

The Evolution of the Concept of Segregation in the Thinkers' Opinions

Samaneh Jalilisadrabad^{a*} - Seyed Zia Hashemi^b

^a Assistant Professor of Urban Development, School of Architecture and Environmental Design, Iran University of Science and Technology, Tehran, Iran (Corresponding Author).

^b Associate Professor of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Tehran University, Tehran, Iran.

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ABSTRACT

Socio-spatial segregation is considered one of the significant challenges of today's cities, and its various approaches led to the emergence of different theories in this regard. The socio-spatial segregation in cities is one of the most significant influential factors in creation and separation of various social groups in cities, increasing the potential of different deprivations in the cities of the developing countries. The high degree of segregation in various urban regions can enhance the concentration of poverty and its resulted deprivations, such as the lack of job opportunities, public services, and severe discriminations. These deprivations are associated with consequences such as an increase in the rate of crime. On the other hand, increasing the interclass contacts and decreasing the intraclass contacts will decrease the middle class's role. Identifying the influential factors in creating the socio-spatial segregation in different approaches is the primary purpose of this paper. Analytical-review method and content analysis were applied to achieve the research purpose. In the present study, the segregation was extracted from existing definitions, opinions, and theories and classified. Eventually, the causing factors of segregation were proposed in the main groups through studying the historical process of theories. Then, the segregation indicators were extracted. The results obtained from these studies indicate that urban management, political, physical, cultural-social, and economic factors are influential in causing socio-spatial segregation, and the stated opinions in this paper were classified based on these five factors. The social-economic factors have the priority and maximum frequency among the theories above, and the physical factor has the minimum frequency. Management-political and cultural factors are in the middle rank in terms of frequency. Physical factor also has the minimum frequency in the theories. However, it must be stated that the physical factor is in the new and more grand theories, and it seems that it has a considerable impact in today's cities and will have a significant role in the new theories.

Keywords: Socio-Spatial Segregation, Spatial Imbalance, Inequality, Social Class, Competition, Social Solidarity .

* E_mail: s_jalili@iust.ac.ir

1. INTRODUCTION

Segregation is an intricate concept. One cannot quickly answer the question “what is segregation?” as to answer its versus question, i.e., the quiddity of the solidarity is also tricky; because not only these concepts are intricate but also are dynamic and are discussed constantly (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 8). It can be stated that spatial segregation has eventually led to social segregation, the result of which is the role of spatial segregation in social relations (Jalilisadrabad, Shi'e, & Behzadfar, 2018a, p. 19).

The segregation must be defined and confined considering its related concepts, such as social solidarity and distance. In this regard, segregation refers to the voluntarily and compulsorily tendency of various social classes and groups to the physical separation from each other in various aspects of life (Afroogh, 1998, p. 243).

Segregation is not a stable and absolute state; that is, it can be with other people or the whole society. It can be voluntarily or compulsorily and complete or mild. Also, it can be present in housing, the network of relations, occupation, or education.(Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 19). Segregation can have a different broad range and is variable from a simple separation to solitude or isolation. Segregation can have various reasons and go beyond a type of option to social exclusion. Segregation is not often complete. It includes a majority of a neighborhood's separated residents of an occupational group, ethnic group, racial group, or classes(Shokoie, 1986, p. 29). Ghetto and trans-segregation are the extreme and complete forms of segregation. Inequality and spatial imbalance in various urban regions increase spatial differences in cities and socio-spatial segregation.

According to the conducted studies in the theories stated on the socio-spatial segregation, it can be said that due to the breadth of the concept of segregation, what factors are more significant in creating segregation and what is the attitude towards segregation, has led to different approaches to it. In some cases, these approaches are due to political factors or changing circumstances.

In other words, the factors that affect segregation are social, political, economic, and physical factors, and each one of the theorists addressed this concept based on their approach and attitude to this concept. This paper is an interdisciplinary research and involves various disciplines in this area. Among different disciplines, sociology and urbanism can considerably contribute to solve the issues related to segregation in the cities; because all the political, social, economic, and physical factors are intertwined and work in a system. Currently, socio-spatial segregation is one of the main issues of today's cities, metropolitans, in particular. Therefore, the classification and investigation of various theories can help solve this issue in large cities. The current paper can be useful for active individuals in urbanism and have no knowledge in the humanities disciplines. Thus, in the present study, the segregation related theories were classified based on the factors causing the segregation in the theorists' opinion.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The current stud is qualitative research, and by using the content analysis, investigated the theories related to segregation. The theories and definitions were extracted, classified, and compared. By studying the historical course of the theories, the factors causing the segregation were classified based on the theorists' opinion and introduced based on the perspective of various people and groups in the leading group. By investigating the theories related to segregation in different aspects, while deepening in the segregation issues, the indicators of the segregation were extracted.

3. SEGREGATION THEORIES

There are various theories regarding the segregation from pioneer theorists such as Max Weber to the recent theorists in different countries. Each of these theorists emphasizes one or certain factors. First, the theories related to segregation were investigated. Then, considering the influential causing factors and the theorists' approach, the theories were classified as presented in Figure 1.

