THE GHETTO

Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies

EDITED BY RAY HUTCHISON AND BRUCE D. HAYNES

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INTRODUCTION

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Ghetto (ghet·to), Pronunciation: /'getō, /noun (plural ghettos or ghettoes) a part of a city, especially a slum area, occupied by a minority group or groups. Historical: The Jewish quarter in a city: the Warsaw Ghetto an isolated or segregated group or area: the relative security of the gay ghetto; verb (ghettos, ghettoing, ghettoed) [with object] put in or restrict to an isolated or segregated area or group." Origin: early seventeenth century: perhaps from Italian getto "foundry" (because the first ghetto was established in 1516 on the site of a foundry in Venice), or from Italian borghetto, diminutive of borgo "borough."

Although the term *ghetto* originated in Europe and referred to the area of the city to which Jews were restricted, it has come to embody the urban spaces of marginalized groups in the United States, most notably black Americans. In American popular culture, the term has come to signify both place and mindset of ghetto-centric publications such as *150 Ways to Tell If You Are Ghetto* (Wayans, Spencer, and McCullough 1997), *Straight from the Ghetto* (Berry and Coker 1996), and the sequel *You Still Ghetto* (Berry 1998). There has even been a Broadway show, *Ghetto Klown,* written and performed by the Latin comedian John Leguizamo. In the *New York Times* bestseller *Ghettonation: A Journey into the Land of Bling and Home of the Shameless,* Cora Daniels (2008) argues that the term has morphed from a noun, denoting "overcrowded communities of filth, starvation, violence and despair," to an adjective, describing an "impoverished" mindset that embraces low expectations.

Internationally, a "ghetto culture machine" and "ghetto culture industry" helped produce and market the black ghetto as a symbol of cultural authenticity,

heroic resistance, and self-determination, a viewpoint that ignores the historic processes of state and and social isolation and segregation that gave rise to ghettos. From Moscow to Monrovia, American hip hop culture and Jamaican reggae styles mix with anticolonial political struggles and local identities (Osumare 2010). In the banlieues of Paris, North African shopkeepers append the term *ghetto* to their storefront signs. In Senegal, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya, Gambia, and South Africa, radio stations model their programming on the hip hop–influenced urban culture of black Americans; from Poland to Morocco, disenfranchised youth of all races use rap and reggae music to describe the deteriorating inner city.

Over the course of the twentieth century, a preoccupation with the ghetto has emerged in social science research as well, moving from historical studies of Jewish communities in New York (Thomas 1921) and Chicago (Wirth 1928) to a label meant to highlight racial segregation of the black community (Haynes 1913; Weaver 1948; Clark 1967) and finally the study of marginalized communities around the world, which inevitably are compared to and measured against the black American ghetto (Wilson 1987; Jargowsky 1997; Peach 1996, 2001; Poulsen and Johnson 2000; see also Slater 2010). Such simplistic and misleading comparisons across the Atlantic have confounded discussions. In France, violence, lawlessness, and the supposed dysfunctional culture of North African, Arab, and Muslim immigrants are conflated by politicians, social scientists, and journalists in sensational depictions of working-class banlieues (Gilbert 2011). Confrontations between suburban youths and the police have been compared to urban race riots in American cities during the 1980s and 1990s, even as scholars have argued that it is the class position of the French immigrants, modulated by their "ethnic provenance" and racial appearance that sets them apart from the native-born blacks of the United States (Wacquant 2008). Ceri Peach (1996) notes "a recurrent fear expressed by politicians, journalists, and scholars that Britain has ghettos or is developing towards the Black American Ghetto," yet the segregation of African-Caribbean immigrants or black Brits has always remained low (and has in fact has steadily declined over the past fifty years) while Asians are highly segregated (216–232).

In scholarly research the ghetto has a complicated and rich history. In the introduction to the Ghetto Symposium published in *City & Community*, we discussed the origin of the term and the evolution of social science re-

search from the 1920s to the present (Haynes and Hutchison 2008). In this introduction, we trace the term *ghetto* from its origins in Venice through its development during the late 1800s, and consider its application over the last century by social scientists to ethnic and racial communities across the globe.

THE JEWISH GHETTO IN THE *SERENISSIMA REPUBBLICA*[*]

During the Middle Ages and Early Modern period, the Jews of Europe held an ambiguous status within the European states and the Holy Roman Empire. On the one hand, the Church forbade Christians from "usury," or lending money to fellow Christians at interest, which was considered unclean. On the other hand, the flow of credit was central to the development of commerce and trade. Jews, who were barred from owning property and working in most trades and professions, served the crucial but reviled role of providing credit within Christian-influenced states. In fact the very role Jews played, vital to the interests of the Venetian state, was proof of their difference from Christians and their social debasement. Jews and Judaism were labeled a pariah people and religion by Max Weber and later Hannah Arendt (Swedberg 2005).

Early legends cited by scholars gave an active role to Jews in Venetian trades as early as 960 CE, but most contemporary scholars conclude that sometime around the thirteenth century they arrived in numbers in Veneto (Calimani 1988, 5). Jews had congregated unofficially in Venice in the area known as Giudecca since 1090, but their confinement to a specific area developed over the course of three centuries. A central ingredient that led to the implementation of the Venetian policy of ghettoization was the Catholic Church's Third Council of the Lateran, which decreed in 1179 that Christians should not dwell together with Jews, a vague policy that required interpretation by the numerous secular authorities throughout Christendom (Ravid 1992).[**] In 1221, Jews were required by edict to wear distinguishing badges and garments;

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* Venice was formally known as *Serenìsima Repùbblica Vèneta* and was often referred to as *La Serenissima—The Most Serene Republic of Venice.*

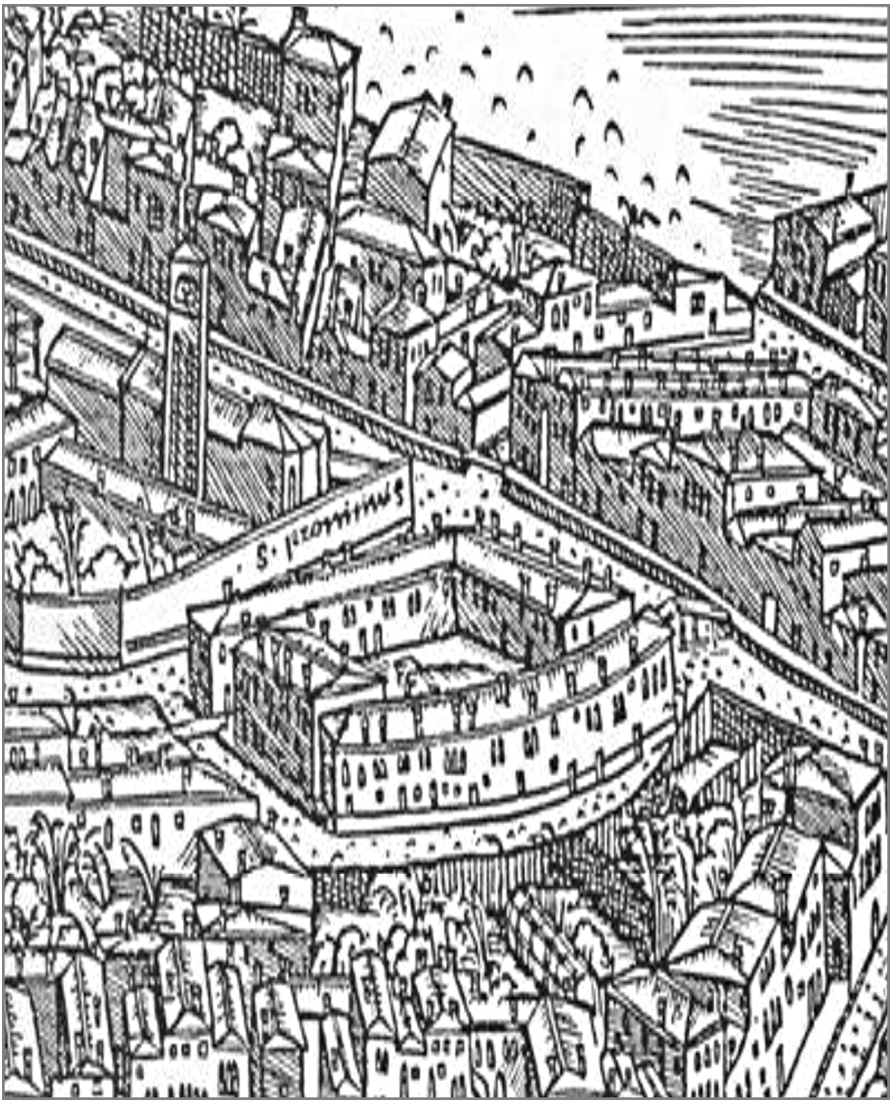
** *In American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton detail the process of ghettoization across the US that led to hypersegregated communities: the combination of racial discrimination in housing and increasing poverty.

