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Spatial Concentration-Residential Patterns And Marginalization

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Research Bulletin 1

Spatial Concentration - Residential Patterns and Marginalization

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> Residential segregation is an integral feature of the social structure of most cities, with divisions based on socio-economic factors creating a mosaic of neighbourhoods of differing status. In some metropolitan areas of Britain and North America differentiation of geographic space on the basis of class is accompanied by segregation on ethnic grounds. The coincidence of these planes of division can lead to the development of minority-group enclaves or ghettos occupied by disadvantaged populations with only a marginal position in mainstream society. (Pacione 1996, 131)

1.i. Foreword

This research bulletin focuses on issues related to the spatial concentration of immigrant and minority urban populations. The extent to which these populations are segregated spatially and marginalized socially from mainstream society is the topic of much academic research, particularly within the social sciences (geography, sociology, demography and urban studies). While this literature details intra-urban settlement patterns, and richly lays out the explanatory theory of immigrant and minority urban concentration, it only occasionally addresses explicit policy initiatives which could help redress geographical imbalances or foster the positive benefits of immigrant residential concentration.

This bulletin begins with a discussion of the theoretical and methodological debates that have framed discussions of racial segregation and concentration. It then moves on to detail the objectives, method and findings of research specifically addressing three issues that have dominated recent study: alternative explanations of racial segregation; issues of mobility and the suburbanization of immigrant groups; and the effects of ghettoization and concentrated poverty.

1. ii. Theoretical Background

The study of immigrant concentration has a long history. The most notable research stemmed from the interwar Chicago School of Sociology which in large part set the agenda for several decades of subsequent work (Park and Burgess 1967). In the 1920s and 30s researchers of this school focused their study on patterns of immigrant and socio-economic settlement, processes of mobility and the impacts of residential concentration. Using human ecology as a theoretical framework, the city was seen as an organism comprised of a collection of interconnected but

separate social worlds related to one another through the processes of competition and evolution. In this manner, the concentration of immigrants in poor inner city neighbourhoods was viewed as a natural part of urban growth. Most immigrants came to cities with few or no capital resources and as such were limited in their residential choice. In North American cities of the time, inner city communities consistently offered the least expensive housing as well as the familiarity of sympathetic and supportive immigrant populations. As immigrants gradually assimilated into the mainstream culture - learned the language, developed work skills, earned more money - it was assumed that they would eventually move away from the inner city and seek residence in the more affluent suburbs. The movement of upwardly mobile immigrants into neighbourhoods previously occupied by native-born Whites, and the subsequent replacement of old immigrant groups with new ones, became known as the process of invasion/succession. The prioritizing of socio-economic class over ethnicity as the key mechanism for immigrant settlement behaviour is implicit in this theory of assimilation.

Much subsequent work in the field of segregation has focused on challenging the models and assumptions that lay behind the seminal work of the Chicago School (Kalbach 1990b; Betancur 1996). For American researchers a central question has been the persistence of high segregation indices between Blacks and non-Hispanic Whites and the growing concentration of Blacks and Hispanics into poorer, isolated urban areas. Canadian, Western European and Australian researchers have also been concerned with high segregation levels but have focused their study on the experiences of immigrants and visible minorities of varied ethnic background.

1. iii. Clarification of terms

The concentration of immigrants and/or minorities into particular urban areas is one component of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1988a; Massey et al.. 1996). Segregation can loosely be defined as the uneven residential distribution of population groups across a geographical area (Knox 1995). Concentration occurs when a particular group is highly segregated and located in a single or very few urban communities (Massey et al. 1996).

The segregation, and by extension the concentration, of ethnic, socio-economic or cultural groups is widely thought to be a function of both voluntary and involuntary factors (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987). Voluntary factors might include the desire to maintain and strengthen a unique ethnic or cultural heritage, to ensure a strong and unified community voice, or simply the wish to access the support system of like-minded and supportive neighbours. Discrimination at both a

personal and institutional level is an example of a non-voluntary reason for residential concentration, as is lack of financial resources or limited housing options. Each of these examples impose constraints on the range of residential options available to minority and/or disadvantaged groups. The specific balance of involuntary and voluntary factors that leads to a particular residential pattern varies from group to group and is highly likely to change over time as processes of assimilation or ghettoization begin to take shape.