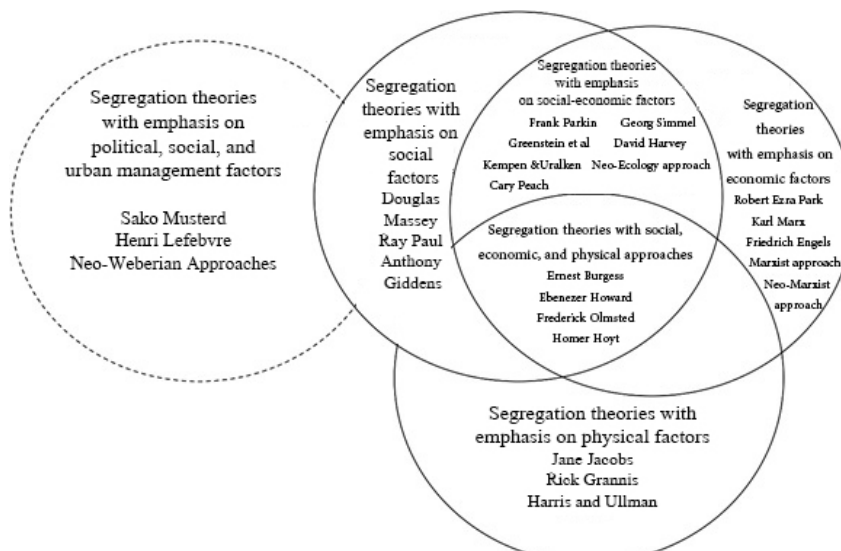


Fig. 1. Classification of the Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on the Factors Causing It

In the following, each of these theories will be studied in various classifications. Although each theory has been studied in detail, it is not possible to investigate the origin and their backgrounds due to the paper's limitations. Therefore, the present paper investigates their classifications.

3.1. The Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on Economic Factors

- **Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels:** Marx and Engels considered the social classes among the various forms of social inequality based on the social classes, noble groups, power groups, or parties, and studied the relationship between space and class (i.e., relationship, production, distribution, and consumption). They considered space a realm in which the intertwined processes of capital accumulation and class struggle concentrate. The capital tendency towards concentration and the social classes' desire for polarization increase and are realized in cities. (Afroogh, 1997, pp. 210-216). In this regard, the urban spatial form must be understood in the relationship with the production method. The transformation of space into a commodity and a scarce resource being produced by the capitalist system, with the massive and increasing production of space, concentrates the decision-making center (capital concentration in the center) and creates peripheral colonies (repelling people to the periphery), including, urban suburbs such as ghettos and suburban neighborhoods (Afroogh, 1998, pp. 204-213). In general, Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches consider the segregation a result of the social class (Firman, 2004, p. 353).

- **Marxist Approach:** According to Marxists, the form, inequality, and segregation resulted from capitalism and urban resource distribution in the city (Kaplan, Wheeler, & Holloway, 2004, p. 189). Marxists considered capitalism the main reason for inequalities and segregation in cities, and they all agreed upon this (Pickvance, 1984, p. 37). According to Marxists, the class system and its causing mechanism are the context for justice, not the nature of ordinary human's social life. Therefore, the need for justice manifests for the distribution of the rare resources in the class societies, capitalist in particular. Accordingly, in the Marxist culture, justice is a relative and temporary concept. By transiting from the class society and realization of the communism, the justice contexts vanish, and human achieves its perfection. It is then that everyone will be given as much work as possible, and everyone will be given as many facilities as they need (Haji-heidar, 2008). In this approach, the absence of justice and eliminating class society create equality as a value and need. According to Marxists' particular perception of justice, they classify the priorities based on the demand and seek to create a society. In this society, the basic needs of every member are met in the best way. They try to introduce demand as the final value and moral basis

for politics and society's administration. This approach proposes the need's satisfaction as the government's primary function and links government authorization and realms with the theory of needs (Vaezi, 2004).

- **Neo-Marxist Approach:** The neo-Marxist approach considers the spatial segregation the reflection of the social class and economic structure and emphasizes power (Kaplan, Wheeler, & Holloway, 2004, p. 189). Social justice and the lack of distinction among the various social groups were introduced by the neo-marxists school pioneer (Yabibian, Shekoochi Bidhendim & Arbab, p.9). They believed that the sources' fair distribution was the only way to achieve justice in the cities. Accordingly, they proposed three criteria of need, public interest, and entitlement to realize justice (Harvey, 1973).

- **Robert Ezra Park:** Park is the first person who pointed out the particular role of dominance in creating unequal space. According to Park, the city's internal and natural processes are formed because of the competition over rare resources. The competition among the individual and occupational, social, and class groups leads to the functional distinction based on competitive cooperation. Functional differentiation is manifested spatially. That is to say, by creating the division of labor, competition distributes various economic groups in proper regions. Inequality in the distribution of rare resources makes this spatial distribution unequal. Therefore, the natural areas are the residence of the groups who have distinctive culture due to living in a shared territory, resulting from the natural tendencies in the urban processes rather than the result of the previous planning (Afroogh, 1998, pp. 200-202). According to him, the land use pattern in the city indicates the interactive economic dependence pattern. He only discussed the commercial and industrial aspects of economic dominance and neglected the political, cultural, ideological dominance to determine the land use pattern (Afroogh, 1998, pp. 202-203).

- **Saskia Sassen:** Sassen emphasizes the dual city concept according to the global cities' conditions, which are intensified due to the world forces. According to him, the global economy realizes new spaces (i.e., reconstruction of the city centers) and is not suitable for others (Firman, 2004, p. 352). Sassen's theory entitled "Re-scaling of Space" or Reconstruction in seven phases indicates the global economy in the cities, the transformation of the cooperative roles, transition and submitting from service economy to the knowledge-based economy, and the formation of the global city and its effects on the spatial segregation in the city. In the fourth phase of this process, Sassen states the review indicators in the urban physique. The economies of agglomeration is a keyword that is discussed in the fifth stage from Sassen's point of view, and Castells and Hall also emphasize them. If all the companies are placed in a single urban region, it is called economies of urbanization that allows for the

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population overflow towards these urban regions and intensifies the segregation in these areas (Hall & Pain, 2006).

