

Residential segregation has been defined sociology essay

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CHAPTER 1

Residential segregation has been defined by several authors in various disciplines. It is reported by Cundiff and Hudson (1999) to involve the spatial concentration of population groups. In a similar definition by Kemper (1998) residential segregation was referred as the spatial separation of population sub-groups within a given geographical area such as a large city. Such sub-groups can be formally defined in terms of age, occupation, income, place of birth, ethnic group or some other measures like race or religion. In line with this, Landrine and Corral (2009) referred to residential segregation as the geographical separation of whites from ethnic minorities in residential areas. However Acevedo-Garcia, Lochner, Osypuk and Subramanian (2003a) reported that available evidence indicates that segregation by race/ethnicity is stronger than segregation by income. Sanni and Akinyemi (2009) also stated that although the tendency of people to segregate based on income has been well documented in literature, it was found not to be very significant in Africa. Williams and Collins (2001) referred to it as the physical separation of the races in residential contexts. Segregation was imposed by legislation, supported by major economic institutions, enshrined in the housing policies of the federal government, enforced by the judicial system, and legitimized by the ideology of white supremacy that was advocated by churches and other cultural institutions. The segregation of African Americans is distinctive. Although most immigrant groups have experienced some residential segregation in the United States, no immigrant group has ever lived under higher levels of segregation that currently exist in the African American population. In the early 20th century, immigrant enclaves

have been never homogeneous to one immigrant group. In most immigrant ghettos, the ethnic immigrant group after which the enclave was named did not constitute a majority of the population of that area, and most members of European ethnic groups did not live in immigrant enclaves. The segregation of African natives from the Europeans in Africa came about through colonisation. It was said to be suggested in 1897 (as a general health measure) when mosquitoes were discovered to cause malaria (Gale, 1980.). However it was not adopted until 1908 due to the outbreak of the plague in Accra (Ghana). It was a disease that was reported to have claimed the lives of six million people in India between 1898 and 1907. The introduction of the disease was thus seen as a threat by the Colonial Office. And in 1910 gave them more grounds to enforce segregation. Gale (op. cit) however opines that there were other important factors that made segregation popular in Northern Nigeria. The people in that region had no prior contact with the Europeans thus there were no merchants or professionals who could speak English. Social contact was so difficult thus leading to a more formal and distant type of relationship between the two groups. The European administration led to the creation of new settlements in Northern Nigeria called the " Sabon Gari" (i. e. new town in Hausa Language). These settlements were established to house servants and labourers of the Europeans, and non-natives of the North. Edewor (2011) reported that prior to colonial rule there was a heterogeneous form of settlement (there were people of various tribes and nationality living together) in the Northern Nigeria (e. g in Kano) where citizenship was based on residence and occupation. However, the British resolved to put an end to

this residential pattern. Spatial, legal and psychological boundaries between social, ethnic, or racial categories were imposed to enforce a clear division between so-called races and ethnic groups to make these categories visible, in everyday life. The Sabon Gari settlements are now found not only in the northern Nigerian cities but also in the southern Nigerian cities and their peculiarity derives from their unique demographic composition, social orientation and religious characteristics. The Sabon Gari settlements in the Hausa-Fulani dominated northern Nigerian cities are inhabited by southern Nigerian migrants while those in the Yoruba dominated southwestern Nigeria are domiciled by the Hausa-Fulani settlers (Albert, 1993). Its abridged version, Sabo, became popularized in southwestern Nigeria and they are found in such Yoruba cities as Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode and Sagamu. In Igbo dominated eastern Nigeria, the Hausa-Fulani settle in the 'Abakpa Quarters'. These are, however, stranger settlements established by the strangers themselves through their continuous aggregation in given locations within the urban system. They are, however, patterned after the " Sabon Gari" settlements, which were established during the colonial era.

Statement of the Research Problem

Most of the studies on residential segregation have been found to delve more on racial/ethnic and income segregation, its patterns, causes and consequences, and its effects on health, etc. Majority of these are based on researches from foreign countries, especially the USA. Such studies undertaken are those of McClinton and Zuberi (2006); Williams and Collins (2001), Anderson et al (2003), Edwards (1970) and K'Akumu and Olima (2007) to mention a few. Our indigenous studies focus too on ethnic and/or

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religious segregation such as those of Albert (1996), Department for International Development (DFID) Research (2003), Edewor (2011) and Gambo and Omirin (2012). (Albert (op. cit) opined that residential segregation was not sufficiently studied in sub-Saharan Africa. In his study he reports that two types of sub-communities exist that is the stranger settlement established by migrants themselves through persistent congregation within specific wards in some cities and the second type are those forced on the strangers by the urban development policies of their host communities. According to the DFID research (2003) the policies of residential segregation are central in determining residential spatial structure in Kaduna metropolis. The indigenous population had originally been segregated into two major groups, which were: strangers, or in other words Africans who were alien to the Provinces of the North and, natives, those Africans who were of the North. Gambo and Omirin (op. cit) studied ethno-religious conflict and settlement patterns in selected cities in Northern Nigeria (Bauchi inclusive) where they report that the outbreaks of religious violence have a great impact on settlement patterns in the town thus leading to the creation of such settlements along religious and ethnic lines in order to safeguard lives. Aliyu, Kasim, Martin, Diah and Ali (2012) on the other hand, studied the influence of intangible location factors (such as cultural identity, native inclination, safety, socioeconomic background, security, frequency of violence, religious inclination, ethnic background, indigene ship) on residential segregation in Jos, Plateau state and the study uncovered that residential segregation in Jos was greatly influenced by these factors, and this has led to change in the residential pattern of the town. The variations

and trends in the sales and rental value of residential properties were said to be greatly affected by persistent residential segregation. The research also discovered variations in the values of residential properties as a result of residential segregation. Although few researches have been carried out on residential segregation and settlement patterns in some northern states of Nigeria little has been documented on the general causes and patterns of residential segregation in Bauchi which is a typical Hausa/Fulani society such as those of Kano and Zaria. Historically, Bauchi has some quarters of the town which are segregated based on crafts and ethnicity such areas are Nufawa (occupied by the Nupe tribe from Niger state), Makera (blacksmiths), and the likes of it. Bauchi, like other northern emirates has certain quarters of the town being inhabited by Igbo's, Yoruba's and other ethnic groups from across Nigeria. These settlements unlike the Sabon Garis' of Kano and Zaria are called " Bayan Gari". However, over the years other similar settlements have sprung up which have been observed to have other characteristics other than being purely ethnically or religiously segregated. The emergence of new settlements in Bauchi can in part be attributed to the ethno-religious crisis in states like Plateau, Yobe and Maiduguri which have led to people fleeing from these areas and taking refuge in Bauchi and its environs.

Although the settlement pattern in some parts of Bauchi (such as Yalwan-Tudu, Jahun, Gudun Sayawa and Igbo quarters) as reported by Gambo & Omirin (Ibid) have been identified to be segregated based on religion and ethnicity; the researcher observed that some of the settlements in Bauchi are however mixed in nature. People from various social classes; education, ethnic, religion, and income are found to cohabit in peripheral areas of the

metropolis. Sanni and Akinyemi (op. cit) have also reported that studies in Nigeria have revealed that the rich and poor co-exist in many parts of Nigerian cities. These types of settlements (in Bauchi) have further been observed to have affected the pattern of residential property development in the metropolis. There appears in these settlements non-conformity to building codes, poor infrastructure and poorly maintained environment which in turn affect the housing quality in such neighbourhoods. It is based on these observations that this researcher intends to study the factors responsible for residential segregation in Bauchi metropolis and its consequences on the housing conditions in the study area.