the edict was reinforced in 1311 through the Code of Ravenna (Calimani 1988, 5, 8). Separate living quarters for Jews were established in a number of cities within the late Holy Roman Empire, including the Jewish districts in Prague (as early as 1262) and Frankfurt-am-Main (1460s), yet none would be as formally instituted as the ghetto of Venice. By the thirteenth century, the Venetian city-state had emerged as a significant trading center on the Adriatic Sea, but continuing wars with Genoa and Verona during the Crusades in the fourteenth century, followed by the devastating Black Plague, crippled the city's economy and pushed up interest rates as high as 40 percent (Calimani 1988, 5). In response, the Maggior Consiglio—the Great Council of Venice—proposed in 1356 to bring in the pawnbrokers of Mestre and Treviso to pump new credit into the economy, and by 1382 the Venetian government voted to authorize Jewish money lenders, merchants, and doctors to formally live in the city (Calimani 1988, 5). Land was granted to the Jews for a cemetery, but in 1389 the area was walled off to demarcate them as a foreign, albeit semi-permanent people. While Jews had been congregating unofficially in the city's Giudecca area since the late eleventh century, their confinement to a single, walled-in, and stigmatized space represented a new phase in their marginalization. Then, in 1424, sexual relations between Jewish men and Christian women were barred (Ravid 2001, 6).

Following the Inquisition of 1492, Venice became a magnet for Jewish refugees expelled from Spain and Portugal. In 1516 the Venetian Senate responded to this influx by directing all Jews to move to a walled enclosure, called the *Ghetto Nuovo* (New Ghetto), which was located in the *Cannaregio sestieri* (the district along the Cannaregio Canal). Gates leading into the ghetto were locked each evening at sunset and patrolled by two boats until sunrise (Davis and Ravid 2001, XII). This same legislation assigned the area adjacent to the Ghetto Nuovo, as a second ghetto, called the Ghetto Vecchio (Old Ghetto). It had once served as the city's copper and bronze foundry—referred to as the *geto* in the Venetian dialect—and was bordered by a formidable wall and fence (Ravid 2001). The very first use of the term *geto* can be traced to this senate act (Debendetti-Stow, 1992), although its etymology is still debated among scholars.

With the arrival of Tedeschi Jews (German and Italian), as well as Levantine Jews from the east (Ottoman Empire), and Ponentine Jews from the west

FIGURE 1. The Ghetto Nuovo, Venice



Source: Jacopo de' Barbari, Pianta Prospettic Della Citta, 1500.

FIGURE 2. The Ghetto Nova and Ghetto Vecchio, Cannaregio, Venice

Source: Original map of Venice published by the Society for the Diffuson of Useful Knowledge, London, 1838.

(Iberian Peninsula) overcrowding became an issue. By the seventeenth century the Venetian ghetto consisted of some seven hundred households in three distinct areas, the *Ghetto Nuovo,* the *Ghetto Vecchio*, and the *Ghetto Nuovissimo* (brand new ghetto). The *Ghetto Nuovo* developed around a three-sided circular area or "campo" of store rooms, shops, and stalls that provided a central focal point for community life. This organizing strategy of settlement soon became the preferred model for other ghettos in Padua (1603) and Modena (1638) (Donatella 2001, 31).

Jews were required to pay taxes to finance the very police patrols that enforced their compliance with the nighttime curfew laws. Yet they were forbidden from owning land in the ghetto and obligated to rent, at rates one-third above the norm, from absentee owners (Ravid 2001). Each morning they would don their yellow hats (men) and scarves (women) and leave the ghetto to work or shop among Christians (Calimani 1988, 11). In exchange for a special tax levied against them, Jews were granted unique rights and protections within the walls of the ghettos to "live according to their ancestral rights." Here, a colonial structure of self-governance was maintained under the auspices of the Venetian Republic called the *Università* (Calimani 1988, 10; Malkiel 2001, 117). The Jews had their own governing body, called the Small Assembly, whose primary role was to collect taxes. Its police power was limited to establishing fines for lawbreakers, and yet was completely dependent on the Venetian state for enforcement (Malkiel 2001, 133–135).

The sociologist Richard Sennett (1994) reminds us that the essential problem of the modern city is managing the wide variety of strangers brought together in a geographic space (22). Those ascribed an inner deficiency, as debased or unclean—who carry a spoiled identity by virtue of birth—have been segregated in the modern city. Drawing on the ideas of the French postmodern theorist Michel Foucault, Sennett shows that the Christian association of the Jewish body with disease profoundly shaped urban design and structured the city during the High Middle and Early Renaissance periods; Jewish confinement signified their status as foreigners (Sennett 1994, 214). In shutting Jews behind ghetto walls, Europeans believed they were "isolating a disease" in their midst. "Christians were afraid of touching Jews: Jewish bodies were thought to carry venereal diseases as well as to contain more polluting powers. The Jewish body was unclean (215)." When Jews were blamed for an outbreak

of syphilis that scourged the city in 1495–96 (following the return of sailors who had traveled with Columbus to the New World), they were ordered to wear a yellow hat *(baretta)* or scarf to replace the customary yellow badge, which was now deemed too easy to conceal (Ravid 2001). Further evidence of Jewish inferiority was found in clothing and jewelry styles favored by Jewish women. Christian women who wore jewelry were vilified as prostitutes under the Decree of 1512, which regulated their dress materials, the size and design of sleeves, fringes and ornaments, belts and headdresses, shoes and slippers, and home furnishings and bed linens (Hughes 1983).

Although the ghetto was isolated from the outside world, its walls provided the Jewish community with both security—protection from angry Christian mobs, an especially common menace during Easter season—and autonomy, giving rise to a lively Jewish arts scene and new musical styles (Bernstein 1998; Harrán 2001; Ravid 2001). Jewish culture and self-expression in the "City of the Jews" were shaped as much by the stimulating cosmopolitan environment inside the ghettos as they were by their ghettoization and isolation (Ravid 2001, 28). Five synagogues were established to accommodate the Jews of French, German (Ashkenazi), Italian, Levantine, and Sephardic (Spanish) background. Within the context of the compulsory conversion and mandatory expulsion of Jews in Spain, Portugal, and France, the Venetian ghetto (along with the ghettos of other Italian cities) constituted an intermediary space between exile and citizenship.

The Jewish ghetto in Venice is an early example of the racialization of urban space (Haynes and Hutchison 2008, 348; Hutchison 2009b). Racialization begins by stigmatizing a group for a discredited attribute—in this case, their religion—and then relegating the group, by force, to a physical space that is isolated from other areas of the city. Life inside this cloistered space becomes mysterious to outsiders, and the beliefs and behavior of the isolated are viewed with suspicion. The body itself comes to signify both disease and danger; as Sennett (1994) says, "The space of the Ghetto reinforced such beliefs about the Jewish body: behind the Ghetto's drawn bridges and closed windows, its life shut off from the sun and the water, crime and idolatry were thought to fester" (248).

Through racialization, racial meanings and identities are culturally articulated and structurally reinforced (Haynes 2001, 55); the physical body comes

to signify a transcendent category of social debasement and a descriptor of group and individual identity and experience. The ghetto constitutes spacialized racialization, where racial stigma and the signification of moral difference are reinforced by the structuration of race inequality. Further, the ghetto is both racial project and process (Omi and Winant 1986). As a structural feature of modern urban life, the ghetto is an administrative strategy of state-imposed racialization, a mechanism of social control through moral debasement that serves a critical structural role by reinforcing social stratification through the signification of moral difference within the body.

The Venetian ghetto reflects the powerful dialectic of the racialization of urban space. First, although we generally view racialization as a process that occurs from the outside and has negative impacts on the groups and areas affected, the forces that create racialized spaces come from both within and outside of the ghetto. Second, while racialization of space is generally viewed as producing social inequality and therefore negative outcomes, there may be positive effects as well (Hutchison 2009b). Finally, the social stigma attached to racialized urban spaces is not static as we see historic ghetto neighborhoods transformed into tourist destinations (Hoffman 1999, 2000), as happened with the Venetian ghetto, or we see them take on new meanings (Gotham 2007; Zukin 2009, 2011).

The Jewish ghetto of Venice may be best known through William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (performed 1597). The play likely has its origins in Edward de Vere's visit to Venice in 1575–1576, when it was fashionable for youth to complete their classical education in Greek and Latin literature with tours to Italy. Although the ghetto is not actually referenced by Shakespeare in the play, modern interpretations often depict the villain Shylock as a stereotypical hook-nosed Jewish merchant living in ghetto. Julia Pascal's 2008 production at the Arcola Theatre in London was set in the contemporary Venice ghetto, where a survivor of the Holocaust and the Warsaw ghetto confronts a group of actors and denounces the caricature of Shylock.

During the early modern era, the Venetian ghetto became a destination on the Grand Tour of the 1600s and 1700s, where young aristocrats in training, sometimes accompanied by a teacher or guardian, were expected to gain an understanding of art and architecture through their visits to Florence, Rome, and Venice (Black 1992; Redford 1996). As the Venetian ghetto became more

widely known, it would attract visitors from among the growing groups of tourists coming to Venice and become a required destination for intellectuals traveling to the city. Rail travel in the 1800s would directly link Venice with cities across Europe. Davis and Marvin (2004, 216) note that by the late 1800s there were more than five thousand visitors to the city each day by train alone during the High Holy Day period (Henry James dismissed them as "trooping barbarians"; Auchard, *Italian Hours,* 1995 [1909]). After World War II, when the Jewish community itself had largely disappeared from the area, the ghetto would become one of the many tourist destinations in the city, promoted in various tour guides and in the official histories of the city. Today, the Museo Communita Ebraica in the Campo Ghetto Nuevo offers a tour of what was the ghetto with visits to three of the historic synagogues, while other tourist packages offer guided tours of the ghetto "in the footsteps of Shylock" to connect us back with *The Merchant of Venice*. Although most tourists to Venice go to see the famous canals, St. Mark's, or the Rialto, the ghetto holds the allure of an off-the-beaten-path destination, and there is an official map of the ghetto in English, Japanese, and other languages available at most tourist offices (Hutchison 2009a).

By the late medieval period, specific Jewish quarters developed in Prague, Frankfurt-am-Main, and Mainz, and by the 1700s separate Jewish areas were created in Kraków, Warsaw, Vilnius, Lublin, and other Polish cities. The Roman ghetto, established by Pope Paul IV in 1555, was legally abolished in 1798 during the Roman Republic—an event celebrated by the planting of the "tree of liberty" in the Piazza della Scole—only to be reinstituted once the papacy regained control the following year. In fact Jews would be required to reside in ghettos until the papal states were overthrown in 1870. In "The Jewish Question," Bruno Bauer (1844) argued that the emancipation of Jews represented the demise of Judaism and Jewish customs, while Karl Marx (1844) suggested that the question of Jewish emancipation revealed a weakness of bourgeois liberalism because real political emancipation first required true social emancipation (Hall et al. 2010, 681). By this time, rising anti-Semitism across much of Europe, culminating in the Dreyfus Affair in France, had pushed Jews to emigrate to England and the United States. The migrant stream would turn into a flood when *pogroms* were directed against Jews in the Russian Empire in the years 1881 through 1884, and again from 1903 to 1906.

THE JEWISH GHETTOS OF LONDON AND NEW YORK

By the late nineteenth century, the Jewish population in the East London neighborhoods had swelled to more than 140,000, spawning a thriving Jewish culture that many compared to the earlier European ghettos. In 1894, a London correspondent for the *American Hebrew* magazine wrote: "We are in the centre of Spitalfields in the heart of the Jewish quarter. All about is Jewish! Men with beards, others clean-shaven of face. Women with shitels or lint, girls gaudily dressed, boys in corduroy suits of the Jews' Free School—all Jewish. Posters in Yiddish, some religious, some socialistic, bills in crude colors, notices of rooms to let in the same tongue. Patois in the ear and in the eye, the tone, the habit, the idea is foreign."

The term ghetto was romanticized by a number of Jewish immigrant writers, like Israel Zangwill (1865–1926), the politically active author of *Children of the Ghetto* (1892), *Ghetto Tragedies* (1893), *Dreamers of the Ghetto* (1898), and *Ghetto Comedies* (1907). Zangwill, whose parents had immigrated to England from Eastern Europe, drew upon his experiences growing up in London's East End. He likened the nineteenth-century immigrant ghetto to a zone of transition, a "crossroads between tradition and modernity," and used the term *ghetto culture* to describe the way of life of the Old Country (see Nahshon 2005).

Abraham Cahan (1860–1951), a Jewish refugee from Lithuania who settled in New York, depicted the struggles of an Eastern Europe immigrant adjusting to a new life on the Lower East Side. Cahan went on to become the first editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward (Forverts),* a socialist Yiddish-language daily that advocated for Jewish immigrants in the city. Still, the negative stereotypes of Jewish immigrants were propagated by many non-Jewish writers. Hutchins Hapgood, a journalist who worked with Cahan at the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, wrote a series of articles about Yiddish New York for the *Atlantic Monthly* and other magazines between 1898 and 1902. His sketches of immigrant types and personalities were compiled in *The Spirit of the Ghetto: Studies of the Jewish Quarter of New York* (1902). In its preface, he writes: "The Jewish quarter of New York is generally supposed to be a place of poverty, dirt, ignorance, and immorality—the seat of the sweatshop, the tenement house, where 'red-lights' sparkle at night, where the people are queer and repulsive. Well-

to-do persons visit the 'Ghetto' merely from motives of curiosity or philanthropy; writers treat of it 'sociologically,' as of a place in crying need of improvement."

The Lower East Side and other Jewish neighborhoods in New York City are described by W. I. Thomas in *Old World Traits Transplanted*, one of the early classic social science studies written in the United States (1921). At the time the Jewish population had reached 1,500,000 (one-quarter of the city's total population, and a larger population than in any other city in the world) and was strongly concentrated on a ghetto on the Lower East Side. Thomas wrote that life in the New York City ghetto was not a new experience because most immigrants had come from the ghettos of various European cities. Many spoke Yiddish in addition to their national language, while cultural differences between the native and foreign-born Jews, as well as prejudice from other ethnic groups, affected both institutional life and interpersonal relationships. A later analysis of the 1910 census reveals that mother tongue, national origin, and race were central factors shaping segregation across groups, despite demographic and socioeconomic controls, and that robust segregation measures existed for a number of groups, although most markedly for Jews and blacks (White et al. 1994, 203). And yet while anti-Semitism was on the rise in Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, anti-Semitism faded in the United States. Jews would claim membership as whites (Caucasian) and be legally granted full rights and privileges. Before long, more prosperous Jews were moving to other neighborhoods, and the ghetto began to lose its hold. Although the largest Jewish population was located in New York City, the Jewish community in Chicago was growing rapidly during this same period and experiencing many of the same transitions that were noted in New York.