- **Manuel Castells:** According to Castells, the urban function is mainly economic and depends on collective consumption. In his perspective, as the urban system's indicator, the spatial division is significant as the division of labor. (Afroogh, 1998, pp. 163-164). His approach proposes that the most important political, economic, and social aspects must be analyzed and examined as the relevant elements to each other for the adequate explanation of today's world events. His approach emphasizes the contact and connection of the divisions while these divisions were in contrast with each other, and their exclusive features are significant in playing the role of the change partner. Castells establishes a relationship between various components. For instance, he relates the segregation to the globalization processes and economic innovations, technology, and change in the family structures and social classes. Castells emphasizes network society in large cities, in particular, to reduce and eliminate segregation. The global cash flow network consists of the stock markets' connection points and their advanced ancillary service centers. A network-based social structure is an open and dynamic system that can create innovation without risking its balance. The networks are the proper tools for various activities, including capitalist economy, labor, workers and companies, governments, and social organizations. Since the networks are multiple, the codes and keys functioning between the networks turn into the primary resources of the formation, direction, and misleading of the societies (Castells, 2007). Networks form the new social morphology of our communities, and the expansion of the network logic has resulted in considerable changes in the operations, results of production processes, experience, power, and culture. Although the social organization network form existed at various times and places, information technology's novel schemes generate the material foundation of its widespread expansion throughout the social structure. This networking logic creates a social determination that is beyond the particular social interests stated through the networks. The power of currents precedes the currents of power. The absence or presence in the network and the dynamicity in each network versus other network are the vital resources of dominance and change in the society (Castells, 2005).

Erik Olin Wright: One of the recent sociologists that considered setting is Eric Olin Wright. He tried to modify Marx's class division and its adoption of the modern condition through this concept. He believed that in modern societies, work and occupation are related. People (men and women) occupy the positions or occupations by formal or informal contracts (Fulcher & Scott, 1999). However, having a job does not easily mean cooperation in the division of labor. Job is not merely working that an individual must do. Profession

is a valuable indicator of the resources that a person controls and has in the market. It also has power and advantage that provides owning resources. Therefore, he considered job as a factor causing socio-spatial segregation (Grbic, Ishizawa, & Crothers, 2010, p. 28).

3.2. Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on Social Factors

Max Weber: Weber believes that classes can also have divisions in the economic order based on the property. Therefore, considering the urban space theories, social equality, and class segregation, the spatial planning organization is realized. Moreover, since the functions' role is significant in space, urban design is an inevitable matter considering the mentioned processes (Andalib & Sabet Ghadam, 2009). According to Weber, classes include those who have equal positions in the market of exchanging valuable resources. These resources include economic resources, power, dignity, education, and physical force or control on physical force. Ownership indeed makes it possible to control the economic resources; however, currently, in the trans-industrial societies, the employed manages to have the primary control of the economic enterprises. Sometimes, the managers cooperate with the companies that employ them (Gursky, 1994, p. 143). Weber considers social obstruction a process in which the social complexes seek to increase their rewards by barring others from accessing the resources and opportunities available to eligible organizations. In general, the obstruction can be translated into power. Social obstruction can be based on the 1. social or physical features (skin color), 2. group features, and 3. Race, language, social originality, religion and alike, leading to particular economic opportunities and preventing free competition in the society despite the positive or negative features in the groups or the individual competencies (Gurb, 2007).

Weber considers residence as one of the dignity symbols of the dignity groups in the social system. According to him, the city is divided by dignity groups and classes into distinctive and unequal spaces. These unequal spaces are supported by the legal and religious systems as well. The distribution groupings strengthen the class divisions by creating the possibility of segregation, and the spatial segregation strengthened the dignity groups despite the clear difference in beliefs and lifestyles (Afroogh, 1998, pp. 213-217).

- **Douglas Massey:** Massey states that two different hypotheses arise on the effect of social status and social class on racial and ethnic segregation and the process of selecting separated neighborhoods by various groups to live. The first hypothesis is the attraction that states the more the social class and socioeconomic status, the higher the spatial integration of the minority in the majority. The second hypothesis that is the social distance, believes that the social distance in the urban scope has a direct relationship with the social distance of the ethnic groups. That is to say, the segregation of

the ethnic groups is due to the social distance and not their different socio-economic status (Massey, 1981, p. 649).

According to Massey's theory, the opportunities and resources are inequality distributed in the space. Therefore, families improve their socioeconomic status and migrate to other regions to achieve these services (Préteceille, 2011).

- Ray Paul: Ray Paul considers the most essential process in the city the process of distributing the rare urban resources, the most significant element of which is space. Although urban resources have often been distributed unequally, their distribution results from the behavior of those who occupy the strategic positions in the social system. Therefore, the spatial distribution logic and, consequently, the segregation originates from the social logic and pattern of the distribution (Afroogh, 1997, pp. 151-153).

Anthony Giddens: According to Giddens, the spatial segregation in residential neighborhoods is necessary to establish social classes. In class society, he considers spatial division as one of the main aspects of class differentiation. (Afroogh, 2000). Giddens states that the class structure of the societies is formed based on physical adjacencies and long-term intervals. That is to say, the classes are only created in a place in which the actors have the common abilities and worked and lived together over the years, and generate and re-generate the shared culture (Dikenz, 1998). He analyzes the transition from traditional city to today's cities and divides the cities into the traditional cities or precapitalist cities, postcapitalist cities, and modern cities. He explains the features of the precapitalist and traditional cities as follows:

1. Fencing around the city defines the limitation and separation of the city from its peripheral environment and the military purposes. Therefore, walls (fortifications and ramparts of the traditional cities) had two main functions:

A) The function of providing the security of residents at the time of danger and attack.

B) as a tool to separate and social distinction of the city and village and different classes in the cities.

2. The walls were established in the central regions of the traditional cities, temples, palaces, and bazaars. In some cases, the commercial and ceremonial centers were protected by a particular wall.

