

**THE DYNAMICS OF ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS  
IN THE TORONTO CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA**

by

**Marinel Mandres**

M.A., University of Waterloo, 1993  
B.E.S., University of Waterloo, 1991

**THESIS**  
Submitted to the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Doctor of Philosophy in Geography degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1998

© Marinel Mandres 1998



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-30243-1

## ABSTRACT

Responding to contemporary urban changes and increasing social complexities, this research endeavours to determine whether recently arrived immigrants still follow residential configurations as prescribed by traditional urban ecological models or whether ethnic groups are displaying a new dispersed (i.e. 'shot gun') domiciliary pattern characterized by enclave scattering. A new conceptual model describing various spatial outcomes relative to primary destinations of initial immigrant settlement and subsequent relocation is developed according to propositions discussed in the literature review. Subsequent statistical analyses focus upon the hypothesized post-1980 areal placement of six ethnic groups (Greek, Jewish, Multiethnic, Aboriginal, Chinese, and Jamaican) using the British as the reference population within the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area.

Three dimensions of residential differentiation (evenness, centralization, and concentration) are measured and selected thematic crosstabulations generated primarily from 1981 and 1991 Census data to ascertain whether anticipated distributional trends have materialized or traditional ones persist. Most ethnic communities maintain intermediate and relatively stable levels of residential similarity, concentration, and centralization with recent immigrants exhibiting a somewhat higher degree of residential integration. An incremental yet definite decentralization trend is noted among most ethnic groups. Centralization and concentration levels according to immigration period, mobility status (external migrants) and ethnic origin by admission interval diminish with increased time since entering Canada. The latest entrants, however, are marginally more centralized than previous arrivals.

Cartographic representations of concentration patterns reveal ethnic variation with sectoral (Jews), nodal (Greek and Chinese), scattered (Aboriginal and Jamaican), and even aterritorial (Multiethnic) arrangements being the most prevalent ones by different communities. Recent arrivals consistently register high concentration values in census tracts that are increasingly more dispersed between 1981 and 1991. Entering the metropolitan

area via secondary ethnic enclaves or new outer suburban and multicultural ports of entry, the latest intakes display less predictable localization configurations which are collectively characterized by cluster dispersion.

The analysis of selected mobility, tenure, and socio-economic variables indicates that non-movers prevail amid nearly all ethnic units as well as the latest immigrant arrivals. Dwelling ownership is prevalent among ethnic collectivities while rental housing more typical of visible minorities and new admissions irrespective of ethnicity. Suburban residency is partially an outcome of chain migration but more so of educational achievement and household income level.

The dynamic nature of urban form is proposed as an alternative contextual environment in which to explain ethnic and immigrant residential distribution. Since newcomers mainly rent during the immediate post-arrival phase, the shifting location and dispersion of affordable housing, especially apartment clusters, was examined and found to correspond with and influence points of initial settlement. Immigration policy development was also examined to relate its impact upon the sources and types of newcomers entering urban areas. Revisions were then made to the conceptual model such that it reflects the increasing complexity of ethnic habitation configurations within and immigrant entry into metropolitan areas.

In conclusion, it can be affirmed that ethnic and immigrant areal apportionments are increasingly complex, less predictable, and geographically dispersed. The 'shot gun' pattern, although overall quite representative, is less evident among ethnic groups when native- and foreign-born constituents are collectively considered. It is most obvious when immigrants are assessed by arrival period. Overall, measurements of the aforementioned dimensions confirm the emergence of a fragmented multicultural spatial mosaic.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My sincere gratitude and thanks are extended to all of those who advised, counseled, and assisted me during this research. First and foremost, the Faculty of Graduate Studies along with the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University deserve formal recognition for providing me with the opportunity and scholarships to pursue my research interests at the doctoral level. I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Dr. Alfred Hecht, my advisor, whose continual guidance, immeasurable patience, intuitive understanding, and enduring flexibility have been constant sources of encouragement which made this dissertation possible. His insightful advice, readiness to assist, and valuable discussions have contributed to much of the coherence and consistency of this academic endeavour. Special mention is also deserved for the probing questions and succinct comments which were advanced after diligently reading the first draft. As a research assistant, I am forever indebted for the experiences derived from being involved with a diverse range of scholarly activities, especially the textbook and atlas analysis project, which have broadened my field of interest and analytical capabilities. I am also immensely grateful for the teaching appointment which has nurtured my academic career.

Dr. Robert Sharpe (Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University), Dr. Trudi Bunting (Department of Geography, University of Waterloo), and Dr. Pierre Filion (School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of Waterloo) must be acknowledged for their participation as members of the Thesis and Examination Committees. Their expertise, intellectual support, and stimulating discussions during the topic formalization phase have been commendable to say the least. Critical reading and constructive criticism of various research proposals have ensured that concepts were clearly presented and a consistent perspective was maintained when ideas wandered. Thanks to Dr.

Thanks to Dr. Sharpe for expressing his concerns about census data availability, retrieval, and transfer as well as addressing measurement and analysis issues. Thanks are also in order for Dr. Bunting and Dr. Filion who suggested pertinent references and inspired me to be more opinionated and to submit manuscripts for journal publication. Dr. Robert Murdie (Department of Geography, York University) should be acknowledged for taking time from his duties and consenting to be an external reader for the oral examination.

Special recognition must also be granted to the following resource people at Wilfrid Laurier University for their valued technical assistance and support: Bob Ellsworth for downloading the secondary data which was used, Grant Simpson for providing a copy of the digital census tract boundary file and assistance with the mapping software package, Pam Schaus for her cartographic contribution which appears herein, and H  l  ne LeBlanc for tracking down some elusive statistical information. At the City of Toronto, I would also like to mention Michael Wright, Research Planner and Programmer, for forwarding a complimentary planning report and the archives staff for access to their special collections. For use of a computer to conveniently prepare the first draft at home during the summer of 1997, I gratefully welcome the assistance of Cathy Yonge and Paul Black of Kitchener Collegiate and Vocational Institute. My family and friends are cordially saluted for their persistent moral support and advice in helping me to surmount a range of complexities and challenges which were encountered in conducting this research.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract		ii
Acknowledgements		iv
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH INITIATIVE AND SCOPE</b>	1
	• Problem Statement	1
	• Research Question, Hypothesis, and Goals	3
	• Immigration Policy Review	5
	• Dissertation Format	10
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	<b>LITERATURE REVIEW: THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY</b>	12
	• Human Ecology: Rings, Sectors and Nodes (1920s-1940s)	12
	• Spatial Analytical Models: Social Areas Analysis and Factorial Urban Ecology (1950s-1970s)	16
	• Demand-Oriented Interpretations (Neo-Classical Economics and Neighbourhood Change Models (1960s-1970s)	22
	• Behaviourism and Marxism (1960s-1990s)	26
	• Post-Modern Urban Restructuring: Urban Dispersion, Social Mosaics, Gentrification, and Multinucleated Cities (1980s-1990s)	31
	• Urban Sociology: Patterning, Explaining, and Measuring Segregation (1960s-1990s)	36
	• