

The Ghetto and the Ethnic Enclave

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THE GHETTO AND THE ETHNIC ENCLAVE

CERI PEACH

This paper is a piece of intellectual archaeology, but it has a potent message for our current understanding of segregation. The key point is that there is a major difference between the ghetto and the ethnic enclave. However, American sociology for a long time failed to make this distinction and worse still linked the ghetto to the enclave to the suburb as three spatial stops on the inevitable process of ethnic assimilation. The problem of intellectual archaeology is to separate (1) theory and methodology on the one hand from (2) models and application on the other. The theory and methodology developed in the literature are correct; the model of application has been far too restrictive.

The central theory in the study of the spatial patterns of ethnic residential segregation is that there is a direct relationship between the social process of assimilation and the spatial pattern of dispersal (Park, 1926; Duncan and Lieberson, 1959; Peach, 1975; Massey, 1984). This view is, I believe correct. The problem is that assimilation is not the only model for ethnic accommodation and integration.

However, taking the theory first, seventy five years ago, Robert Park argued :

'It is because social relations are so frequently and so inevitably correlated with spatial relations; because physical distances, so frequently are, or seem to be, the indexes of social distances, that statistics have any meaning whatsoever for sociology' (Park, 1926, 18).

From this observation developed one of the most fruitful theories of the Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s and one of the few examples of cumulative social science. The theory equated the statistical levels of residential segregation of minority ethnic populations to their levels of assimilation to the wider society. High levels of segregation were equated with non-assimilation; low levels with high levels of assimilation.

The key process involved was social interaction; cultural behavior was modified according whether one interacted more with one's own ethnic group or with the charter population. This interaction was controlled by proximity to, and intermingling with, the respective groups. Residential isolation was hypothesized to minimize social interaction with outsiders while promoting social interaction within the group. Within-group interaction was hypothesized to reinforce the group's identity, language maintenance and in-marriage.

Interpretation and Operationalization

Although the general proposition of the relationship between residential segregation and social assimilation was clear, there were problems of operationalization. Assimilation,

was difficult to define. Books were written on the topic (for example, Gordon, 1964). However, Lieberman (1963) provides us with a helpful definition: ‘assimilation has taken place when it is no longer possible to predict anything about an individual or a group on the basis of their ethnic origins than it is for any member of the population as a whole.

Operationalization meant taking multidimensional comparisons of the minority population in relation to the target of the core society. Structural assimilation, or the large scale entry into prime group (close friendship circles) of the core society was regarded by Gordon, as the key step (Gordon, 1964, 81). Thereafter, intermarriage and other identificational changes were seen by Gordon to follow inevitably. Thus operationally, assimilation was treated as a multi-dimensional phenomenon and its progress was measured by examining longitudinal change of its many variables (Gordon, 1964). Acquisition of the English language, socio-economic status, out-marriage, citizenship were some of the variables examined.

Segregation also proved problematic to operationalize, largely because of the different ways in which it was conceptualized (Peach, 1981). Residential segregation is also a multidimensional phenomenon. A large number of different techniques, differing not only in mathematical formula but in conceptualization of segregation itself have been suggested (Peach, 1981). Massey and Denton (1993) have suggested a battery of five measures to measure what they have termed the hypersegregation of African Americans. However, a review paper by Duncan and Duncan (1955) effectively concentrated most subsequent work on the Index of Dissimilarity (ID). ID measures the percentage of a population which would have to shift its area of residence in order to replicate the distribution of the population with which it is being compared. ID is a measure of unevenness with similar characteristics and values to the economists’ Gini Index. Lieberman’s P* (Lieberman, 1981) a measure of isolation has also come into more general use since the 1980s. Unlike ID it is an asymmetric measure. It recognizes that the degree of exposure of a small group to a large group is different from the exposure of the large group to the small group. Unlike ID its use has tended to be descriptive rather than analytical in correlation regressions.

Segregation and Interaction

Duncan and Lieberman demonstrated for Chicago in the 1930s and 1950s that there was an inverse relationship between the level of segregation of foreign national groups and the percent of the group able to speak English. They also showed that high degrees of out-marriage correlated with low levels of segregation (Duncan and Lieberman, 1959; Lieberman, 1963, 156-8). Their argument was taken further by Peach (1980a; 1980b) who demonstrated that Kennedy’s (1944; 1952) triple melting pot (Protestants, Catholics and Jews) in New Haven Connecticut did not exist. The Irish Poles and Italians in the supposed Catholic melting pot were all highly segregated from each other. Intermarriage rates between these groups were lower than statistically expected while Irish intermarriage with the (‘Protestant’) British, Germans and Scandinavians, from whom they had low levels of segregation, were higher than statistically expected. Residential segregation was the clearest predictor of group intermarriage.

Thus, residential mixing was hypothesized as the key to social interaction. If residential mixing is limited to one’s own ethnic group, then the values and taken-for-granted nature

of the group's beliefs will be reinforced. If mixing takes place with outsiders, then taken-for-granted values, language and expected marriage partner choice is likely to become modified. Residential mixing is a necessary but not sufficient condition for social interaction. However, where residential mixing takes place, it is likely to promote social interaction.