3. Although the cities were the center of art and science, these were monopolized by a limited class of nobles, not the masses.

Then, Giddens studies and explains the capitalist and modern cities that experienced the transition phase and went under many structural and fundamental evolutions. According to him, today's capitalist cities have been evolved in all the mentioned indicators; that is to say, the capitalist cities lack the fortifications and ramparts (Giddens, 2000).

3.3. Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on Socioeconomic Factors

- Chicago School (Theory of Urban Ecology): In 1916, the Chicago school was developed in urban studies. Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, and Roderick Mackenzie were the prominent scholars of this school then. The founders of this school believe that the urban groups with any kind of social, economic, and ethnic class experience all the ecologic phases in their settlements like plant species by moving towards balance and harmony over time (Shokoei, 1986, pp. 9-127). According to the Chicago school, spatial segregation is one of the ecological processes that is the voluntarily or compulsorily tendency of the classes and various social groups for the physical separation from each other in different areas of life (Afroogh, 1998, p. 243). This perspective considers the city a geographical zone by comparing the organism in which the ecological currents occur, such as plant and animal population. The main social motivations justifying this school is the staggering urban population growth, entering the migrants, Population heterogeneity, and the increasing social issues in the cities (Tavassoli, 2002, p. 157). Spatial segregation leads to social segregation that its role in social segregation is studied. In general, the ecological perspective points out the competition for space as the reason for the segregation (Firman, 2004, p. 353). According to the Chicago school theorists, the main principles of dividing a city into natural parts or regions are the environmental processes, competition, dominance, invasion, and succession (Stevenson, 2009, p. 29).

In the 1960s, the Chicago school and the ecological approach to the city faced critiques (Stevenson, 2009, p. 68), which resulted in some challenges. As a result of these challenges, the Marxist and neo-Weberian urban theories emerged inspired by Carl Marx and Max Weber's theories in contrast and segregation in the cities.

Robert Park and Louis Wirth are the Chicago School theorists that their opinions on social segregation will be stated in this paper.

The Chicago school is the first serious current related to the spatial-physical segregation (Fainstein, 2007). In the twentieth century, Park (1916-1936) and Chicago School implemented practical and theoretical measures in the cities by emerging the industrial city. The theorists of this school applied the social organism to deal with the city scientifically. Three traditional achievements of the measures of this school are as follows:

- Human ecological achievement;

- Analysis of the social regions.

Human ecologists were the first research groups who systematically described spatial-physical segregation (Van Kempen & Murie, 2009). The term ecology indicates the relationship between the social characteristics and the spatial-physical patterns (Knox

& Pinch, 2010). In this achievement, the city public spaces are the best place for keeping social groups alive in seeking the best and most balanced place to live. The main concepts of this achievement are as follows:

- Competition between various population groups in the city;
- The dominance of a population group of urban functional regions;
- Threatening the natural regions by the rival groups,
- The absolute dominance of the rival group on the natural regions in the city (Park, 1926).
- **Neo-ecology School:** In general, the cultural ecology attempted to apply the concepts of system and the ecological relations in the human communities. Calvin Schmidt developed the theory of urban ecosystem structure by studying urban issues such as committing suicide and segregation of the particular urban groups through the obtained statistics (Shokoie, 1986, p. 10). In the neo-ecological school, the correlation between the social structures and economic structures are applied. Also, the social classification of the cities is studied along with all the social and economic indicators.
- **George Simmel:** According to Simmel, there is a widespread opinion that spatial segregation is the result of social segregation (Eijk, 2010, p. 6). The city has the separation as a hidden nature. Cities cannot be imagined without the segregation of their residents, as the basis for the city development is the division of labor. Division of labor leads to the separation of the individuals in the labor system division based on the expertise, social-occupational dignity, income, and lifestyle (Fialkuf, 2009, p. 76). On the other hand, the city is the context for co-living with strangers and ensures some extent of the social distance between the individuals with other citizens considered strangers. The segregation is considered the institutional form of social distance (Fialkuf, 2009; Afroogh, 1998; Shokoei, 1986, pp. 40-41).
- **David Harvey:** David Harvey considers segregation as limiting the right to the city. Harvey introduced the right to the city as the right to change ourselves by changing the city and refers to the right to build and renovate the urban environment in a cooperative way (Harvey, 2009). According to Harvey, the residential segregation in the capitalist city means different access to rare resources to capture market's capacity. He considers segregation concerning the social structure. In other words, he explains the segregation based on the regeneration of the social relations and believes that the residential areas (neighborhood environments, and neighborhoods) provide the distinctive areas for social interaction and by relying on them, the individuals can extract a considerable extent of value criteria, expectation, consumption habits, market capacities, and awareness modes (Harvey, 2009).
- **Frank Parkin:** According to Parkin, all the various classifications of class, dignity, racial, ethnic, and religious are the unequal classification of power that fight over achieving the opportunities and resources

