# The spatial foundations of community construction: the future of pluralism in Britain's 'multi-cultural' society

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**Abstract**

Research by this author and others has found that the process of the formation of clusters of immigrant settlement on the edge of cities enables immigrant groups to make social adjustments to their host society and allows urban environments to accommodate difference. Research has also shown that some groups elect to continue to cluster in the second generation of settlement and beyond, in order to sustain communal ties. Such groups follow a pattern of acculturation rather than assimilation.

This paper reviews current knowledge on immigrant and ethnic minority settlement patterns and shows that common perceptions of immigrant and ethnic clusters being characterised by segregation fails to deal with the complexity of these phenomena. Taking lessons from studies of the physical, social and economic form of Jewish immigrant quarters in 19th century Britain, the paper shows that immigrant and ethnic clusters that are frequently negatively perceived as 'ghettos', can in fact act as springboards towards economic integration. This paper presents evidence to show that physical clustering enables intensification of communal activity, socialisation, networking and self-support, and suggests that settlement in locations which enable economic activity is a necessary step in the immigrant process.

A discussion of the concepts of segregation and community shows that in complex societies it is incorrect to assume a correspondence between space and society. Individuals can be members of several communities simultaneously and the urban environment can be structured to enable encounters between a diverse set of social groups. The discussion demonstrates the need for precise, evidence based analysis to understand the complexity of the contemporary built environment.

The paper goes on to highlight findings from recent censuses that demonstrate that patterns of Muslim settlement in the UK are not following a model of US style ghettoisation. Instead, it is suggested that rather than the Chicago School's model of the melting pot, the likely future of the urban environment in Britain is one of pluralism. The paper concludes that immigrant clusters are a multi-dimensional, complex feature of cities, which cannot be written off as 'ghettoisation'.

**Introduction**

Louis Wirth (1928) famously wrote that "the localised aspect of urban communities causes the segmentation of urban life, both because the individual has no conception of the overall scheme of urban life and because urban life tends to be extremely segmented, due to the formation of spatially segregated areas which are likely to be sorted according to colour, ethnic heritage, economic and social status, tastes and preferences" (op cit, 70). This presumption that spatial clustering by ethnicity or religion is an inevitable – and fundamentally bad – aspect of urban life has been a central issue in debates about urban problems for the past century. This paper will demonstrate the importance of looking back 100 years to a classic case of voluntary clustering by an immigrant group in what was seen at the time to be a 'ghetto', but which has subsequently gone through the same process as thousands of similar settlements through history; a process which has been observed elsewhere (Carter 1983: 199), to start with a relatively tight cluster followed by dispersal over time.

One of the difficulties in the use of the term 'ghetto' is its multiplicity of meaning. It can variously be used to describe exclusion due to poverty, due to ethnicity, due to physical separation, due to economic deprivation, or due to occupational segmentation, among others. When used to describe one of these states, the other meanings may be strung along as well. Thus, the ethnic cluster is assumed to be physically separate and so on. Where ethnic quarters are also poverty quarters, the perception can be that this has been caused by 'structural racism', see Smith (1989), yet other research that will be detailed below shows that ethnic clustering in England is in most cases by choice.[1]

There is a perception that 'ghettoisation' is a critical part of the inner city problem in the West today. In a letter to the editor of the Daily Telegraph, entitled 'Race Relations Must Avoid Ghettos', the author states: "We are informed that we are to have a place known as Banglatown in London's East End... The very suggestion seems to me offensive... The attempt to change established place names is an attempt to pervert history, and to create foreign ghettos in the heart of our cities... [this is] a proposed development that explicitly denies [integration] and puts self-conscious separatism in its place" (27/1/97). Indeed, Eade (1996) has described the vigorous hostility amongst the general public towards *muezzin* who call the Muslims of the East End of London to prayer - the Muslims were also accused of cutting themselves off from British life (and drowning out the sound of church bells). A review of the press at any given time is likely to produce a similar set of reports. Whilst, Begum and Eade, (2005), show how the particularity of the East End concentration, with 19th century Jewish immigration and subsequently with Muslim and other non-Christian immigration, has intensified negative perceptions of this classic immigrant quarter. As early as the 19th century, the area had acquired a "mythical status" due to its "reputation for poverty, noxious industries, turbulence and immigrants". Yet, Kershen (2004: 265) shows that the location of the East End on the edge of the City of London enabled immigrants to manage their transition from alien to inhabitant: "a dwelling place where they could set down roots and accommodate change in an alien society. At the same time they sought to create a fortress within which they could exclude all that was strange and threatening."