The hypothesis formed itself into what we may conceive of as a simple three stage cycle. The first generation of immigrants clustered together in high concentrations and high segregation in the central city. There they were unassimilated, few spoke English; overwhelmingly they married their own ethnic group. The second generation moved a little away from their inner city port of entry; they were less segregated; a higher proportion spoke English; a greater proportion married out. The third generation suburbanized, spoke English and intermarried fully. They were assimilated.

But Assimilation is not the only Model

However, one should not assume that assimilation was the desired outcome for all groups. On the one hand, social assimilation is enhanced by residential dispersal, while on the other hand, residential segregation has the opposite effect. Therefore, a group wishing assimilate will tend to disperse, whilst for a group wishing to maintain its ethnic identity, clustering is an important strategy. It is also true that a group that disperses tends to assimilate whether or not the group as a whole is in favor of assimilation or not.

There are thus two basic ways in which minorities are accommodated into a wider society: assimilation and integration. *Assimilation* argues for the disappearance of difference either through conforming to a dominant structure (as in Anglo conformism) or through merging (as in the melting pot). *Integration or Plurality or Multiculturalism* means accommodation while maintaining a separate identity. Integration is often economic while maintaining social closure.

The two models will thus be expected to produce different spatial outcomes. Assimilation requires spatial diffusion. The minority and majority become socially and residentially intermixed. Multiculturalism or integration (as opposed to assimilation) posits a plural society in which social encapsulation and residential concentrations and separation, through higher degrees of segregation, remain.

Not all Plurality is Voluntary

However, the ghetto model may come about from totally different causes. It may be either voluntarily embraced or negatively enforced (Boal, 1981). A hegemonic group wishing to separate itself from its perceived inferiors will attempt to enforce segregation upon the lower group (Massey and Denton, 1993; Lemon, 1991).

There are therefore two diametrically different reasons for ethnic segregation. Ethnic segregation may be either voluntarily adopted as a strategy for group survival or else it may be negatively imposed upon a weaker group.

While there are two different models of accommodation, key points of the interpretation of the levels of social integration represented by the degree of spatial segregation of groups from one another remain the same. Low levels of segregation indicate high degrees of social interaction; high levels of segregation represent low degree of social interaction. Thus interpreting the probable outcomes of given levels of segregation, it is not critical to know whether those levels are the net result of positive or negative forces.

The Problem with the Chicago School

The central problem with the Chicago School was that while it correctly conceptualized the relationship between spatial pattern and social process, it failed to recognize that the unidirectional transition from the highly concentrated inner city to suburban dispersal was not an inevitable process nor was it the only process. The Chicago School did not distinguish between the melting pot and the mosaic. They did not distinguish between the assimilationist and the pluralistic models. They did not distinguish between the ghetto and the enclave. The ghetto and the immigrant colony were conceptualized as interchangeable terms.

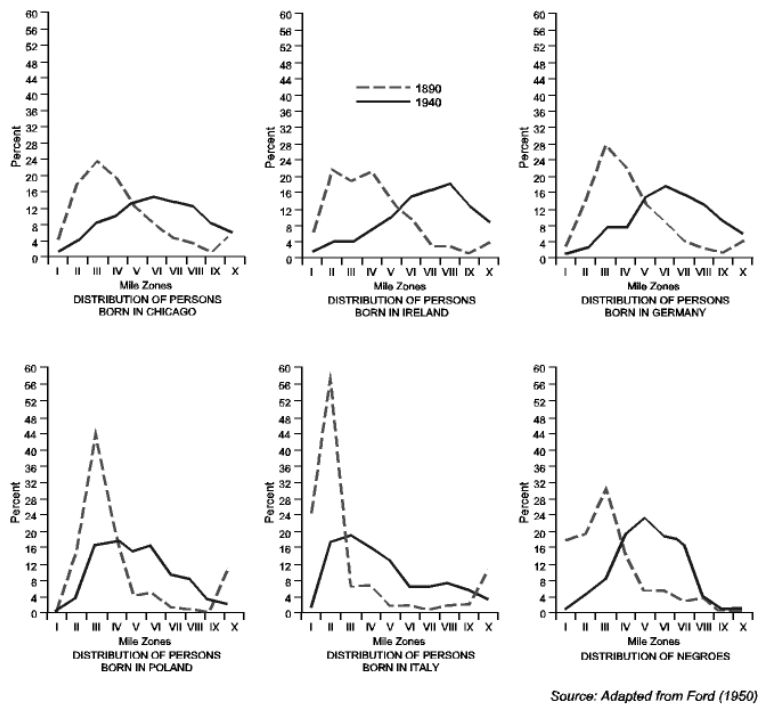
'The Chinatowns, the Little Sicilies, and the other so-called "ghettos" with which students of urban life are familiar are special types of a more general species of natural area which the conditions and tendencies of city life inevitably produce' (Park, 1926, 9). 'the keener, the more energetic and the more ambitious very soon emerge from their ghettos and immigrant colonies and move into an area of second immigrant settlement, or perhaps into a cosmopolitan area in which the members of several immigrant and racial groups live side by side' (Park, 1926, 9).