It is important to emphasize that segregation in any form has both spatial and social implications. Urban social theory suggests that a relationship exists between the geographical and social distance between urban neighbourhoods of varied character (Park and Burgess 1925; Denton and Massey 1988; Saltman 1991). A lack of social interaction between different community groups is reflected in the spatial distance between the urban areas that they inhabit (Knox 1995). This relationship ensures that cities are blanketed with a patchwork of neighbourhoods with varying wealth, cultural diversity, amenity and power and that interaction between these communities can range from frequent to non-existent (Logan et al. 1996a). In this way, when less advantaged populations are highly segregated in neighbourhoods with few or no resources, there is concern that their spatial concentration marginalizes them from the opportunity structures of mainstream society. In other words, that concentration in and of itself acts as a barrier to upward mobility. This argument has been central in debates focusing on the growth of disadvantaged ethnic ghettos and the emergence of an urban 'underclass' (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton 1993).

Ghettos are one of the most extreme forms of urban residential segregation. Most commonly defined as neighbourhoods overwhelmingly populated by a single ethnic group (Johnston et al. 1994), the point has been made that in order to differentiate them from ethnic enclaves, ghettos should also be considered the location wherein most members of that specific ethnic group reside (Peach 1996). Ghettos have been more commonly differentiated from enclaves by virtue of the fact that residence in a ghetto is thought to come about as a result of involuntary rather than voluntary factors. In both the vernacular and academic literature contemporary ghettos have become synonymous with disadvantaged inner city communities populated almost exclusively by visible minorities, especially those of African descent.

1. iii. Issues of measurement

Much debate has centred on how segregation is best measured and whether the measurement used reflects adequately both spatial and social dimensions (Lieberson 1981; Darroch and Marston 1987; Massey et al. 1996; Peach 1996). The most commonly used measure of segregation is the Index of Dissimilarity. This index measures unevenness in the spatial distribution of two groups across the same urban area. By providing a theoretical range between 0 and 100 the index indicates the percentage of one group that would have to relocate to achieve the same proportional distribution as the group to which it is being compared. The closer the index to 100, the higher the level of segregation signifying that most members of a particular group reside in a single or very few urban areas (Saltman 1991; Knox 1995; Massey et al. 1996; Peach 1996). The Index of Dissimilarity is most often measured using census tract or block level data and most often calculated between racial and ethnic minorities and the majority White population.

Despite its popularity, the Index of Dissimilarity has been criticized for failing to shed light on the specific residential location of immigrant or minority groups (Darroch and Marston 1987; Kalbach 1990a) and for being sensitive to group population and area size (Peach 1996). Massey and Denton (1988a) argue further that while it measures capably the uneven distribution of two groups it does not reveal anything about what they consider to be the four remaining components of segregation: concentration, exposure, centralization and clustering[1]. These researchers suggest that each of these components needs to be measured separately and with unique measurement techniques. Massey and Denton's approach is indicative of the fact that segregation can be perceived in different ways and that different measures and findings may therefore result.[2]

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[1] Massey and Denton (1988a) argued that there are five dimensions of segregation. As Massey et al. explain,

> "*Eveness* is the degree to which the percentage of minority members within residential areas approaches the minority percentage of the entire urban area; as areas depart from the ideal of eveness, segregation increases. *Exposure* is the degree of potential contact between minority and majority members within neighbourhoods; it reflects the extent to which groups are exposed to one another by virtue of sharing common residential areas. *Concentration* is the relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority group; as segregation increases, minority members are confined to a small and geographically compact area. *Centralization* is the degree to which minority members settle in and around the center of an urban area, usually defined as the central business district. Finally, *clustering* in the extent to which minority areas adjoin one another in space, and it is maximized when minority neighbourhoods cohere to form one large, contiguous ghetto and is minimized when they are scattered widely in space, as on a checkerboard."
>
> (Massey et al. 1996, 173)

[2] Some of the more common alternatives for measuring residential segregation are the index of segregation which measures the uneven distribution of one group as compared to all other groups in a specified area; location quotients which measure the overrepresentation of a group in one area compared to the rest of the city; and Lieberson's P which measures the degree of exposure within a single geographical area of one group to another (Peach 1996).

With regard to concentration, Massey et al. (1996) recommend the use of an index which "measures the absolute (or relative) amount of physical space occupied by a group within a metropolitan area, a calculation that is based on the notion that segregation implies physical constraints in housing that ultimately produce spatial compacting" (184). Such a measure is termed simply an index of concentration. Other researchers, especially those interested in the extreme concentration, or ghettoization, of minority and poverty groups, do not follow this approach and instead identify ghettos as a neighbourhood in which majority residents are of a particular ethnic background (Johnston et al. 1994) and where poverty levels exceed a particular threshold, most commonly 40% (Wilson 1987; Greene 1994; Hajnal 1995).

