

The Unplanned 'Ghetto': Immigrant work patterns in 19th century Manchester

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Abstract

The research presented here considered the well-documented phenomenon of immigrant clustering in niche trades or occupations and compares immigrant and non-immigrant groups within the same poverty 'ghetto' – the Red Bank area of Manchester. The research used primary census data and contemporary maps to analyse the socio-economic and spatial structure of the 'ghetto'.

The findings suggest that the (primarily Jewish) immigrant group studied here was concentrated in a significantly narrow band of occupations in comparison with non-immigrants in the area and that immigrant from the same occupation group tended to live in household clusters. Analysis of work-home distances using 'space syntax' techniques suggests that the occupants of the 'ghetto' area of the city tend to work very close to home, whilst more long-standing immigrants living in the lower middle-class district adjacent to the area worked in locations which provided them with the potential for economic integration.

Whilst these findings suggest that the immigrants had identifiable differences from their 'ghetto' area neighbours, the research also highlighted findings that suggest that the inhabitants of the district of Red Bank – taken as a group - were different in their occupational structure from the city as a whole. 'Space syntax' analysis of the spatial integration of the area indicated that it was significantly segregated from the central business district, despite it being geographically quite proximate. These findings, coupled with other research undertaken into social class structure, suggest that the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Red Bank district were also distinctive in their social and spatial patterns when compared to the city overall, thus the inhabitants of the 'ghetto' area had unique characteristics which distinguished them from inhabitants of the other areas of the city.

The paper concludes with the suggestion that certain areas of cities are especially prone to settlement by the disadvantaged, due to characteristics that make such areas firstly, tend to be economically unsuccessful due to their spatial segregation and secondly, less attractive to those who have the means to move elsewhere and that such areas are not so much defined by their immigrant constituents, but by their long-standing inhabitants that cannot move elsewhere.

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Introduction

The phenomenon of clustering of minorities, especially that of newly arrived immigrants, is well documented – as can be seen in the following, amongst many others - Jacobs (1961); Ward (1982); Rosenbaum (1995); Peach (2001). In particular, Wirth (1964), who was associated with Park and the Chicago School of Sociology, found that there was an “unmistakable regularity” in the process of formation of immigrant “slums”. The research described here uses ‘space syntax’ theories and techniques to investigate this phenomenon (frequently referred to as ‘ghettoisation’). Space Syntax methods (SSM) allow the fine scale of the built environment to be considered and the spatial logic of its underlying structure to be understood as a physical entity in its own right and thus the analysis can be made of the active role of the environment in informing social change and measures such as topology, geometry and other metric properties of space to be considered alongside social and economic measures.

This paper describes research which was part of a broader investigation of immigrant minority settlement patterns in 19th century Manchester and Leeds (for a PhD in Architecture). In addition to the spatialisation of immigrant occupations, the research also looked at:

- The process of development of the minority settlement over time – published in Vaughan and Penn (1999), which found measurable patterns of intensification, then dispersal, in the formation of immigrant settlement through six censuses studied;
- The incidence of poverty amongst immigrant and non-immigrants within the ‘ghetto’ area, which found a relationship between greater poverty (measured by several variables including occupation of head of household and household density) and distance from sources of employment at the perimeter of the settlement area;
- The relationship between economic segregation and spatial segregation, which concluded that the areas of the cities in which immigrants tended to congregate had spatial attributes which made them more prone to poverty, whether the inhabitants were immigrants or not, and that it was the planning of the area itself which contributed to the deprivation of its inhabitants.

It has been suggested by research into immigrant and poverty ‘ghettos’, that the process of dispersal of immigrants after the initial stage of settlement is enabled by successful integration into the host economy – see Carter and Lewis (1983); Waterman and Kosmin (1987). Theorists of the evolution of urban form have proposed that cities have developed as a result of the conglomeration of houses, whose settlement form was a result of the social needs of the settlement’s society [see Krier (1984), for example]. Other urban theorists, [see Whitehand, Morton et al. (1999) for example], have produced theories about how the urban fabric is influenced by a set of small-scale decisions made by individuals. The research described here is based on the theories of Hillier, Penn et al. (1993), who propose a complex set of relations between spatial form and society; Hillier et al have proposed a theory of the movement economy, which suggests that the differences in movement rates brought about by the grid have an effect on land uses, in that land uses which need movement seek out the naturally busy parts of the grid and those which need less movement, seek out naturally quiet parts of the grid, see Hillier and Penn (1996). Recent research by Hillier (2001) suggests that the evolution of city ‘live’ centres (which include markets and shops) is strongly influenced by the change in spatial configuration over time. Whilst research undertaken by this author, Vaughan (1999), suggests that the persistence of ‘ghetto’ areas is due to their having the combination of a desirable proximity to economic activity centres coupled with a lower-than-normal property rental or purchase price and that this combination of factors can lead ultimately to the economic and social integration of these population sectors.

Background

Jewish Settlement in Manchester

Despite their relatively small size when compared with London, the urban centres of Jewish settlement outside of the capital developed rapidly in the late 19th century in parallel with the urbanisation and industrialisation of the country in general and Manchester is considered to be one of the exemplars of Jewish provincial settlement. The Jews of England differ from the Jews of continental Europe in the fact that since the resettlement of the Jews in the mid-17th century, there have been no legal restrictions on their settlement in England (although restrictions on ownership of land, political activity, membership of guilds and higher education persisted well into the 19th century).

Jewish settlement in Manchester started in the 1780s. By the 1850s, the influx of Jewish immigrants had stabilised. The rate of growth of the Jewish settlement in Manchester from 1858 onwards, to the period in question, 1881, brought it to be amongst the three most populated provincial communities - this was due to its development as an industrial and commercial centre, yet was also due to an influx of mass migration from Eastern Europe, especially in the latter part of the period.

The incoming migrants settled in high densities in the Red Bank area of Manchester (amongst several provincial cities) as well as the East End of London, which had by then been established as a Jewish district. The high density of impoverished co-religionists led to the creation of numerous Jewish charities and organisations to both relieve the poor, but also with the ultimate aim of integrating the new immigrants socially and economically into the existing population. Despite this, problems of high-density settlement in areas such as the Red Bank district of Manchester, caused crises of unsanitary conditions and overcrowding.

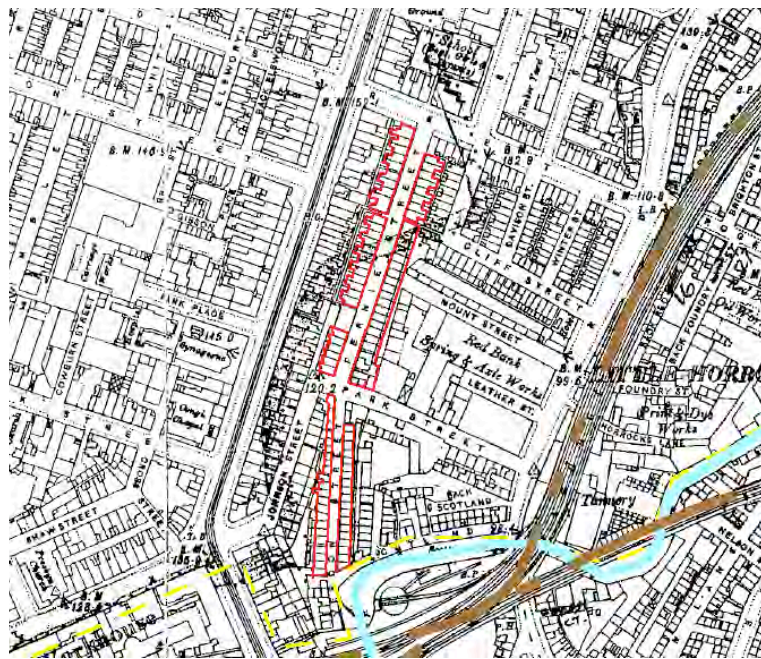


Plate 1 – showing section of Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881

Red Bank was on a high sandstone ridge that fell away from the area of middle-class settlement on Cheetham Hill (to the north) down to the railway in the valley of the Irk (see plate 1). Here the houses were arranged in cramped rows along excavated shelves separated and supported by flimsy retaining walls. Two adjoining roads - Verdon Street and Fernie Street (marked in red in plate 1) - attracted the bulk of Jewish settlement. According to Williams (1985a), these streets became the heart of what, in succeeding years, acquired the character of a 'voluntary ghetto' (p. 177). This area of 'classic slum' was, according to Williams: 'Physically invisible: 'self-contained

and shielded from view by the lie of the land and a facade of shops and public buildings, socially barricaded by the railway and industries in the polluted valley of the Irk, and so neglected and ill-lit as to be in a state of “perpetual midnight” (op cit p. 81).

The trade occupations of the Jews changed in the period 1858-1881. Whilst in 1853 the majority of this group were hawkers, peddlers or street sellers, by 1880 they had developed (in parallel to the general population) to an industrial proletariat, with a small but significant number in the middle-class occupations of merchants, manufacturers and professionals – these were from the more established families. During this period of time the process of industrialisation brought in changes to patterns of work, with the development of the multiple store. However, the majority of the working class population continued to live close to work, in order to minimise the expense of travel.

Despite their relative freedom, in comparison with other European Jewish communities, evidence suggests that the Jews started to create niche trades to offset their market limitations, see Pollins (1982). According to Pollins, the move into trades and away from the earlier occupations of hawker and costermonger were part of a communal effort to apprentice children into trades. The choice of occupations promoted by apprenticeships and loans was small and was confined to trades where the capital investment was modest and the necessary equipment was cheap and portable and enabled home working. Another development in labour patterns was the formation of 'sweated' workshops, which was the result of sub-division of labour and changes in work patterns in certain industries.

The development of transport technology had an influence on centres of production that grew from small towns into cities whilst the cities themselves suffered an explosive increase in population. Industrialisation also brought about a change in the housing market. The two main features of this were the severe shortage of municipal housing and the large proportion of the population who rented their accommodation. The outcome of the predominance of renting was the lack of control of workers over their living environment; bringing about a situation which was exploited by landlords, who charged high rents. Higher rent charges forced people to take in lodgers rather than be evicted. This situation brought about in its extreme, the overcrowding and slum conditions which were a typical part of 19th century cities. Some sources suggest that this was the main cause of the formation of distinctive 'ethnic' areas of the city, formed by immigrant groups clustering according to country of origin.

Spatial causes of 'ghetto' formation

The 'chain migration' model of migration proposes that international migrants depend on initial forays by a single member of a family or clan in order to obtain information about the potential country of destination and in order to establish work and accommodation. According to this migration model, the destination tends to be very specifically located spatially, often confined to particular streets, and is just as strongly linked to the point of origin - in this way strong cohesiveness and a tendency towards self-help or co-dependence is created among the migrants of this type, who tend to have similar backgrounds, outlooks and even occupations. However, one cannot necessarily read this model in reverse; that if there is a parallel clustering of occupation and country of origin, that the migrants have brought with them specific skills and trades from their country of origin. The reason for this is that there are many instances when occupations are discarded upon arrival at the migration destination, yet clustering by country of origin is still maintained. See for instance: '...Strange as it may appear, the immigrant's future is more or less determined by the sort of trade done at the town where he lands or arrives. He may become a tanner or a dyer in Hull, and have a different ambition from what he would have if he landed at, say Liverpool, Glasgow, or London.' [Smith, J.: 'The Jewish Immigrant', in Englander (1994), p.112].

Maintenance of cultural identity is possibly one way of sustaining the self-help network, which leads to self-help for finding jobs and accommodation. This is reinforced spatially by proximity between work, home, society, place of prayer, clubs and etc. It is possible that the ultimate success of certain immigrant groups may be due to the convergence of all of these factors at the same time. In addition, some sources, such as Eyles (1990), suggest that immigrant self-help

creates informal local economies. This can be expressed in the payment in cash or, in some cases, with goods 'in kind'.

The importance of the economy as being the most likely potential for integration is raised by many theorists. Many maintain that the market place is the point of contact between otherwise disassociated groups such as immigrants and their host community. This concept of the market as a place of abstract transactions between extremes, or strangers, is proposed by Wirth (1928), who writes of the Jewish trade relationships, that this type of relationship takes place in a situation where no other contact can take place, since trade is an abstract relationship where emotions drop into the background. Wirth maintains that the more impersonal the trader's attitude, the more efficient and successful are the transactions likely to be (op cit, p. 25). Hence, the evident propensity for immigrants to tend towards such economic activities.

Analysis

Methods

According to 'space syntax' theory, the spatial realisation of societies in cities reflects the richness of the social, economic and cultural milieu that it embodies, see Hillier and Hanson (1984). In order to test this idea, a method of analysis was developed by Hillier and Hanson that creates an objective description of the pattern of space by describing and quantifying spatial patterns of cities and towns. By creating an objective measure of space, this method of analysis is not only applicable for examining its primary properties, but also (by using the results of the spatial analysis to control for the effect of space on social measures), for studying space in relation to measurable social quantities, such as movement rates, economic values, crime statistics and so on.

Space Syntax analysis examines the spatial configuration of cities by defining all external spaces as a continuous network of space. The spatial configuration is represented by the set of the fewest and longest lines of visibility and permeability that link between all spaces in the network - referred to as the 'axial map'. The axial map is analysed by computer as a pattern of accessibility, measuring the relative distance of each part from the system as a whole, and then describing the system according to the distribution of accessibility; ranging from the most accessible, 'integrated', to the least accessible, 'segregated'. The numeric properties of the spatial system are laid out in a table, allowing the mathematical analysis of the relationship between the spatial properties and other measurable properties of space use. The numeric properties are also represented graphically, by colouring up the axial lines in a spectrum of colours from cold to warm, assigning the blues to the least integrated lines, the greens to the next and so on, through yellows and oranges to the most integrated lines, coloured red (or in a black and white map from light grey to dark grey and black.) The Space Syntax Laboratory at University College London has applied this method of analysis on a large number of urban sites. In all of these sites they have found a statistically significant ($p \leq .05$) correlation between movement rates and spatial integration values. These studies have also discovered significant parities between spatial configuration and other social factors.

The main source of data in this research is the census data of 1881 and the business directories of the three years before and after the census year for Manchester. In addition, data on the city's population size and occupational structure were taken from a summary of the 1881 census called: 'Census of England and Wales: ages, condition as to marriage and birthplaces of the people' which lists occupations per industrial category in each urban district of which the population is over 50,000 [see Her Majesty's Government (1883)].

This research studied the occupational distribution in Manchester by classifying the occupations of all Jewish households as well as analysing the distribution of work addresses for Manchester Jews. It should be pointed out that until the 20th century, occupation was listed as 'Rank, Profession or Occupation'. This did not make clear whether the occupation of the individual or the industry to which his employer belonged were requested. It is for this reason that occupation information was sometimes ambiguous and this is also the reason that occupations tended to be summarised by census authorities. Jewish families were identified by an expert team led by Bill

Williams (1985a) and provided by the Manchester Jewish Museum. The author acknowledges with gratitude Bill William's provision of this data.

The analysis investigates the occupation distribution of the Jewish population of Manchester. It starts with a spatial analysis of the Manchester area to see if it was physically segregated and whether immigrant density had spatial attributes, then continues with an investigation into the historical belief that the Jews tend to occupy a narrow bank of trades. Lastly, the phenomenon of occupational enclaves is examined through data on household structure and spatial location of business addresses. Throughout the paper Jewish cases are compared with non-Jewish cases and the district of high density Jewish settlement (Red Bank) is compared with the city overall.

Analysis of Spatial Segregation

Plate 2 illustrates the axial map for the area of Manchester, with the main buildings, waterways and railway lines indicated. The distribution of global integration for the map (here focusing on the northern part of the city) is shown by colouring up the main streets according to their global integration values, where red indicates the highest value and blue the lowest. (Although the entire axial map was analysed, only main streets are coloured up here – in order to illustrate the spatial structure of the city).

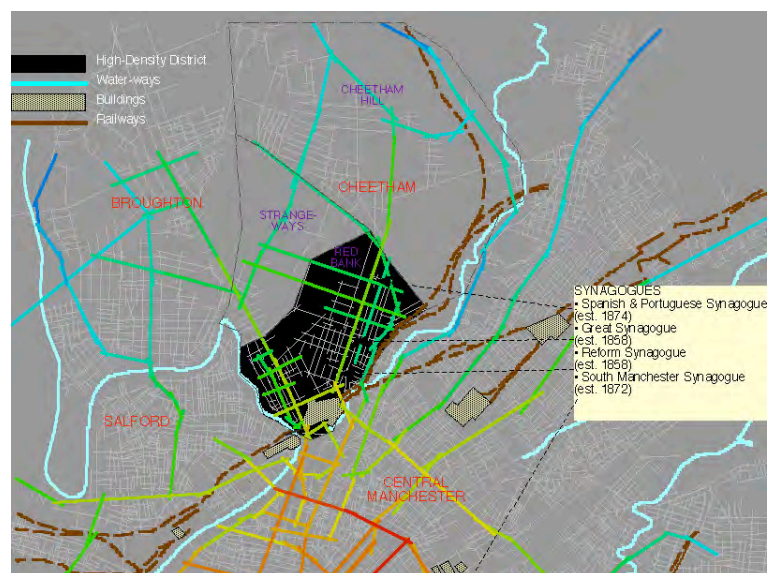


Plate 2 – Axial map of Manchester, c. 1881, focussing on north Manchester

Plate 3 shows a version of global integration, radius 8¹, which is used when the area of interest is at the edge of the spatial model. The map shows the distribution of integration values and indicates that the spatial core is mainly contained south of the railways and canals. Red Bank, marked in grey, is not located in the geographical or spatial core of the city, and is removed to the north east. The relative spatial isolation of the district is due to its location north of the River Irk which runs through Manchester and its location north of the main railway tracks leading to Victoria Station (which is the building exactly on the southern boundary of Red Bank) and only the main streets in the area link up with the spatial structure of the city overall.

¹ Integration measures the mean depth from each line in a system to all other lines. This is termed integration radius n (infinity), or global integration. Occasionally this is replaced by radius-radius integration, which is used to maximise the globality of the analysis without inducing 'edge effect', which is the tendency for the edges of spatial systems to be different from interior area because they are close to the edge.

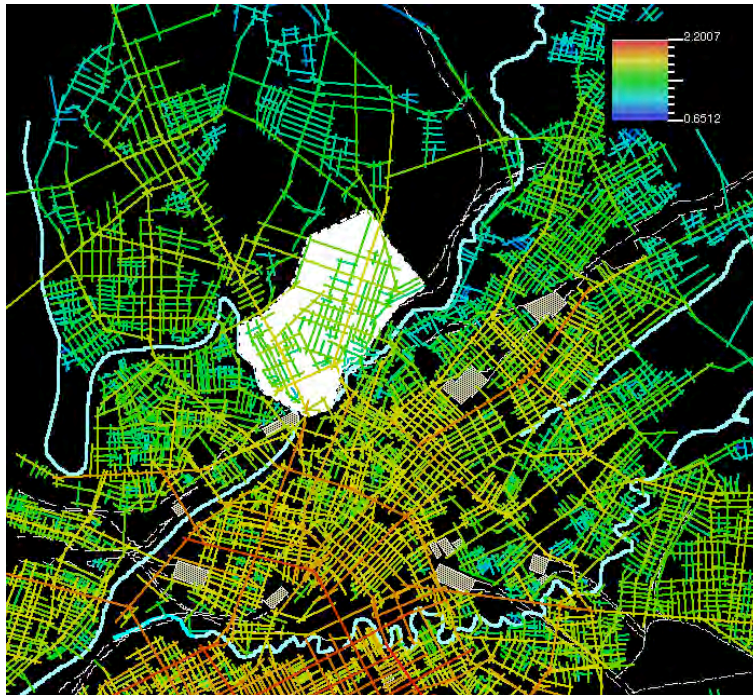


Plate 3 – Radius 8 integration, focusing on northern part of Manchester, c. 1881

Plate 4 shows the distribution of local integration² throughout the axial map of Manchester, where streets are coloured up from warm to cold according to how well integrated they are locally. We see that the fingers of routes out of Red-Bank seem to hold many of the key local integrators, but the interstices of the district are locally segregated (indicated by the cold colours).

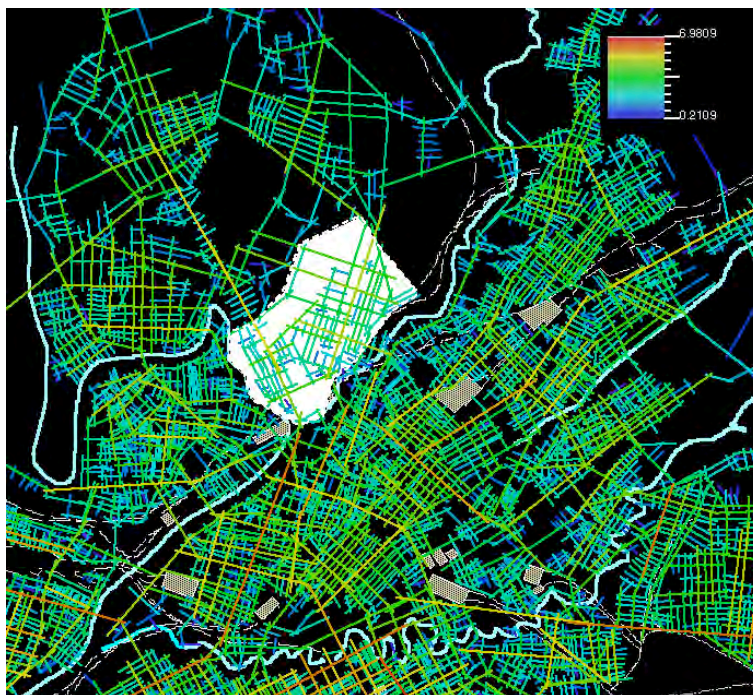


Plate 4 – local integration, focusing on northern part of Manchester

It was found that when comparing the global integration of the Red Bank area with the adjacent

² A version of integration, termed integration radius 3 or local integration, restricts the measurement of routes from any line to only those lines that are up to three lines away from it. This measures the localised importance of a space for access within a particular part of a building or urban network

districts, that it was significantly segregated from its surroundings (.978 as compared with 1.273). Furthermore, analysis of step-depth from the most globally integrated line in the city, undertaken to discover the degree of permeability of Red Bank from the spatial core of the city, showed that the district was significantly cut off from the central core of the city and from the commercial district –despite its geographic proximity.

