, on the one hand, and capturing the spatial logics of different inequalities, on the other. Geographical space often structures ideological representations and discourse in the spheres of politics and the media. In this context, offering a precise and well-supported inventory of knowledge and open questions in the domain is crucial work.

The book is divided into seven largely independent chapters. Each proposes a distinct way of approaching the central issue—whether from a disciplinary, thematic, theoretical or methodological perspective. Chapter 1, by Leīla Frouillou, focuses on the spatial dimension of educational inequalities, particularly in France. It jointly examines issues of localization (of pupils, teachers, schools), institutional factors, and socio-spatial representations in the production of educational inequalities. Frouillou takes a Bourdieusian approach to the social world, drawing on Fabrice Ripoll and Vincent Veschambre's concept of the 'spatial dimension', wherein space is viewed as a dimension of the different types of capital (economic, cultural, symbolic, etc.), and the dualism that posits spaces and societies as separate realities with 'relations' is rejected. Far from being either independent of society or a neutral substrate of social relations, space runs through all of society, just as time does.

In the second chapter, Negar Elodie Behzadi and Lucia Direnberger present three major theoretical currents that think the articulations between power relations, inequalities, and geographical space: feminist analyses, queer approaches,



and postcolonial perspectives. They show how space constitutes a site of the production and contestation of inequalities, as well as their multi-scalar character. These perspectives enrich intersectional approaches to inequality, for example by taking into account the scale of the domestic sphere and of the body in analysing power relations between men and women.

In the third chapter, Laurence Roulleau-Berger proposes a 'constructivist reading' of geographical mobility through an analysis of relations between migration, inequalities, and *économie-monde* ('economy-world', in Braudelian terms). It invites us to think the inegalitarian nature of geographical mobility, which produces changes in the social positions of individuals as they move between different national spaces, producing forms of biographical bifurcation (loss of status, etc.). These dynamics can lead to the accumulation, weakening, or persistence of 'multi-situated inequalities'. Roulleau-Berger emphasizes the role of economic globalization, which fragments and produces hierarchies in labour markets at the international scale, in this dynamic.

The fourth chapter, by Philippe Askenazy and Verónica Escudero, on the geographical dimension of inequalities in access to employment, is highly instructive. Taking the dispersion of unemployment rates as a point of entry into the importance of geographical processes in the (re)production of inter-individual inequalities in access to employment, the authors offer a step-by-step introduction to various ways of integrating geographical space into econometric models. Each section details the theoretical foundations of one model (spatial mismatch, etc.) and then offers examples of empirical applications. In each case, the meaning given to geographical space (measure of distance, location and accessibility of amenities, network structure, etc.) is clearly explained. The results show that space is a source of inter-individual inequalities, and more precisely that geographical mechanisms generate, amplify, or moderate inequalities by gender, age, education, and race or ethnicity in access to employment.

The originality of Serge Paugam's Chapter 5 lies in its explicit focus on the role played by representations of urban poverty in the dynamics of residential segregation. It is based on the results of a comparative survey carried out in affluent neighbourhoods in Paris, São Paulo, and Delhi, aimed at analysing the relations between social homophily among wealthy people and their subjective representations of poor populations. It highlights the importance of a contextual approach to segregation, taking into account the role of social representations and their variations in space and time.

In an approach more similar to that of Chapter 4, Clémentine Cottineau's Chapter 6 looks at the quantitative modelling of inequalities in geographical space. Cottineau provides a rigorous and valuable overview of the various types of models—statistical, graphical, simulation—and their contributions to our understanding of inequalities in geographical space, as well as their limitations. Although the chapter highlights the complementarity of different methodological approaches, it emphasizes the power of multi-agent models to produce causal,

multi-scalar explanations of the dynamics of inequalities in geographical space, thereby overcoming some of the limitations of statistical models, and in particular in the multilevel models widely used today (independence of observations by level of analysis, endogeneity between levels, etc.).

The final chapter, by Julie Vallée, presents a critical view on 'territorially selective' policies in France (such as the *politique de la ville*) and other countries (the United States, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom). It precisely and lucidly connects current scientific debates (for example on agent-structure relations and selection bias) with public policy issues (debate on place-based vs. people-based policies). Vallée examines the goals at work in the definition of the boundaries around the areas targeted by these policies, as well as the reductive and rigid vision of geographical space that they involve. Arguing that this impoverished conception of space can 'turn attention away from the deep structural causes of inequality' (p. 228), Vallée defends an approach that takes into account interdependencies between individuals and spaces at various geographical and temporal scales.

The risk, in assembling such heterogeneous contributions, is to end up with a collection that lacks overall coherence. And in fact, the differences in structure between the chapters, which share neither objectives nor theoretical foundations, point more towards their being read independently of each other rather than together. But the introduction itself constitutes a precious resource, providing the keys needed to read the various chapters and relate them to each other (p. 22). The choice of the editors to take the risk of assembling such varied contributions and perspectives on the question of inequalities in geographical space in a single volume may also precisely be considered an original aspect of this book.

In conclusion, it seems to me crucial to emphasize one contribution of this volume: its particularly rich and original interdisciplinary discussion on the relations between individuals and territories, and between agents and structures. Each chapter, in its own way, considers the interdependence between individuals or social groups and geographical space in a relational, contextualized fashion. A result that emerges is the need to pay closer attention to the multi-scalar nature of social and economic inequalities, both in time and in space. Together, the chapters establish a promising bridge between geography and the other social sciences, and in particular demography: capturing how the trajectories of geographical areas interact with those of individuals in the (re)production of inter-individual inequalities. The book thus positions the relational dimension of space as a central aspect of research on inequalities in the social sciences.

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