Worse still, not only did the Chicago School fail to distinguish between the ghetto and the enclave, but it believed that the ghetto was a stage within the melting pot model. It saw the ghetto as the first stage of three generational progression of (1) ghetto, (2) enclave, (3) suburb. In this fundamental misunderstanding the Chicago School falsified the ethnic history of long settled groups, misunderstood the processes affecting African Americans and mis-forecast their future in American cities.

For the Chicago School, the terms 'ghetto' and 'enclave' were not problematized. Furthermore, it was assumed that the outward movement of minority ethnic populations away from the inner city equated to dispersal. A series of researchers in the lower foothills of the Chicago School, busied themselves demonstrating the unstoppable outward diffusion of minority groups from their inner city segregated ports of entry to their inevitable suburban diffusion (Cressey, 1938; Ford, 1950; Kiang, 1968). However, while they demonstrated the progressive shift of the center of gravity of ethnic groups away from the CBD over time, in the case of African Americans, outward movement did not always equate to dispersal. The ghetto moved out with them like the tongue of a glacier.

Diagrammatically it could be rendered thus (figure 1) :

Figure 1 Outward Movement of Minority groups, Chicago, 1890-1914

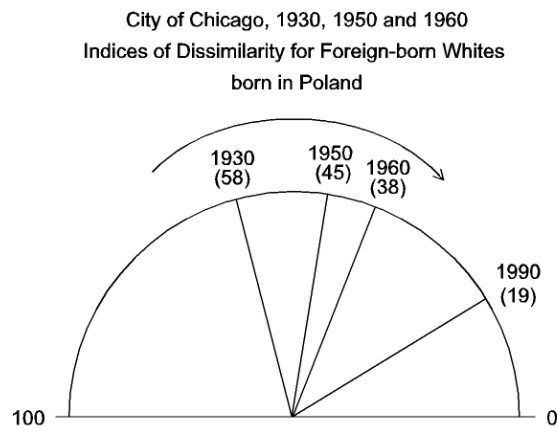
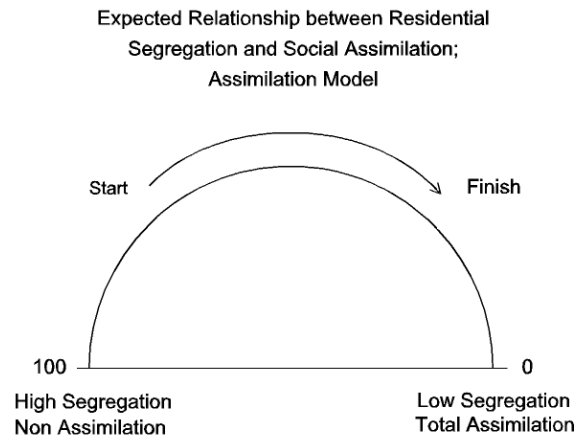


Transects showing the zonal distribution of Minority Groups in the city of Chicago, 1890-1940

Source : Ford, 1950

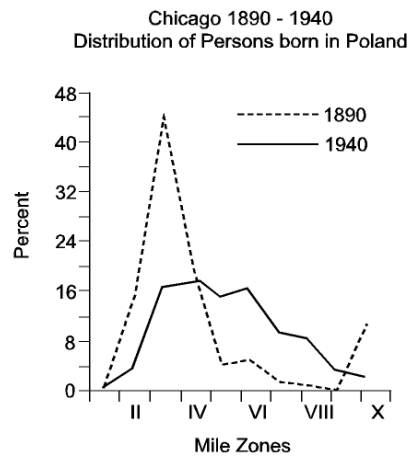
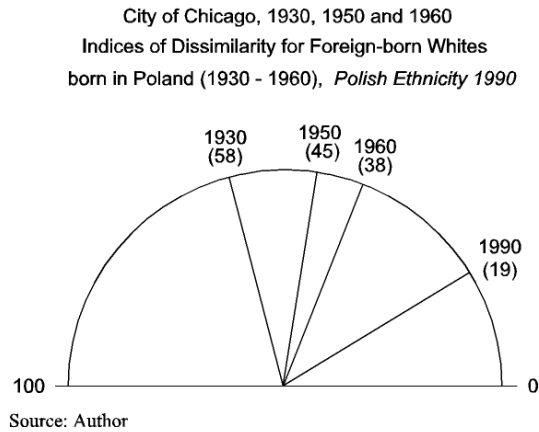
The expected relationship between segregation, measured by the Index of Dissimilarity and the degree of assimilation can be represented diagrammatically in this way (figure 2).