2. Objectives and conclusions of work surveyed

The most recent work with regard to the spatial concentration of immigrants and minorities, that published in the 1990s, has tended to follow three clear but highly inter-related paths: alternative explanations of concentration; issues of mobility and suburbanization; and the effects of minority ghettoization and concentrated urban poverty.

2. i. Explanations of residential segregation

Scholars have long been concerned not only with why segregation exists but why it has persisted given assimilationist perspectives. Although researchers now recognize the high degree of interconnection between race and class, debate has often revolved around the prioritizing of these two factors as causal mechanisms for the segregation of minority groups. Those who prioritize class maintain that for most minority groups classical theories of assimilation largely hold true. Over time, as immigrants and their descendants become more acculturated and economically resourceful, their levels of segregation decrease (Peach 1996). Those who contend that race is the primary factor in residential sorting often point to differential rates of segregation among varied ethnic groups. They maintain that while it is true that some ethnic groups show settlement patterns in accordance with assimilationist theory, those groups often tend to be the least ethnically different from mainstream White society and as such are less likely to fall prey to the discrimination and prejudice they argue is so central to visible minority concentration. Researchers of this perspective consistently point to the unceasingly high segregation levels of American Blacks and to a lesser degree to those of American Hispanics (Denton and Massey 1988; Massey and Eggers 1990; Fainstein 1993; Farley 1995).

In his 1996 paper 'A Comparative Perspective on Racial Residential Segregation: American and Canadian Experience', Eric Fong expands the race versus class debate by inserting structural changes in the labour market and economy into the segregation equation. Fong argues that, particularly with regard to Black Americans, changes in the economy and in the labour market have been overshadowed by race and class as causal mechanisms of segregation. Using census data from 404 American cities and 41 Canadian cities (from 1980 and 1986 respectively), Fong employs indices of dissimilarity, isolation and interaction to determine first that U.S. Blacks are more unevenly distributed, more spatially isolated and less likely to interact with Whites than are Asians Americans. He also determines that this difference is more pronounced in larger urban centres. In Canada, Fong reveals that Blacks and Asians share similar degrees of spatial unevenness and that neither group demonstrates high levels of isolation. In terms of interaction levels, Blacks and Asians in Canada have an equal probability of contact with Whites.

Fong next explores the extent to which these segregation patterns are affected by socio-economic status, recency of group immigration, restructuring in the labour market and urban characteristics of the city of residence. Using a regression model with interaction and dissimilarity indices as the dependent variables, Fong determines that in the U.S. high segregation levels for Blacks are most strongly affected by weak labour markets with declining manufacturing sectors, high proportions of other Blacks, poor availability of affordable housing and central city location. For Asians only weak labour markets, high proportions of other Asians and age of city acted to strongly influence high segregation levels. In Canada a different picture emerges. Neither Blacks nor Asians are strongly affected by job markets and economic shifts. Both groups seem fairly well isolated from such change perhaps by virtue of their select and recent immigrant status which might suggest high levels of education. Age of city strongly influences both groups with segregation indices showing higher levels in older cities.

Ultimately, Fong makes two broad conclusions. One is that the unique segregation experience of American Blacks suggests that while "skin color is still an important issue in the United States,...it (is) not in Canada" (221). Second, changes in the labour market and urban economic structure are crucial as explanatory forces in the continued high levels of segregation for American Blacks in particular. Fong's research demands that the relative unimportance of race as a causal mechanism of Canadian segregation be further explored. Are the comparatively low levels of segregation for Black and Asians Canadians a function of recency of immigration, immigrant characteristics, small population numbers or different attitudes about racial difference

on the part of both minority and majority societies? These are issues that need to be explored before Canadian academics or policy makers can abandon the reality of race and racism as factors in any degree of residential segregation in Canadian cities.

Geographer Robert Murdie (1994) suggests that the breadth of Fong's study masks a less encouraging reality of residential concentration for a particular sub group of Canadian Blacks. Asking the question do Blacks in Toronto reside in "near-ghettos", Murdie assesses enumeration area data from the 1971 and 1986 census, household and personal data from the Unit-Tenant Master file of the Ontario Ministry of Housing and individual data from the 1986 Public Use Microdata File to determine whether Blacks are disproportionately concentrated into public housing projects managed by the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority and whether within this system, Blacks are further concentrated into specific units. Between 1971 and 1986 the overrepresentation of Blacks in MTHA housing as compared to the balance of the Toronto CMA increased. Murdie also concludes that within the MTHA system Blacks tend to be concentrated in outlying suburban high rise developments. Given that Murdie's approach does not allow for the evaluation of institutional discrimination, income levels and group preference as explanations, he suggests that the most likely reason for these concentrations "is a form of constrained choice" (456). By constrained choice Murdie refers to the interplay between the arrival of Caribbean immigrants with few resources and restricted housing options in an expensive private rental and ownership market, growing competition for the few available publicly provided units, and the inability over time to raise socio-economic standing to a degree where leaving the MTHA system becomes possible. This research makes clear the importance of housing availability and affordability in the residential patterning of immigrant populations and to their increased presence in peripheral suburban locations[3].

Murdie's speculation that some Caribbean immigrants are unable to transform years of Canadian residence into social and spatial mobility, is confirmed by recent research on the relations between "Race and Tenure in Toronto" that reveals low rates of homeownership on the part of

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[3] The "intersection of national origin, economic exclusion and spatial segregation" has also captured the attention of French researchers who have established that immigrants are disproportionately unemployed and overwhelmingly concentrated in deindustrialised, low income suburban peripheries (Silver 1993, 347). Such findings have spurred the French press to draw parallels between the American ghetto and the French suburban cites. The *Monde Diplomatique* describes "(les cités) -- des sortes de ghettos, rassemblant une population qui cumule de nombreaux handicaps sociaux: chomage, étrangère, jeunesse, qualification nule..." (Silver 1993, 347).

Black and Caribbean immigrants as compared to Whites (Skaburskis 1996). After testing a number of multivariate models and determining that these low rates of homeownership are not the result of inter-group differences with regard to income, marital status, education, household type or size, number of working adults, mobility or immigration status, Skaburskis suggests that possible explanations include:

> (1) Black and Caribbean immigrants may tend to be directed to public housing and form a sub-culture that stays in the housing to act as a magnet for others.
> (2) Blacks and Caribbean people may perceive themselves to have fewer housing options and limit their housing search to the enclaves established by earlier immigrants
> (Skaburskis 1996, 245)

Skaburskis concludes that rather than relying on policy that expects income distribution to redress housing imbalances, policy makers should consider more closely the role of institutional and cultural mechanisms. In addition, policy should address differential employment and educational opportunities and processes of discrimination at both individual and institutional levels.

Using a unique U.S. database, Goering, Kamely and Richardson (1997) explore the relationship between segregation and the racial and poverty isolation of Black tenants in public housing. As the authors explain, "public housing projects have been described by social scientists and others as vertical ghettos, government supported slum housing, and one of the chief causes of the emergence of the urban underclass" (Goering et al. 1997, 724). By calculating dissimilarity and isolation indexes for all metropolitan areas in the U.S. for 1970 and 1993, Goering et al. determine that compared to White residents, Black residents of public housing continue to live in segregated projects in extremely poor neighborhoods[4]. Using regression analyses Goering et al. further determine that the strongest explanatory factors with regard to high segregation levels in public housing projects include the Black/White dissimilarity index at the MSA level; the proportion of Blacks within a public housing authority's population; the size of the public housing authority itself; and the percentage of Blacks in the census tracts containing public housing. In all cases the higher the value/size of the variable, the higher the indices of segregation are likely to be. In conclusion the authors argue that although a strong positive association exists between levels of segregation at the city-wide and public housing levels, more needs to be known about the "malleability of the demographic and discriminatory structures underpinning overall market segregation and the forces impelling poverty and racial isolation of Blacks" before policy can effectively address current levels of segregation and racial isolation at either geographical scale.

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[4] Index of isolation measures the probability of exposure; the probability that a Black resident shares his/her project with another Black resident.

A 1997 housing study by Judith McDonnell takes Goering et al.'s research a step further by demonstrating that the size of a city's Black population is taken into consideration when decisions about participation in various public housing programs are considered. Comparing the participation rates of all U.S. cities with a 1960 population of at least 25 000 in two different types of federally subsidized housing programs (Public and Section 8), McDonnell shows through correlation analysis that cities with high Black populations are less likely to participate in Section 8 housing programs that have "the potential to open up more of the housing market to low income residents" (242). Consequently, cities with large Black populations are more likely to rely on public housing which concentrates racial minorities into poverty communities and fails to provide them an opportunity to cross segmented housing boundaries.

Quite a different policy context, the formal exclusion of immigrants from public sector housing, is a central feature of Michael Pacione's 1996 paper entitled 'Ethnic Segregation in the European City'. By mapping each of Vienna's districts in terms of their percentage foreign born, Pacione first shows that districts with high immigrant percentages (20%+) are found in the inner suburbs encircling the urban core. These districts tend to be characterized by low-quality, high rent, private sector housing. Using a stepwise regression, these immigrant concentrations are determined to be a direct result of housing policy which forbids immigrant residence in council housing. Further analysis of mobility patterns over the course of 1993 reveals that it is in these areas that outflows of native born Austrians are the highest giving rise to "a residualization process indicative of the early stages of Ghettoization" (124). Pacione's research confirms two explanatory theories of immigrant concentration - that concentration can come about as a result of the out-migration of other ethnic or socio-economic groups and that housing policy can to a large degree shape the residential patterning of immigrant and other less fortunate urban populations.

Work by Zang and Hassan (1996) in Australia has sought to evaluate the motivations of Asians immigrants to live in particular neighbourhoods in Sydney and Melbourne. Respondent data were drawn from the 1991 National Housing Strategy of the Department of Health, Housing and Community Services, a broad survey of demographic, household, and residential information. Survey responses reveal that immigrants from Asians countries have the highest mobility rates of all immigrants, that these immigrants are no more likely than others to move to an area for the purpose of maintaining social and cultural ties, that Asians born immigrants show no greater tendency to prefer residence in ethnic clusters, even for family or cultural reasons. Survey results

show that Asians born immigrants cite affordability, proximity to work and services as key reasons for neighbourhood choice. Zang and Hassan's research challenges popular and policy misconceptions about the tendency of Asians immigrants to choose residence in "ethnic ghettos" and about the immigrant role in "undermining of the social cohesion of Australian society" (573) (also see Grimes 1993).

2. ii. Issues of mobility and the suburbanization of immigrant/minority populations

Research in the late 1980s and 1990s began to detail the growing suburban presence of visible minority and immigrant populations (Massey and Denton 1988b; Alba and Logan 1991; Logan and Alba 1993; Schneider and Phelan 1993; Logan et al. 1996a; Logan et al. 1996b; Ray et al. 1997; Smith and Ley 1997)) The suburbanization of such groups signals a change from traditional settlement patterns in one of two ways. Either it represents the spatial, and possibly social, mobility of increasingly established minority populations or it indicates a shift away from inner city settlement on the part of newly arrived immigrants. And in some instances, not least in Vancouver and Toronto, residence by immigrants in new (or old) elite districts marks a qualitatively different social status from the low income characteristics assumed in much immigrant research (Mitchell 1993; Ley 1995).

Logan, Alba, McNulty and Fisher (1996a) are particularly concerned with 3 questions: why different ethnic groups live in particular kinds of communities, whether socio-economic advancement and acculturation provide improved access for minorities into more desirable neighbourhoods and whether suburbanization provides relief from the discriminatory housing markets. Using 1980 individual and tract-level data from the U.S. census, Logan et al.. determine that in both the city and suburb, Whites live in areas with the highest average incomes and highest proportion of White residents. The wealthiest and most acculturated Asians and Hispanics tend to reside in neighbourhoods that are nearly indistinguishable from those of their White counterparts. However, regardless of their socioeconomic status Blacks are unable to match the locational attainment of Whites, Asians and Hispanics. The central conclusion is that "assimilation processes - those linking socio-economic with residential mobility- apply unequally to Blacks and to other minorities" (451).

This research is supported by the findings of Phelan and Schneider based on their research of 1,773 suburbs located in 55 U.S. metropolitan areas (data derived from 1980 and 1990 censuses) (1996). Examining the different characteristics of suburbs in which Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians

reside, the authors determine that suburban communities in which large proportions of Blacks reside are likely to be poor. They are also communities in high need of both developmental (infrastructure, maintenance, utilities) and redistributive (housing, health and welfare) services for which they must often pay higher taxes. The concentration of such services in these communities may be giving rise to government dependent enclaves. Suburban communities with large Asians populations tend to be more affluent and self-sufficient than neighbourhoods populated by other ethnic groups. Suburbs in which concentrations of Hispanics reside fall between the experiences of Blacks and Asians and perhaps more importantly are shown to vary across regions. Hispanic communities in Florida are more affluent and self-sufficient than Hispanic communities in New York, a function of the different national contexts from which these populations are drawn. This particular finding emphasizes the importance of disaggregating ethnic groups to better understand the processes of segregation for specific ethnic communities.

In his assessment of whether the settlement experience of Latinos in Chicago fits the ecological model of assimilation, Betancur (1996) finds that although Hispanics demonstrate high levels of mobility, the social direction of that movement is horizontal rather than vertical. The dispersal of Latinos away from inner city concentrations is followed not by assimilation but by reconcentration.