In one of his earliest works on immigrant 'segregation', Peach (1968) demonstrated that since the West Indian immigration to Britain after the second world war, the accepted solution to the "formation of ghettos" was seen to be dispersal (op cit: p. 83). Chisholm (1990) has subsequently suggested that when religious differences occur alongside poverty, the perception is that the group poses a greater challenge for integration. Yet Sibley (1992) suggests there may be an advantage to minority clusters "to remain hidden, out of sight of the dominant society..." since they are less likely to be rejected if the majority population is unaware of them (op cit: 121). Clustering is viewed in this case as a protective device for oppressed minorities. Madanipour (2004) has shown that the perception of the ethnic enclave is one of 'entrapment' of the minority group, along with the 'exclusion and intimidation' of others. More subtle distinctions are proposed in 'Desegregating the City', where Varady (2005) states that researchers must be careful about "relying on outdated, simplistic stereotypes" in distinguishing between ghettos and enclaves. In his opinion, the critical distinction to be made is that of choice: "voluntary self-segregation is not necessarily bad" and he maintains that post 9/11 we need a redefinition of terms (op cit, p. xv). The same is likely to be the case in the UK, particularly since the London bombings of July 2005. This distinction is critical to the argument set out in this paper: clustering does not necessarily equate with segregation – with a cutting off from the host society; moreover, a minority group can be integrated or segregated in a whole variety of ways. Such a distinction, between social segregation and economic integration can be found in a recent study by Aftab (2005) which found that the Bangladeshi inhabitants of two housing estates in the East End of

London had adopted a pattern of usage of the streets of the area in the form of "exclusive co-presence", with the interstices of the estates forming a spatial complexity that enabled greater privacy for women, yet the proximity to the main streets of the area enabled economic activity, particularly for the men. The paper also suggested that the complexity of the estates' layout enables the traditions and culture to be safeguarded (such as reinforcing kinship networks), whilst strict social rules are maintained through the ability of the community to observe the behaviour of individuals (on a similar theme, relating to public space in Southall, west London, see Sultan Khan, 2003).

This paper sets out to describe the author's previous research into three 19th century perceived ghettos: Jewish immigrant settlement in London, Manchester and Leeds. It will demonstrate the importance of unpacking the reality of minority clustering into its various components – spatial, economic and religious/social in order to provide an improved understanding of the contemporary situation. The paper starts with a review of causes for immigrant clustering, demonstrating that the perceived 'problem of ghettoisation' is a common occurrence with large scale immigration. The following section reviews studies of spatial segregation and highlights the challenges of measuring segregation accurately. This is followed by a review of the author's research into patterns of Jewish immigrant settlement in 19th century England, demonstrating the complexity and length of the process and its varied character. The concluding section suggests some lessons to be learned from the historical example and how these relate to current data on Muslim settlement patterns, ending with proposals for further research into this subject.

As shown by Begum and Eade (2005), British Muslims are diverse both in measures of socio-economic status as well as in their identities and political viewpoints. With the recognition of these limitations, this paper seeks to draw generalised conclusions on Muslims who come from recent waves of immigration.

**The causes of immigrant clustering**

The commonest reason for the location of the Jewish and other immigrant quarters on the edge of the central business district is the desire to be close to sources of employment, as well as economic constraints leading to settlement in poverty areas. See Fishman (1988) and Godley (2001). The importance of adjacency to economic active areas, particularly to opportunities for casual and unskilled labour, is a factor frequently overlooked in discussions regarding dispersal of immigrant and minority groups. Immigrants are commonly unfamiliar with the language and may have inappropriate skills for the local market and are thus more likely to need a flexible job market. Another important characteristic is that many immigrant trades are characterised by patterns of self employment and subdivision – requiring a dense pattern of settlement of the larger kinship/ethnic network; notably, subdivision necessitates spatial proximity of one stage of the process to the next – so the button-hole maker needs to live close to the worker in the previous and next stage of the garment making. Dench et al (2006) show that this is still the case with the Bengalis of East London, due to the "localised nature of their work in clothing and catering." (op cit: 123).