Figure 2: Hypothesized Relationship between Segregation (Index of Dissimilarity) and Assimilation over Time



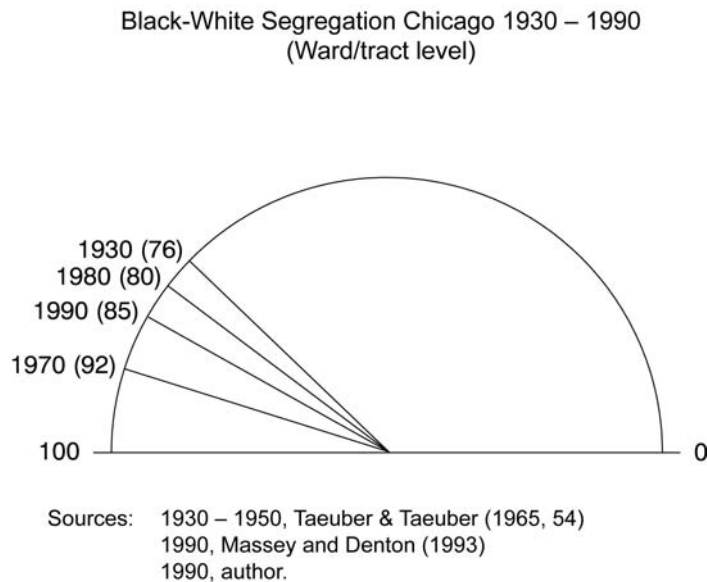
The relationship of segregation to outward movement can be shown thus (Figure 3):

Figure 3: Hypothesized Relationship between decreases in segregation and Group outward movement from inner cities



However, for the African American population, the level of segregation remained obstinately fixed on the high side of the assimilation diagram, even when the center of gravity of the group showed movement away from the central city (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Failure of the African American levels of Segregation (ID) to Decrease over time, Chicago, 1930-1990



The Flaws of the Three generational Model

While the basic hypothesis of the equation of high segregation with non-assimilation remains valid, interpretations of the model were flawed by the mistaken belief that the hypothesis had universal validity, that all groups would conform to this three generational cycle. Even in the 1950s it was confidently declared by the Head of the Chicago School, Philip Hauser, that African Americans would inevitably follow this model.

The Negro migrant to the city will, without question, follow the same pattern of mobility blazed by the successive waves of immigrants who settled our central cities. Just as the immigrant underwent a process of 'Americanization' the in-migrant Negro is undergoing a process of 'urbanization'. The Negro is already rising and will continue to rise on the social-economic scale as measured by education, occupation, income and the amenities of urban existence. Furthermore, the Negro, in time, will diffuse through the metropolitan area and occupy outlying suburban as well as central city areas (Hauser, 1958,65).

This view was deeply mistaken. It equated upward mobility with spatial diffusion. It regarded the process of ghetto formation and dispersal as the same as the three generation process of other immigrant groups. It regarded time as the independent variable for ghetto dissolution. It was wrong on all counts.

In reality, the African American ghetto was different in kind from the ethnic enclave of the European and other ethnics. Park's casual equation of

Chinatowns, Little Sicilies and other so-called “ghettos” with the black ghetto (Park, 1926, 9) was deeply flawed. The black ghetto was dually segregated; nearly all urban African Americans lived in such areas; almost the whole population in such areas was black. The enclaves, on the other hand, were dually dilute. Only a minority of ethnic lived in areas which were associated with them. Very rarely did they form even a majority of the population of what were supposedly ‘their’ areas. Thomas Philpott’s (1978) book *The Slum and the Ghetto*, hammered the point home Table 1).

Table 1 'Ghettoization ' of Ethnic Groups, Chicago, 1930

Group	Group's City Population	Group's 'Ghetto' Population	Total 'Ghetto' Population	Percentage of group 'Ghettoized'	Group's percentage 'Ghetto' Population
Irish	169,568	4,993	14,595	2.9	33.8
German	377,975	53,821	169,649	14.2	31.7
Swedish	140,913	21,581	88,749	15.3	24.3
Russian	169,736	63,416	149,208	37.4	42.5
Czech	122,089	53,301	169,550	43.7	31.4
Italian	181,861	90,407	195,736	49.7	46.2
Polish	401,316	248,024	457,146	61.0	54.3
Negro	233,903	216,846	266,051	92.7	81.5

Source : Philpott (1978,141, table 7)

It can be seen that while 92.7 per cent of the black population lived in the black ghetto and the African American population formed 81.5 per cent of the population of the black ghetto, only 3 per cent of the Irish lived in Irish areas and they formed only one third of the population of Irish areas. The two most concentrated white groups were the Italians and the Poles. Just under half of the Italians lived in Italian areas and they formed just under half of the population of Italian areas. The Poles were a little more concentrated : 61 per cent lived in Polish areas and they formed just over half of the population of Polish areas.

However, even these levels of concentration were different in *kind* rather than different in *degree* from the situation of African Americans. All the European minorities lived in mixed areas. Hardly any of the blacks did. While white ethnic enclaves dissolved over time, black ghettos intensified and expanded territorially in a compact form. Even in 1990, the massive concentration of the African American population into black areas of Chicago continued (table 2). Two thirds of the African American population were living in areas which were 90 per cent or more black; 82 per cent were in areas that were 50 per cent or more black.

Table 2 : Percentage of the African American Population of Chicago PMSA, living in tracts of a given black percentage, 1990

Black Percentage of Tract	Black Population living in such tracts	Percentage of the total Black Population of Chicago in such tracts
100 per cent	111804	8.4
99 per cent or more	381347	28.7
90 per cent or more	884725	66.5
50 per cent or more	1,087,600	81.7
30 per cent or more	1,163,969	87.5
Total Black Population	1,330,636	

Source : Based on data from GeoLytics CensusCD+Maps US Census 1990 data

If one compares the Chicago situation in 1930 and 1990 with London in 1991 (table 3) the difference in kind rather than degree between the situation of blacks in the US and Britain is vividly illustrated. The column heading 'Percentage of Group Ghettoised' simply copies Philpott's category, but refers to the proportion of a group living in areas arbitrarily defined as those where they form 30% + of an enumeration district (block).