through the obstruction process (Parkin, 1982, pp. 175-185). Influenced by Max Weber, Parkin sought to find the class gaps and numerous forms of exploitation beyond the class gap proposed by Marx, that is, the gap between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In an attempt to critique Marxism, he addresses physical and intellectual work in Marxism and the Class Theory: A Bourgeois Critique (Parkin, 1978). Contrary to Marx's idea, there are exploited people in both groups and it is not only the intellectual labor who exploits the manual labor. One cannot consider these two groups, contrary to each other. Manual and non-manual work is related to the chances and opportunities in life. This analysis is related to the trans-industrial communities in which there is a wide middle class of intellectual workers, a wide lower part of which is known as exploited. Like Weber, Frank Parkin believes that the relation between classes is perceivable in terms of power distribution (Gursky, 1994). Therefore, social inequality must be analyzed, considering power-based relationships and not class-based relationships. This analysis is significant, based on the 1. Market opportunities (the exchange market of valuable resources, 2. Life opportunities, and 3. Symbolic rewards. Parkin adopted Weber's social obstruction and developed it and studied that in various aspects of social life.. According to Weber, social obstruction is a process in which some social classifications deprive others of having access to the resources and opportunities. According to him, power is the inherent attribute of each social obstruction. Parkin assumes two primary forms of social obstruction: sanction and coercion (rage). The manifested form of the obstruction is sanction. A sanction is a primary tool by which the dominant party deprives the dominated individuals of power. Coercion is a vital tool by which the dominated individuals try to retake a part of the lost power. Among these two forms of obstruction, the sanction is more effective in the modern communities because it is formed by the legal regulations and the guarantee of its official implementation is the judicial system of the government and, if necessary, it is considered one of the perpetrators of its repression (Gurb, 2007). Indeed, some of the racial and ethnic sanctions are illegal and applied by minority groups. A sanction is a form of using power downwards, and coercion is the application of power upwards. In general, there are obstruction processes beyond all the unequal structures. According to Parkin, the property is the most significant and first form of sanction. Property is one of the resources to apply unequal power among the classes. Weber agrees with Marx on the property as the feature of all the class situations. The second form of the sanction is applying the official documents that have particular advantages for the owners. Having education degrees and certificates provides the most significant possibility of the legal monopoly of services, such as medicine, engineering services, etc. Such a monopoly makes the possibility of exploitation

against those who lack these certificates. As a result, the degree holders make the second layer of the middle class or exploiter. The middle classes have violation forms of sanction and obstruction. Skilled business people, workers with internship and expertise degrees from particular institutions with an internship degree have different sanction possibilities than simple and non-expert workers. Although this group also is sanctioned, they have degree advantages to some extent. Therefore, the abovementioned groups (owners and the degree holders) are the central core of the exploiter class. Wealth and privilege holders pass on their sanction facilities and privileges to their children (Gursky, 1994).

- **Rosalind Greenstein:** Greenstein considered voluntary spatial segregation a new phenomenon that is intensified by the demand factor from the society, such as security and supply factor, such as globalization as an external factor in the development process. She claimed that globalization enhanced spatial segregation based on the studies (Greenstein, Sabatini, & Smolka, 2000). She states that spatial segregation is one of the features of all metropolitans. In some places, the segregation is related to the racial groups, while in other cases, it is related to the religious or economic groups. According to Greenstein, residential segregation has various consequences and concepts, considering the form and structure of the metropolitan and their culture and historical record (Satabani & Smolka, 2015).

- **Cary Peach:** According to Peach, segregation is very significant because a degree of physical segregation among the groups in a city is practical on the social trust indicator. A high degree of physical segregation indicates low social trust, and a low degree of segregation means a lower conflict. Peach considers the segregation of the ethnic groups in urban spaces due to three sets of processes: discrimination, lack of profit, and individual choice.

In 1996, Peach proposed two main theories in the process of spatial segregation: Spatial homogenization theory. He believes that the residential location of the migrant groups indicates the level of acculturation and their economic movement and predicts that increasing the income of the minority groups leads to the reduction in their spatial segregation (Peach, 1996, p. 3). Another theoretical model is the pluralism or the multiculturalism model. According to this theory, the groups' spatial segregation has always been high over time, and a wealthy and high-income group will maintain their segregation more or less (Grbic, Ishizawa, & Crothers, 2010, p. 28). The multiculturalism model has economic fusion. However, group member's internal tendency to return and their cultural and identity conditions provides the ground for their spatial segregation. While in the spatial homogenization, elimination of segregation not only economically but also culturally and socially provides the ground for reducing and ultimately eliminating spatial segregation (Porters & Zhau, 1993).

3.4. Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on Physical Factors

- **Grannis (1998):** Grannis states that the regions connected by road networks have similar racial compositions than the adjacency and accessibility. The physical barriers also limit social solidarity and physical access (Grannis, 1998; Jacobs, 1961). Besides, the physical barriers (communication networks) can facilitate the classification of land values from one geographical area to another by creating specific criteria to classify areas (Krysan & Bader, 2009). Such processes lead to the limitation in the expansion of the small regions and maintaining the social and spatial isolation of the groups and have significant consequences in intensifying the inequalities through creating isolated areas with separated social and economic conditions that can result in unequal results for the people and families (Robin, 1987; Hoxby, 2008; Anant, 2011). He defined the neighborhoods with secondary streets of the city as the smaller streets that contribute to the pedestrian traffic and states that the connection of streets and roads by the patterns of the residential separation depends on the social-physical segregation in the urban spaces more than the official defined boundaries such as census places (Blakely & Snyder, 1997; Low, 2001; Atkinson & Flint, 2004)

- **Jane Jacobs (1961):** She stated to the isolated areas through the roads and mentions that the physical barriers lead to the creation and maintenance of distinct social and economic conditions and eliminate the possibility of social communication by restricting pedestrian traffic to isolated spaces. It leads to the preservation and intensification of the spatial divisions in the city. (Jacobs, 1961). Residents' and citizens' active involvement in developing and changing the neighborhood and familiarizing people with living places and their activities and entertainment is one of the foundations of Jacobs' ideas (Esmaeili et al., 2005). Disagree with the construction of highways and supporting the neighborhoods are among her opinions.