Research Questions

Why is there residential segregation in Bauchi Metropolis? What is the pattern of residential segregation in the study area? How significant are these identified factors on residential segregation in the study area? What is the condition of houses and infrastructure in the segregated areas? How can the problems identified in the segregated neighbourhoods in the study area be addressed?

Research Aim

The study is aimed at evaluating the factors that influence residential segregation in Bauchi Metropolis with a view to determining its impact on housing conditions in the study area.

Objectives

To identify the factors responsible for residential segregation in Bauchi Metropolis. To examine the pattern of residential segregation in the study

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area. To evaluate the significance of the factors on residential segregation in the study area. To examine the condition of houses and infrastructure in the segregated areas under study. To proffer recommendations to the problems identified in the segregated neighbourhoods in the study area

Scope of the Study

The area of the study was Bauchi Metropolis in Bauchi State of Nigeria.

Bauchi Metropolis being the capital of Bauchi State Nigeria is located at 10°19'N, 9°50'E with a population of 316, 173 (2004). The city lies on the Port Harcourt - Maiduguri railway line. Bauchi metropolis consists of eight administrative wards (units). These are: Hardo Ward, Dan'iya Ward, Makama Sarkin Baki 1 Ward, Makama Sarkin Baki 2 Ward, Majidadi A Ward, Majidadi B Ward, Dawaki Ward, and Dankade Ward respectively (Bello, Danjuma & Adamu, 2007). The study is restricted to only Bauchi metropolis. It will focus only on residential properties by studying the causes and pattern of residential segregation in the study area, and its effect on the condition of houses and infrastructure in the study area.

Significance of the Study

Residential segregation is a phenomenon which has plagued many societies in the world for decades. It has been a tool which has shaped the nature and pattern of settlements in the US, Europe, South Africa, Kenya, and many countries across the world. The study of residential segregation in the US has been extensively researched on the causes, patterns and consequences. A range of factors such as private discrimination, preferences, historical and current government policies and income differentials have been reported to

be the cause of residential segregation (Leeuw et al., 2007). Studies have disclosed that housing patterns in segregated neighbourhoods does not only separate the whites from the minority groups but it creates great disparities in employment, education, income, and wealth. More specifically, residential segregation distances minority job seekers (particularly blacks) from areas of employment growth and opportunity (Turner & Fortuny, 2009). While in other studies residential segregation has been shown to impact on the health of minority ethnic population especially for African Americans and it revealed that a relationship existed between residential segregation and mortality rate among blacks, and disparities in healthcare provision based on socioeconomic status have also been reported (see William & Collins, 2001; Ademuluyi & Aluko-Arowolo, 2009; Acevedo-Garcia et al, 2003; Landrine & Corral, 2009). The study of residential segregation is pertinent because it informs us on how residential segregation affects the lives of minority groups. Studies have disclosed that racial segregation affects the ability or access of minority groups to adequate and affordable housing (Sugrue, 2008; Turner & Fortuny, 2009), public housing is highly segregated for the African Americans and Hispanics, and such developments are usually large densely populated high-rise buildings located in areas of concentrated poverty (Leeuw, et al, 2007). Private acts of discrimination also contribute to residential segregation, in the US realtors have been reported to use the act of "steering" by directing people to areas where a particular race is predominant and through restrictive covenants (Sugrue, 2008; Leeuw2007; Greenstein, Sabatini & Smolka, 2000).

Research Plan

This section shows the thesis plan from the beginning to the final stage.

Figure 1. 1 below shows the research stages.

Research Problem

Stage 1

Review and Compilation of Related Literature

Formulation of Research Problem and Research Aim & Objectives

Research Framework Stage 2

Research Design & Methodology

Mixed Method

Stage 3

Qualitative Research

Quantitative Research

Data Presentation, Analysis and Interpretation

Stage 4

Reporting Findings, Recommendation & Conclusion Stage 5

Figure 1. 1: Phases of the Research Plan, Author (2013)

Stage 1

The first stage of the research involved extensive search and reading of literature related to the problem under study (residential segregation). It involved reading through relevant researches by other authors to identify

gaps which this study hoped to fill. Such writings were drawn from across the globe and from authors in various disciplines.

Stage 2

This stage involved the statement of the research problem and the formulation of research questions from the problem under study. The aim of the study and the objectives of the study were formulated at this stage. The research framework was also designed at this stage.

1. 7. 3Stage 3

The research design was decided at this stage and the methodology adopted for the study. The study conducted was a descriptive kind of research as it entailed conducting surveys. At this stage the mixed research method was adopted and both quantitative and qualitative data were collected from the area under study. Such data as the socioeconomic status, income, education level, religion and ethnic group of respondents in the study were collected through the administration of questionnaires. Similarly, interviews were conducted and observations in the study area i. e. Bauchi Metropolis.

Stage 4

At this stage data collected for the study was presented, analysed and interpreted. The quantitative data was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and the qualitative data will be subjected to content analysis.

1. 7. 5Stage 5

This is the final stage of the research. At this point the findings of the research were reported and conclusions were made. Finally, recommendations were drawn from the findings of the study for policy implementation, and areas for further research into residential segregation in Bauchi Metropolis were suggested.

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CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Concept of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation is a widely researched urban phenomenon both in developed and developing countries. The research exercise has led to a prolific body of literature including the development of scientific measures of segregation like the Index of Dissimilarities (ID) and Racial Index of Dissimilarity (RID). In spite of this, it is rare to come across a clear definition of residential segregation. In most cases definitions tend to be normative, historical or contextual rather than conceptual (K'Akumu & Olima, 2007). Kemper (1998) defined residential segregation as the spatial separation of population sub-groups within a given geographical area such as a large city. Such sub-groups can be formally defined in terms of age, occupation, income, birthplace, ethnic origin or other measures, or specified as social minorities distinguished from the dominant groups of power differentials. In another definition similar to that of Kemper, residential segregation is said to be the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one to

another in different parts of the urban space (Aguilera & Ugalde, 2007).

While Aliyu, Kasim, Martin, Diah and Ali (2012) opined that it is the process where two or more communities which formerly lived together separate as a result of some factors. This they report could be as a result of either religious or ethnic reasons. In the United States where the phenomenon is most prevalent the African Americans are segregated in different neighbourhoods away from the whites. Thus Cundiff and Hudson (1999) defined residential segregation as the tendency for individuals with different racial backgrounds to inhabit different parts of metropolitan areas in greater concentrations. In the United States, segregation is often associated with the income level of the racial or ethnic group in question. Although many minority groups are segregated, the segregation levels of Blacks are significantly higher than those of others. Moreover, Blacks are more likely than other minorities to be hyper-segregated, i. e., to reside in mostly Black neighbourhoods that are surrounded by similar neighbourhoods in the centres of cities (Landrine & Corral, 2009). The segregation of whites from minorities still persists in the US not because the minorities are segregated but because, according to Turner and Fortuny (2009), of the interaction of barriers, fears and preferences. White preferences also play a key role most whites and minorities would prefer to live in considerably more diverse neighborhoods than they do (Krysan and Farley 2002). The persistence of residential in the United States is reported to be perpetuated by both private discrimination practices and through government policies. Leeuw et al (2007) stated that policies and practices of the United States government, as well as state and local governments, have helped to create highly segregated residential