As well as the natural inclination of immigrant communities to concentrate in an area for mutual economic support; there are social and religious or cultural reasons which are specific to some immigrant groups which influence their clustering beyond the first generation of migration (for example, the need to create a sufficiently large cluster to maintain a place of worship and community hall). Another common cause of initial immigrant clustering is the need for a network of support when arriving in a new and alien land (see Kershen, 2005).

Previous research into immigrant and poverty 'ghettos' suggests that the process of dispersal of immigrants after the initial stage of settlement is enabled by successful integration into the host economy. Yet it is important to emphasise that the second stage of settlement does not normally entail complete dispersal. It is very common to find a continuing pattern of clustering, but with a decrease in density. In some cases, when an upwardly mobile, ethnic group elects not to - or is unable to - assimilate fully into the host society, they need spatial clustering to make their ethnic institutions flourish. It is also notable that such groups tend to avoid spatial segregation – it is suggested that this avoidance is a choice made to avoid isolation from the host society, which might prevent them from benefiting from full functional integration into society – a pattern of settlement which constitutes concentration without segregation (see Waterman and Kosmin, 1987). In the case of late 19th century

Jewish immigrant population, Lipman (1990) maintains that even when moving to the suburbs, they followed a distinctive pattern of clustering in particular neighbourhoods. This feature of long-term clustering is particularly likely when religious or cultural rules of endogamy are present (see Valins, 2003).

**Approaches to studying segregation**

The common association of the phenomenon of clustering with a perception of segregation – that is, a *cutting-off of the immigrant or ethnic group from the host society* - is at the core of this paper, which attempts to establish whether immigrant clustering is necessarily related to segregation.

Geographical studies of this topic have become prevalent since various measures of segregation (such as the index of dissimilarity) were developed from the 1950s and onwards (Duncan & Duncan, 1955). They are typified by studies such as that by Farley and Frey (1994) on 'changes in the segregation of whites from blacks during the 1980s'. Segregation is normally measured in such studies by plotting the percentage distributions of social variables by the sub-area of the city. This is taken for each variable in turn, for instance the percentage of people in each social class, by district; in overcrowded households or from the same place of birth. Broad social contrasts are revealed by this method and spatial correlations can be made between maps of each of the variables. However, segregation is a concept whose meaning is not consistent throughout such studies. In some, 'segregation' refers to *singular social areas* (e.g. Peach, 1975: 'Urban Social Segregation'); and in others, *singular class areas* (e.g. Page, 1991: 'The Mobility of the Poor: a case study of Edwardian Leicester'), whilst in a third type, *singular ethnic areas* are analysed (e.g. Simmons, 1981: 'Contrasts in Asian Residential Segregation') - although some studies may conflate the term 'segregation' to cover ethnic and social singularity, for example.

If we concentrate on studies of ethnic segregation, it is important to note that international comparisons have commonly found a clear distinction between the US and UK in the degree of ethnic residential segregation (see Peach, 1996), emphasising the importance of calculating "what proportion of a group's members live in relatively exclusive areas", as well as the degree of concentration, and suggesting that whilst the US case shows many examples of 'ghettos' – where over 60% of a group's members are in relatively exclusive areas, this is not the case in the UK, where there are only enclaves - small concentrations of a relatively small proportion of the minority group (Johnston et al., 2002: 210). In an article by Norris (2005), it is shown that segregation has decreased in every census since 1961. He suggests that the cause of the perception of segregation is due to the fact that "a disproportionate number of people in areas of multiple deprivation are from poor Muslim backgrounds." Simpson (2004, 2005) has addressed these ideas in response to the "accusation against Muslim communities in official reports, after the riots of 2001 in three northern British cities, of 'self-segregation' and 'isolationism'". He shows that in contrast with the myth of racial self-segregation, the statistics suggesting an intensification of Muslim residential areas can be explained by natural increase in the Muslim population that is higher than other groups in the area.

The following section describes a series of studies by the author of Jewish immigrant settlements in 19th century England. The aim of the studies was to understand the spatial nature of the 'ghetto', and to understand why it is that supposedly segregating immigrant groups have ultimately succeeded in integrating economically and socially, as well as physically into their host society. The architectural analytic theories and methods collectively known as 'space syntax' were used to create a spatially related database comprising the entire population of each of the immigrant quarters (and not just the immigrant population). Unlike other studies of residential segregation, which tend to use area averages to study geographical distribution of populations, the advantage of these methods are their high degree of spatial resolution, to the street block level. In addition, the use of whole population cohorts enables comparisons to be made between immigrants and the people living alongside them within the same area, considering factors such as the economic status of immigrants and UK-born residents of the same area. This method also minimises sample error, which is particularly important when trying to capture a minority group that is unevenly distributed across space.