3.5. Segregation Theories with an Emphasis on Physical and Economic Factors

- **Olmsted:** The city beautiful movement theory of Olmsted in 1893 was one of the first theoretical movements that confronted the chaotic situation of the cities. The purpose was to beautify the city through urban design measures and eventually, create solidarity among the city residents through creating public spaces (Ersoy, 2007). It was assumed that this city would be more welcomed by the poor, and by implementing this plan, the wealthy people living in the suburbs would come back to the beautiful and new urban centers. This movement progressed mainly in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and Washington DC, promoted the beautify not because of its own sake but to create moral and civil virtue among the urban population. The followers

of this philosophy believed that beautification could generate social harmony and cause an increase the quality of life and a reduction in segregation (Bluestone, 1988).

- **Howard:** Howard's garden city movement in 1889 focused on the movement towards the suburban instead of reconstruction of the public spaces inside the city. These garden cities were adopted from the rural environment elements. Howard emphasized that the labor class deserves a better life and more affluent housing. However, the first experience of the garden city, Letchworth, failed in this regard so that the labor class could not afford the costs considered for these houses, and it included the middle-class people (Ersoy, 2007). Howard's attention to providing affordable houses for the labor class was all the social considerations in the form of the urban physique that emphasized the social-spatial segregation (Fainstein, 2007).

- **Ernest Burgess:** The first spatial model of the human ecology was first developed by Burgess in 1920 and introduced by Hoyt in the 1930s. Finally, it was proposed by Harris and Ullman in the 1940s. Burgess's concentric zone theory emphasized the growth from the center in four regions, and the central zone is the commercial center. These regions were classified based on the type of residential area, such as the density and residents' socioeconomic situation. (Anderson & Egeland, 1961). This theory's main subject is the new migrants of the city that first must settle in the more affordable houses. When they succeed in improving their economic situation, they can relocate to the external areas and better residential regions. The mentioned process is also known as the Invasion and Succession Process in which a group proceeds other groups and is improved while their economic situation is simultaneously upward and they are moving towards the outside of the city spatially and physically (Murdie & Ghosh, 2010).

- **Homer Hoyt:** Another representation of the Chicago school is Homer Hoyt, Robert Park's student. In his sector model, the city is divided into some regions based on the communication networks neglected in the centric zone theory (Anderson & Egeland, 1961). These regions (residential areas) are determined based on the mean value of the rent of the residential areas and the communication networks. Therefore, he modified the commercial centers of the city in this way. In this theory, the city's physical division is implemented based on which people live in different regions. (Berry & Rees, 1969).

3.6. Theories Related to Management, Political, and Social Segregation

- **Neo-Weberian approach:** The neo-Weberian approach considers the spatial segregation due to the access of groups to the housing market (Firman, 2004, p. 353). Moreover, they believe that the spatial system, features, and homogeneity depend on the role

of government, bureaucracy, and social managers (Sheikhi, 2011, pp. 17-18). The perspective of Neo-Weberian knows the segregation the consequence of the various access of the dignity groups to the housing market (Firman, 2004, p. 353).

- **Sako Musterd:** Musterd considers segregation a concrete spatial issue and studies the regional policies, population segregation policies, and housing planning. This approach of segregation takes a more step forward, which is related to the theory of American sociologists, such as Lewis (1996), Wilson (1987), Massey and Denton (1993). These scholars point out the adverse impacts caused by living in the undesirable neighborhoods on the residents' desires and opportunities (i.e., adverse effects of being a victim of crime, quality of education and service, and the dominant moral values in the network of friends). In this analytical framework, the influential factors are not the population's spatial segregation based on the desirable economic or ethnic features. Its reason is the destructive perceived impact on the social participation of an individual. This negative impact originates from the stigmatization¹, or its manifestation by individuals who live outside the deprived region. For example, these people's reaction to the demand for work by the deprived people (Musterd & De Winter, 1998, pp. 666-673).

- **Henri Lefebvre:** According to Gottdiener, Lefebvre has been the greatest Marxist thinker and, undoubtedly, is one of the most prominent philosophers of our era. Lefebvre was one of the rare society analyzers who knew Marx's thinking way, the example for which is one of his books about the Marxist dialectics. (Lefebvre, 1939). According to Lefebvre, space is in the center of the continuous social and historical process that ensures the conflict over meanings and values. Space is the mediator of social relations and is also material products that can affect social relations. His analysis of the history of space can be perceived as a process in which different production methods create a particular space. In his perspective, any social organization method creates an environment that is the result of the social relation that this method of social organization owns. By producing a space based on its nature, society assumes the material form of distinctly constructed forms and reproduces itself by generating such a space. Space is both a mediator of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations. One of the reasons for the continuation of capitalism in the twentieth century is the flexibility in the construction and reconstruction of space relations and the global space economy. Just how everyday life has been conquered by capitalism, the location of this daily life of social space has also been conquered by capitalism. The production of space is a phenomenon with explicit political aspects and is related to the developing systems of production in capitalism (Elden, 2004). According to Lefebvre, land and the advanced capitalist relations of its productions, which he calls real estate, form the second capital cycle. This second cycle is the fundamental forces of society and is a source to create value-added. Although this cycle is related to the first cycle, it has a certain logic. Marxist

analysis of capitalism in terms of space will never be what it used to be (Zieleniec, 2007, p. 61). As mentioned above, each one of the theorists emphasized particular factors in causing the

segregation that based on these factors, the following classification has been done. In Table 1, the mentioned theories and the causing factors of the segregation are presented shortly.

