

INTRODUCTION

The book is divided into two parts. The six chapters in part I attempt to answer questions specific to enclaves: How do the ethnic enclaves emerging in North American cities today differ from the enclaves occupied by Eastern and Southern European immigrants earlier in the twentieth century? What are the functional and dysfunctional aspects of current ethnic enclaves in cities as varied as Chicago, Toronto, London, and Amsterdam? How can American planners develop policies to deal with the ghetto problem while at the same time recognizing the legitimacy and desirability of most ethnic enclaves? The final six chapters, part II, switch our attention to ghetto remediation strategies and seek to determine how much emphasis should be given to (1) eliminating patterns of housing discrimination, (2) removing zoning and other regulatory devices that restrict low-income housing from the suburbs, (3) creating mixed-income communities in the city, and in the suburbs, and (4) reducing disparities in wealth through, for example, a more progressive income tax structure.

In chapter 1, Peter Marcuse distinguishes between acceptable and unacceptable residential clustering. Clustering that results from voluntary decisions, those that lead to the formation of ethnic enclaves, is generally acceptable, whereas involuntary clustering, that which segregates lower-income people into class ghettos, “is generally objectionable and should be countered by policy measures” (p. 15).

Marcuse notes that in the past, the federal government, as well as state and local governments in the United States, imposed policies that prompted the segregation of low-income people. Examples of such policies included large-lot zoning and prohibitions against multifamily construction, the Federal Housing Administration’s (FHA) appraisal criteria, which provided the basis for redlining (the denial of financing to property owners in certain designated areas), and the construction of high-rise public housing in ghetto areas. Therefore, it is “the state” that must play

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a key role in reducing patterns of segregation. Some of Marcuse's suggestions, such as the dispersal of public housing throughout metropolitan areas, fall within the political mainstream and have a good chance of being implemented. He uses the term "public housing" in its broadest sense to include housing vouchers and subsidized private developments as well as publicly managed projects.

While Marcuse's more radical proposals (an expansion of the welfare state, the banning of competition among cities, and the legalization of squatting) may not be presently politically feasible, they do highlight the need for the federal government to play the leading role in addressing the fundamental causes of poverty and spatial segregation, in particular, limited education and training, unemployment, single-parenthood, among others.

In chapter 2, Ceri Peach criticizes the Chicago School of sociologists for failing to make a distinction between ghettos and ethnic enclaves, and for incorrectly assuming that the ghetto, the enclave, and suburban dispersal are three spatial stages in the inevitable process of ethnic assimilation. The experience of Blacks in Chicago and elsewhere in the United States refutes this three-stage model. First, black residential concentrations have been different in scale and in kind from those of ethnic Whites. White European immigrants typically lived in ethnically mixed areas, while urban Blacks typically lived in predominantly black areas. As for suburbanization, "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" (p. 37).

Second, the Chicago School failed to predict that some white ethnic groups, such as Orthodox Jews, would continue to maintain high levels of segregation even as they shifted to the suburbs. Unlike Blacks, however, these high levels of residential segregation reflected voluntary choices and were not (as was the case for Blacks) a function of discriminatory practices.

Not only do we need to distinguish between enclaves and ghettos, we need to understand that there are three different types of enclaves apparent in North American and European cities. The first type is the "persistent enclave" as exemplified by Chinatown in New York City. The second type is the "voluntary plural relocated model" an example being the relocation of Jews from the impoverished East End of London to the northern

affluent suburb of Golders Green. Finally, the “parachuted suburban” model refers to an area that receives affluent ethnic members directly from the home country; for instance, Hong Kong Chinese in Vancouver, and South Asian Indians in Edison, New Jersey.

Mohammad A. Qadeer’s case study of Toronto’s metropolitan area (chapter 3) stresses the importance of ethnic enclaves. Toronto, arguably one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, continues to draw immigrants from over 150 countries. As one reviewer of this book indicated: “Toronto’s socially healthy ethnic enclaves are impressive enough to be a counterpoint to the other North American cities covered in this book.”