LOUIS WIRTH AND THE CHICAGO SOCIOLOGICAL TRADITION ON THE GHETTO

Louis Wirth, the well-known Chicago School sociologist, is often cited as the most important scholar to write about the Jewish ghetto. His research on Jewish immigrants in Chicago, culminating in the seminal book *The Ghetto* (1928), shaped a generation of scholarship. However, Wirth provides an in-

complete view of Jewish historical development, tracing immigration from the ghetto of Frankfurt-am-Main to the Chicago ghetto (Maxwell Street), regarding the new ghetto as an area of second settlement (he even referred to it as "Deutschland"). In fact, most American Jews had immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe, not Germany, and lived in small towns and villages known as *shtetls*, rather than large cosmopolitan centers like Frankfurt. Although Wirth had also depicted most of the early Jewish immigrants as Orthodox, already by the 1880s some two hundred Reform congregations had been founded in America, in contrast to only a dozen Orthodox congregations.

Wirth's study was not the first sociological examination of the Chicago ghetto: the subject already was well established by the time Manuel Zeublin contributed a chapter titled "The Chicago Ghetto" to the *Hull House Maps and Papers* (1895). Interestingly, although Hull House—the famous Chicago settlement house founded by Jane Addams—was located just a few blocks from the Jewish ghetto along Maxwell Street, it had little contact with local Jews. Zeublin's chapter noted that in 1895 the dispersal of the earlier ghetto was already well under way, and that some areas had seen an increase of black households. Some thirty years later, Maurice Krout noted "a rapid dissolution of social ties in the Ghetto," an encroachment of business and industry into the residential area of the ghetto (described as the most densely settled area of the city), and fewer than half of the population being foreign-born at the time of his study (1926).

This background is important, because Wirth's description of the Chicago community in *The Ghetto* follows these earlier studies, and also builds on many of the themes presented in Thomas's *Old World Traits Transplanted*: life in the ghetto was not a new experience for the Jewish immigrants coming from the European cities, and that those who could afford to quickly fled to other areas. For both scholars, the ghetto was similar to other ethnic settlements where first-generation immigrants lived and over time became assimilated and economically mobile. Like Wirth, Thomas (1921) traced the movement of mostly German Jews from Maxwell Street into the area of second settlement North Lawndale ("Deutschland") throughout the 1910s and 1920s. By 1960 the west side neighborhoods had been largely abandoned, as secular and religious Jews moved into the north side suburbs. A second generation of scholars would refer to these affluent suburban areas as "Gilded Ghettos" (Kramer and Leventman 1961; Rose 1969; Rose 1977).

Consequently, Wirth's description of the ghetto should be understood within the broader context of neighborhood succession in the city:

> The occupation of this area by the Jews, it seems, is merely a passing phase of a long process of succession in which one population group has been crowded out by another. There is, however, an unmistakable regularity in this process. In the course of the growth of the city and the invasion of the slums by new groups of immigrants there has resulted a constancy of association between Jews and other ethnic groups. Each racial and cultural group tends to settle in that part of the city which, from the point of view of the rents, standards of living, accessibility, and tolerance, makes the reproduction of Old World life easiest. . . . The Jews have successively replaced the Germans, the Irish, and the Bohemians, and have themselves been displaced by the Poles and Lithuanians, the Italians, the Greeks, and Turks, and finally the Negro. . . . The latest invasion of the ghetto by the Negro is of more than passing interest. The Negro, like the immigrant, is segregated in the city into a racial colony; economic factors, race prejudice, and cultural difference combine to set him apart. [68]

Wirth notes that his research is concerned with the "natural history" of the ghetto and should serve as a model for the acculturation of other groups: "Viewed from this angle the study of the ghetto is likely to throw light on a number of related phenomena, such as the origin of segregated areas and the development of local communities in general; for while the ghetto is, strictly speaking, a Jewish institution, there are forms of ghettos that concern not only Jews. Our cities contain Little Sicilies, Little Polands, Chinatowns, and Black Belts. There are Bohemias and Hobohemias, slums and Gold Coasts, vice areas and Rialtos in every metropolitan communities" (58).

Wirth has often been critiqued for suggesting that all immigrant groups would follow the Jewish model, moving through similar stages of neighborhood succession and assimilation (a critique echoed in several chapters in this volume as well). In fact, both Wirth and his colleague Roberts Ezra Park distinguished the settlements of immigrant ethnic populations from the racial colonies of non-white groups: "The slum includes also the areas of first settlement to which the immigrants inevitably gravitate before they have their places in the larger environment. The racial 'ghettos,' which now shelter and

set part from the rest of the community Negroes and Chinese as they once sheltered and segregated Jews, are invariably located in the slum. The Jewish ghetto still exists, but the slum, so far as the Jew is concerned, is at present only an area of first settlement. Negroes and Chinese, on the other hand, still find it difficult to live beyond the pale" (Park 1927).

A student of George Simmel, Park worked with Burgess to map the city, demarcating the Black Belt with a solid black rectangle that ran north-south from the Chicago Loop. The term "Black Belt" was originally used to describe areas of the Deep South where African Americans were concentrated following the expansion of cotton production in the 1830s. It was a relatively polite term to refer to Negro residential areas; in fact, until 1962 the U.S. Board on Geographic Names included in its official record of geographic sites hundreds of towns, streams, mountains, hills, valleys, brooks, and swimming holes with such names as "Nigger," "Nigger Creek," and "Nigger Gulch." In Chicago, the Black Belt encompassed the Federal Street slum, an area of older, dilapidated housing to which African Americans had been confined following the Chicago race riots.

St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's 1945 classic *Black Metropolis*, a study of the famous South Side neighborhood Bronzeville, offers a rich description of the African-American community at the end of the Great Depression, with ethnographic sources documenting the lifestyles of the black middle class and the everyday life of the lower class. Social differences between older, established families and newcomers, as well as between social classes, corresponded closely with spatial segregation within the community: the lower class lived in the oldest areas along 22nd Street and the Federal Street slum, while the black middle class had moved into neighborhoods including Woodlawn. It is notable that Drake and Cayton name an entire chapter "The Black Ghetto." In their use of the term ghetto, they broke with traditional Chicago School scholars who had defined it as an area of voluntary first settlement leading toward assimilation. Their definition aligned with that of black social scientists like Du Bois (1903), Haynes (1913), and Johnson (1943), who distinguished the black ghetto, "which becomes increasingly more concentrated" from the "colonies that tend to break up." The black ghetto is "primarily the result of white people's attitudes towards having Negroes as neighbors," especially middle-class whites who, through the imposition of restrictive residential covenants, limited black mobility in the city (Drake and Cayton 1945, 174).

In 1948, Robert Weaver, who would later become the first secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, conducted research that foreshadowed contemporary scholarship on the impact of restrictive covenants and state policies like the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) in shaping Negro segregation patterns. Appropriately titled *The Negro Ghetto* (1948), Weaver's study was the first comprehensive analysis of housing segregation in American cities. Weaver noted that Chicago was "leading the way" toward segregation patterns and identified restrictive covenants as "the villain" (1944) that had structured four general patterns of ghetto formation:

> A single, central Black Belt extending into surrounding areas not yet completely colored but rapidly becoming so. This distribution is found in a part of New York City . . . Newark, Columbus, Buffalo, Atlantic City, Toledo, and Milwaukee.
>
> Two or more Black Belts, one of which is in the center of the city and the principal are of Negro concentration and from which expansion is occurring into surrounding areas. This is the pattern of Chicago . . . Detroit, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis.
>
> Several major Black Belts and many minor Black Belts, all of which are expanding into surrounding areas. This is more characteristic of border cities like Washington, Baltimore, and even St. Louis than of urban communities in the north, yet Philadelphia follows this arrangement.
>
> A single large Black Belt expanding into surrounding areas and one or more smaller area of higher Negro concentration. Cleveland, Pittsburgh (to a modified degree), Los Angeles, Boston, and Dayton belong in the group that follows this pattern. [100]

He further explained that "ghetto patterns of residence are of recent origins in this Nation. They were initiated, perpetuated, and popularized by certain institutions" responsive to special interests with strong motives of "special economic advantage."

Although early scholars viewed ghettos as a phenomenon of local generis, by the middle of the twentieth century, scholars began to focus their attention on one "certain institution" in Weaver's analysis: the federal government. In *The Making of the Second Ghetto,* Arnold Hirsch argues that a second Chicago

ghetto, which lasted from 1933 to 1968, was distinguished from earlier segregation patterns in that it arose in the context of federally funded high-rise public housing. Yet it's the impact of Weaver's work that remains undeniable. The preface to his second edition (1957) summarizes the new conceptualization: "When The Negro Ghetto was published [1948], there had been occasional references to black ghettos. The use of the term "Negro ghetto," however, was almost unprecedented. Today the concept of the Negro ghetto is accepted in the literature on racial relations. It has become the symbol of involuntary residential segregation and the deprivations that harass the occupants of these enclaves of urban America."

Gilbert Osofsky's landmark study *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (1963, 1968) set the agenda for "a new generation of scholarship on African American communities." He identified "second class Citizenship," poor quality schools, segregated labor markets, violence against blacks, and congested-slum (poverty) conditions as the key sources of the "enduring" ghetto. Scholars like Allan Spear, the author of *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto* (1967) and Kenneth Kusner, author of *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland 1870–1930* (1976), made important contributions, but it was Kenneth Clarke's *Dark Ghetto* (1967) that stressed the role of power in the creation and maintenance of the black ghetto and described its psychological and sociological impact on African Americans: "The ghetto is ferment, paradox, conflict, and dilemma. Yet within its pervasive pathology exists a surprising human resilience. The ghetto is hope, it is despair, it is churches and bars. It is aspiration for change, and it is apathy. It is vibrancy, it is stagnation. It is courage, and it is defeatism. It is cooperation and concern, and it is suspicion, competitiveness, and rejection. It is the surge toward assimilation, and it is alienation and withdrawal within the protective walls of the ghetto" (11–12).

By the time *Dark Ghetto* was published, the term ghetto had become widely associated with black people and black culture, and was used to describe virtually all African-American communities in and out of the city. In the absence of a thick detailed description of African-American life and culture, many social scientists linked certain social behaviors, such as welfare dependency, crime, and sexual promiscuity, to the black urban poor and suggested that they were symptomatic of a pathological ghetto "culture" (Moynihan 1963; Wilson 1987).

Some scholars came to characterize entire inner cities as ghettos and used the term to refer to schools and other institutions in the urban core. But a number of scholars began criticizing the very concept of the ghetto. Karl Rasmussen (1968) argued that from Nazi reinvention of the Warsaw Ghetto to the Black Ghetto of Watts in South Central Los Angeles, the term is "axiomatic," "ambiguous," and "emotional" and has become an offensive and useless analytical term (282). And while he concurred that the black ghetto is an urban neighborhood created by imposed spatial boundaries of a "socio-cultural homogeneous minority" excluded from complete social acceptance and "dumped into a walled area," he also believed that its residents shared "different" values that reveal "a 'ghetto mentality' characterized by an excessive parochial attitude" (Rassmusen 1968, 282–283). It was not long before this concept of parochialism was used to extend the term ghetto to "voluntary" self-segregated communities and indeed any cloistered community: William Partridge's *The Hippie Ghetto* (1985), Kim England's *Suburban Pink Collar Ghettos* (1993), Charles and Grusky's *Occupational Ghettos* (2004), and Jessie O'Neill's *The Golden Ghetto: The Psychology of Affluence* (1997).

CONTEMPORARY URBAN THEORY AND THE GHETTO

Despite strongly contested meanings, the term ghetto continues to be used as descriptor (of physical space) and analytical concept (to explain observed outcomes) in contemporary urban research. Social scientists have further obfuscated the issue by invoking the term as a catchall to explain poverty, segregation, and social organization in both African-American and "minority" communities across the globe. Too often minority communities are labeled with the same negative characteristics used to stigmatize black ghettos.

The ghetto concept sheds light on the lack of a unified theory of cities. In an attempt to make order out of chaos, urban scholars developed a nomenclature embedded in various "schools of thought" in which the Chicago School of Sociology figures prominently.

Michael Dear (Dear and Flusty 1997, 1998) argues that the traditional city form, as represented by the modern industrial metropolis of Chicago, along with Ernest W. Burgess's model of concentric zones, assimilation, and "invasion and succession," is being replaced by a postmodern urban environment char-

acterized by increased polarization and fragmentation. Dear and associates in Southern California posited the "Los Angeles" school as a counter to the famed Chicago School of Urban Sociology, and a seventy-five-year-old debate over the effectiveness of ecological models to examine the ghetto as a feature of modern cities. The Los Angeles scholars also drew important attention to the field's preoccupation with Chicago as representative of the processes governing urban growth more generally (Dear 2002).

Arguably the best known research on the Chicago ghetto is the work of William Julius Wilson. His most widely read works, *The Truly Disadvantaged*: *The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (1987) and *When Work Disappears* (1996), are based on research grounded in the neighborhoods that make up Chicago's South Side. Consistent with the Chicago School orientation, Wilson studies poverty in cities and argues that class has become more dominant in shaping the life chances of blacks. But with Wilson we find a more deliberate use of the term ghetto. He maintains that in the post–civil rights era, the central challenge facing the ghetto poor is lack of economic opportunity, not spatial marginality from race discrimination per se. Wilson's ghetto, like Wirth's, is in part a cultural phenomenon, defined by the social characteristics of individuals who live there.

For nearly two decades, Berkeley scholar Loïc Wacquant has taken issue with Wilson's argument, maintaining that: "To say that they are ghettos because they are poor is to reverse social and historical causation: it is because they were and are ghettos that joblessness and misery are unusually acute and persistent in them" (Wacquant 1997, 343). Wacquant has utilized the ghetto concept as a pivotal theoretical component of his research strategy on social marginality and exclusion, developing a model of advanced urban marginality based on research he conducted between 1987 and 1991 in Chicago's Black Belt and France's "Red Belt." Wacquant treats these areas as ideal types in order to highlight processes of institutionalized spatial confinement and control during a period of industrial decline, state retrenchment, and media hysteria about minority youth. One key difference between the French banlieue and the American ghetto, he argues, was the American withdrawal of key resources, which contributed to the ghetto's deterioration and necessitated the rise of a penal system to manage the urban underclass (Wacquant 2001).

Wacquant places the institution of the prison in historical sequence following slavery and the ghetto, and argues that these "peculiar institutions" have defined the black experience in America. In fact, as the penal management system replaces the social welfare system as a mechanism of social control in an environment of industrial decline and deregulated wage-labor markets, the traditional ghetto becomes more like a prison and the prison becomes more like the ghetto, eventually making the latter obsolete (2001). The ghetto becomes a central place for "sociopolitical struggles" and political mobilization against white domination in the city, a viewpoint consistent with Omi and Winant's (1986) understanding of racial projects.

Wacquant's critique wrenched discussions on the ghetto away from the urban poverty discourse and connected the term back to its original meaning—the formal segregation of stigmatized groups supported by institutional structures. At the same time, relying on the historic Black Belt as the single case on which to build a theory raised questions of whether Chicago was representative of general urban processes and the Chicago School's model with its ecological focus on the ghetto as a stage in the assimilation process. And by focusing on the city of Chicago during the traumatic period of urban decline in the 1980s, Wacquant reproduced iconic images and sensationalist tropes, calling it a "brutish" place full of "mugging," "wilding," and "drive-bys" (Wacquant 2008).

As soon as we leave the confines of the Chicago Black Belt, nothing quite looks the same (Nobles 2010). In New York City, blacks were never as poor, isolated from jobs, or segregated from whites as in Chicago (Beveridge 2011). Although Wacquant famously argues that there are many banlieues but just one ghetto, Small (2008) notes that there is no single urban policy or housing program at the national level, but rather state and local programs that attempt to ensure a diversity of urban neighborhoods. When we turn our attention to the Latinos in America, scholars have tended to use the term *barrio* in a way that closely parallels ghetto, while areas believed to be the result of voluntary segregation, like Chinatowns, are generally called "ethnic enclaves" (Gans 2008).