patterns across the United States. Many of the government programs and policies are said to concentrate poverty in communities of colour. Private housing treaties also discriminate against African Americans and Hispanics in renting or purchase of homes. Real estate agents restrict to entry of minority groups into white neighbourhoods by steering and restrictive covenants (Sugrue, 2008, Greenstein, Sabatini & Smolka, 2000). The African Americans are usually concentrated in inner city enclaves and public housing, and regardless of their socioeconomic status they are less likely to move into more affluent areas. According to Turner and Fenderson (2006) the link between neighborhood racial and income composition remains the starkest for African Americans; neighborhoods where blacks constitute the predominant minority group are the most likely to have high poverty rates and the least likely to be occupied exclusively by affluent households. However, contrary to what obtains in the United States and other parts of Europe, the situation of minorities in London differs. In the US minorities are said to be outpaced in suburbanisation by the white population, in London research has revealed that there is continuing suburbanisation of ethnic minorities and rising home ownership, with a decline in White homeownership in suburban London. The minorities in London were also shown to be concentrated in social and private rented housing in both inner and outer London (Hamnett and Butler, 2009). In Malaysia, according to Thong (1978) the colonial administrators isolated themselves from the Asians by residing on the hilly west bank of the river Klang which have presently become the residence of the upper echelons of society. In furtherance of this, the colonial policies have led to residential segregation

among the lower income Malays and Chinese on the east bank, thus leading to the perpetuation of Chinatown and Malay settlements. This brings to light residential segregation along ethnic and income lines. In a related report by Ramli and Jamaludin (2012) the British colonial "divide and rule" policy was said to be the reason why, the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians were never integrated as one community. The policy geographically segregated these individual communities into three different areas; the Chinese were concentrated in urban areas, the Malays were mainly in rural areas and the Indians were in rubber plantations. In Africa residential segregation cannot be discussed without referring to the colonial period. In West Africa the British colonialist separated their quarters from those of the natives. Edewor (2011) reported that prior to the colonial era there was co-habitation in Nigerian cities among people of various nations, social and ethnic origins. He opined however that the British put an end to that pattern of residence by imposing spatial, legal and psychological boundaries between social, ethnic, or racial categories to enforce a clear division between so-called races and ethnic groups to make these categories visible in everyday life. In a report by K'Akumu and Olima (op. cit) residential segregation in settler colonies like Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa originated as racial segregation policies of the state. Residential segregation of the colonial regimes was instituted and implemented through land policy thereby giving it a spatial dimension, this gave rise to segregation by the state. Several legislations were passed in South Africa but the Group Areas Act of 1950 was reported to be the most systematically applied. It gave the government power to demarcate where each racial group could live and own property and control all property

transactions between different racial groups [see South African History Online (SAHO), nd].

Factors Responsible for Residential Segregation

People get separated along many lines and in many ways. There is segregation by sex, age, income, language, religion, colour, taste, comparative advantage and the accidents of historical location. Some segregation results from the practices of organizations; some are deliberately organised; and some results from the interplay of individual choices that discriminate, or some from specialized communication systems, like different languages. And some segregation is a corollary of other modes of segregation: residence is correlated with job location and transport (Schelling, 1971). According to Leeuw, et al. (2007) segregation has plurality of causes, such as private discrimination, historical and current government policies, income differentials, and preference. Schelling (1971) was also of the view that two main processes were usually omitted in discussions on segregation, these being organised action and economically induced segregation. Those through organised action could be either legal or illegal, coercive or merely exclusionary, subtle or flagrant, open or covert, kindly or malicious, moralistic or pragmatic. While the other process is largely but not entirely economic, involves the separation of rich people from the poor, the skilled from the unskilled, the educated from the uneducated, the poorly dressed from the well dressed, in where they work and live and eat and play, in whom they know and whom they date and whom they go to school with. The organised segregation involves civil rights and the economically induced involves social equity - since making economic decisions on where to live

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often involves discrimination on colour basis. The three mechanisms are interwoven and it thus makes it not easy to draw the lines separating 'individually motivated' segregation, the more organised kind, and the economically induced kind. And these three are reported not to be the only mechanisms to segregation. Residential segregation is said to originate either due to discrimination such as racial/ethnic prejudice in the US. It may also result from the choices or preferences, that is, members of various population groups may choose to live separately from other groups and suburbanisation (Acevedo-Garcia and Lochner, 2003b; Wikipedia, 2011; Bayer, McMillan & Rueben, 2001). K'Akumu and Olima (2007) similarly reported that residential segregation may occur for two main reasons; social prejudice (state activated) or the malfunction of an economic system (market activated). And it may also arise due to religious intolerance. Residential segregation due to religious intolerance has also been reported by Aliyu et al (2012), Gambo and Omirin (2012), Dung-Gwom and Rikko (2009), Uchendu (nd), Brimicombe (2007) and Poole & Doherty (1996). According to Edewor (op. cit) evidence from the literature shows that, three major factors: socioeconomic status, family status and ethnic status are the causes of residential segregation. Anderson et. al (2003) in a paper titled providing affordable family housing and reducing residential segregation by income reported that increasing spatial (residential) segregation of households are caused by income, race, ethnicity, or social class. However, spatial segregation based on income has been shown not to be very significant in Africa (Sanni & Akinyemi, 2009). Also Fry and Taylor (2012) asserted that factors that may cause income residential segregation in the United States

are historical settlement pattern; local housing policies, zoning laws, real estate practices and migration trends; and the characteristics of the local economy and workforce. The NPR Staff (2012) also holds the same view and in addition believe that housing discrimination and even a city's physical layout can lead to income residential segregation. Summarising the general causes of residential segregation from past research efforts of scholars; Petrescu-Prahova (2008) classified the causes into three main categories: physical characteristics of the urban environment, individual and aggregate socioeconomic characteristics, and individual preferences for neighbourhood composition. Residential segregation by either race or income has been reported by several researches to develop as a result of neighbourhood sorting. Bayer, et al (opcit) related that theory work in economics and other fields have provided knowledge about the forces underlying observed segregation patterns. They observed that Schelling's models of social interactions emphasized the role of preferences for neighbourhood racial composition, showing how even small differences in such preferences can give rise to high levels of racial segregation and produce important dynamic phenomena such as 'neighbourhood tipping. That individual preferences, either through conscious or unconscious efforts, can usually aggregate to form a universal or collective preferences (see Schelling, 1971). While in Tiebout's theory, the emphasis was on preferences for local public goods, with households sorting across communities offering different public goods packages that are excludable on the basis of location; residential stratification on the basis of race or income was likely in these neighbourhoods to the extent that household preferences for local public

goods vary with these characteristics. In terms of preferences, households care about more than just the race of their neighbours or the level of local public goods provision when making their location decisions; they make tradeoffs among the wide variety of housing and neighbourhood attributes associated with the available choices, and their demands for a given attribute vary with household characteristics. People may attach high value on the quality of the neighbourhood school, while some may place a premium on the accessibility of the home to their jobs. The distribution of households across neighbourhoods within a metropolitan area usually arises through a complex sorting process. While racial segregation may be attributable in part to households' preferences over the race of their neighbours, the correlation of race/ethnicity with other household characteristics makes it likely that many other factors contribute to the observed segregation patterns (Bayer et al). Affordability, accessibility to schools and workplaces, transportation, shopping, and proximity worship places were some of the factors considered by families in selected neighbourhoods in Canada (Agrawal, 2009). In a study conducted in the city of Ibadan, Nigeria, Sanni and Akinyemi (2009) observed that families decide on the area to live through residential district preferences and the main factors found to affect their decision where environmental quality (such as good roads, water supply etc.), security of tenure, socio-cultural factors, closeness to work, the chance of getting a vacancy in the family compound, and cheap accommodation.