**Learning from history**

The Jewish communities of London, Manchester and Leeds in the late 19th century, contained the largest Jewish population clusters in England of that period and included both established Jewish families (from previous migration waves) as well as newly arrived immigrants. Of the three, London was the most established and Leeds, the least. During the period leading up to 1881, the cut off point for the studies, the Jewish population in Britain grew from 36,000 to 60,000; an increase that was mainly due to immigration from Eastern Europe (Lipman, 1990). The incoming migrants settled in high densities in poor areas in each of the cities, although there were smaller settlements in other urban centres around the country. Numerous Jewish charities and organisations were set up by established Jewish communities to provide financial support, but also with the aim of integrating the new immigrants socially and economically into the existing population. Despite this, high density settlement caused crises of unsanitary conditions and overcrowding (Pollins, 1982). Moreover, immigrant living conditions were frequently worse than those of the other inhabitants of the poverty areas. For example, Booth (1902, vol. 4: 46), states that within the generally poor East End of London, the immigrant quarter was distinctive, with "overcrowding in all its forms, whether in the close packing of human beings within four walls, or in the filling up of every available building space with dwellings and workshops.... The percentage of persons per acre rises to 227; the highest at the East End."

The primary form of spatial analysis used in these studies was space syntax (Hillier & Hanson, 1984). The advantage of space syntax methods for studies of immigrant quarters is that they deal with the city at the street scale, rather than the common method of aggregated areal studies, see e.g. Ballas (2004). In addition, a key aspect of space syntax methods is that they deal with the relationship between local to global properties of spatial structures (in the Vaughan studies, entire cities were mapped and analysed). All these measures are independent of variables such as class, land values and land-use, so the relationship between urban form and social structure can be studied statistically, with each variable considered in turn. Moreover, small differences between neighbouring streets and their degree of inter-accessibility can be quantified precisely. [2]

Space syntax methods have been developed for analysing spatial layouts in buildings and urban areas, modelling the relationship between spatial layouts and how people use and move through cities. These methods are based on the theories advanced by Hillier and Hanson (1984), which suggest that the configuration of the urban grid itself is the main generator of patterns of movement. Space syntax analysis is concerned with systematically describing and analysing streets, squares and all open public space as a continuous system in order to measure how well connected each street space is to its surroundings. This is done by taking an accurate map and drawing a set of intersecting lines through all the spaces of the urban grid so that the grid is covered and all rings of circulation are completed. The resulting set of lines is called an 'axial map'. A bespoke computer programme calculates an index for all the lines according to their relative depth to each other, using simple mathematical measures. The terminology used to describe this depth states how spatially integrated or segregated it is. The resulting numbers then form the basis for coloured up maps which represent the distribution of spatial accessibility. The range of numbers goes from red for the most accessible (integrated) through the colour spectrum to blue for the least accessible (segregated) – or in a greyscale map from dark grey to light grey. 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 numerically measurable properties of space use. There are a variety of measures used in space syntax analysis, the most common are Global integration (or integration radius n), which measures the degree to which each line in the map is present on the simplest (fewest changes of direction) routes to and from all other lines. 'Local integration' (or integration radius 3) restricts the measurement of routes from any line to only those lines that are up to three changes of direction away from it. This measures the localised importance of a space for access within a particular part of a city area.

Space Syntax research has applied these analysis techniques to a large number of settlements around the world, ranging from villages to cities as large as Santiago and Tokyo (see Hillier, 1996, 2001). These studies have proposed that a large proportion of the empirically observed movement in cities can be explained by the street pattern itself. Some notable exceptions to this relationship include modern housing estates which normally do not correlate at all, or in some extreme cases, as the Alexandra Road estate at Swiss Cottage in London, the relationship has been found to be bifurcated (see 'Can Architecture Cause Social Malaise?' in Hillier, 1996).

Space syntax analysis that compared the immigrant quarters to their urban surroundings, found that the immigrant quarters were significantly more segregated then neighbouring areas, in addition, when considering the measure of depth – the number of street turnings away from the quarters to the city centres, the immigrant quarters were found to be more distant than other inner-city areas. This finding reinforces the comment by Williams (1985: 81) that the area of 'classic slum' in Manchester was, 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'". In contrast, the main streets in each of the areas were reasonably well connected to the 'live centres' of each of the cities. Thus, the spatial analysis suggest that the interstices of the immigrant quarters were indeed cut off from city life, yet the areas were overall not particularly distant from the city centre and its economic activities.