Immigrant enclaves are found in the newer suburbs as well as in traditional port of entry inner-city areas. These enclaves continue to remain vibrant, according to Qadeer, because members of ethnic groups *want* to live among those who share common cultural values, and moreover, the broader societal environment supports this pattern of self-segregation. Unlike the United States, Canadian culture never supported the notion of a “melting pot.” Furthermore, Canada’s Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) and the Multicultural Act (1988) recognize a person’s right to preserve their ethnic heritage, thereby implicitly endorsing the development and maintenance of ethnic enclaves.

Qadeer’s research challenges the validity of the assertion made by many scholars and U.S. policymakers that race is always the dominant factor affecting social interaction and residential patterns. In Toronto, where overt discrimination is rare, visible racial minorities, like black Caribbeans, are not as segregated as some white non-English groups. Jews are by far the most segregated group. But, ethnic enclaves have their downside—“they may inhibit immigrants’ acculturation into the ways of the housing market and may interfere with an understanding of Canadian social mores” (p. 60).

This chapter raises a number of questions about enclaves that are beyond the scope of his chapter but warrant further exploration. What is the process of ethnic change like? What impact, if any, does ethnic transition have on housing sales prices? Does the immigration of members of an ethnic group lead existing residents to flee because they no longer feel comfortable in the area? Or does ethnic turnover largely result from a drop-off in demand from all families other than members of the new ethnic group? To what extent is Qadeer’s somewhat optimistic picture about

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intergroup interaction correct? How much physical and social interaction between groups occur in employment, in shopping districts, in public schools (as a result of parental involvement), and through political participation? To what extent does ethnic attachment affect overall civic unity? Are householders, whose lives are circumscribed by their ethnic neighborhood, less likely to identify with the City of Toronto or the Toronto region? Answers to these questions will require large-scale social surveys and detailed analyses of sales price data. Hopefully, Qadeer's chapter will stimulate additional empirical research on these questions.

Frederick W. Boal's (chapter 4) scenarios spectrum would undoubtedly classify Toronto as a pluralistic city, a city where different ethnic groups coexist. Belfast and Jerusalem would be examples of polarized cities. The scenarios spectrum, a heuristic device developed for his students' examination of Belfast, might be helpful to planners and policymakers assessing a city's future. Social mixing in schools and in the housing stock could conceivably shift a city from the polarized category to the pluralistic one. Implementing such strategies in a city like Belfast would be difficult, if not impossible, to accomplish.

Many who write about America's ghettos fail to clarify just why ghettos constitute a problem beyond the obvious one that people are forced to live there. The last two chapters in part I focus on this issue. Xavier de Souza Briggs (chapter 5) asserts that segregation causes spatial isolation which leads to social isolation and economic dependency. "Spatial barriers appear to reinforce social ones that isolate the poor, and the minority poor most of all, from useful connections to job advice, scholarship recommendations, and other forms of aid" (p. 85). Residents in predominantly minority inner-city ghettos (even in the most distressed cities like Detroit) do have access to social networks, but only to those networks that help them cope or get along, not get ahead. In other words, ghetto residents lack access to "social bridges," people, agencies, and companies outside their community who can provide leverage for social mobility.

In the abstract, school desegregation is an ideal solution for building social bridges and for preparing inner-city black youth for living in a racially and socioeconomically diverse society. The reality is that school demographics often work against successful mixing (see for example Varady 1979) particularly when the ratio of white middle-class white students drops and low-income black students increase. Common backgrounds and

interests necessary to form friendships and build social bridges no longer exist. Racial tensions and problems of safety may reinforce stereotypes rather than eliminate them. Recently, increasing numbers of urban school districts have shifted their emphasis away from desegregation and busing in favor of neighborhood schools, because parents, regardless of race, believe that neighborhood schools strengthen residential communities, or to use the academic jargon, strengthen social capital. And, in many cases urban school districts lack sufficient numbers of white children to make racial integration demographically feasible.

Briggs points out that the concept of social capital is far more relevant to programs that are relationship driven (e.g., affirmative marketing, job matching, housing relocation counseling, inner-city community development) than those that are mostly institutionalized and routinized (e.g., fair housing enforcement). However, planners need to acknowledge their limited capability to develop social capital in inner-city areas where it does not already exist. Furthermore, and echoing a point made by others in this volume, Briggs emphasizes that social capital should not be viewed as a cure-all for the ills of segregation. Programs that foster the right kinds of social capital need to be implemented in conjunction with macro-level policies aimed at more just and accountable market and government structures to create equal opportunities.