Table 1. Factors Causing the Social-Spatial Segregation in the Perspective of Theorists

Theorist	Sub-Factor (Factors Causing the Segregation)	Factor
Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels	Economic Classes, Dignity, Power, Parties, and Capital.	Economic-Political
Marxists Approach	Capitalist Production, Urban Resources Distribution, Class System.	Economic
Neo-Marxist Approach	Social Classes, Economic Structure, Power and Distribution of Resources	Social-Economic and Political
Robert Ezra Park	Spatial Distribution of the Economic Classes, Functional Distinction of the Class, People's Competition, and Occupations for Rare Resources.	Social- Economic
Saskia Sassen	Globalization and Privilege of Knowledge-Based Economy on the Service Economy.	Economic
Manuel Castells	Innovation and Technology of Economy, Social Classes, Economic Function, Collective Consumption, Globalization, Change in Families, and Power.	Economic, Social, Political and Cultural
Erik Olin Wright	Occupation (As the Representative of the Social Class)	Social and Economic
Max Weber	Power, Dignity, Education, Manual Force, Social Classes System, Lack of Free Competition, Social Obstruction.	Social, Cultural and Economic
Weberian Approach	Professional or Organizational Conditions	Economic
Douglas Massey	Ethical Solidarity, Social Inequality, and Unequal Distribution of Facilities.	Economic, Social and Cultural
Rey Paul	Unfair Distribution of Rare Urban Resources (Spatial Distribution of Resources)	Economic
Anthony Giddens	Social Class and Distinctions (Spatial Separation and Division in a Class Society)	Social
Yankell Fiallkuf	Social Distance	Social
Chicago School	Competition, Dominance, Social and Economic Status, Inequality, and Lack of Social and Economic Balance and Harmony.	Social, Economic and Political
Neo-ecology approach	Social Class	Social
George Simmel	Social Separation (Division of Labor), Social Dignity, Occupation, Lifestyle, and Social Origin.	Social and Cultural
David Harvey	Different Access to the Rare Resources to Capture the Market Capacity, Social Structure, Social Relations.	Economic and Social
Frank Parkin	Power, Dominance, Competition for Resources, Social Obstruction, (Education and Wealth)	Economic, Social and Political
Greenstein et al.	Security, Globalization, Racial Group, Religious Group, Economic Class, Culture.	Social, Economic and Cultural
Cary Peach	Social Trust, Homogenous Spatial Theory, and Multi-culturalism Model, Wealth, Economy, Personal Choice.	Economic, Social, Cultural and Political
Harris and Ullman	Different Housing Systems Based on Different Occupational Regions.	Economic
Rick Grannis	Communication Network, Access, Adjacency, Land Value, and Distinction.	Physical and Economic
Jane Jacobs	Road Network, Physical Barriers, Highways.	Physical
Fredrick Olmsted	Lack or Having Urban Beautification and Urban Public Space.	Physical
Ebenezer Howard	Affordable Housing for the Labor Class.	Economic

Theorist	Sub-Factor (Factors Causing the Segregation)	Factor
Ernest Burgess	Typology of Housing Based on People's Income (Im-proving the Place Based on Improving Economic Con-ditions)	Economic
Neo-Weberian Approach	Different Access of Dignity Groups to the Housing Market, The Functional Role of Government, and Lack of Urban Management.	Political and Economic
Sako Musterd	Ethnic Issues, Deprivation, Unemployment Issues, Ed-ucational Injustice, And Political Approach of the Government.	Economic, Cultural and Political
Henri Lefebvre	Global Economy, Social Organization, Social Relations, Capital, Land and Real Estate.	Social and Economic

(Adopted from Jaliliasdrabad et al., 2018b)

Table 2. Frequency of Subjects and the Considered Factors in the Segregation Theories

Factor	Sub-Factor (Stated in Theory)	Frequency	Percentage	Total Percentage
Economic	Economic Class	5	5.8%	39.5%
	Economic Function and Structure	5	5.8%	
	Housing Relations	5	5.8%	
	Competition for Resources	5	5.8%	
	Occupation and Profession	4	4.6%	
	Distribution of Resources and Facilities	4	4.6%	
	Capital	3	3.5%	
	Land Value and Real Estate	2	3.5%	
	Wealth	1	1.16%	
	Power	1	1.16%	
Political and Management	Power	5	5.8%	12.8%
	Political and Managerial Affairs of the Government	4	4.6%	
	Dominance	1	1.16%	
	Parties	1	1.16%	
	Parties	1	1.16%	
Social	Social Class	8	9.3%	26.7%
	Social Dignity and Situation	4	4.6%	
	Social Distance	3	3.5%	
	Social Obstruction	2	3.5%	
	Social Trust and Security	2	3.5%	
	Social Separation	1	1.16%	
	Social Interactions	1	1.16%	
	Social Relations	1	1.16%	
	Social Stratum	1	1.16%	
	Social Stratum	1	1.16%	
Cultural	Cultural Interactions	2	3.5%	12.8%
	Change in the Family and Lifestyle	2	3.5%	
	Educational Affairs and Education	2	3.5%	
	Personal Choice	1	1.16%	
	Manual Force	1	1.16%	
Cultural	Race	1	1.16%	1.16%
	Ethnicity	1	1.16%	
	Religion	1	1.16%	
Physical	Communication Network	2	3.5%	8.2%
	Highways	1	1.16%	
	Access and Adjacency	1	1.16%	
	Physical Barriers	1	1.16%	
	Urban Beautification	1	1.16%	
	Urban Public Space	1	1.16%	