Another significant finding was the high rate of poverty, not only for the immigrants, but for all the residents of the immigrant quarters, who were clustered in the 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled' occupations. Other measures of poverty, such as the proportion of households sub-letting to other families, or renting rooms to lodgers, had a significant rate within the immigrant quarter – varying between 11% within the quarter and 6% outside of the quarter in Manchester, for example. Immigrants were much more likely to sub-let or share their dwellings than their (equally poor) neighbours. This acceptance of reduced living conditions by immigrants is a common phenomenon, and can be a frequent point of contention due to the consequential noise and overcrowding in shared blocks.

The process of formation of the immigrant cluster was reported in Vaughan and Penn (2005). The study showed a clear pattern in the manner in which the immigrant quarter was formed. After initial settlement by single young men in various locations, the settlement starts to form in a core within the poorest district. Rather than spreading out throughout the district, immigrant families moved into streets already settled by their co-religionists, thus increasing the immigrant settlement density in those streets over others. Historical evidence suggests that in some cases tensions between the host and minority populations led to actual 'exclusion zones', with some streets becoming exclusively 'Jewish' (see Davin, 1996: 37, in reference to the London Irish and Jewish population in turn), but it is also likely that the aforementioned other causes, such as religious ties and work patterns, applied here also. One of the key findings of the study of the Leeds settlement was that the process of development of the immigrant quarter, followed measurable patterns of intensification, then small-scale dispersal, in the formation of immigrant settlement in a 50-year period.

An earlier study of the London Jewish quarter (Vaughan, 1994) found that socio-economic factors are also related to the spatial distinctiveness of the area of immigrant settlement, where strong co-dependence is an important factor in enabling the economic viability and social strength of an immigrant group. Co-dependence is a term used by this author to describe the existence of organisations such as cultural societies, clubs, religious institutions, charities and burial societies set up by an immigrant group to support its members. The research involved plotting the location of around 100 communal institutions, distinguishing between those that served the local community, and those which served the London-wide community. It found that the location of immigrant institutions tends to be on the main local streets of an area, but on streets which do not form part of the global spatial networks of the city. The study concluded that immigrant groups function spatially at two scales – a pattern of activity which relates to the movement economy of the city, in order to enable interaction with the host community and localised interaction which enables reinforcement of the social solidarity of the immigrant community. Anecdotal evidence which has emerged from discussions with researchers at the Young Foundation in London, suggests a similar pattern of distribution of Muslim institutions in London's East End.

Research into informal co-dependence - household clusters forming according to country of origin, and shared work and prayer activities - found that these occurred at significantly higher rates in the case of families newer to the country (Vaughan and Penn, 2005). Cultural differences between immigrants would also cause them to choose to live in households from the same country of origin (see White, 2003: 80). In all cases not only was there almost 100% religious endogamy, but also marriage between Jewish immigrants from the same country of origin at rates of up to 89% (historical research indicates that this was frequently due to single men 'sending home' for a bride from their home town). When compared with other immigrant groups, the rate was significantly higher – particularly in the more recently created settlements such as Leeds. This strong cultural reinforcement of place of origin clearly must have played a part in strengthening communal ties. Similarly, the fact that the majority of Bengali

immigrants to the East End of London have come from one small region, Sylhet, has had a similar impact on strong family and communal ties amongst the contemporary Muslim population, Dench et al. (2006).

Historical evidence indicates that in addition to work, it was the availability of cheap housing which made such districts as the ones analysed here attractive to the immigrant poor. However, closer inspection is needed to understand the nature of such factors. Just as work availability was shown here to be associated with proximity to the economic centre, housing and economic factors seems to have been linked to spatial integration. A comparison of local integration values within the London immigrant quarter to average values in the district showed that although the lowest classes as defined by Booth (1889) lived in significantly segregated locations, the trend was such that the households above the poverty line were close to average, with the higher classes in the area evidently more integrated than average. Thus, except for the classes in the worst deprivation, the streets of the East End, which were perceived to full of the irredeemably poor, in fact contained a variety of classes. As stated by Fishman (1988: 11): "the poor were not a homogeneous class", but varied in their situation according to their work status. Statistical analysis of poverty in relation to streets with high proportions of immigrants, using a 19th century map published in Russell & Lewis (1900), showed a distinct pattern of bifurcation between the streets where immigrants were a minority (up to 50%) which become more integrated, the denser they become, and the streets where the immigrants were a majority (50-100%), which become less integrated as density increased. The East End streets with no immigrants at all were the most segregated overall in the case of local integration. This finding becomes more significant where the map is studied, as it shows that highest density immigrant streets were closest to the West End and City of London. Figure 1 illustrates this, showing how the majority cluster (streets coloured in shades of blue) was located in a variety of streets ranging from the well connected main streets (where immigrant proportions ranged up to 75%) and the poorly connected back streets (where immigrant populations ranged between 75% and 100%). [3].
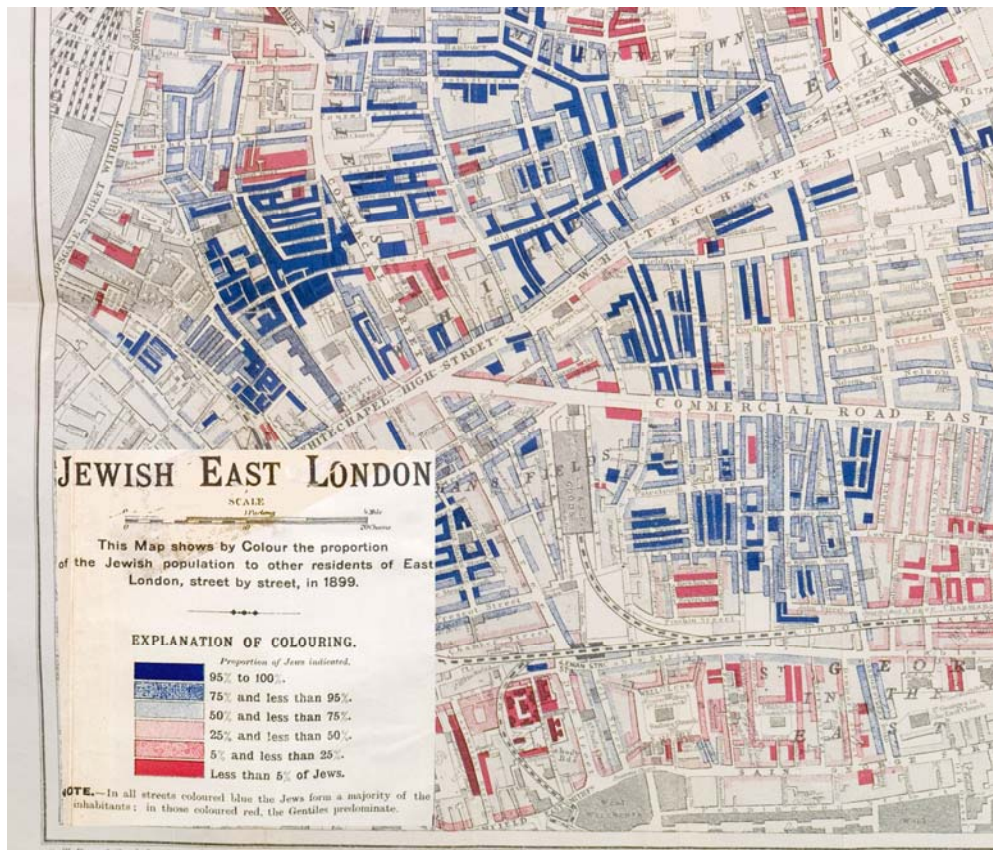


Figure 1 South-western section of 'Jewish East London: the proportion of the Jewish population to other residents of East London, street by street, in 1899'. Courtesy of Museum of London.

The study by the author of second stage settlement in Manchester found a pattern of movement close to the first stage settlement, with consolidation of the settlement in a relatively small area in order to enable the viability of communal institutions as well as family and work connections (see Vaughan, 2002). It is striking that, in all three cases, a significant majority of the Jewish immigrants and their descendants continued to live in the initial areas of settlement for at least 60 years after the initial settlement took place. These findings suggest that "ghettos" are part of a long-term process, demonstrating that it can take several generations for an immigrant group to move out of the area of initial settlement, particularly if they are doubly distinctive: ethnically and religiously.