Table32 : 'Ghettoisation' of Ethnic Groups at ED level in Greater London 30 per cent cutoff

GROUP	Group's City Population	Group's 'Ghetto' Population	Total 'Ghetto' Population	Percentage of group 'ghettoised'	Group's percentage of 'ghetto' population
Non-white	1346119	721873	1589476	53.6	45.4
Black Caribbean	290968	7755	22545	2.6	34.4
Black African	163635	3176	8899	2.0	35.6
Black Other	80613				
Indian	347091	88887	202135	25.6	44.0
Pakistani	87816	1182	3359	1.4	35.2
Bangladeshi	85738	28280	55500	33.0	51.0
Chinese	56579	38	111	0.0	34.2
Other Asian	112807	176	572	0.2	30.8
Other Other	120872	209	530	0.2	39.4
Irish born	256470	1023	2574	0.4	39.8

Source : Peach, 1996

By failing to distinguish between the ghetto and the ethnic enclave, the two distinct phenomena were linked together as the first two stages of the three generational model: ghetto – enclave – suburb. From here it was an easy step to envisage groups occupying these three positions as occupying places on an escalator. Those at the bottom of the staircase, in the ghetto, were new arrivals; those at the top, in the suburbs had been on

the staircase longest and had reached their destination. Those who were half way up had previously been at the bottom and were now on their way to the top.

From this conceptualization, it became easy to see time/space substitutions in the three generational model. If, for the sake of argument, the Irish were suburbanized and the Poles were still in an enclave and the African Americans in the ghetto, then it became possible to argue that a generation previously, the Irish were in the enclave and two generations ago, they were in the ghetto. The African-Americans and the Poles were envisaged as representing the first two stages of the Irish past. In the same way, the contemporarily suburbanized Irish, predicted the Polish future in the next generation and the African American future in two generations. This, after all was what Hauser (1958) was predicting. However, while the Polish/Irish time/space substitution was correct, the Irish future did not exist for the black population. Nor did the contemporaneously ghettoized black situation represent the Irish past. No other group had experienced the hypersegregation of the African Americans.

While Hauser in 1958 could confidently predict the inevitability of black diffusion and assimilation, seven years later the whole optimistic edifice collapsed with the publication of Karl and Alma Taeuber's book *Negroes in Cities* (1965). Using the first large scale availability of census block data from the 1960 census, the Taeubers demonstrated the overwhelming segregation of African Americans in American cities. On a scale from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation) the Taeubers showed that the mean segregation index was 86.2 for the 207 cities for which block level data were available in 1960. They showed that the index was high in all regions (1965, 37) that it was high irrespective of whether city populations were large or small, whether the non-white population was large or small, whether the non-white percentage was high or low. They showed that indexes had been high in the past and had remained high. Hauser's comforting expectation of decreasing segregation with time was a delusion.

The Taeubers also dealt a death blow to another American dream. This was that economic progress would dissolve racial segregation. Using Lieberman's (1963) technique of indirect standardization, they calculated how segregated the black population of Chicago would be from whites, if income differences were the only variable affecting their distribution. This is achieved by applying the percentage that African Americans form of each income band in the city population to the appropriate number of person in each income band in each tract in the city. For example, if blacks formed 10 per cent of the middle income group in Chicago, then 10 per cent of the middle income group would be expected to be black, wherever the middle income group lived and so forth. Having calculated the 'expected' distribution of black and white in the city, the degree of segregation between the two groups could be calculated and compared with the observed level of segregation. On this basis, the observed level of segregation in Chicago in 1960 was 83 and the 'expected' index was 10. In other words, only 10/83 or 12 per cent of the observed level of segregation could be attributed to differences in income (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1964). Blacks were segregated from whites whites because black, not because they were poorer than whites.

Subsequent work by Massey and Denton (1993, 86) showed that the intervening years since Taeuber and Taeuber's work (*pace* William Julius Wilson, 1978) had not produced a decline in the significance of race. Massey and Denton demonstrated that irrespective of income level, poor black were segregated from poor whites, middle income blacks

from middle income whites and rich blacks from rich whites by the same massive amounts, with indexes over 80 almost without exception (table 4).