Additional analysis calculated spatial measures for each street in Red Bank, weighted by the proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish households per street. The results of this analysis found that Jewish households tend to be less locally integrated than their neighbours, but more globally integrated than average (if we consider the radius 8 results as indicative of global integration). This suggests Jewish households tend to be closer to the main streets and to the perimeter of the Red Bank district than their non-Jewish counterparts. This was supported by analysis of proximity to the main streets in the area (through step-depth analysis), which found that the streets with a higher Jewish presence tended to be more segregated (and thus less connected to their surroundings), than other streets in the area. These findings mirror those found in studies undertaken by the author of Leeds and London and link up with findings which show that the streets with high density Jewish settlement tend to be those occupied by newer immigrants, with lower economic status, whilst the main streets in the area, which tend to be those which contain the shops and workshops, tend to be settled by the more established immigrant residents of the area at lower densities. This result is explained by the fact that the highest density Jewish streets tend to be back streets containing tenements with crowded houses, living at high density. These tended to be poorer households, who were forced to sub-let to other families or boarders.

Analysis of ethnic density

The following section concentrates on the pattern of settlement of Jewish immigrants in Manchester. Analysis of population numbers indicates that the Jewish population of Manchester, which was 7745, comprised 2.3% of the city overall. The population of Red Bank was 9578 and comprised 32.5% of the population of the area. It is evident that the largest numbers of Jewish households were concentrated in the district of Red Bank.

Analysis of the birthplaces of family heads in Red Bank shows that 82% of Jewish heads were born abroad, compared with 14% of non-Jewish Heads. The average length of time in the UK was 9.8 years (based on the age of the eldest child born in Britain). Such a finding is typical of areas of initial settlement for immigrants, where populations tend to be more transient. The relative density of Jews to non-Jews was calculated, with the street normally taken as the unit, except in cases of very long streets, which were treated in sections³. Analysis of Jewish density across the city indicates that Red Bank had a much higher density than elsewhere in the city, with a mean density of 40%, compared with 18% outside of the area.

Plate 5 concentrates on the district of Red Bank. Principle synagogues and the Jewish school are coloured yellow. This illustration indicates that streets with highest density are concentrated in the southern and western parts of the district, whilst streets with medium density, coloured light blue and light red tend to be on the main streets or one step off from them.

³ The illustration of density follow the methods used by George Arkell, whose map of Jewish East London in Russell C. & Lewis H. S. (1900). *The Jew in London*. London: Fisher Unwin, has become an important tool of research into Jewish settlement in late 19th century London. Arkell was part of Charles Booth's team for preparation of the maps of Social Condition in London – see Booth C. (1889). *Descriptive Map of London Poverty* (set of four coloured reproductions of the original maps by Charles Booth) with introduction by D.A. Reeder. London: London Topographical Society..

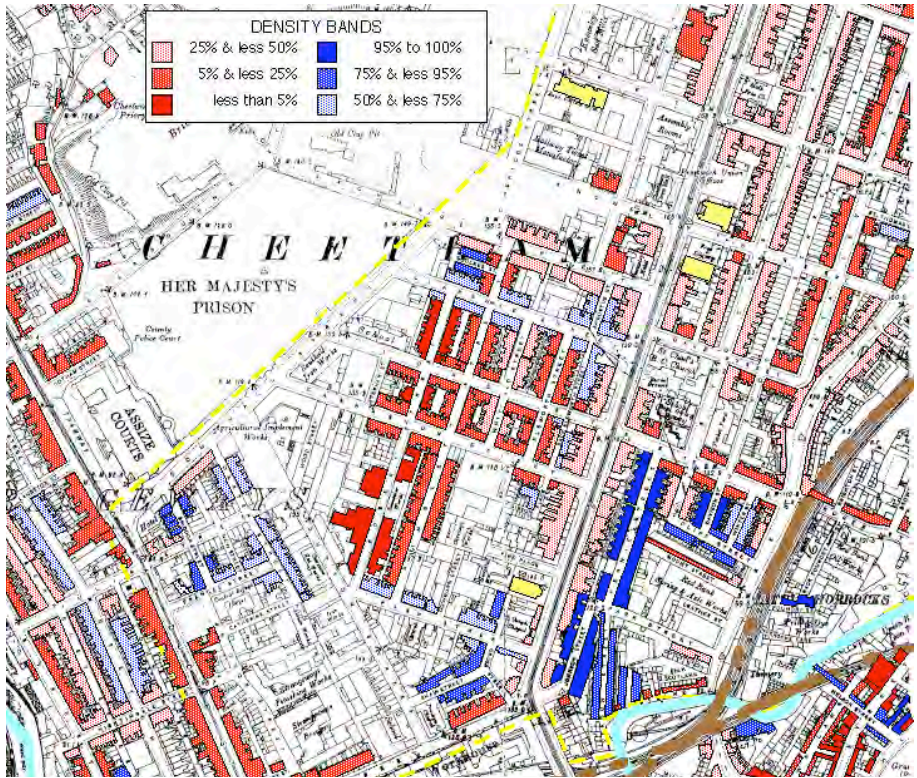
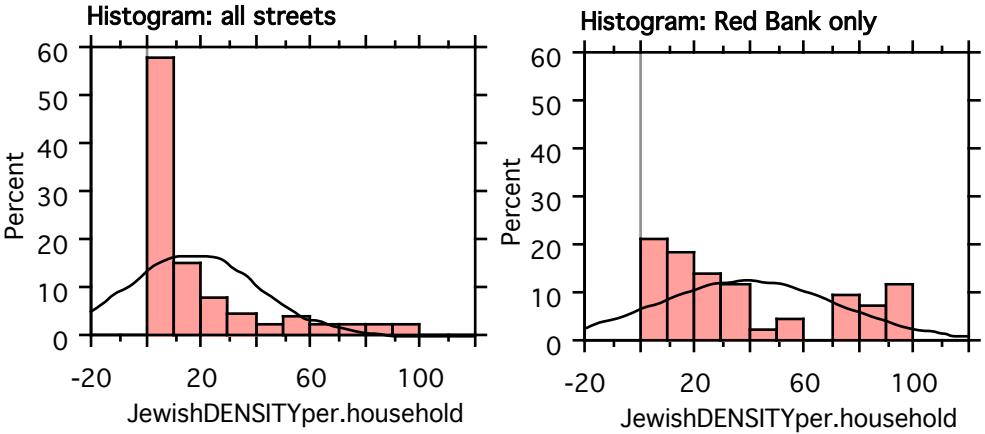