Patterns of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation has been reported by many scholars to exist in several patterns, it mostly takes the form of racial form which is most prevalent in the United States, ethnic (Gale, 1980; Edewor, opcit; Hartog & Zorlu, 2009; Albert, 1996, etc.), income (Anderson, et al, 2003; Edwards, 1970), education, occupation and religion (see Fong & Chan, 2008; Agrawal, 2008; and Shuttleworth & Lloyd, 2001). Residential segregation of the colonial regimes was instituted and implemented through land policies which gave rise to a spatial dimension. The policies were encoded in and enforced by legal decrees, e. g. the Group Areas Act 36 of 1956 in South Africa. This marked segregation by the state. The spatial dimension of segregation went beyond the mere separation of residence. The containment policy that complimented the implementation of residential segregation resulted into gender segregation (where women and children were not allowed into the city) and occupational segregation-where entry of the unemployed ' idlers' were restricted. Apart from racial segregation, the colonial regime also attempted to separate Africans into ethnic enclaves; resulting in ethnic segregation (K' Akumu & Olima, Ibid).

2. 2. 1Racial and Ethnic Residential Segregation

Ethnic segregation refers to a spatial separation of ethnic groups from each other. In particular, it often manifests as a separation of minority populations from natives. As a concept, it is often used and understood in a negative way, particularly in policy discourses (Wessel & Søholt, 2010). This form of residential segregation is reported to be most prevalent in countries like the United State of America and South Africa. The segregation in South Africa

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was believed to date back to the Dutch rule of 1652, however the modern form is said to be consequent upon the gold and diamonds exploration in the 19th century. Segregation transformed into apartheid in 1948 and continued until 1990. After the election of the Nationalist Party in 1948, laws were passed, in which individuals were characterized at birth as White, Asian, Coloured or African. Apartheid forbade interracial sexual relationships and marriages and social institutions, such as schools, restaurants, and libraries were firmly divided by racial boundaries. Following the election of 1948, Africans were allowed to work in white designated areas but citizenship into larger South Africa was a dream. Africans were forced to live far from the centre of the city and they were only allowed to enter the city for work during the day and retire to their homelands after the days work, and thus the city was "white by night" (McClinton & Zuberi, 2006). However, contrary to what is obtainable in areas like the US, no evidence was found on the existence of mono-ethnic neighbourhoods in The Netherlands. The higher concentration of non-Western immigrants in the large cities occurs in neighbourhoods with a high degree of diversity from several origins (Hartog & Zorlu, 2009).

2. 2 Residential Segregation by Income

Income residential segregation has been found to differ greatly among income groups in ghettos. Edwards (1970) discovered that non-white families of different income level are segregated to a degree which is moderate in an absolute sense but approximates that of similar income groups in Milwaukee's white community. Segregation is greatest between those families which differ most in level of income. Although the distinctions are

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less pronounced, segregation between family types also reflects this positive relationship between social distance and spatial distance. Those family types which differ most in life style were found to be the most segregated from each other. Although patterns of income segregation are not well documented as racial/ethnic segregation, it has been reported that between 1970 and 1990, residential segregation according to income level increased, especially among African Americans and Hispanics (Acevedo-Garcia et al, 2003a). Residential segregation by income often leads to the poor families having to live in poor neighbourhoods which often lack basic infrastructure as the families do not earn enough money to seek for better housing. Anderson, et al (2003) reported that housing affordability problems affect moderate-income as well as low-income families. In the United States, no state offers a minimum wage sufficient to allow a family with one full-time worker adequate earnings (at 30% of income) to afford the federal fair-market rent for a two-bedroom apartment. Residential segregation by income has been reported by Fry and Taylor (2012) to have increased in the last three decades across the United States. The increases are related to the long-term rise in income-inequality, which has led to the shrinkage in the share of neighbourhoods across the US that are predominantly middle-class or mixed-income from 85% in 1980 to 76% in 2010, and a rise in the majority lower income (12% in 1980 to 18% in 2010) and majority upper income (from 3% in 1980 to 6% in 2010). They opined that despite the long term rise in residential segregation by income, it remains less pervasive than residential segregation by race. Farley (1977) reported also that racial segregation is much more extensive than social class residential

segregation. According to Schelling (1971) colour is correlated with income, and income with residence. He thus opines that even if colour was not considered in making residential choices and no discriminatory measures are exercised, blacks and whites will not be randomly distributed among residences. Income is believed to be the separating mechanism in this case.

2. 2. 3 Residential Segregation by Religion

A faith-based neighbourhood is essentially a social network of persons of the same faith, reinforced by the presence of a religious institution/place of worship. The faith-based social network is not geographically bound. The network and ties may be based on the association with the place of worship, but certainly not just because the congregants live side by side in a neighbourhood. (Agrawal, 2008). In many societies people have formed settlements which are religious based or having been segregated from the dominant religious group. Fong and Chan (2008) in a study conducted in Canada discovered that residential segregation was based on religious groups. They found out that the Christian population were not segregated from one another (their indices for sub-groups were quite low) however Jews and Hindus were the most segregated religious groups. Jews were also found to be significantly segregated from Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists with an Index of Dissimilarity of over 0. 65, while they showed moderate segregation with Christians (about 0. 58). Similarly, Mehta (1969) reported that the Jews and Parsees, and the Christians, tend to be highly segregated and decentralized in Poona. Agrawal (op cit) disclosed that although religion played a role in the formation of faith-based ethnic neighbourhoods in Canada it was however weak. Residential segregation by religion was also

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reported to exist in Northern Ireland where the Catholics and Protestants are highly segregated. The high levels of segregation in Belfast, Derry and mid Ulster were in part explained in terms of the history of the troubles in these places. All these areas were focuses for violence and had a history of territoriality which had been shaped by sectarianism. The local social history of housing may also have had an impact on the differing religious structure of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) estates in different district councils in NI (Shuttleworth & Lloyd, 2001; Poole & Doherty, 1996). Dung-Gwom and Rikko (2009) reported that the spate of ethno-religious violence is entrenching the divide in Nigerian cities along ethnic, cultural and religious lines. They maintained that owing to the incessant crisis in Jos, there has developed a divide in the city along religious lines. According to them the Christians have fled from the city centre to the peripheral areas, while the Muslims (Hausa-Fulani) are predominant in the inner city area. The separation of settlements among the two groups (muslin and Christian) is solely for security or safety. Similar studies by Aliyu et al (2012), Uchendu (nd) and Gambo and Omirin (2012) support these findings in Jos, Bauchi, Kano and Kaduna states. The landscape of religion is found to be more highly segregated in contrast to the landscape of ethnicity (Brimicombe, 2007). While in Malaysia, the two crucial bases of cultural differential and thus of potential disintegration were reported to be language and religion (Ramli and Jamaludin, 2012).

2. 2. 4 Residential Segregation by Occupation

Blacks with professional jobs are highly segregated by residence from professional whites (Farley, 1977). Blacks who had the same skills and

qualification as whites were reported to be discriminated against with regards to wages and also residence. Darden (2001) stated that the workers in Britain, like those in the US, were given lower status jobs and paid lower average wages than their white counterparts. As a result of the lower wages paid to the blacks, and the unemployment rates among them, it limits their housing preferences. Wagmiller (2007) studied the spatial segregation of jobless black men in urban America and he discovered that jobless black men are much more segregated from employed men than are men from other racial and ethnic groups, they were less uniformly distributed throughout the metropolis, more isolated from employed men, concentrated in a small physical space, and congregated closer to the center of the city.