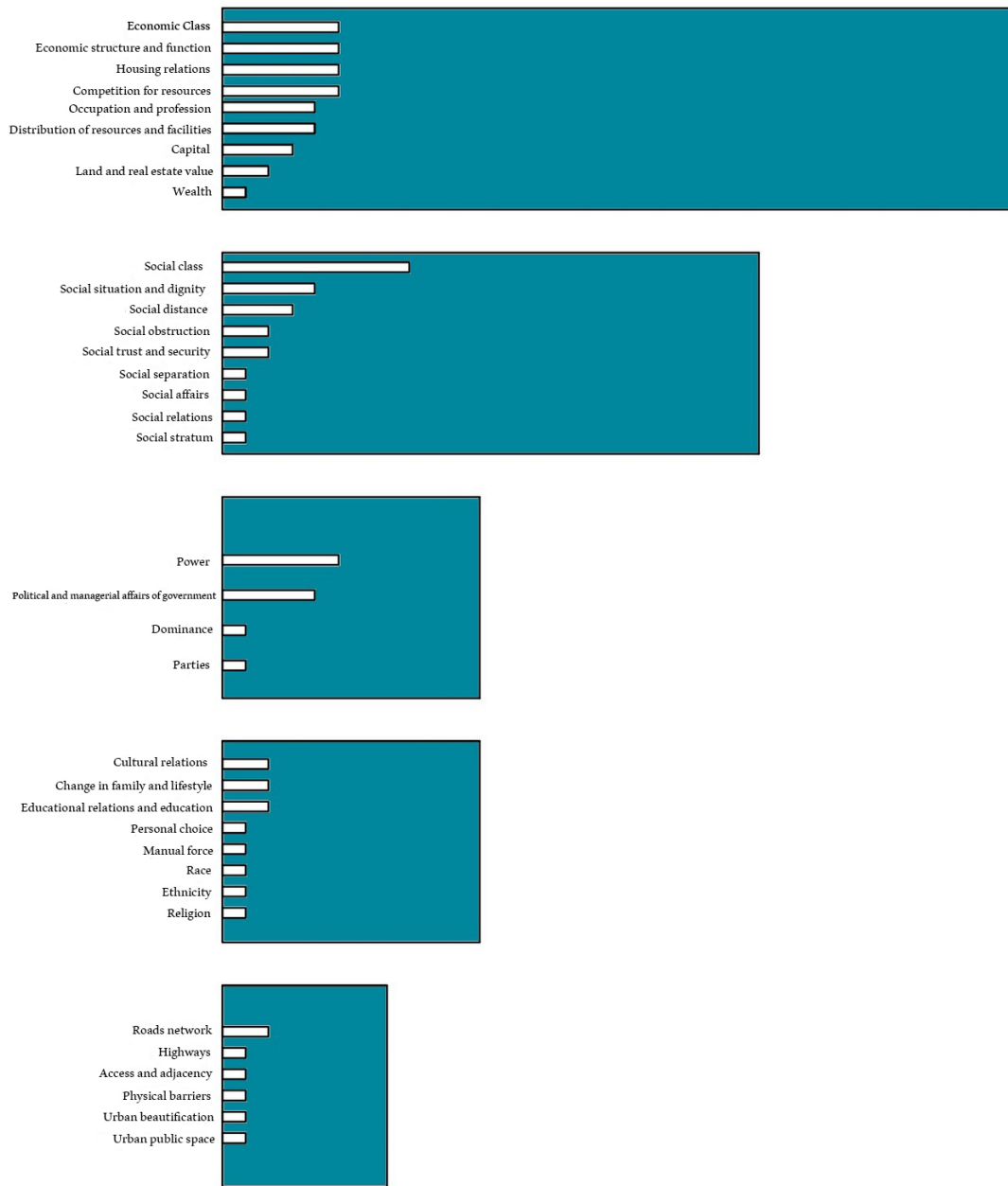


Fig. 2. Frequency Percentage of the Factors and Subjects Considered in the Segregation Theories

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

By investigating the conducted studies, it can be said that segregation is a broad concept studied with various approaches. Segregation can occur voluntarily and compulsorily. It can be known as the human groups' concentration in various urban regions because of the different function of forces, such as urban management, politics, economy, society, and culture. In the opinions studied in the present study, each of the theorists or schools influenced by their approach introduced various causing segregation. Moreover, in the conducted studies, based on the opinions of different groups and people, it can be seen that economic, social,

physical, urban management, and political factors had the most impact on the social-spatial segregation. In this regard, the economic and social factors have the most frequency and priority in the theories above, and the physical factor has the minimum impact. Among all the sub-criteria, the social class has the maximum frequency, formed by the economic factors. Among the sub-criteria of the economic factors, economic, class, access to the resources, and occupations and housing relations have the maximum frequency, all of which are the social class's constituent factors. Two factors of managerial-political and cultural factors are placed in the middle rank in terms of frequency. Cultural factor has had a fewer impact over time in

comparison with the past. However, it was considered the most significant factor causing the segregation in the traditional cities of the past. The physical factor also has the minimum frequency among the theories and, it must be mentioned that this factor is seriously addressed in the modern and newer theories. Although it has the minimum frequency among the theories, it seems that it has had a considerable impact on today's cities and will have a more prominent presence in new theories. By studying the historical course of the theories, this issue can be better understood. That is to say, the theories were first only focused on the economic factors (income), social-cultural factors (social class and ethnicity), and physical factors. However, over time, the impact of the political factors (i.e., political

approach of the government) and urban management (i.e., large-scale urban projects and housing, and so on) were also studied in these theories. While some physical barriers, such as rivers, are the natural features of the environment, other cases, such as highway system and railways, are the products created by the government actors and led to the separation of these regions. Therefore, the physical barriers in the cities, such as road networks, are the powerful forces that increase or cause urban segregation and limit access to urban resources, leading to a type of injustice. The more the power and intensity of these barriers, such as isolated road networks and irrelevant to their surrounding environment such as railways, the more the physical and social segregation will be.

END NOTE

1. Which is also called labeling. Many of the criminologists find the traces of the labeling theory in the *Crime and Society* (1938) written by Frank Tannenbaum. He believed that when someone is arrested as a criminal, this label makes people react to that label than the person in addition that it changes the image of the individual from himself. However, this idea of Tannenbaum was not titled as labeling until in 1963, Howard Becker, faculty of Chicago university, updated the opinion of Tannenbaum and presented the theory of Labeling or Stigmatization.

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