Plate 5 – density within the Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881

In order to analyse the relationship between spatial distribution and Jewish density, the frequency distribution of density was calculated for 10 bands between 0=100%. Households where Jews were boarding with non-Jewish families were excluded. In figure a below we see histograms of the distribution - on the left for all streets in Manchester and on the right, for streets in Red Bank only (graphs were created at the same scale). We can see that for Manchester overall there was a predominance of cases where density was under 10%; whereas in Red Bank, the spread of density was much more even and there were more cases in the upper three bands, where density was higher than when considering all streets.

figure a Frequency distribution of Jewish density per household: for all streets, for Red Bank only.



Analysis was undertaken to see if there was a relationship between the various spatial measures and density. Following is a series of bivariate scattergrams which plot the mean spatial values for each density band against the mean household density for Jews per street. The x axis in each scattergram shows mean density per street (not including households with sole lodgers) and the y axis shows the mean spatial values for each density band. Figures b and c below indicate a strong reverse correspondence between density and spatial measures. These suggest that the

higher the density of Jewish settlement, the lower the spatial integration of the street in which they live. The results of these scattergrams suggest that where there were relatively more Jewish households, these tended to be located in more segregated streets.

figure b. Scattergram of Jewish density per household vs. radius n integration

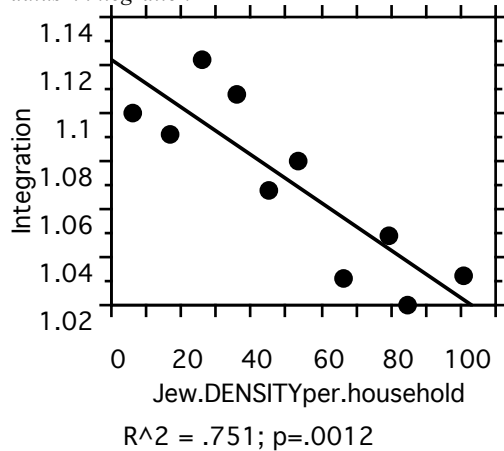
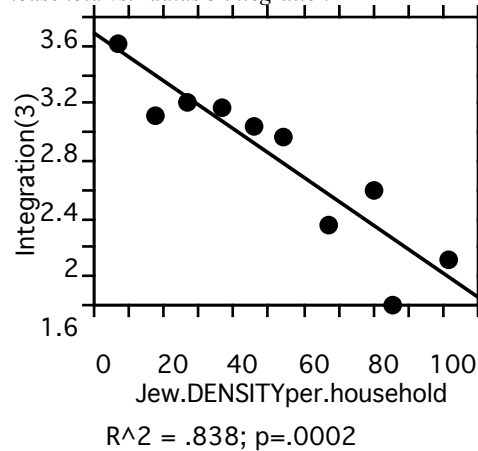


figure c. Scattergram of Jewish density per household vs. radius 3 integration



This supposition is supported by plate 6, which illustrates density, overlaid with global integration. It is evident from this illustration that the high density streets (coloured dark blue) are more segregated than the medium density streets (coloured light red and light blue).



Plate 6 – density within the Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881, overlaid with global integration

Analysis of Occupational Structure

This analysis was undertaken to see if there was proof of the contention that there were typical 'Jewish' trades.

• Analysis of Jewish households in Manchester overall

Analysis of the top ten occupations cited by Jewish heads of household, or by sole Jewish boarders and lodgers in the 1881 census of Manchester found that both in the census and in the business directories, the Jewish population of Manchester was clustered in a small number of occupations. 25% were in the tailoring industry, 11% were merchants, 7% were glaziers and a

further 7% were waterproof makers (a new industry at the time). When considering the distribution of occupations, it is notable however that the distribution differed from one district to the other and whilst the Red Bank district of Cheetham, which was considered to be the poor, 'ghetto' area, and which contained most of the newest immigrants had 77% of its Jewish inhabitants in the tailoring trade, only 15% of the more prosperous Central Manchester area were in the tailoring trade⁴. Over 60% of Jewish heads of household were concentrated in 5% of all Jewish occupation groups.

Analysis of 134 business address for Jewish residents of Manchester showed that most occupations had businesses in central Manchester; the exceptions for this rule were pawnbrokers, tailors and travellers, who were located in the Red Bank area and its surroundings. Historical analysis has suggested that the tailor workshops grew out of workshops that were dependent on piece-making and out-working by the poorer workers, which may explain this finding.

• **Comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish households within Red Bank**

If we look only at Red Bank, we find very similar findings to those for Manchester as a whole. Of all the Jewish heads, almost 60% are in the top 10 occupation groups of: cabinet maker, cap maker/manufacturer, commission agent, glazier, jeweller or watchmaker, merchant/shipping merchant, pawnbroker, tailor, commercial traveller and waterproof maker. In contrast, only 8% of the non-Jewish heads of household in the Red Bank area are in the top 10 Jewish occupations.

Analysis of occupations amongst the non-Jewish population shows that they did not concentrate in a small group of occupations, nor did they share the same type of occupations as their Jewish neighbours; 8% of non-Jewish heads were in 'Jewish' occupations as compared with 60% of Jewish heads). Taking account of the considerably higher number of non-Jewish households (around 3 times the number of Jewish households), this finding is significant and suggests that the immigrant Jews of Manchester were concentrated in a different spread of occupations than their immediate neighbours.

In order to arrive at a full picture, Jewish occupation analysis in the Red Bank area was also looked at from the angle of the non-Jewish occupations. Having categorised all non-Jewish occupations it was found that the ten most common non-Jewish occupations in Red Bank⁵ were cited by a much smaller proportion of the population, 30%, in comparison with 60% for Jewish heads in top Jewish occupations. Analysis was then undertaken to see what percentage of Jewish heads of household in the Red Bank area worked in the ten most common occupations amongst the non-Jewish population. The analysis found that for the non-Jewish population of Red Bank, the only important 'Jewish' occupation was tailoring, but even this was only at a rate of 2%. In addition, only 1 in 20 Jews worked in the top 10 non-Jewish occupations

Further analysis of the occupations of Manchester as a whole showed that whereas Jewish occupations (within Red Bank) were typical of up to 20% of the population of Manchester as a whole, non-Jewish occupations (within Red Bank) were typical of over 35% of Manchester as a whole. In other words, non-Jewish occupations within Red Bank were more representative of the city overall (although still did not represent the full occupational spread).

Plate 7 shows all home addresses which were associated with a different work address, coloured up by mean depth from home to work, where the warmer the colour the more proximate the work and home addresses. Depth was calculated by taking each home address and calculating the step depth from it to the work address of the business owner in question. Depth is a measure of spatial distance, taking account of street network accessibility. The map (which focuses on the northern part of Manchester) also shows the location of (Jewish) residential streets (black), business addresses (white) and streets with both types of addresses (grey).

⁴ The top-ten Jewish occupations in Red Bank were in descending order: tailor, glazier, commercial traveller, cap maker/manufacturer, jeweller or watchmaker, merchant/shipping merchant, waterproof maker, commission agent, cabinet maker, pawnbroker.

⁵ The top-ten non-Jewish occupations in Red Bank were in descending order: labourer, joiner, salesman/shopkeeper, boarding/lodging house keeper, publican, housekeeper, tailor, warehouseman, fruiterer/greengrocer, printer/compositor.

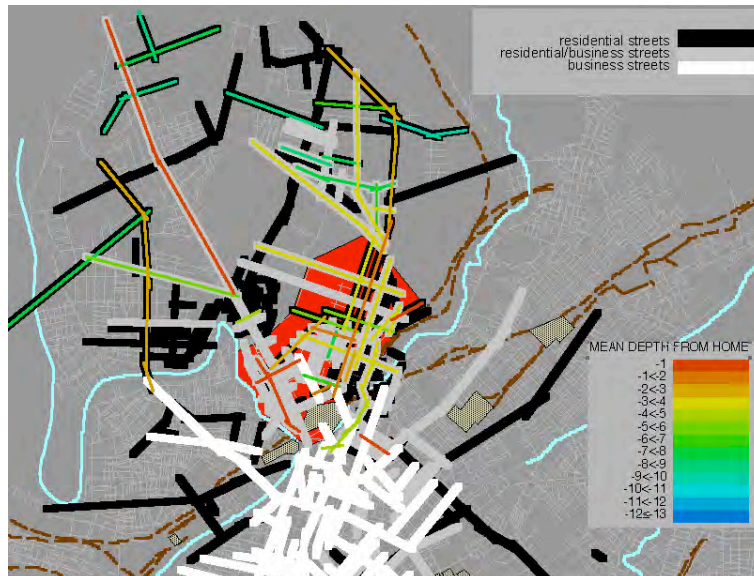


Plate 7 – Mean 'depth' from home to work, Manchester c. 1881 (Red Bank coloured red)

The map shows that many of the streets inhabited by Jewish families in the Red Bank district were relatively close to work and supports historical evidence which indicates that the Jewish families there tended to work in the workshops close to home or were occupied doing piece-work at home. This map is supported by statistical analysis, which shows that axial step depth from home to work for addresses in the area is significantly smaller than average ($p=0.0196$)

This section has shown that historical contentions regarding the concentration of the Jews of Manchester in a narrow band of occupations can be proven by the census data of 1881. It has also shown that the concentration into a narrow band is not typical of the non-Jewish population of the Red Bank district, who worked in a wider and more representative spread of occupations, despite their physical and economic segregation.

Analysis of Household Structure

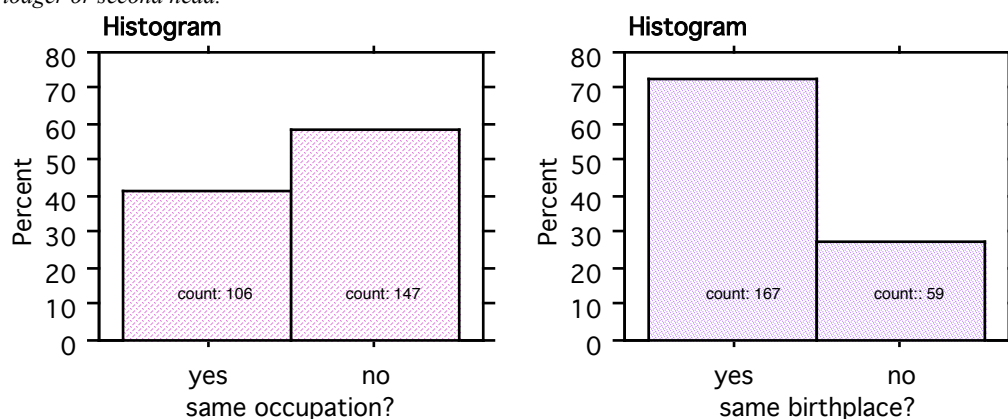
Research into the household structure of the Manchester and Leeds 'ghetto' areas undertaken for this project found that Jews were twice as likely to share with someone from the same country of origin as non-Jews. The following analysis looked at the incidence of identical occupations for second head or lodger as opposed to identical country of origin, in order to see to what degree are migrants likely to lodge with people from the same occupation. The purpose of this analysis was to test the issue of co-dependence in the Red Bank district; and also to see whether this is a specifically Jewish phenomenon or one common to all immigrants.