In chapter 6, Glenn Pearce-Oroz turns our attention to Latin America where, in contrast to the United States but similar to housing estates in Europe, low-income ghettos are often located at the edges of cities, distant from jobs, shopping, and good public services. He argues that the new towns of Tegucigalpa (capital of Honduras, population of nine hundred thousand), created in response to the devastation caused by Hurricane Mitch in 1998, illustrate spatial segregation. The dilemmas associated with efforts to reduce spatial segregation in Tegucigalpa characterize urbanization in many other Latin American cities where informal settlements emerge at urban peripheries and where irregular land tenure and the absence of basic urban services are the norm.

Land market forces as well as political and social forces helped to shape the new towns around Tegucigalpa. Because of Honduras' complicated legal framework and dispersed responsibility for land administration, real estate transactions frequently involved disputes over property rights, in effect forcing officials to purchase land some seven to sixteen miles from the

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city's boundary thereby making access to jobs and shopping a problem. As a result, Tegucigalpa's four macro-shelters, housing approximately twenty-five hundred families, became magnets for social problems, partly because the residents' social networks were destroyed. And while the new towns program appears to have worsened existing spatial segregation, it did improve physical housing conditions, that is, access to potable water, sanitation, and electricity, but "the opportunity to interact with different sectors of the population afforded by public spaces in the urban center will be not readily available to the new inhabitants" (p. 118).

Pearce-Oroz acknowledges that to reduce spatial segregation in Latin America, officials must be willing to address income inequalities and the lack of macroeconomic growth (though it is beyond the scope of his chapter to address these fundamental problems), and proposes a new methodology for problem identification in places like Tegucigalpa, one based on the concept of access deficiency. The proposal includes five elements each linked with corrective instruments: access to jobs, safe and effective transportation, financial services, health care and educational services, and consumer services.

The issue of political feasibility comes up throughout the volume. In part II, we focus our attention on ghetto remediation strategies. What emphasis should be given to incremental, but politically feasible policies (e.g., the enforcement of fair housing laws) versus policies that address the "root causes" of poverty but that have little or no political support at the present time (e.g., a more progressive income tax), or that are considered highly controversial (policies to strengthen families)?

Earlier scholarship offers three different explanations for why racial segregation remains high in U.S. cities: discriminatory private practices and public policies, the low incomes of black families, and the desire of some black families to self-segregate. Gregory D. Squires, Samantha Friedman, and Catherine E. Saidat (chapter 7) use the results of a 2001 survey of over nine hundred families in the Washington DC metropolitan area to obtain empirical support for the first hypothesis mentioned above. Black respondents were more likely to experience discrimination either in locating their home or in arranging financing than their white counterparts. However, it should be noted that only one in ten black families experienced discrimination either in the housing search or in arranging financing, so overt discrimination was by no means a common occurrence.

Whereas this chapter provides a sociological perspective on segregation, the next one offers an anthropological one. Using the United States as a test case, N. Ariel Espino argues that members of higher status, more powerful groups attempt to strengthen their self-identity by distinguishing themselves from members of the lower classes. Until the nineteenth century, members of various social groups lived and worked in close proximity. Types of clothing and other consumer goods allowed members of different classes to identify each other. But improvements in transportation starting in the mid-nineteenth century allowed well-to-do families to suburbanize and, therefore, physically separate themselves from the working classes. The resulting suburban landscape was, and continues “as a patchwork of subdivisions, each of which is targeted to a narrow range of house prices (and, therefore, income groups)” (p. 150). Middle-class families take advantage of planning regulations to maintain the class character of their neighborhoods, to preserve the investment potential of their single-family homes and to keep crime at bay. Espino emphasizes that this patchwork of spatial segregation remains problematic, because it denies lower-income people access to high-quality public services.

He recommends regional land use planning to address existing exclusionary zoning policies. Since single-family home ownership is in itself a fundamental cause of economic segregation, politically moderate policies may not be enough. Therefore, Espino recommends serious consideration be given to the “decommodification” of housing, that is, the elimination of housing as an investment, which could be achieved by regulating housing transactions or by taxing housing profits. Although it is highly unlikely that this strategy will ever be implemented in the United States, since home ownership is considered a basic right and shared value, continuing high levels of economic segregation may be a price Americans will have to pay for the privilege.