> It is often the result of displacement, disinvestment, overcrowding, and the instability associated with low ownership, immigration status, back and forth migration, and unstable unemployment related to Latino status...Higher-income Latinos often move to the fringes of Latino areas while maintaining a close association with their clusters of origin. Like Blacks, others may be able to move into White areas individually. As their numbers increase, however, their presence if increasingly resented and may set up the process of White flight. (Betancur 1996, 1316)

Betancur concludes that like Blacks, Hispanics have developed a permanent minority position within American society and that this position translates into “exclusion, economic immobility and manipulation...as a settlement process that is deeply colored by discrimination” (1316).

South and Crowder (1997) identify characteristics of individuals, households and neighbourhoods that assist or hinder residential mobility between poor and non-poor neighbourhoods. Using interview data from the 1971-1985 Panel Studies of Income Dynamics, matching that with census tract and metropolitan area information and finally developing binary and multinomial logistic regression models to test 3 theories of residential mobility, they determine that Blacks are far more likely than Whites to move into poor communities and far less likely than Whites to move away from poverty areas even after socio-economic and life-course variables are accounted for.

The authors conclude that as neighbourhood segregation levels for Blacks grow higher, the probability that Whites will leave the community, and that Blacks will be unable to do so, increases, thereby initiating a possible slide to underclass status.

South and Crowder are among the few scholars who address the policy implications of their research. With regard to this paper, they identify three broad areas of potential policy focus: the redistribution of poor minorities away from impoverished communities; the empowerment of low-income residents through homeownerhip programs; and a focus on the micro-level mobility process relative to such impoverished neighbourhoods (specifically a focus on the tension between the choice and constraint of individual residents).

A very different mobility and suburban experience in British Columbia is described by Ray, Halseth and Johnson (1997). Using 1991 census data and property assessment records for 1971 and 1991, the authors demonstrate that 73% of Richmond's Chinese residents were immigrants who had arrived in Canada within the previous 10 years and that in terms of Canadian income, these immigrants may not be highly affluent as media representations continually suggest. Of those Chinese immigrants recently arrived 43% live in households whose Canadian declared income categorized them as low income. Ray et .al. also show that the Chinese community in Richmond is distributed quite uniformly across suburban space and that in terms of family structure, home ownership, housing style and affordability Chinese immigrants are "archetypal suburbanites" (96). These findings challenge both the ecological model of initial immigrant settlement and the popular myth that Richmond is becoming an elite suburban 'Chinatown'. This paper stresses the importance of detailed research on the array of experiences and characteristics within single ethnic populations and warns that public perception and policy not be guided by myth (also see Hodge 1996).

Murdie (1997) also challenges conventional thinking about the assumed relationship between immigrant suburbanization and assimilation. In the inner suburbs of the Greater Toronto Area, Murdie documents, using 1971 and 1991 census data, declining income, educational, occupational and employment status. He attributes these changes to concomitant increases in immigrant and refugee residency and to the location of relatively high amounts of public housing in inner suburban communities. Murdie is particularly concerned with the possible social isolation and underclass development of Somali refugees and Black visible minorities who show

concentrated residence in public and low priced private rental housing in peripheral suburban communities.

2. iii. The effects of ghettoization and concentrated poverty.

In her 1994 ethnographic research of the Caribbean community in Toronto, Frances Henry also points to the emergence what she terms a minority underclass.

> Distanced from education, employment and other opportunities, the children of first generation immigrants find themselves isolated from chances for advancement and as such are increasingly frustrated by the barriers of racism and poverty that they experience in Canada. They feel uncomfortable in the school system... and are easily led to drop out. Some succumb to the easy money and lifestyle of drug dealing and other forms of hustling. They develop a cynical, negative view of Canadian society and feel marginalized. (Henry 1994, 269)

While Murdie's and Henry's research remain the first studies to note the incipient formation of a minority underclass in Canada, in the 1980s and early 1990s a flurry of American research focused upon the emergence of unusually deprived neighbourhoods embedded within African American ghettos (Auletta 1982; Wilson 1987; Ricketts and Sawhill 1988; Jencks and Peterson 1991; Massey et al. 1994; Jargowsky 1996). These communities, or impacted ghettos, were thought to be home to a growing 'underclass' - a group of individuals whose extreme spatial segregation gave rise to an unprecedented degree of social dislocation characterized by long term unemployment and welfare dependency, high school incompletion and out-of-wedlock births, intergenerational poverty and criminal engagement (Wilson 1987; Hughes 1990). Explanations of underclass development cite the importance of economic restructuring and the decline and relocation of manufacturing and public sector employment (Kasarda 1990); the suburbanization of middle class Blacks and Hispanics from inner city ghetto communities (Wilson 1987); the retrenchment of welfare and public housing programs (Jencks 1992); and the legacy of institutional racism and residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). In many ways the development of an urban underclass is the effect of the spatial intersection between racial segregation and deepening social and economic disadvantage (for further discussion, see Smith and Ley (1997)).

