with groups. However, neither of the two methods result in a convincing attempt to move from the particular to the general, even though this method does have the merit of making it an academic text accessible to non-specialist audiences.

The last part of the book, dedicated to specific case studies, is interesting and a pleasure to read. Nonetheless, these parts are not exempt from the points of criticism highlighted above. The author's first-person experiences remain an incomplete attempt to relate a dense theoretical formulation to the direct experience of the writer. The application of an ethnographic approach within a city or a neighbourhood [e.g. Bourgois 2003] would probably have been more appropriate. In the part of the book dedicated to Jerusalem (chapter 7), Enos seems to focus in a somewhat claustrophobic way on social geography, which is immediately visible in a city delimited by a real wall. Even in a work focused on social geography the historical events that led to this socio-political situation should not just be mentioned as though they were of secondary importance. The complexity of this situation deserved greater attention in a work of a different nature like this. Similarly, when discussing Los Angeles (chapter 8), the categories to which Enos refers (politics, segregation, inter-ethnic tensions) reflect a narrow reading of the situation: the reduction to the problem of the vote expressed by the various social groups trivialises the problem of a city that has been affected for decades by different ideas about development and the management of diversity [see, e.g., Davis 1990]. In sum, this is a book that, in some ways, occupies the middle ground between psychology and sociology, but seems unable to open up a field of research in its own right because it neglects some important elements of analysis.

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Space as a Determinant Not Just of Geography But Also of Social and Political Life

What happens when different groups of people share towns, cities, and countries and yet they remain physically and psychologically apart? In *The Space between Us: Social Geography and Politics* Ryan Enos, in an innovative way, challenges the traditional definition of distance and argues that the space between us affects the way we think and behave, and it structures our politics (p. 5). He addresses one of the most discussed political trends of the moment: the increasing electoral support for political parties that oppose immigration. His aim is to understand '... why this xenophobia takes hold' (p. 4). He suggests that when an outgroup is large and close enough to be noticeable, but remains separated in segregated neighbourhoods, it widens the psychological distance between groups.

Enos puts forward his own theory of socio-geographic impact (pp. 11–12), which he summarises in chapter 1. He theorises that: (a) categorising people into groups (including oneself) is a basic cognitive process, and one that deeply affects behaviour and attitudes; (b) the salience of group categories is influenced by human geography; (c) three geographic conditions in particular alter the salience of groups: the size, proximity, and segregation of outgroups; (d) when the salience of an outgroup in-

creases, so does outgroup bias; (e) and this has political consequences.

The psychological mechanisms that explain how and why individuals categorise people into groups are mainly described in chapter 3. Drawing upon studies from psychology, Enos starts by asserting that the process of categorising is essential for human survival. It enables our mind to recognise signs of danger and to understand our surroundings. The process of categorising is parallel to stereotyping: we categorise oranges as fruit and stereotype fruit as sweet and edible (p. 53). It follows that when humans categorise themselves and others into groups, they simultaneously attribute stereotypes to the members of that group (p. 56). The salience of each of these categories, Enos argues, is affected by social geography and by three geographic factors in particular: size, proximity, and segregation. His argument is supported by self-categorisation theory, which postulates that accessibility and comparative fit increase the salience of a category. In Enos's theory, segregation increases the comparative fit of a group category (whatever characteristic makes that outgroup look homogeneous becomes more salient) and size and proximity increase the category's accessibility (make it noticeable).

The author refers to studies in psychology to support his final claim that the salience of the group's category is positively related to outgroup bias, because it increases the perception of intergroup difference (which he calls psychological distance). In the author's ingenious and eloquent figure of speech: 'Space ... [is] a demagogue whispering in our ear about what is important and how different Us is from Them. This demagogue – in our mind's eye – drives Us and Them further apart.' (p. 72)

Even though these psychological processes are only parsimoniously explained (which the author also acknowledges), the oversimplification of some of the arguments is an advantage rather than a weak-

ness. This makes the book accessible to many audiences and it gives the arguments an intuitive appeal. Furthermore, the rare schematic scientific explanations are offset by the author's meticulous empirical work. Enos supports every single aspect of his theory with empirical evidence on different scales and across multiple locations. He uses a multitude of methods to examine different dimensions of the same phenomenon, each aiming to overcome the weaknesses of the other.

In chapter 2, the author compares the effect of social geography across various locations in the United States in order to demonstrate that there is a positive relationship between the number and segregation of Black residents and outgroup bias. Looking across locations with varying levels of segregation, he examines the effect of social geography on outgroup bias (describing African Americans as lazy or unintelligent and searching for the word 'nigger') and voting behaviour (support for Obama and voter turnout).

To examine the micro-processes of the socio-geographic impact, the author conducts a series of laboratory experiments (chapter 4). In total, he conducts 7 laboratory experiments, each in order to explore a different psychological mechanism: the human capacity of associating groups with space, the effect of segregation on categorisation, ingroup exclusion, outgroup bias, and costly behaviour. Some of the laboratory experiments are variations of well-established experiments in the social sciences such as the Dictator game and Tajfel's experiments. Others are truly original. Among these, an experiment that particularly stands out is the one Enos conducted with Celaya, in which they mimicked segregated neighbourhoods at a '...nineteenth-century brick classroom building at Harvard' to observe the effect on the psychological distance of participants.