Robert W. Wassmer (chapter 9) argues that even if racially bigoted views and practices such as redlining and steering were eliminated, “natural market-based factors would still drive some forms of spatial segregation in metropolitan areas” (p. 159). Planners and policymakers, therefore, need to understand the economic forces that work against spatial integration. Using Charles Tiebout’s theory of local expenditures as a starting point, Wassmer focuses on two arguments made by Tiebout and his followers: (1) that residential clustering reflects higher income

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households being able to pay more for sites with desired amenities; and (2) that an urban area with many governments is ideally suited to respond to the wide variations among householders in their preferences for public services and their ability to pay for them.

America's system of fragmented local governments comes with a high cost: concentrated poverty can serve as a breeding area for crime; high concentrations of low-income children in the public schools can promote poor educational performance; and the spatial mismatch between where poor people live (mainly in the inner city) and where jobs are increasingly located (in the suburbs) can exacerbate unemployment and poverty. Efforts to redistribute property tax funds from better off to poorer school districts are politically feasible, but they are unlikely to reduce inequalities. Wassmer, therefore, recommends providing subsidies to already high-income families to encourage them to accept low-income families as neighbors. He acknowledges that this suggestion is controversial, but given the strong forces promoting segregation, controversy may be unavoidable.

Many observers assume that by facilitating the flight of white, middle-income families from the city, urban sprawl contributes to spatial segregation and to urban distress. As a result, some smart growth organizations attempting to reduce sprawl argue that their policies will also reduce segregation. Rolf Pendall (chapter 10) seeks to improve our understanding of the sprawl-segregation link using econometric models to explain differences in the level of economic segregation across 313 metropolitan areas in the United States. Pendall's findings are exactly the opposite of what smart growth advocates would predict. In 1990, "higher density regions were significantly more segregated by income than lower-density regions; very low-income households were more unevenly distributed and more isolated from other households in metropolitan areas whose density levels were high than in areas where density was low" (p. 189). His explanation for this seemingly surprising finding is quite plausible: "Competition over urban land is more intense when density is higher; in such competitions, people with lower incomes lose, and end up living in a more limited set of less desirable neighborhoods as higher-income people outbid them in the housing market" (pp. 189-190).

Policies to increase overall levels of density will need to be combined with ones at the neighborhood level aimed at achieving mixed uses, compact development patterns, and more choice of housing types. Montgomery

County, Maryland stands out from other American jurisdictions in being able to both protect open space and agricultural land and to promote income-mixed developments through its inclusionary housing program. Pendall reinforces a point made by Marcuse, that local policies are not enough to reduce income segregation: “Policies to produce a more even distribution of population, for example, amendments to make income taxes more progressive, would likely have a much more substantial effect on income segregation than any policy on land development” (p. 198).

To many critics, Los Angeles is the embodiment of urban sprawl with all of its concomitant problems. Up to now, however, there has been little investigation into just how sprawl contributes to spatial segregation, and in turn, to urban inequities. Tridib Banerjee and Niraj Verma (chapter 11) indicate that there is conclusive evidence that sprawl at least promotes environmental injustices. “As Whites and upper-class nonwhites relocate to the periphery, lower-income nonwhite racial groups remain ensconced in the central area and are subjected to greater concentrations of air pollution, toxic hot spots, and other related health hazards” (p. 203). The authors use cluster analysis to determine whether the large number of municipalities in Los Angeles County function as “Tieboutian clubs,” that is, whether a small number of groups can be identified based on shared physical characteristics. Applying cluster analysis to a data set, consisting of the land use configurations of various municipalities as well as other variables, Banerjee and Verma identify six clusters: (1) edge cities whose boundaries are defined by deserts, mountains, or the Pacific coast; (2) industrial cities dominated by manufacturing land uses; (3) suburban cities where single-family homes predominate; (4) brownfield cities that contain a mix of extraction sites (oil wells, quarries) and industry; (5) apartment cities dominated by medium- to high-density metropolitan areas; and (6) generic cities.