Indeed, it is within the underclass debate that residential segregation itself becomes causal. Massey (1990) and Massey and Denton (1993) argue that above all else, residential segregation "was the key factor responsible for the social transformation of the Black community and concentration of poverty during the 1970s" which ultimately gave rise to an urban underclass (Massey 1990, 351). The argument rests on two main assertions. First, that residential segregation

concentrates the negative effects of economic downturn and social dislocation into a limited number of "densely settled, tightly packed, geographically isolated areas" (Massey and Denton 1993, 8). Second, that the effects of such concentration are amplified because residential segregation acts to create "a structural niche within which a deleterious set of attitudes and behaviours - a culture of segregation" is allowed to flourish (1993, 8).

Massey also cites residential segregation's role in the perpetuation of stereotypes (also see Pedersen 1996).

> Whites benefit from segregation because it isolates higher rates of Black poverty within Black neighborhoods. These higher concentrations of Black poverty then reinforce the connection, in Whites' minds, between Black race and behaviours associated with poverty, such as crime, family disruption, and dependency. Segregation heightens and reinforces negative racial stereotypes by concentrating people who fit those stereotypes in a small number of highly visible minority neighbourhoods - a structural version of 'blaming the victim' - thereby hardening prejudice, making discrimination more likely, and maintaining the motivation for segregation.
>
> (Massey 1990, 353)

Although many European researchers challenge the applicability of the underclass concept to their own countries, the spatial coincidence of racially based segregation and extreme levels of poverty continues to capture their attention (Haubmann and Sackmann 1994; Musterd 1994; Peach 1996; Burgers and Kloosterman 1996; Pincetl 1996; Wacquant 1993; 1996).

Wacquant (1996) argues that the accumulation of extreme poverty, ethnoracial division and public violence in the same disadvantaged urban communities signals the rise of a new form of exclusionary closure. This advanced marginality is characterized at both a personal and neighbourhood level by uncertainty and precariousness in the wage labour market, disconnection from the vagaries of the macro-economy, geographical concentration and the stigmatization of place, alienation from other residents within the community, erosion of personal and professional support networks and a lack of shared community identity. Communities of advanced marginality are no longer "communal 'places' suffused with shared emotions, joint meanings and practices and institutions of mutuality (they are) indifferent 'spaces' of mere survival and contest" (126).

Social exclusion is also the focus of Burgers and Kloosterman's paper (1996). After determining that socio-economic polarisation within the largest Dutch cities is strongly correlated with ethnicity, the authors examine the experience of the highly deprived neighbourhood of Spangen, Rotterdam. In Spangen, the social exclusion experienced as a result of disassociation from the labour market is exacerbated by the shared neighbourhood residence of unemployed native born

Dutch and minority immigrants. For the native born, residence in a community where they are "surrounded by 'strangers' is the most tangible expression of social exclusion and abandonment" (442). For immigrants, social exclusion is also experienced in the form of racial prejudice whose virulence often increases as their economic and housing circumstances improve.

Despite the shared experience of social exclusion, Burgers and Kloosterman are careful to point out that important differences exist between the ghettos of America and their counterparts in Western Europe. Unlike U.S. ghettos, distressed communities in Europe tend to be heterogeneous in terms of place of birth, race and class (see also Wacquant 1993; Peach 1996). Wacquant further points out that European communities are characterized by "a comparatively strong presence of public institutions and far-reaching state penetration" whereas American ghettos are known for their lack of public and institutional organization (Wacquant 1996,123).

Pincetl (1996) demonstrates that the effects of immigrant and poverty concentration extend beyond stereotype and social exclusion. Pincetl argues that redevelopment policies in Paris, which favour the modernization of inner city, former working class, immigrant neighbourhoods, are displacing visible minority populations into peripheral, poorly serviced suburbs with poor quality social housing, limited access to job opportunities and close proximity to noxious industrial land uses. This form of "environmental injustice" is creating a racially defined urban landscape in which the benefits and disadvantages of urban space are starkly unequal and the likelihood of immigrant assimilation is increasingly diminished.

This collection of research cautions the unquestioned importation of American concepts of disadvantage into different national contexts. As earlier research has already detailed, levels of segregation in Canadian cities for any minority group do not approach those of the U.S. nor do high levels of segregation in Canadian cities necessarily equate with high levels of poverty and exclusion (Fong 1996; Murdie 1997). It is also likely that the Canadian experience of marginality is akin to the European situation where social housing and other public institutional intervention is likely to affect both spatial and social patterning. When we consider that recent American research has linked high segregation and social exclusion to urban unrest and minority violence, the vital importance of critically assessing the Canadian experience of "ghettoization" becomes clear (Olzak et al. 1996; Shiadeh and Flynn 1996).