2. 2. 5 Residential Segregation by Gender

Residential Segregation in Colonial West Africa

The practise of housing segregation in British West Africa was not part of the general pattern of racial segregation practised in other British colonies. Gale (1980) reported that the system practised in West Africa was mainly as a result of the outbreak of plague and yellow fever epidemics in 1908 and 1910 which necessitated the medical authorities to recommend residential segregation as essential to safeguarding the lives of the European officials. The policy of segregation was the most resented features of the colonial rule and the African disapproved the heavy investment of their tax money in providing reservations and bungalows for the Europeans, the removal of well-to-do Africans from their large homes, and the absolute neglect of the local towns. Segregation had not been practised in West Africa in the 19th century although it was the practise in British colonial India where the British

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lived separately from the Muslim and Hindu population. People on the coastal areas of West Africa mingled easily with the British since the 15th century. The discovery of the mosquito as the vector for malaria in 1897 led to the recommendation of segregation as a preventive measure. In 1898 the Royal Society through its Malaria Investigating Committee recommended that the Europeans should be segregated from the natives because it was viewed as the only way of preventing malaria. They were further reported to have said that the native children were the primary reserves for malaria, and since there were limited resources at the disposal of the Europeans to prevent malaria, the most feasible option was to segregate Europeans from the natives. Many governors at that time realised the danger of such policy and they were able to enforce other health measures until 1910. Governor William MacGregor of Lagos opposed such policy on health grounds. Being a medical doctor and a British health official, he advocated that the Europeans remain among the natives (believing that with separation on colour bias the source of contamination will remain) and employ ways of eradicating the disease (and mosquitoes) permanently. He also opposed it on humanitarian grounds believing that it will lead to social problems and he wanted no racial problems in Lagos. MacGregor's health program involved the eradication of mosquitoes, free distribution of quinine and introduction of hygiene and sanitation courses in local schools. Although the European death rate was reported to have decreased around 1910 with the adoption the health program, segregation schemes were still adopted. The Hill Station above Freetown was completed between 1900 and 1910 in spite resistance from two past governors on the movement to the station. The first event that

necessitated the adoption of segregation was the outbreak of the plague in 1908 in Accra, Ghana. The disease was said to have claimed the lives of over six million people in India between 1898 and 1907. The principal medical officers of the British West African colonies called for the segregation of the Europeans from the natives and recommended that 400 yards distance from native towns be adopted. However, the event that absolutely made segregation enforceable was the outbreak of the yellow fever in Sekondi which claimed the lives of nine Europeans. The most conflict over the adoption of segregation between the European officials and medical officers were those over Gambia, the Gold Coast and Northern Nigeria. The adoption of the scheme in Gambia began in 1913 and it resulted in the removal of well-to-do Africans from their Clifton-Marina Road area in Bathurst. They were relocated to the land reclaimed from the edge of the large un-healthy Half-Die swamp. In the Gold Coast the segregated areas selected were Kumasi, Sekondi, Dunkwa, Tarkwa, Axim, Cape Coast, and Winneba. The officials had by 1914 built enough bungalows for the occupation. All these projects were at the expense of the natives. Although the then governor of the Gold Coast Sir Hugh Clifford strongly opposed segregation on social grounds and argued that it was unfair to lavishly spend the tax money-which was largely collected from the natives-on the European officials. He was however not successful in his plight. In Northern Nigeria the medical officers in that region were reported to be more conservative, the type that would want to live in separate quarters from the natives, and the natives had no prior contact with the Europeans. There was no social contact between the two groups thus a formal and distant relationship developed. The Muslims

were particularly said to be more pleased with the Europeans living separately because they feared that they may adulterate their religion. Segregation in this region and the Northern part of the Gold Coast were said to be less offensive than those of Freetown and Lagos. In Northern Nigeria the medical officers wanted Africans non-natives of the land to live in their own separate areas so that they do not enjoy a commercial advantage over the Europeans in the area. This act of the officials is what has led to the realisation of new towns popularly known as the Sabon Gari. In 1911 a standard plan was developed in Nigeria having three categories of towns which contains: European cantonments or stations which was exclusive of any Africans, alien towns near the cantonment which would contain non-native traders, missionaries, and other immigrants, and regular native towns. The European stations were to be ' garden cities' having a European standard of living. Minna was one alien of the towns. These events are the genesis of the present pattern of residential settlements in Nigeria and other African countries.

Residential Segregation in Nigeria

The region of Nigeria was predominantly rural in the pre-colonial era. This is not, however, to suggest the absence of cities in the region at that period. Indeed, such Nigerian cities as Ibadan and Kano were among the largest cities in the continent of Africa at that time. Many of the cities had long been in existence before the advent of colonialism. The city of Kano, for example, had existed for at least 900 years before the British colonized Nigeria. Similarly, Benin City has a long history (Edewor, 2011). Nigeria has a long history of urban development particularly in the northern and southern parts

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where a substantial number of the cities existed centuries before the advent of colonial rule. Lagos, which is not only Nigeria's largest city but also Africa's largest with an estimated population of 13, 427, 000 in year 2000, is a main commercial centre. It grew as a colonial Nigeria's capital and leading port. It is in fact, a classic example of the history and pattern of urbanization phenomenon, not only in Nigeria, but in the developing world. Nigeria provides diverse examples of historical urban development. A useful distinction that could enhance our understanding is the classification of the cities into indigenous and non-indigenous. This distinction basically refers to the development or emergence of a city relative to the colonial period. By implication, indigenous cities are those which originated prior to the period of the British colonial rule while those planned and constructed during the colonial period (1900-1960) are non-indigenous. Kano is an indigenous city. It traces its origin to the era much before the arrival of the British, approximately 1000 A. D. and it is among the oldest continuously occupied cities in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. However, it was not until the 14th century that it developed its Islamic character, after the coming of Islam. With the consolidation of Islam, Kano became a major terminus of trans-Saharan trade and this supplemented its role as a centre of Islamic Teaching and Education. Like other northern savannah cities, Kano grew within city walls. The main market, the government buildings and the central mosque were located at the centre. The houses of the rich and powerful then clustered around them. Found away from this core were smaller markets and denser housing and with the little markets at the gate of the city. Groups of craft manufacturers as blacksmiths, cloth dyers, weavers, potters and the

like were organised in to special quarters. These crafts were often family-based and they were inherited. Thus, residential differentiation was on the basis of crafts and some degree of occupational specialization. The residential pattern that existed in pre-colonial Nigerian cities was altered by the advent of British colonialism. Prior to that time, there was a form of cohabitation among people of various national, social and ethnic origins. However, the British resolved to put an end to this residential pattern. Spatial, legal and psychological boundaries between social, ethnic, or racial categories were imposed to enforce a clear division between so-called races and ethnic groups to make these categories visible in everyday life (Edewor, 2011). The urban political structure of the colonial era was completely different from that of the pre-colonial era. Be it in the indigenous cities like Kano, or in the non-indigenous or new ones like Jos, residential segregation was the norm and it was based on religion, ethnic origin and race. The Sabon Gari system in northern emirate cities was the epitome of this British-imposed policy, based on the principle of divide and rule. For example, the settlement known as Sabon Gari (which means 'new town' in Hausa language) in northern Nigeria was first established in Kano around 1911. At this time, Kano was already an Islamic city and it was populated by the Kanawa (the indigenous Kano people) who vehemently resisted the British colonisation in 1903. The colonial authorities became keenly aware of the need to respect the sanctity of Islam in Kano. Consequently, the Sabon Gari settlement was founded [or the dominantly Christian southern Nigerian migrants who trooped into the city. As the Kanawa distanced themselves from the colonial authorities most especially on religious grounds, more