Table 4: Segregation by income in thirty metropolitan areas with the largest black populations, 1970-1980

Metropolitan area	Income Category		
	Under \$2,500	\$25,000-\$27,500	\$50,000 +
Northern areas			
Boston	85.1	83.9	89.1
Buffalo	85.2	80.0	90.0
Chicago	91.1	85.8	86.3
Cincinnati	81.7	70.9	74.2
Cleveland	91.6	87.1	86.4
Columbus	80.3	74.6	83.4
Detroit	88.6	85.0	86.4
Gary-Hammond-E.Chicago	90.6	89.5	90.9
Indianapolis	80.8	76.6	80.0
Kansas City	86.1	79.3	84.2
Los Angeles-Long Beach	85.4	79.8	78.9
Milwaukee	91.3	87.9	86.3
New York	86.2	81.2	78.6
Newark	85.8	79.0	77.5
Philadelphia	84.9	78.6	81.9
Pittsburgh	82.1	80.6	87.9
St. Louis	87.3	78.4	83.2
San Francisco-Oakland	79.9	73.7	72.1
Average	85.8	80.7	83.2
Southern Areas			
Atlanta	82.2	77.3	78.2
Baltimore	82.4	72.3	76.8
Birmingham	46.1	40.8	45.2
Dallas-Ft. Worth	83.1	74.4	82.4
Greensboro-Winston Salem	63.2	55.1	70.8
Houston	73.8	65.5	72.7
Memphis	73.8	66.8	69.8
Miami	81.6	78.4	76.5
New Orleans	75.8	63.1	77.8
Norfolk-Virginia Beach	70.1	63.3	72.4
Tampa-St. Petersburg	81.8	76.0	85.7
Washington, D. C.	79.2	67.0	65.4
Average	74.4	66.7	72.8

Source : Massey and Denton, 1993. Table 4.1, p 86

Thus we arrive at the realization that there is not one model of American minority integration but two: the assimilationist and the pluralist, the enclave and the ghetto. The great error has been to force the pluralist model of African American segregation into the assimilationist framework and to graft on the contemporary ghetto model onto the historical European settlement patterns in cities. The ghetto was different in kind; the ghetto was distinct from the ethnic enclave. We can summarize some of the differences (table 5)

Table 5: Summary of Differences between the African American Ghetto and the Ethnic Enclave

AFRICAN AMERICAN GHETTO	ETHNIC ENCLAVE
Dually segregated : Large majority of blacks are in it; large majority in it are black	Dually dilute: only a minority of the group are in it; they form only a minority of the population of the area associated with the group
Negative,	Positive,
Enforced	Voluntary
Expanding	Residual
Real	Symbolic
Threatening	Touristic
Permanent	Temporary

Is all high segregation for negative reasons ?

However, because the disproving of the universality of the Chicago School's three generational model was demonstrated through the example the African American ghetto, another error was created. This error was the belief that all high levels of segregation were produced by negative discrimination.

The reason for this belief is not hard to find. First, the expectation of decreasing levels of segregation over time led to the belief that high segregation was an early and primitive feature of minority settlement. Secondly, nearly all of the available examples of high segregation related to groups which were disadvantaged. Thirdly, the key minority group, the Jews, on whom the plural model of socioeconomic-progress-but-continuing-ethnic-segregation could be tested, were not counted in the US census as either a national origin group nor as an ethnic group. 'Russian-born' was treated by some analysts as a surrogate for Jewish origin (Lieberson and Waters, 1988, 10-11) but of course not all Jews were of Russian origin nor were all of Russian origin Jewish. Nathan Kantrowitz (1969) hinted at segregation as a viable strategy for groups that wished to maintain their ethnic identity, but in a fairly oblique way, arguing only that decreases in the level of European segregation in American cities should not be expected to continue for ever.

However, while US government identified the Jewish population as a religious rather than ethnic group and therefore desisted the census from enumerating them, the Canadian

census harbored no such delicacy. The Canadian census counts the Jewish population as both a religious and as an ethnic group. The levels of Jewish residential segregation in Canadian cities is markedly high (table 6). In terms of the index of dissimilarity, Jewish segregation is as high as African American segregation in American cities. In Toronto and Montreal, which in 1991 contained the two largest concentrations of the Jewish population of Canada, the IDs were 75 and 82 respectively. The Canadian Jewish population is extremely successful on a socio-economic scale and although anti semitism exists in Canada, there is no indication that the levels of Jewish segregation noted in the table are not the result of positive wishes for association (Darroch and Marston, 1972; Hiebert, 1995).

Table 6: Indices Of Dissimilarity For The Jewish Ethnic Population Of Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver And Winnipeg, 1991

	TORONTO	MONTREAL	VANCOUVER	WINNIPEG	CALGARY
JEWISH ID	75.0	81.9	56.8	71.6	58.2
Jewish % Pop	3.0	2.46	0.68	1.84	0.56
Jewish Pop	114,735	76,780	10,930	11,980	4,240
Total Pop	3,893,046	3,127,242	1,602,502	652,364	754,033

Source: author's calculation from StatsCanada data.

Perhaps, even more interesting about the Jewish patterns of segregation is the suggestion that it has come about accompanied not only by upward social mobility but by suburbanization as well.

However, the high indices of dissimilarity for the Jewish population in Toronto and Montreal are similar to those for African Americans south of the border, the Jewish population lives in enclaves rather than ghettos on the black model. The highest percentage that the religious Jewish population formed of any Toronto tract was 70 per cent in 1991 and only 2 per cent of the population lived there. Only a third of the Jewish population lived in areas in which they formed a majority of the tract population and all of these tracts held a mixed (ie non Jewish population) as well (table 7). In Montreal, the highest percentage which the Jewish religious population formed of any tract was 90 per cent. Like Toronto, a third of the Montreal religious Jewish population lived in tracts where they formed a majority of the population.