3. Policy implications

As has already been stated, very little segregation research addresses explicit policy implications. However, this review of the current theoretical and empirical literature presents several areas for policy attention.

3.i. Housing

Housing emerges consistently as a key factor not only with regard to the location of segregated communities but also in terms of the quality of life experienced within these communities. It is incumbent upon policy makers to address the effects that different housing tenure and allocation practices have on processes of immigrant and minority concentration. This is particularly important in the Canadian context given the current climate of retrenchment with regard to government subsidized housing programmes. It is also important that policy address the wider issue of housing accessibility. To what extent are immigrants and minorities discriminated against in both the public and private housing sectors? To what extent is this discrimination a result of ethnicity or class? How can policy redress imbalances caused by such discrimination?

3. ii. Service provision

In a similar vein is the issue of service provision. One of the leading factors of social exclusion is lack of adequate and appropriate services. Residents of these communities need services that help alleviate their social and spatial distance from employment opportunities, educational facilities, quality day care and so forth. Current literature tells us that as minority ghettos grow poorer and more multiply deprived, their service base both in terms of socially and privately provided services dwindles. Canadian research in this regard is urgently needed. Does an erosion of services occur when a community becomes more destitute or as some have suggested, does that community become a magnet for services such that residents become trapped there because the area becomes the only place where such services are located?

3. iii. Clarification of terms

Among much segregation literature there is an implicit assumption that the concentration of immigrant and minority groups is undesirable. In many ways our perception of the experience of concentration has been framed by the murky socio-spatial language of marginalization, isolation and segregation. But, while the spatial meaning of such terminology is clear, far less apparent is its social significance. What exactly does it mean to be marginalized? To be isolated? To what extent are residents of minority concentrations really disconnected from wider society? And to what degree do these characteristics reflect self-definition or scholarly labeling? Unraveling the

terminology of immigrant and minority concentration is a critical project for Canadian scholars and policy makers, particularly given evidence that concentration among some ethnic groups contributes to community stability and prosperity (Beavis 1995). The language of segregation is largely American and Canadians need to assess very carefully the extent to which it applies to their urban experience.

3. iv. Racial discrimination

The most recent explanatory literature with regard to segregation emphasizes the importance of race over class as the primary mechanism that distributes and entrenches some visible minority populations in particularly segregated urban communities. There is great need for policy makers to address this as a central feature of urban inequity. As Murdie's research demonstrates, there is a possibility that allocation practices of social housing providers encompass assumptions about race and racism in much the same way as has been described in the UK and U.S. (Smith 1987, McDonnell 1997). It is incumbent upon policy makers to ensure that racially based allocation practices are a reflection of resident choice rather that institutional racism. It is also clear that policy ultimately needs to move beyond the race versus class debate and assess how race and class act together to create segregated landscapes in which minorities are increasingly isolated from opportunity and upward mobility. "Class based policies" Massey stresses "will not succeed by themselves" (354).

3. v. Community study

Discussions of ethnic concentration and segregation are ultimately about communities. There is a need for more fine tuned research which illuminates the everyday experience of enclave or ghetto residents. Very little research details the type of services, facilities, organizations that are available to residents of disadvantaged minority communities. Even less research addresses the perceptions of residents themselves about the extent to which they feel neighbourhood residence alleviates or worsens their experience of poverty and disadvantage, and whether residence in an ethnic enclave in particular improves or restricts their opportunity structures.

3. vi. Disaggregation of ethnic categories

Similar refinement needs to be encouraged with regard to ethnic groups themselves. To what extent are broad ethnic categorizations like Asians, Black and Hispanic overshadowing different segregation experiences within these groups? As several papers have shown, the reasons for, and experiences of, residential concentration are numerous and often unique for different ethnic sub-groups (Peach 1996). As such, research and policy needs to direct itself to the lived experience of residents rather than relying solely on more abstract discussion.

4. Descriptive Section

4.i. Material for this bulletin was gathered from 24 learned journals, 17 books or book chapters, 1 conference paper and 1 literature review/annotated bibliography.

4.ii. Material for this bulletin was gathered from a total of 47 articles. Sixteen journal articles were addressed extensively.

4.iii. Publication dates for journals used in this bulletin range from 1988-1997. Seventeen journal articles were published in 1996, four from 1997.

4.iv. The scope and methodology of each study has already been addressed in text of bulletin.

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