southern Nigerians migrated into Kano to serve the whites. This way, the image of Sabon Gari as a settlement of 'strangers' was consolidated (Edewor, opcit; Uchendu, 2008). It should be emphasized that the colonial pattern of residential segregation in these cities was not chosen by the Nigerians themselves. Rather, it was deliberately established and enforced by the colonial power. In Zaria, for example, during the first decades of colonialism, heterogeneous population of migrants sprang up outside the city walls, on the present site of Sabon Gari. It was populated by people from different parts of Nigeria, who had come to Zaria as a result of the railway and cotton ginnery. Some of the indigenes of Zaria even came and settled there. However, by early 1920s the British began to entertain some fears. They envisaged that this community of diverse people might create a situation that would not be in their (the British) interest. They felt threatened by the existence of this heterogeneous population domiciled in Sabon Gari. Consequently, they issued an order stating that Muslims must not live in Sabon Gari. They also enforced the regulation that non-indigenes could not live in Zaria old city. The result was that the Muslims were removed from Sabon Gari while all non-Muslims were removed from the Zaria old city. At the same time, the British reserved for themselves the Government Reservation Area (G R. A). These G. R. A.'s still exist in our major towns like Lagos, Kaduna, Jos, Bauchi, Ibadan etc (Ademiluyi & Aluko-Arowolo, 2009). Eventually, the residential pattern of the Zaria metropolitan area came to be a totally segregated one, dividing the indigenes from non-indigenes, the Christians from Muslims, and the Europeans from Africans. This was a completely different picture from what obtained in the pre-colonial period in

which everyone, regardless of ethnic origin had settled within the city walls (Edewor, Ibid). However the establishment of the Sabon Garis (new towns) and Tudun Wadas during the colonial period in Kano, Zaria and other parts of the north was reported to be done with intent of avoiding direct contact with the indigenous people based on the policy of indirect rule and residential segregation. These new settlements were situated adjacent to the traditional cities for the non-natives (Dung-Gwom, 2008). Albert (1996) reported that many types of segregated sub-communities are now found in Nigerian cities. The segregation in these cities is religiously motivated, ethnically motivated, and economically motivated. The Sabon Gari settlements are now found not only in the northern Nigerian cities but also in the southern Nigerian cities and their peculiarity derives from their unique demographic composition, social orientation and religious characteristics. The Sabon Gari settlements in the Hausa-Fulani dominated northern Nigerian cities are inhabited by southern Nigerian migrants while those in the Yoruba dominated southwestern Nigeria are domiciled by the Hausa-Fulani settlers. Its abridged version, Sabon Gari, became popularized in southwestern Nigeria and they are found in such Yoruba cities as Ibadan, Ijebu-Ode and Sagamu, -these Hausa settlements in Yoruba land according to Blair (1966) are called Zongos. In Igbo dominated eastern Nigeria, the Hausa-Fulani settle in the 'Abakpa Quarters'. These are, however, stranger settlements established by the strangers themselves through their continuous aggregation in given locations within the urban system. They are, however, patterned after the Sabon Gari settlements, which were established during the colonial era (Albert, opcit; and Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). Asike (nd) and Nwaka (1999)

opined that general aims and the specific objectives of the British colonial administration in West Africa, the British was not interested in developing the cities in a way that would realise and maximise their positive role in the overall development of the region. Urban planning in the region was merely to provide enclaves or escapes where temporary migrants from the homelands could be posted to organize increased productivity. With such a limited objective and a narrowly defined role for the region, the colonial planning approach was simple. Its strategy was basically to regulate and control the physical growth of the cities within a graded framework. Land use, zoning and building bylaws were designed to minimise costs and to separate the colonisers from the colonised. Therefore, the traditional (older) sections of the towns were simply ignored and contained, while serious planning efforts were concentrated on the establishment of new areas. Blair (1966) reported that in Africa as people ascended to higher ranks of power they took up residence in formerly occupied European residential areas, or in isolated medium housing estates. As the African elites crossed the ethnic-class line they foreshadow the egalitarian residential pattern that was typical of traditional local African communities where people of different class and occupation resided on one street, and herald the rise of one-class neighbourhoods which were common in the Western nations. He went further to say that the attainment of new status positions was expressed by dissociation from the traditional group and association with another group in better surroundings. The African elites created and separated by residence as well as income, education and standard of living from the masses of people. Such exodus affected the community by depriving it of leadership

and taxable income. The segregation system imposed by the British colonialists is still present in the modern or post-colonial Nigeria. These laws were reported to be inherited without much thinking on the part of the government (Nwaka, 1999). The result of the British inherited planning policies through the Town Planning Laws have led to the development of the three distinctive residential neighbourhood types in almost all Nigerian cities i. e. the high, medium and low density residential areas (Asiyanbola, 2003). Mallo and Anigbogu (2009) identified in a study on the housing quality between residential neighbourhoods Jos town that the inhabitants of the low density neighbourhoods are predominantly people of high status, the medium density areas are occupied by a mix of the high status people and peasants, while the high density areas are characterised by poor facilities and infrastructure and inhabited by mostly peasants.

Consequences of Residential Segregation

Residential segregation, both in ethnic and income terms, is considered an undesirable phenomenon which impacts the opportunities, prospects and quality of life of the residents, especially in urban areas. In general terms, selective migration and segregation are expected to disconnect poor residents from mainstream society (Kleinhans, Van der Land & Doff, 2010). The spread of impoverished urban areas is said to lead to the physical and social deterioration of neighbourhoods. High residential turnover and the increased concentration of poverty result in housing disinvestment and deteriorated physical conditions, a reduction in the capacity of formal and informal institutions to maintain public order, and a decline in the ability of informal networks to circulate information (e. g., about employment

opportunities and health resources) and to promote healthy behaviours and positive life choices (Anderson, et al., 2003; Ellen & Turner, 1997; MacDonald, Shildrick, Webster & Simpson, 2005; Greenstein, Sabatini and Smolka, 2000; and Bayer, McMillan & Reuben, 2001). Sugrue (2008) opines that persistent racial separation has had profound consequences on the minorities and whites alike. It has created homogeneity (racial) in school districts, limits access to employment especially for the youth, concentrates poverty within neighbourhoods, racial polarisation of politics, white population flight and disinvestment in neighbourhoods (causing the value of properties owned by blacks depreciate), fosters racial stereotypes, inequality in the distribution of wealth thus hindering the ability of blacks to accumulate wealth (African Americans did not accumulate capital to pass to their children to the same extent as did whites). There was said to be little or no social interaction exists between African Americans and the Whites. Edwards (1970) also discovered that the black population in Milwaukee county was segregated based on the income of the family and the level of income determines the level of segregation i. e. the lower the income the greater the segregation of such families. Income inequality along racial segregation in the United States has been reported by scholars to be higher for the African-Americans than for any other group. The study of Nuru-Jetter and LaVeist (2011) showed that there was a positive relationship between income inequality and mortality rate among poor African-Americans. Racially segregated areas, particularly lower income areas, are associated with lower quality schools, fewer employment and economic opportunities, exposure to crime, substandard housing, exposure to toxins and pollutants, and isolation from broader social