When we turn our attention to the European, Asian, African, and South American contexts, do similar processes of social exclusion produce comparable results across contemporary societies? Are the stigmatized territories of Rio de Janeiro's Morro de Providencia *favela*, the *barriadas* of Lima, the ranchos of Venezuela, the squatters of Mumbai, the shantytowns of South Africa, the

slums of Lagos, the banlieues of France, or the villa miserias, slums, and kampongs across the globe similar to the ghetto? (See Caldiera 2009; Christopher 2005; Guillaume 2001; Olivera 1996; Perlman 2010.) In *The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War Two,* Howard Winant (2002) discusses how race drives modernity and the modern world system, particularly in the United States, South Africa, Brazil, and Europe—but he largely ignores the spatial dimensions of the ghetto. And in his indictment of post-1978 "neoliberal globalization," Mike Davis argues in *Planet of Slums* (2006) that global cities have become dumping grounds for an expanding "informal working class" that is marginally employed, overlaps with a slum population (178). Could the proliferation of dollar-a-day *rickshawalas,* low-wage pedi-cabs, and the privatization of toilets in Ghana and New York City be the harbingers of the urban landscape of the twenty-first century (189)?

THE GHETTO: CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL ISSUES

Our strategy for structuring *The Ghetto: Contemporary Global Issues and Controversies* is to provide a context for debate among scholars who have forged analytical and empirical projects around the concept of the "ghetto," and to seek insights from the tensions, inconsistencies, and overlaps between them. As the title of this volume suggests, our intent is to move the discussion from the specifics of the American ghetto, which may or may not be relevant to understanding residential and social isolation in other countries, to a more general consideration of marginalized urban spaces and peoples around the globe. We invited a group of internationally renowned scholars to engage in a constructive dialogue about the meaning and usefulness of the term ghetto in social science research. The chapters that follow reveal that despite their appearance under different political and economic regimes, these spaces share important characteristics: concentrated poverty, unemployment, and social exclusion.

We asked contributors to consider the following questions: What is the meaning of the term g*hetto*? Is the formation and later dissolution of the Jewish ghetto an appropriate model for understanding the experience of other ethnic or racial populations (see Marcuse 1997, 1998, 2002)? Does the concept have scholarly utility, or is it simply an overused colloquialism? Does the ghetto arise from normative ecological or structural processes of urban regions, or is it the consequence of social conflict and government policy (Hirsch 1983,

Massey 1990, Massey and Denton 1993, Gotham 2000)? Can we draw a relevant distinction between voluntary and involuntary processes of spatial isolation and segregation (Gans 2008)? Has the term become an offensive oversimplification of the social relations and conditions of social exclusion? Is there a single model of the ghetto that can be applied to all cities (see Small 2007, 2008)?

We begin with selections from several prominent scholars in the urban field. In Chapter One, Loïc Wacquant refers to the ghetto as a "Janus-faced" institution: a two-faced instrument of group power. He reiterates his contention that spatial isolation operates as "an instrument of closure and control" and continues developing a model of the ghetto that emphasizes the dimensions of economic extraction and marginalization as well as social exclusion and stigmatization, directly challenging two widespread assumptions that have come to dominate social sciences: (1) the ghetto is a "natural area" with a "natural history" of settlement as Louis Wirth understood it to be, and (2) the ghetto can be reduced to the characteristics of poverty.

Peter Marcuse has also argued that the classic ghetto was the result of the involuntary spatial segregation of a group that stands in a "subordinate political and social relationship to its surrounding society" (1997, 2005). Marcuse emphasizes the difference between racial segregation (creation of ghetto), that is, "segregation based on race," and what he calls "market segregation," segregating people of lower-income households into "class ghettos" (2005). In Chapter Two, "De-spacialization and Dilution of the Ghetto," Marcuse details the disappearance of the "hard ghetto" and the "de-ghettoization of space" and outlines the construction of what he terms the new "softer" forms of social control that are no longer concerned with traditional racial exclusion and are focused more on containing and maintaining class inequality. Marcuse views the shift to mass incarceration of poor black men as a form of "spatialized oppression" that stems from particular manifestations of colonial relationships and that serves to neutralize resistance. Thus his definition of the "hard" ghetto as spatial, racial, institutional, and state implemented does not contradict Wacquant's notion that the institutional ghetto requires spatial confinement and social control, yet it does suggest that Wacquant's argument misses important demographic changes that have taken place in urban ghettos since 1990, particularly the deconcentration of poverty as the poor move toward the suburbs. Nevertheless, Marcuse concurs with Wacquant's argument that the prison now serves as surrogate ghetto, the central mechanism of control after 1996, which

"attenuates the control function of the ghetto."

Urban ethnographer Elijah Anderson writes about place but harkens back to Du Bois through his familiar focus on present-day Philadelphia, where there are few economic opportunities and much to be feared on the street (Anderson 2006). Anderson's first ethnographic work, *A Place on the Corner,* was a study of streetcorner life at a local carryout on Chicago's South Side. But it was Anderson's *Streetwise: Race, Class, and Change in an Urban Community* (1990) and *Code of the Streets: Decency, Violence, and the Moral Life of the Inner City* (1999), books that document the life of the urban poor in Philadelphia, that have become his trademark. In *The Cosmopolitan Canopy* (2011), Anderson describes a new racially and ethnically diverse urban environment where various social, cultural, and racial groups leave their various ethnic enclaves and come together in a civil exchange in neutral public spaces like museums, parks, universities, train terminals, and hybrid institutions like Barnes & Nobel or Starbucks. But the canopy can be ruptured by a "nigger moment," "a time in the life of every African American when he or she is powerfully reminded of his or her putative place as a black person. . . . Emotions flood over the victim as this middle-class, cosmopolitan-oriented black person is humiliated and shown that he or she is, before anything else, a racially circumscribed black person after all" (2004, 253).

And in Chapter Three of this volume, "Toward Knowing the Iconic Ghetto," Anderson argues that the impact of the stigmatized iconic black ghetto—the "imagined ghetto"—affects all those within and those outside its borders. He writes, "The ascription of 'ghetto' to all black Americans has saddled the group with a provisional social rank revealing how the upwardly mobile deploy strategies from their tool kit to escape their racial stigma—which works to distance them from the ghetto and its people." Anderson identifies the public imagination and the media as sources that stigmatize all blacks regardless of class position, conflating ideas of race with bad people and places.

Nikki Jones and Christina Jackson strike a similar tone in Chapter Four, "'You Just Don't Go Down There': Learning to Avoid the Ghetto in San Francisco," in which they examine how social isolation in the Lower Fillmore neighborhood of San Francisco is exacerbated by "discursive redlining": routinely warning people to avoid those persons perceived to be dangerous in public spaces, especially young black men believed to come from the ghetto. Jones and Jackson show that even though the ghetto may not be confined to specific urban

space, its reputation carries a commonly acknowledged image and symbolic power that influence everyday life and decision making.

In Chapter Five, Bruce Haynes reflects on fact and fiction about the Harlem community of his youth. Haynes has written about state and real estate practices shaping racialization and suburban development (2001), but here turns his attention toward detailing the view from within the iconic community of Harlem, New York, in which he grew up. Haynes details the context of a middle-class African-American life and demonstrates the ways in which culture, history, class, and race intersect to shape the public imagination.

Known for her award-winning research on the changing urban landscape, gentrification, arts and economic development, Sharon Zukin (2010) begs the question in her provocatively titled chapter "Why Harlem Is Not a Ghetto," in which she argues that through public policy (Hope VI), gentrification, economic development, and demographic changes, the "authenticity" of the neighborhood has been co-opted. Even earlier, Zukin (1998) had argued that the "place identity of racial ghettos" might be up for grabs as state redevelopment programs like Hope VI and an influx of capital investment reshaped experiences on the street. In Chapter Six of this volume, "The Spike Lee Effect: Reimagining the Ghetto for Cultural Consumption," Zukin returns to the theme that gentrification, tourism, and empowerment zones have led to a reimagining of the stigmatized "Dark Ghetto" that characterized Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, and have made these communities desirable "comparative advantages" for middle- and upper-class home ownership. For Zukin, commercial redevelopment, gentrification, and a reimagined real estate market have actually transformed historic Ghetto spaces into "non-ghettos."

In *Cities of the South*, Drieskens, Mermier, and Wimmen (2007) note that the urban and suburban experience varies greatly from country to country. Among the poorest sections of the global society, the marginalized spaces of the inner city and the inherited poverty of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban slum have been superseded by the suburbanization of poverty and racial segregation, and the proliferation of the shantytown and the favela. These are largely unplanned settlements, just as the poorest areas of the Victorian city were the unplanned residue and residuum of urbanization and industrialisation. The gated community is an increasingly common expression of residential segregation in many parts of the world, where a variety of income groups corral themselves away from the threat of crime. Many of the largest

gated communities are built exclusively for the wealthiest in society, but this pattern is not restricted to North America. The pattern can be identified in new elite residential areas across the world, in particular the Global South. Wealthy areas often exist side-by-side with much poorer suburban settlements, raising conflicts over unequal access to resources as the middle-class withdraw from the civic and financial functioning of town and city (Roitman 2005).

Ethnographer Ernesto Castañeda has studied international migration, transnationalism, and economic development in New York City, Paris, Barcelona, and in communities in Algeria, Mexico, and Morocco. His essay "Transnacionalismo, Asimilación, Multiculturalismo, en Perspectiva Comprada" (2010) compares Latino and Muslim immigrants in the United States and Europe by analyzing the contexts of reception and the resulting political inclusion of immigrants and minorities. Castañeda (2009) argues that the ghetto and banlieue are symbolically distinct yet analytically similar: "In the United States the word *suburb* carries a positive connotation associated with private property, middle-class ease, low-density population, and an overall high quality of life. In contrast, the immediate connotation of the French *banlieue* and its inhabitants, the *banlieuesards*, is one of overcrowded public housing, people of color, new immigrants, and crime. It is something closer to the stereotype of the ghetto in America, but although there are important differences, what is common in both cases is the association between categorical inequality, exclusion from the labor market, and social boundaries resulting in residential segregation."

In Chapter Seven, "Places of Stigma: Ghettos, Barrios, and Banlieues," Castañeda explores the creation of marginalized spaces in the contemporary city, and decontructs the myths of the Chicago ghetto and the urban-rural divide that underlies much urban studies and confounds our ability to understand contemporary developments like the French banlieues. He presents a strong argument against the isolated case study, and sets out to study immigrants across the Parisian urban region. Castañeda notes that "banlieues are an integral part of Paris because much of its business, work, and daily life are done there, behind the scenes, in the backstage of the banlieue, without which the Parisian front stage could not hold up. Thus one cannot talk about the Parisian banlieue without talking about Paris, and in the same way one cannot talk about Paris without taking its banlieue into account." It is striking that while one cannot discuss the American city without talking about the ghetto, it is

not because of the ghetto's centrality to business and work in the city, though an interdependent relationship does exist between ghetto and city. Castañeda maintains that if the term ghetto is not applicable in France, then "it would be only because it lacks the historical equivalent of an African American population but this does not mean that present social boundaries against stigmatized groups are not also inscribed in space, mind, and as speech in the word *banlieue*."

Alan Gilbert, Professor Emeritus at University College London, is well known for his research on urbanization, housing, and poverty in Latin America and South Africa. He has long been interested in the spread of social marginalization and poverty and the impact of globalization on Latin America. He argues that poverty is no longer confined to poor countries. Neoliberalism, combined with globalization, has generated inequality and poverty everywhere. Gilbert has also cautioned scholars about the return of extreme thinking about slum dwellers (2010), and about the very use of the word slum: "The new millennium has seen the return of the word 'slum' with all of its inglorious associations. With the launch of the 'cities without slums' initiative in 1999, the UN reintroduced this dangerous word into the habitat vocabulary." The use of the word, he warns, will create many myths about poor people that have been discredited by many years of careful research (Gilbert 2007, 697).

His chapter here, "On the Absence of Ghettos in Latin American Cities," presents us with a comprehensive demographic overview of the countries and major cities of Latin America, the most heavily urbanized region of the world, and notes that: "If the ghetto is defined as a spatially confined area containing a racial or ethnic minority, then there are very few ghettos in Latin American cities. And, if we adopt Wacquant's (2004, 2) more sophisticated requirement that the 'four constituent elements of the ghetto' are 'stigma, constraint, spatial confinement, and institutional encasement,'—then there are rather few anywhere. Perhaps that is why, to my recollection, over forty years I have never heard the term *gueto* used by a Latin American."

The reason for the lack of a racial ghetto (as defined by Wacquant) include the distinctive racial structure of Latin American societies, in which social class weighs more heavily than does racial background; the fact that in many cities where black populations are heavily concentrated they are also the majority; and most importantly, the extremely high levels of poverty in Latin

American countries, which make the poor the majority of the urban and nonurban populations. Gilbert's discussion of the cloistered neighborhoods of the rich parallels earlier discussions of "(voluntary) clustering" (Marcuse 2005) and "voluntary segregation" (Gans 2008). Gilbert's discussion of marginality demonstrates the need for "new ways of thinking about the poor and their relationship to society and the economy at large. . . . We are unlikely to return to any kind of belief in the 'culture of poverty', 'ruralization' and 'over-urbanization', but no doubt some academic or—these days—some journalist will produce an apocalyptic new interpretation of the situation of the poor."

Brasilmar Ferreira Nunes and Leticia Veloso, from the Universidade Federal Fluminense in São Paolo, present us in Chapter Nine with further possibilities for understanding marginalization in Latin America. They have published numerous studies on urban issues in Brazil, including studies of urban planning, urban space, and heterogeneity (Nunes) and children and youth, poverty, and violence (Veloso). Nunes's two books on Brasila have presented "the construction of the everyday" and the "embodied fantasy" of the capital city. Veloso's research interests are reflected by her continuing ethnographic fieldwork for a comparative study of youth, violence, and rights in urban space in São Paolo and Glasgow (Scotland). Veloso discusses the development of the Brazilian favela in a recent chapter titled "The Pacification of Favelas in Rio de Janeiro" (Veloso 2010). Her work reminds us that even the poorest favelas are products of suburbanization, and also that they have close and complicated relationships, both socially and spatially, with other suburban working-class neighborhoods. Veloso also describes the limitations of a North American approach to studying urban development that emphasizes a city-suburb duality rather than the more nuanced patterns where working-class and lower-class neighborhoods share suburban space in many Brazilian cities. Both of these points mesh nicely with what Castañeda presents in his discussion of the banlieue.

Nunes and Veloso note that the comparison of the favela and the ghetto may offer important insights as to their historical development and current predicament: while they are very different phenomena, the fact that "both are marginalized urban spaces with a long history in their *respective* societies allows for this comparative exercise." The favela arose as a marginal space where economically and socially excluded individuals were collected because of the rapid migration from rural areas during the period of industrial growth.

The ethnic composition of favelas has always diversified, and segregation has its roots in economic marginality. "In this sense, the question of stigma does not appear, at first, as strongly as in the American ghetto, at least in terms of race or ethnicity, for neither is the main marker of difference for *favela* residents. To the contrary, the *favela* is, first and foremost, a place inhabited by the poor in the city, that is, it is the very space of a poverty that has, over the centuries, proven itself to be structural in Brazilian society. In this form of poverty, race and ethnicity are still important, but they are not the sole marker of exclusion; probably not even the key one."

Although racial stigma may be less intense in Brazil, a casual visit to Rio de Janeiro's famed City of God and the Copacabana beaches reveals a clear relationship between space and race, and that class alone does not explain social segregation. In Recife, Salvador Fortaleza, and Belem, white exposure to non-whites is similar to the U.S. and the city of Salvador actually approximates the level of segregation in Chicago, the most extreme U.S. city (Telles 2004, 205). For Nunes and Veloso, it is the high level of poverty that has produced the favela in Latin America, and it is different in significant ways from the American ghetto. In her earlier work Veloso (2010) describes *compulsory closeness* in the Brazilian city, a process characterized by "a series of parameters of distance and proximity that are relative rather than absolute, and are produced by ambiguous strategies of separation and proximity different from those documented in other metropolises."