**Conclusions – are English Muslims ghettoised?**

This paper has demonstrated that the spatial clustering of immigrants and ethnic minorities is a multi-dimensional, complex issue, which cannot be written off as 'ghettoisation': it has shown that clustering can be beneficial for mutual support and for setting up niche economic activities within the immigrant group. Clustering also enables the sustenance of minority cultural and religious activities. The spatial form of settlement is critical in the formation of economic activity, particularly in the case of informal economies (see also Greene, 2003). In all three cases shown here, the immigrant quarter was located at the edge of the economic centre of the city, rather than at a distant, spatially segregated location. Indeed, studies of historically successful immigrant groups show that the ability to connect with the economic centre through spatial proximity, coupled with support networks, helps create the foundations for economic activity and ultimately, economic mobility of people living in so called '*ghetto*' areas. On the other hand, spatial segregation can reinforce social barriers that "isolate the poor, and the minority poor most of all, from useful connections to job advice, and other forms of aid", Briggs (2005: 85). The importance of understanding the small-scale variation of situation - both spatial and economic - has been shown also by Lee and Murie (1997), who suggest that the presumption that council house tenure equates with deprivation is an oversimplification of the reality of the 'mosaic' of degrees of deprivation that appear in the UK's cities.

This paper has also shown the importance of understanding the multifarious meanings of terms such as 'segregation' and 'community'. As pointed out by Werbner (2005: 748), "some concepts simply refuse to go away" – the notion of immigrants refusing to integrate with the 'community' is repeatedly used in current discourse, which depends on a premise (probably stemming from Park, 1926), that propinquity is a vital component in promoting social interaction and that ultimately, the aim for integration of minorities is the 'melting pot'. The latest concept of heterogeneity is the idea of 'balanced communities', whilst the opposing concept is the 'ethnic enclave' (from the US), as a solution to racial conflict. In contrast to these commonly held ideas, Peach (2005) suggests an alternative model for social integration – whereby "pluralism leads to economic integration but social encapsulation" (op cit, 31). Segregation and integration are not binary opposites in an ideal world of 'community' amity. This usage does not account for people belonging to more than one community, nor does it account for the fact that members of a particular 'community' might have more in common with their work group, economic class or political group than with their own 'community'. Lastly, it does not account for the likelihood that the community in question might be fragmented and diverse in its viewpoints, attitudes and common beliefs. The common conceptualisation of 'community' seems to assume that a group sharing one common aspect will tend to find other common interests and ties, the underlying principle seems to be that individuals are acting as part of a cohesive group with common ties and that this is reinforced by a clear spatial boundary (the 'territoriality' paradigm).

A critical discussion of the relationship between space and society and of the territoriality paradigm as it relates to social interaction was first laid out in 'The Architecture of Community' by Hillier and Hanson (1987). They contended that in complex societies containing many and various communities, space has a different role to play than a straightforward *correspondence* with the society which it contains. Rather, the urban environment can be structured so as to enable the encounters between different social groups, both spatial and transpatial. (Madanipour, 2004, suggests that public spaces can play an important role in this regard). Hanson (2000) subsequently wrote that different social groups had different principles of solidarity, encoded into "different daily routines and practices that led to different modes of spatial co-presence... these 'code' differences were realised in patterns of local encounter." She goes onto to show that the greatest (negative) impact a move to modern housing estates (and thus location in a more remote location) is on the weakest and least powerful people

socially; those who depended on their local environment the most to support them in their everyday life" (op cit, 117-118).

The historical examples shown here have many parallels with the Muslims of contemporary England. We know from previous research into immigrant settlement, that despite the general tendency of immigrant groups to ultimately integrate into society, there are cases where groups will choose, or are forced to, remain distinctive. This may be through cultural disparities or through the wish of either the host or the immigrant society that the latter remain separate. What has changed in recent times is that although immigrants continue to arrive in the East End and other major English cities for the primary stages of settlement, there are now greater pressures to encourage them to move elsewhere, typically to more remote locations and sometimes, dispersal is encouraged. Hanson's analysis would suggest that such policies are likely to be highly problematic if the aim is for immigrant groups to be economically self-sustaining in time.