networks, all of which have been associated with poorer health. Jackson et al (2000) in their study also reported that mortality increased with increasing minority residential segregation among Black men aged 25 to 44 years, non-Black men and women aged 45 to 64 years, and Black women 65 years and older. For most groups, the highest and lowest mortality rates were observed in the highest and lowest categories of residential segregation, respectively. According to Leeuw, et al. (2007) racial discrimination and segregation in public housing affects women to a greater degree than men. The HUD data from 2000 reported that 77% of households living in public housing are headed by women, and 40% are headed by women with children. Single girls living in public housing are said to face risks such as harassment, domestic violence, sexual assault, pressure to become sexually active at a young age, and fear of victimization and exploitation; these types of violations against girls are often more prevalent in areas of high poverty concentration. The consequence of segregation is believed to be dependant on the scale of the segregation i. e. the spatial distribution. According Reardon, et al (2006) the consequences of segregation may depend on the scale of segregation patterns. Local segregation is likely to affect pedestrian contact patterns, while macro-scale segregation may more likely affect the spatial distribution of economic, institutional, and political resources. In addition, the consequences of segregation may depend differently on scale for different populations. Patterns of local segregation are likely to influence young children's lives, who might stay relatively close to home in the course of a day (attending local child care, preschool, or elementary schools). For adults, in contrast, who are more mobile, macro-level segregation patterns may be

more relevant, because they may be linked to employment opportunities and social and institutional resources. Residential segregation also affects educational attainment and employment opportunities for the minorities. Studies have shown that residential segregation contributes to minorities unequal educational attainment, which in turn affects their opportunities in the labour market. These effects are most obvious and severe in distressed central-city neighborhoods where many low-income minorities are concentrated. Many of these neighbourhoods are served by failing public schools with high dropout rates, low instructional quality, and poor test scores (O'Regan and Quigley, 1996). But the effects of residential segregation on educational achievement are not limited to distressed central-city neighborhoods. Turner and Fortuny quoting Cashin (2004) said that the public school performance in minority suburban communities fall below the considerable standard expected in the white suburbs. Also they reported that higher levels of segregation was closely related to high level of school dropout rates among blacks, lower employment rates and a wider gap between the black and whites (see Cutler & Glaeser, 1997). Ramli and Jamaludin (opcit) asserted that the existence of economic specialization and segregation of living among the ethnic groups in Malaysia would not only reduce the opportunities for inter-ethnic relations, but also strengthen ethnic prejudices, stereotypes and ethnocentrism among members of ethnic groups. And this they believe will affect the integration process in Malaysian society. The advent of residential segregation has been the main cause of the development of squatter and informal settlements, and slums in many parts of Africa. For instance in Cape Town, South Africa, the shanty and

informal settlements are as a result of the segregation of Africans and non-white people from the white neighbourhoods. The inability of the government to adequately provide housing for the displaced African population led to the people taking up residence in outside areas of the white settlements (see SAHO, nd). Similarly, in Nairobi, Kenya, the economic segregation of blacks has made access to land and housing difficult because they belong to the lowest income group. These low income groups are confined to informal settlements along the Eastland areas and around high income residential areas, thereby enabling the inhabitants to work as agricultural labourers or domestic servants, while others were employed in industrial and commercial concerns. K'Akumu and Olima (2007) stated these squatter and informal settlements are the consequence of the colonial capitalist development imposed by the British who alienated the local people from control over their land in order to provide surplus labour for the settler farms and emerging urban centres. They further stated that the combination of racial and income residential segregation has resulted into systematic and uneven spatial distribution of public services including schools, access to transportation, health care, and water and sanitation. In the low income areas, that the lower income group i. e. Africans live is characterised by rented accommodation, poor nutrition, expensive food and cooking fuel, high level of disease, high infant mortality, poor family planning and teenage pregnancy, poor health care, and low school enrollment. In addition persons residing in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of low-income and minority households face higher crime rates. These neighbourhoods also have higher rates of unemployment, and lack of access to job networks and

transportation, which hinders households from fully accessing employment opportunities. The result of isolation and segregation of minority and the economically disadvantaged are increased racial and income inequality, which in turn reinforces segregation (Wikipedia, 2011).

Residential Segregation Measures/Models

The determination of the extent of segregation involves the use of certain measures or models. Farley (1977) reported that sociologists in the United States adopted three different approaches to assess residential segregation. These measurements were done through: Calculating indexes from census tract data, Factorial ecology, and Participant observation. The first approach, that is, calculating the index from census tract data was adopted by many researchers to measure the segregation of occupational groups such as that of the Duncan (1955). The index of dissimilarity was computed showing the distribution of persons by occupation using census tract figures. They discovered that the further apart people were in terms of occupational status the greater the residential segregation of the groups. The segregation index has been used by numerous scholars to study racial, ethnic, religious and income segregation such as those of Mehta (1969), Schwirian & Rico-Velasco (1971), Fong & Chan (2008), McClinton & Zuberi (2006) etc. Van Valey and Roof (1976) however argue that the use of census figures to study racial segregation in cities only provides summary measures. The second approach, that is, factorial ecology has also been applied in many cities and metropolitan areas to study segregation. This approach, according to Farley (1977) has through analysis of factors identified three factors of segregation, these are socioeconomic status, family status or the stage of life cycle of

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urbanisation, and race or ethnicity. The participant observation (the third approach) has been frequently used by researchers to describe social class differences and segregation patterns in cities. Various studies on residential segregation have documented a number of models or methods for measuring segregation, the most popular amongst them being the Index of Dissimilarity,

Residential Segregation and Housing Discrimination

The existing literature shows that minorities face discrimination in housing, this being either through federal housing policies or by private treaties i. e. by real estate agents. Minorities, as it has been reported, were usually allocated the worst set of housing, in usually, inner cities, or being steered to areas of ethnic concentration by estate agents and often made to pay very high rents as compared to those paid by the whites (see Darden, 2001; Turner & Fortuny, 2009; Sugrue, 2008;). Residential segregation by race has deep roots in private real estate practices, in American public policy, and in grassroots activism, especially by white homeowners, to maintain residential segregation Sugrue (2008). The discrimination against minorities/people in either public or private housing will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

Public Housing Discrimination

Federal housing programs introduced in the US were said to be the mechanisms that further reinforced racism in housing policies. For instance, in 1933 the government created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), which provided low-interest loans to homeowners who

were at risk of foreclosure. These federally-backed loans and mortgages were, however, seldom available to residents of racially mixed or "transitional" neighborhoods. The presence of even a single black family rendered a whole neighborhood "actuarially unsound." To assist lenders, the HOLC prepared "neighborhood security maps." The maps were elaborately drawn and backed up with detailed descriptions of a neighborhood's housing stock and racial, ethnic, and class composition. The best neighborhoods, denoted "A" and "B" were colored green and blue; the riskiest neighborhoods were denoted "C" and "D" and colored yellow and red. If "inharmonious racial and ethnic groups" lived in a neighborhood, "stability" would be at risk. Residents in neighborhoods with old housing stock (at risk of "transition to lower class occupancy") or with even a handful of black residents were marked "D" and were usually ineligible for FHA-backed loans. To preserve stability, FHA officials supported the use of restrictive covenants (Sugrue, 2008). Few of the housing policies which sought to provide affordable housing for the blacks, such as the U. S. Housing Authority (USHA), also segregated public housing projects. While these public housing programs were federally funded, they were locally administered. Public officials in northern cities chose the sites for housing projects and enforced eligibility requirements. In every major northern city, public housing projects were sited in deference to local housing patterns. The few "colored" projects usually adjoined segregated neighborhoods or were built on marginal land near waterfronts, industrial sites, railroad tracks, or highways. Blacks' pent-up demand for housing remained unfulfilled (Sugrue, 2008). Turner and Fortuny (2009) reported that in the late 90's sales prices and subprime

lending rates rose dramatically in many previously distressed and disinvested neighborhoods—as well as more moderate-income neighborhoods, and many of the same neighborhoods were facing high rates of foreclosure. Patterns of subprime lending and foreclosures were both found to vary widely across housing markets. But nationally, the incidence of subprime lending (defined as the number of high-priced loans as a share of all owner-occupied housing units) was higher in majority black or Hispanic neighborhoods than in predominantly white neighborhoods, and also higher in minority neighborhoods with low to moderate poverty rates than in the poorest minority neighborhoods.