To understand how social geography works in real-life scenarios, Enos conducts

a field-randomised experiment (chapter 5) and a natural experiment (chapter 6). These are the most ingenious and original designs in the book. The field-randomised experiment takes place in homogeneous Anglo-White communities in the suburbs of Boston. Enos hires two Spanish-speaking confederates to ride randomly selected commuter trains for a period of days. The commuters on those trains were invited to complete a web survey about exclusionary policies towards immigrants before and after being exposed to the new Spanish-speaking passengers. Enos finds that exposure to the confederates led to a significant shift towards exclusionary attitudes. The findings are staggering, but their generalisability is nonetheless limited because of the localised and short-term nature of the experiment. These weaknesses are immediately addressed in the following chapter, which presents the findings of a natural experiment conducted in Chicago. Between 2000 and 2004, 12 housing projects were demolished in Chicago, most of which had housed African-American families. Several of these buildings were near white neighbourhoods. Unlike the white commuters in Boston, these white residents were exposed to a large and segregated Black community for a long time. Enos takes advantage of this unique situation to observe the effect of the displacement of Black Americans on the political behaviour of their white neighbours – which was that their voter turnout decreased and they were more likely to vote Democrat.

Throughout the book, the author's ambition is clear: he claims that his theory is universal and applicable to different places and on different scales. Even though most of his research is set in the United States, chapter 7 is dedicated to Israel. Here, Enos presents the observational study he conducted with Noam Gidron in Israel. The study consists of lab-in-the-field experiments (in non-randomised contexts) that assess the effect of social geography on the

willingness to cooperate between Orthodox and Secular Jews in Tel Aviv (where there is low segregation and a small proportion of the outgroup) and Jerusalem (where there is high segregation and a high proportion of outgroups). He finds the same patterns he had observed in the United States – that the proximity of a largely segregated outgroup increases outgroup bias – and concludes that his theory applies everywhere.

In chapter 8, the author drives us to Los Angeles, where he observes the impact of social geography in the relationship between Blacks and Latinos. Enos remarks that social geography might affect low-status groups differently. When he finds similar patterns in the voting behaviour and outgroup bias of low-status communities, he concludes, once again, that his theory is universal.

The book ends with predictions for the future of American cities. Enos takes us to the last destination – Phoenix, 'a city that, by many indications, represents the future of social-geographic growth and change in the United States' (p. 229). It is also a city marked by anti-immigrant politics, where Anglo-Whites and an increasing number of Latinos live near each other yet are profoundly separated, And a polycentric car-based city, where intergroup contact is reduced. The author asks, 'As Americans, both natives and immigrants, move to Phoenix and other such cities and as Latinos spread into more and more of the United States, will the space between us shrink, grow, or remain static?' (p. 229) The last pages offer one policy recommendation: only policies that reduce residential segregation can diminish the space between us!

This book makes an original contribution to the currently heated debates on immigration and right-wing politics. The relationship between immigration and anti-immigrant politics has been established in the literature, but in this book, Enos takes a step further and attempts to explain why

this connection exists. The author suggests that the culprit is not immigration *per se*, but the residential patterns that result from it. Negative attitudes and behaviours are fostered by the combination of the size-proximity-segregation of the outgroup. The theory of socio-geographic impact contributes to advancing knowledge in political sociology, human geography, and psychology. Enos often refers to Allport [1954] and Key [1949], whose theories are often presented as contradictory (p. 48). Allport theorised that, under optimal conditions, intergroup contact reduces bias, and Key found that, in 1948, white voters were more likely to support segregationist politicians in areas where there was a higher proportion of Blacks. Enos theory builds a bridge between the two theories, by arguing that intergroup contact will only reduce bias if segregation does not exist. When segregation is in place, the presence of a large group will, as Key demonstrated, have the opposite effect.

Space and distance are central concepts in this book, which gain a much broader meaning. In Enos's framework, space refers to more than geography – it can also be social, political, and psychological. Despite its complexity, Enos's new conceptual framework is easy to grasp because his words make it intuitive. As he writes, '... spatial metaphors infuse our language so that non-spatial relationships are structured using the same spatial logic: friends and allies are judged as "close" or not; political ideologies are aligned "left" to "right"; our feelings and attentions can be "distant"' (p. 63). Each chapter brings the reader to a new destination, where she is pressed to reflect on different aspects of her own social context. The examples offered by Enos are so ordinary that they push the readers to verify the author's theory based on their own experience.

Enos's research designs (in particular his experiments in Boston and Chicago) are remarkably well-crafted; yet he is cau-

tious not to make absolutist arguments. Each chapter explores a different method and a different city and scale. They are each pieces of a complex puzzle that, put together, unveil a theory that is meant to apply universally. The only potential weakness of the book concerns this last point. Even though I am convinced by Enos's arguments, I believe that conducting studies in the United States and Israel is not enough to assert its universality, especially since Israel and the United States share many characteristics – they are both rich countries, with liberal welfare states and a long history of immigration. Would it apply to countries with different political regimes, welfare states, or resources? Evidence from the United States and Israel is not enough to answer this question.

Nevertheless, this is a book fit for many audiences. It is a must-read for those interested in urban politics, migration studies, and public policy. Some passages of the book will be of particular interest to young social scientists, since Enos shares research tips, introduces the fundamental problem of causal inference, and discusses the weaknesses and strengths of different methods. The book is enriched with Enos's personal experiences and thoughts. The author shares with readers the context in which he grew up, the events that triggered these puzzles, and even how enthusiastic he was to find answers that no one had before. His excitement and passion for his work are clear on every page of this book, and the reader cannot help but be infused with the author's enthusiasm.

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