Dench et al. (2006) have shown that in the case of Bangladeshi immigrants and their descendants in East London, spatial reinforcement of culture has been more important than physical comfort: "...we know that many took the view that poor quality housing, even very poor quality housing, in a safe and known neighbourhood was better than a relatively good house surrounded by hostile people" (op cit, 63) and "in the community heartland of Banglatown, the rapid concentration of population produced a sense of solidarity and well-being early on" (op cit, 67). They have also found that like with the Jewish immigrants before them, "the value of living within a large Bangladeshi community was that it [makes] the maintenance of the religious practice so much easier" (op cit, 90) as well as the maintenance of rules of endogamy: "almost all then marry within their community of origin" (op cit, 91). The mosque continues to be the focus of clustering beyond the first generation of settlement, even in a situation of a very varied Muslim 'umma'. We can forecast the possible trajectory of the Bangladeshi population (which has in fact started to move out of the East End since the period covered by Dench's book) by looking at the work by Nasser (2004). Nasser shows how the morphological landscape of the high street in the characteristically South Asian London suburb of Southall has become a 'Kaleido-scape' of South Asian identities, which is an expression of the reality of the English 'multi-cultural' environment. Likewise, Anwar (in Abbas, 2005), shows that "most Muslim families (even if they have the means to live in a more affluent area) will prefer to stay where their own family and community are near" (p. 37). As stated at the start of this paper, Varady (2005, xiv) has shown that *choice* is the key factor distinguishing ghettos from enclaves: "Since affluent Blacks moving to upscale Atlanta suburbs are doing so out of choice, these areas are enclaves not ghettos. This type of voluntary self-segregation is not necessarily bad." Moreover, it is understandable; as the quote goes on to show the middle-class African-American can maintain strong economic ties in the workplace and simultaneously create a parallel and alternative set of ties when it comes to home and local community, where they can reconnect with the African-American community: "I effectively have integrated. I've gone to predominantly white schools, I work in a white firm, and I can live anywhere I want. It really is psychologically soothing for me to be in Harlem... when you are in your own community... I'm basking in my own culture".

This article has come full circle to the idea of community. What does community mean in contemporary England? A report from the Runnymede Trust (2000) in a section on 'Identities in Transition' states that "all communities are changing and all are complex, with internal diversity and disagreements, linked to differences of gender, generation, religion and language, and to different stances in relation to wider society. Also, there are many overlaps, borrowings and two-way influences – no community is or can be insulated from all others." There is evidence of a growth in faith schools, but this does not mean that children attending such schools are not capable of having a sense of British citizenship or of communicating "across cultures and faiths"[4]. Moreover, there is evidence that the younger generation of Muslims is doing better at school, with aspiration for higher education (Gavron and Dench, 2006). This suggest a process of acculturation alongside economic integration and supports Peach's aforementioned model of a future of pluralism, as opposed to earlier models of assimilation.

This paper suggests that further research is vital in order to properly understand ethnic residential patterns of Muslims in England. We need to understand the experiences of new migrants and long-term residents (including established immigrant communities) in everyday places and interactions, particularly in the immediate neighbourhood, as well at school, work, social, and public places.[5] The recent negative reports in the press on the apparent problem of faith schools and schools need to be supplemented by more detailed evidence on the degree of interaction between groups, as well as what

happens in tertiary education. Research into patterns of change in Muslim areas has been already reported in this paper (e.g. Simpson, 2005). Further research is needed into how these change in relation to age groups, occupational activity and so on. Other research into the impact of 'ethnic' institutions, agencies and individuals on internal and external communal interactions and behaviours will shed greater light on the perception of a group cutting itself off from society. In particular, it is important to understand how socio-spatial factors (such as economic stagnation) differ in their impact on new migrants and long-term residents in turn, on their particular personal circumstances, and on accessible and segregated housing areas in turn: does it impede the creation of community ties as well as ties to the host community? It is hoped that further research will shed light on these questions.

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[1] The origins of the term 'ghetto' are frequently debated, but historical evidence shows that the Jewish settlement in Venice was the first to be associated with this term and 'ghettoisation' can signify enforced enclosure, as well as the more common association with settlement by choice, see Ravid (1992).

[2] The findings reported in this section stem from MSc and PhD studies funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC) at the UCL Bartlett School of Graduate Studies.

[3] See reprint of a section of the map at http://www.movinghere.org.uk/galleries/histories/jewish/journeys/thames6.htm.

[4] Dr Mohammed Mukadam, from a transcript of a House of Commons Select Committee on citizenship education in faith schools, see House of Commons, 2006.

[5] Indeed, some important work in this area has already been done; see Phillips et al, 2007.