Private Housing Discrimination

The real estate agents through their nation association were reported to have instituted aethical guidelines between-1930's to 1960's-which specifeied that realtors should never introduce into white neighbourhods, members of another race or nationality, whose presence may be detrimental to property values in the neighbourhood (Sugrue, 2008).

Residential Segregation and Housing Quality

Residential segregation has been reported to affect the quality and availability of housing to the minorities. According to Bianchi, Farley and Spain (1982) two types of racial differentiation in the housing market can be identified in the US. First, there is a high level of racial residential segregation in metropolitan areas where blacks are concentrated in central cities while the suburbs remain predominantly white. In 1977, 24 percent of black metropolitan households were reported to occupy the suburbs,

compared with 59 percent of white metropolitan households. The second kind of racial differentiation involves the type and quality of housing occupied by blacks and whites. Blacks typically live in lower quality housing than whites; they occupy older housing, and are less likely to own their own homes. In a similar report by Williams and Collins (2001) racial differences in neighbourhood quality persist at all levels of SES. Middle-class suburban African Americans reside in neighbourhoods that are less segregated than those of poor central city blacks. However, compared to their white counterparts, middle class blacks are more likely to live in poorer quality neighborhoods with white neighbors who are less affluent than they are. According to reports by Darden (2001) and Dwyer, (2007) advantaged groups typically occupy newer housing, often in far-flung suburbs, while older areas in central cities or inner ring suburbs are "left" to less advantaged class and racial groups, particularly blacks. Residential segregation can lead to large differences in neighbourhood quality. Racial residential segregation has also led to unequal access for most blacks to a broad range of services provided by municipal authorities. Political leaders have been more likely to cut spending and services in poor neighbourhoods, in general, and African American neighbourhoods, in particular, than in more affluent areas. Poor people and members of minority groups are less active politically than their more economically and socially advantaged peers and elected officials are less likely to encounter vigorous opposition when services are reduced in the areas in which large numbers of poor people and people of colour live. This disinvestment of economic resources in these neighbourhoods has led to a decline in the urban infrastructure, physical

environment, and quality of life in these communities (Williams & Collins, opcit). US research has found that poor, segregated African American neighbourhoods are also characterized by high mobility, low occupancy rates, high levels of abandoned buildings and grounds, relatively larger numbers of commercial and industrial facilities, and inadequate municipal services and amenities, including police and fire protection. According to Oh (1995) segregated blacks are deprived of access to good jobs, basic social services such as good public schools, housing, and police protection, and municipal services such as garbage pickup and street cleaning, deprivations which significantly undermine the life chances and opportunities of blacks. In line with this Ellen and Turner (1997) opined that the quality of the neighbourhood environment significantly affects the life choices of both children and adults. The quality of housing is also likely to be poorer in highly segregated areas, and poor housing conditions can also adversely affect health. Multiple housing stressors (dampness or condensation, inadequate heat, problems with noise and vibration from outside, the lack of space and the lack of private space, as well as the presence of environmental hazards) varied by area in the four contrasting neighbourhoods in Glasgow, Scotland. Similarly, US data indicated that crowding, sub-standard housing, elevated noise levels, inability to regulate temperature and humidity, as well as elevated exposure to noxious pollutants and allergens (including lead, smog, particulates, and dust mites) are all common in poor, segregated communities. These aspects of the physical environment have been shown to adversely affect health (Williams and Collins, 2001).

2. 8Policies on Residential Segregation

Most immediately, low-income working families who live in distressed neighborhoods need more help with employment, education, safety, and health; so policies may need to be more explicitly shaped to compensate for neighborhood disparities. (Turner & Fortuny, 2009) Discriminatory barriers in urban housing markets mean individual Black citizens are less able to capitalize on their hard-won attainments and achieve desirable residential locations. Compared with Whites of similar social status, Blacks tend to live in systematically disadvantaged neighborhoods, even within suburbs (Policies and practices of racial residential segregation which restricts minorities to particular parts of a town have been shown to concentrate poverty and cause neighbourhood distress (Turner & Fortuny 2009; & Massey, 2001).

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Deign

The approach adopted for the research was the mixed method (i. e. using both quantitative and qualitative techniques) of research. Sandelowski (2000) reported that researchers increasingly have used mixed method techniques to expand the scope of, and deepen their insights from, their studies. Advocates of the-method have argued that, the complexity of human phenomena mandates more complex research designs to capture them. Combination or mixed-method studies are concretely operationalised at the technique level of research: that is, at the level of sampling, data collection, and data analysis. While Angell and Townsend (2011) defined " mixed methods research is the type of research where a researcher or team <https://assignbuster.com/residential-segregation-has-been-defined-sociology-essay/>

of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches (e. g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration" The data for the research was sourced using structured questionnaires, structured and semi-structured interviews, and field observations. The data was analysed using the appropriate tools of analysis and subsequently interpreted.....

Research Design

Qualitative

Research

Quantitative

Research

Questionnaire

Interview

Observation

Data Analysis

and

Interpretation

Figure 3. 1: Research Design: Author (2013)

3. 1Sources of Data

Data for the research was sourced from the field using questionnaires, interview and observation; this formed the primary source of data. While the secondary data used in the study were sourced from documented

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information (relevant to the study), such as journals, seminar/conference proceedings and past research efforts from other scholars.

3. 2Tools for Data Collection

The tools used in data collection for this research were questionnaires, interview and observation.

3. 2. 1Questionnaires

Structured and semi-structured questionnaires were used in the collection of data. A total of 300 questionnaires were distributed in the study area.

3. 2. 2Interview

Interviews conducted were conducted in the study area. These were administered in the Town Planning Department of the Ministry of Lands and Housing Bauchi, and the also the ward heads of selected areas in the study area. The interviews were conducted to collect data which will be difficult to collect through questionnaire administration.

3. 3. 3Observation

Since the study involves the examination of the pattern and condition of housing development in segregated areas of Bauchi metropolis, it therefore became necessary to adopt the observation method. This was done to further observe physically the condition of houses, environment and infrastructure in the selected areas of the study area. A schedule was adopted through which the observed elements were documented (see table 3. 1 below). Table 3. 1Schedule for ObservationTypes of FacilityObservation

Remarks Very good Good Fair Poor Very Poor Access road Water Supply Electricity supply Drainage Source: Author (2013)

3.3 Types of Data

The type of data collected for the research were data on socio-economic attributes of the respondents, factors that were responsible for residential segregation in the study area, nature and pattern of residential segregation, and consequences of residential segregation in Bauchi metropolis. Also data on the nature and condition of houses and infrastructure in the area were collected. Data was also collected from the Town Planning unit of the Bauchi State Ministry of Land & Housing on the laws and regulations governing settlement layouts in the metropolis.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Size

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

3.6