AbdouMaliq Simone, an urbanist who teaches at Goldsmith's College in London, has worked for a number of African NGOs, municipal governments, regional institutions, and universities in Khartoum, Ghana, Western Cape, and Johannesburg. Trained as a sociologist, his research uses case studies that uncover the informal economies and social networks—what he calls "provisional networks"—by which most of Africa's urban dwellers procure basic goods and services. In *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities* (2004) Simone examines provisional networks in Pikine, a large suburb of Dakar, Senegal; in Winterveld, a neighborhood on the edge of Pretoria, South Africa; in Douala, Cameroon; and among Africans seeking work in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

In *City Life from Dakar to Jakarta*, his most recent book, Simone (2010) challenges the commonplace view among governments and urban planners that Africa's metropolises are failed cities, unable to provide even basic services.

He develops the important concept of *cityness*: "Cityness refers to the city as a thing in the making. No matter how hard analysts and policy makers might try, practices of inhabiting a city are so diverse and change so quickly that they cannot easily be channeled into clearly defined uses of space and resources or patterns of social interchange. In other words, at the heart of city life is the capacity for its different people, spaces, activities, and things to interact in ways that exceed any attempt to regulate them" (2–4).

In Chapter Ten, "Demonstrations at Work: Some Notes from Urban Africa," Simone follows a "crew of guys" in Kasa-Vubu, a centrally located district in Kinshasa (Congo), on their daily efforts to forge networks and cash in on the provisional networks that make daily life possible. The group styles themselves after the Bloods (the Los Angeles street gang), with red bandanas and some level of knowledge about the gang. Simone notes that it is hard to tell when the work really begins or even what it is: "The most intense activity seems to occur in the late afternoon in the intersection of various satisfactions and apprehensions. Some are relieved to have made more than they anticipated and can look forward to treating their friends to a beer. Others have barely sold or made anything and are reluctant to return home. There are those who will hide from creditors and those who will under-count the day's receipts. And some will bundle what they have left with the surplus of others and try quickly to pass off the package deal to those who roam the markets at this hour looking for last-minute bargains." It is the motion of urban life, and the ebb and flow of everyday life, that creates and re-creates cityness. It is challenging to think what our picture of the ghetto, banlieue, favela, and other marginalized spaces might look like if we were to take forward the ideas and methodologies presented in this chapter, and by Michel Agier in the next, to study other countries.

Michel Agier, director of the Institute of Research for Development (IRD) at L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, has long been interested in the issues raised in our volume, beginning with his work on the banlieues, shantytowns, and favelas of the developing world published in 1994 as *L'invention de la ville: banlieues, townships, invasions et favelas.* He has studied refugee camps for nearly a decade, publishing *On the Margins of the World: The Refugee Experience Today* in 2008 and *Managing the Undesirables* in 2011. As he notes in *On the Margins of the World,* some 50 million persons are the victims of forced relocation caused by wars and violence on all continents

around the world. He argues that entire countries are being created from the refugee settlements of fleeing Afghans from the war against terrorism, displaced Colombians from the drug wars and political violence, deported Congolese from the ongoing racial conflicts in that country, Iraqis fleeing the violence of the post-Sadam era, and Chechens, Somalis, and Sudanese who have borne witness to wars, massacres, and terror. In a recent article Agier (2009, 855) wrote: "There is indeed an urban form that has arisen during the history of Palestinian refugees, the result of the 'ghettoization' of the camps (in the sense of a relative spatial, socio-legal, cultural, and political enclosure), a form of ghetto that encourages the refugees to leave the camps if they wish to rise socially or else transform them by developing an informal economy, but that also encourages them to locate their identity as victims of the *Naqba* (the 1948 exodus) and their expectation of return."

In Chapter Eleven, "From Refuge the Ghetto Is Born," Agier reports on how people reconstruct their identities after being forced into exile or regrouped into refugee camps. The camps are both "the emblem of the social condition created by the coupling of war with humanitarian action, the site where it is constructed in the most elaborate manner, as a life kept at a distance from the ordinary social and political world, and the experimentation of the large-scale segregations that are being established on a planetary scale." The refugee camps are intended as temporary protection from an increasingly chaotic political world, but have become a semipermanent feature of the urban landscape. As residents build shelters and organizations set up distribution systems, and as children are born and raised and schooled in the camps, these spaces on the perimeter of the world morph into settlements and towns that Agier describes as city-camps. Deemed as undesirables within the host country, the refugees are kept apart and out of sight, and are marked by dislocation and waiting. Some would argue that they are not unlike the residents of ghettos, banileues, and favelas.

In the volume's final chapter, "Where Is the Chicago Ghetto?" Ray Hutchison returns to Chicago and draws on the long history of scholarship on the African-American community, beginning with Johnson's *The Negro in Chicago*, Frazier's *The Negro Family in Chicago*, and Drake and Cayton's *Black Metropolis,* and continuing on to Wilson, Wacquant, Pattillo, and others to describe the changing perceptions of Chicago's black ghetto. Notable in this chapter is Ernest Burgess's original sketch for the "chart" that would be published in *The Growth of the City*.

Surprisingly, the original diagram showed *two* Black Belts in the city, and included an Arts District in the area adjacent to the Black Belt. Hutchison questions Burgess's decision to include just one Black Belt and remove the Arts District from the map that would become the template for subsequent scholarship about the Chicago ghetto. By following the movement of the African-American population across the city and studying both the mappings and descriptions of neighborhood areas employed in these studies, he confronts the debate between Wilson and Pattillo over the definition of the ghetto: should the ghetto be defined by concentrated poverty, or is it better defined as contiguous neighborhoods of black settlement?

Hutchison's mapping reveals a problem with Pattillo's definition of the ghetto as contiguous neighborhoods of black settlement: African-American neighborhoods snake across the entire South Side of the city into the south suburbs and older industrial communities in northern Indiana. Eschewing the use of ghetto to circumscribe such a vast area, he draws on his earlier discussion of the Fourth World to describe the emerging urban landscape of the twenty-first century. Hutchison reprises that the ghetto is everywhere and nowhere simultaneously:

> It would seem that the ghetto is nowhere—with respect to those areas identified in the urban landscape of the iconic ghetto of the late twentieth century—and everywhere at the same time. Academic scholarship has compared favelas in Brazil and neighborhoods in the United Kingdom and shantytowns in Africa to "the American ghetto" and too often has labeled these marginalized urban spaces as ghetto-like or perhaps even real ghettos when in fact they have independent origins rooted in earlier colonial regimes and systems of economic discrimination. Popular culture has created yet another version of the American ghetto and exported the sights, sounds, and physical culture to the corners of the earth—the ghetto is everywhere even as we try to dismantle the systems of urban apartheid that created the American ghetto and subjected generations of African Americans to conditions rivaling those of urban slums in many developing nations. Dismantling the folk concept of the ghetto may prove even more difficult.

The formerly iconic Jewish ghetto of yesteryear has been replaced by the iconic black ghetto of the twentieth-first century. The ghetto and "the hood" have become synonymous with the poorest and most desperate. When the

famed Robert Taylor Homes were destroyed, 60 percent of its residents were poor, but nearly 100 percent of them were black; there are deep contradictions and collateral damage created by spatial isolation along lines of race/ethnicity and class (Venkatesh 2000; Haynes 2001). And although broad segments of many historic black ghettos have reached new extremes of marginality and alienation, many housing projects have been destroyed and their populations relocated through government programs like Hope VI over the past decade (Venkatesh 2000).

We have no crystal ball that tells us what the future will hold for cities across the globe, but the scale of spatial confinement appears to parallel population growth and continued urbanization. The Venetian ghetto's population numbered in the thousands; today's urban ghettos easily reach 250,000. In the post–Great Recession era of austerity measures, continued growth of neoliberal policies, and new forms and manifestations of spatial marginality around the globe, just who will inhabit the ghetto of the twenty-first century remains an open and contested question.

The pages that follow initiate the discussion.

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