Table 7: Percentage of the Religious Jewish Population of Toronto living In tracts where they formed a given percentage of the population

Religious Jewish Population	Toronto	Jewish % of Toronto Population		
151,115	3,893,046		3.9	
70+	3135	2.1		
60-69	20470	13.5		
50-59	29300	19.4	50+	35.0
40-49	14955	9.9	40+	44.9

Calculated by the author from StatsCanada

In London, although we do not have ethnic census data, it is apparent from other sources that the Jewish population which originally settled in the working class East End at the end of the 19th century, suburbanized, notably to the north western outer fringes of the city during the 20th century, but remained concentrated (Newman, 1985 ; Waterman and Kosmin, 1986a, 1986b). Such patterns of ethnic pluralism may be referred to as relocating enclaves (see Figure 5).

There is also evidence from European experience that some affluent minority ethnic populations manifest high levels of segregation. Glebe's work on the Japanese in Düsseldorf (1986) and White's work on the Japanese in London (1998) both indicate ID s in the 70s. These groups differ, of course from settled minorities in that they are largely composed of sojourners who are seconded by their firms for a period of years. Such concentrations may be thought of as parachuted communities (see Figure 5)

Summary of Types of Enclaves and Ghettos

We may now summarize a variety of enclaves and ghettos in a diagram.

Model 1 is the traditional assimilation-diffusion model of the Chicago three generational schemas. This is the most widespread and general type. Settlement begins in the inner city; the second generation moves out a little and becomes more assimilated; the third generation is suburbanized diffused and totally assimilated. Even in its early days, the center is not the exclusive preserve of one group

Model 2 is the American Ghetto Model. It is involuntary and plural (non-assimilatory).It starts in the inner city, but with almost exclusive concentration of the minority. Nearly all blacks are in it; nearly all in it are black. It expands outwards in a segment shape over time, but remains dually exclusive

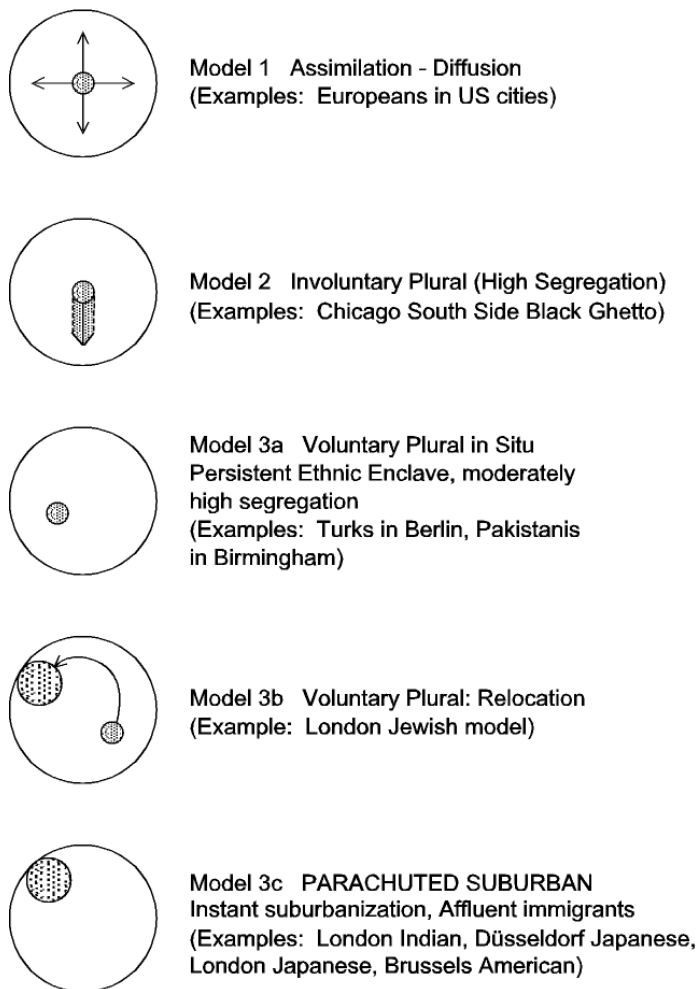
Model 3a is what we may call the voluntary plural, in situ, persistent enclave. It is the San Francisco or New York Chinatown model. A high proportion of the population of the areas may be of a given ethnic group, but the Chinese

population Chinatown population forms only a minority (often a small minority) of the total Chinese population of the city. It is a symbolic or touristic center. It is an institutional or market center. It may remain and persist over time, but it is not the exclusive center of the ethnic group.

Model 3b is the voluntary plural relocated model. The Jewish inner city location, which relocates *en masse* to the suburbs is the key exemplar. The London Jewish shift from the East End to the northwestern suburbs is the best studied example. Although segregation levels measured by the Index of Dissimilarity may be high, the areas are not the exclusive preserve of the Jewish population, but are mixed. Nor are all Jews living in such areas.

Model 3c is what I have termed the Parachuted Suburban model. These are concentrated areas of affluent often transitory sojourners. The Japanese in London and Düsseldorf or the Hong Kong Chinese in Vancouver are good examples.