As an exploratory application of cluster analysis this one, however, suffers from a number of limitations. First, the catchall generic category contains the bulk of both the area and the population of the county. Second, by including the entire city of Los Angeles in the analysis, the authors miss the high level of diversity within Los Angeles with respect to physical layout and also with respect to levels of racial, ethnic, and income segregation. This chapter, nevertheless, could pave the way for future studies that use communities rather than entire municipalities as the unit of analysis.

The final two case studies focus on residential segregation in South Africa. In the past, racist public policies located public housing in minority areas and contributed to the development and maintenance of the ghetto. South Africa's experience suggests that merely replacing white politicians with black ones will not solve the ghetto problem. Since the end of apartheid, black politicians have moved slowly to promote integrative policies. Marie Huchzermeyer (chapter 12) shows how the country's project-linked housing subsidy system first developed under the apartheid regime in 1990, but continued under black governments, has resulted in new, segregated, and poorly located developments. Under this system, developers receive capital subsidies on a project-by-project basis; the completed serviced sites are then transferred to households. In some cases, informal settlements are replaced on the spot by fully standardized and individualized developments, but more typically residents of informal settlements are relocated to a new site. The strategy has achieved impressive numbers in terms of delivery of home ownership. But the residents of the new settlements face long and costly commutes to jobs in city centers or to newer suburban growth nodes. In addition, individual home ownership creates new forms of vulnerability. Many fragile households (especially ones with members suffering from AIDS) are forced to convert their housing asset into cash to pay for drugs. Huchzermeyer recommends a shift in government intervention from the township model (monotonous, standardized dormitory areas on the segregated urban periphery) to mixed-income and mixed-tenure developments in better locations.

In South Africa, as in the United States, politicians face a difficult dilemma. On the one hand they can emphasize high rates of production of affordable housing units, but such a supply-oriented strategy is inherently incapable of eliminating existing ghettos; in fact, such a strategy creates new ghettos. On the other hand, if they adopt an explicit income desegregation strategy, middle-class families would oppose proposals for new developments. The resulting controversy will undoubtedly slow down housing production.

Alan Mabin (chapter 13) highlights the above dilemma by discussing the difficulty of achieving stable racially and income-integrated communities in Johannesburg. Many reformers believed that with the end of apartheid segregation would be reduced, if not completely eliminated, but, in fact, segregation persists in new forms, aided and abetted by suburbanization. The

concentration of new activity in the suburbs of larger cities minimizes prospects for close-in housing-jobs linkages; the long commutes, typical of American cities, are being replicated. Although rural townships and suburbs have been brought together under the same political jurisdictions (eliminating the fragmentation found in American metropolitan areas), newer governmental units have not been able to socially integrate new developments. As a result *favela*-like areas exist in close proximity to “American-type” suburbs.

Mabin argues that the values and preferences of suburbanites serve as obstacles to social integration and broader social justice goals. First, although considerable progress has been made in racially integrating formerly Whites-only public schools, this integration necessarily involves white and black children from middle-class homes (see Swarms 2002). The result is that township schools remain all black. Second, the increased ability of upwardly mobile Blacks to move to “the secured compound, the totally automobile-reliant townhouse, or the cluster house complexes of the newest suburbs” (p. 230) has inadvertently promoted segregation. As black-on-black discrimination takes hold, few middle-class Blacks are interested in living in older, gentrified areas close to the city center where they would mix with Whites in public places, and perhaps begin to develop friendships that cross racial lines. Third, members of the new black political elite “are currently not exactly campaigning for an end to social segregation to match their enthusiasm for an end to political separation and oppression” (p. 229). Members of the rising black middle-class accept economic segregation (sometimes living in newly created gated townhouse developments), because it leads to a sense of comfort and a high degree of residential quality. Thus, as in the United States, the quest for neighborhood homogeneity vis à vis values, “leads away from, rather than towards, a wider social justice” (p. 229).

The case studies from the global South as well as those from the global North combine to highlight the difficulties in achieving significant declines in income and racial segregation in both the ghetto and the enclave. To achieve lasting results, both spatially and aspatially, will require policies to decrease inequalities, racial and economic. However, even if such pro-equity policies are implemented, the desire to self-segregate—whether on economic or ethnic grounds—will continue to produce meaningful levels of segregation.