• Analysis of Jewish households in Manchester overall

Figure *d* below is a set of histograms which show the result of analysis of all Jewish heads in Manchester who lived in shared households, of whether the head of household had the same occupation as boarders, lodgers or second heads of household at the same address (left) and whether the head of household was born in the same country as boarders, lodgers or second heads of household at the same address (right). The method of ascertaining the incidence of sharing occupation was that if there were more than one boarder or head in a household, only one case of matching occupation was sufficient in determining that boarder and head had the same occupation. The birthplace was only compared in cases where the head was born abroad.

We see that of the two questions, whether occupation or birthplace are stronger determinates of co-residence, that birthplace comes out much more strongly, with over 70% of households with co-residents coming from the same country of origin, whilst only 42% of households with co-residents share the same occupation.

Figure d: frequency distribution of Jewish sharing heads who have same occupation or same birthplace as boarder, lodger or second head.



Further analysis of cases where occupation and birthplace both applied, showed that the highest incidence, 39%, was for cases where occupation was not shared, but birthplace was; and the next highest incidence, 34%, was of households where both birthplace and occupations were shared. Considering the small number of occupation types amongst the Jews, this finding suggests that birthplace was a much stronger determinate of co-dependence.

• **Comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish households within Red Bank**

Analysis was also undertaken just of the Red Bank area, which contained the majority of sharing households, in order to see how different the Jewish residents were from their non-Jewish neighbours. The results showed that the proportion of boarders sharing the same trade or occupation as the head of household was twice the rate for Jewish households as for non-Jewish households (37% compared with 18%). In addition, the proportion of boarders coming from the same country of origin as the head or wife (which was calculated only for cases where the head or wife were born abroad) was much greater amongst Jewish households than amongst non-Jewish households (71% compared with 30%). This is an especially interesting finding, considering that non-Jewish households born abroad were predominantly from Ireland, whilst Jewish households came from many different countries.

An additional analysis was done to compare non-Jews within Red Bank with non-Jews in the rest of the city, to see if the sharing of occupations in Red Bank was a phenomenon more related to 'Jewishness' or to location in the area. The results showed that Jewish occupational co-dependence was maintained at a similar rate for Jewish families who had moved outside of the area, whilst the shared birthplace rate for Jews was lower outside of the Red Bank district, suggesting that language or cultural co-dependence is a factor more important in the area of initial settlement, Red Bank. For non-Jews the 'same occupation' rate was higher within Red Bank. Evidently, co-dependence continues to be important outside of Red Bank for Jewish immigrants and less so for non-Jewish immigrants.

Summary and Conclusions

The common definitions of a 'ghetto', as an area of initial settlement or an area of extreme poverty or an area populated by a particular ethnic group, all seem to hold for the district of the Red Bank of Manchester. Space syntax analysis of the area showed that as well as these 'ghetto' type measures, the district was spatially segregated from the remaining urban area. Moreover, it showed specific patterns of distribution of the Jewish population, which correlated higher density with greater spatial segregation.

Red Bank was shown to be an area of initial immigration, and there were also indications that the Jewish immigration was replacing a previous wave of immigration from Ireland (whose population was smaller and had been longer in the UK). The pattern of settlement was shown to be one of intensification of certain streets in the area. This is a finding supported by the parallel study into the creation of the Jewish settlement in Leeds over 6 decades. See Vaughan (1999), which

showed that a relatively small number of streets was colonised by the incoming immigrants and then those streets were settled more densely from decade to decade. This finding tends to support the theory of co-dependence, that immigrants from a similar background or country of origin prefer to cluster – either for self-help, or due to availability of sub-letting by countrymen. Both of these theories are also supported by the analysis presented here, which showed a high rate of sharing households where head and boarders were from the same country of origin.

The results relating to occupational structures showed strong evidence to support the theory that at least in the initial wave of immigration, there is a tendency to cluster in a small number of trades. Analysis of the city overall showed that the Jewish population seems to maintain trade specialisation (and spatial clustering) beyond the area of initial settlement, in the suburbs. Many historical and sociological sources suggest that this pattern of settlement is due to the reliance of this minority group on self-support and its desire for maintenance of cultural and social activities beyond the initial stages of migration. See Waterman and Kosmin (1987) and Lipman (1962-67). This is a phenomenon apparent in certain other immigrant groups, but the spatial clustering tends to be more diffuse (e.g. Cypriots in the Green Lanes district of London).

The results of this research highlight distinctive characteristics to the Jewish immigration, but also highlight the phenomenon of certain areas of cities being prone to becoming areas of initial immigration for successive waves of migration as well as being prone to becoming slums. The latter finding was investigated across the two examples of Manchester and Leeds by analysing class defined by occupation and using other economic measures, such as housing density. The results suggested that not only were Red Bank in Manchester and the Leylands district of Leeds prone to waves of immigration, but that there was a significant proportion of inhabitants who suffered poverty levels more severe than their (poor) immigrant neighbours. These findings seem to suggest that there is a relationship between spatial segregation and economic deprivation and this is to be investigated in a research project analysing the Booth maps of Social Condition in 19th century London.

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