Figure 5: Diagrammatic Representation of different spatial models of Assimilation and Multiculturalism



Discussion and Conclusion

The United States has had an unparalleled, successful history of assimilating minorities. Buoyed by this success, the theorization of this process has been cast into a single model, which I have characterized as the three generational model. However, it has ignored the Multicultural or plural model and worse still, tried to make this essentially contrasting model part of the assimilation model itself. Put crudely, the assimilation model is a brick-in-the-pond model. The group starts concentrated, segregated and unassimilated in the inner city; it speaks a foreign language; it marries its own kind; it is unassimilated. The second generation ripples out a little, mixes more with the charter group, learns English and begins to marry out. The third generation, replicates the socio-economic structure of the population as a whole; it speak English; it is highly intermarried. It is suburbanized and assimilated.

The theory states that there is a direct relationship between the degree of residential, spatial segregation and the degree of social distance: high spatial segregation, high social distance between groups; low segregation, low social distance (and high degree of social interaction, marriage etc).

The methodology of using the index of dissimilarity to measure the degrees of spatial segregation is correct. High indices of dissimilarity give an excellent and consistent measure of group social distances.

The problem lies in assuming that there is only one model. The single model argument is for an inevitable, unidirectional change from high to low segregation over time. This model does work for a large number of groups in a large number of situations. *But, it is not the only model.* The African American population does not fit into this model, nor does the Jewish population. For a long time, attempts were made to interpret the African American experience in terms of the single model when the evidence pointed in a totally different direction. Black segregation was high and remained high. The Jewish pattern escaped notice because the data were not collected in the US. But, if we can extrapolate Canadian experience, where such data exist, the Canadian data show an unmistakable pattern of high and long-lasting segregation. But Jewish concentration does not constitute a ghetto, but a voluntary enclave.

Because the US sociological analysis operated for so long on the single model, it had a massively distorting effect on both historical analysis and on contemporary policy. Historically, it was assumed that all groups were previously as segregated as the contemporary African American population. There was a mythological back-projection of current levels of black segregation onto the 19th century history of European immigration. The ghetto came to be seen as a *stage* through which *all immigrant groups* went. Hence the Chicago School references to 'Irish' ghettos, 'German' ghettos etc. Since there was only one model it was assumed that it was only a matter of time before

African Americans would diffuse through the urban system and assimilate like the Irish and Germans. This process for different groups was viewed as a time/space substitution, with old groups representing the future positions of new groups and new groups representing the past position of old groups.

However, the black ghetto was *different in kind* from the degree of segregation experienced by other groups. It was massively more concentrated and dually segregated : nearly all blacks were in the ghetto and nearly all of the ghetto population was black. The black ghetto did not dissolve with time. The Jewish high levels of concentration, also failed to dissipate over time. The precise locations did change. There was movement from the inner city to the suburbs, but it was a movement *en masse*: a relocation rather than a diffusion. Unlike the black segregation, however, these concentrations were voluntaristic and by no means as dually segregated as the black experience. Not all of the Jewish population lived in Jewish areas not was the population of Jewish areas all Jewish. Both the African American and the Jewish populations were following *plural rather than assimilatory* models. The assimilation model was not the only one.

If we look at the contemporary experience of Britain, we can see both the plural and the assimilatory models in existence. The Black Caribbean population has followed the assimilatory trajectory. Its levels of segregation in London have fallen, census by census since 1961. The areas of greatest concentration have experienced the greatest losses of Caribbean population. The movement has followed the classic pattern of outward movement from the centre towards the periphery. However, when we look at the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations, changes in population have tended to reinforce rather than reduce existing areas of concentration.

Both the assimilation and the multicultural models equate dispersal, diffusion and low segregation with assimilation. However, the dominant model of the Chicago School considered the Assimilation model to be the only one and considered its process to be inevitable. It recognized the existence of the ghetto, but did not distinguish it from the enclave. It conceptualized the ghetto as the first stage of the sequence of the three generational model. It incorporated its very antithesis as part of the model itself.

The failure to distinguish between the ghetto and the enclave has had a pernicious effect on the understanding of ethnic areas in American cities. First, it has conceptualized the ghetto as a temporary phenomenon. In reality the ghetto has become permanent. Secondly, it envisioned socio-economic improvement as the mechanism for the dissolution of the ghetto; in reality, rich African Americans are as segregated from rich whites as poor blacks are from poor whites. Economic differences are not unimportant but they do not explain black segregation. Thirdly, it encouraged academics to identify the ghetto as a product of wealth difference rather than race (Harvey, 1973, 120-152; cf Wacquant, 1997, Peach, 1998). Fourthly it has falsified our view of ethnic history in the United States by envisioning a ghettoized past for the early years of all groups; it has led to the assumption that Irish, Italian and other ethnic enclaves were homogeneously made up of the Irish, Italians or whatever. They never were. Fifthly it encouraged the belief that the African American ghetto would dissolve in a 'natural' and inevitable way. Sixthly, it encouraged the

belief that all segregation was bad and negatively superimposed on groups. In reality, for those groups who choose it and for whom it is not enforced, concentration has many benefits. However, we need to be able to recognize the difference between the chosen enclave and the enforced ghetto.

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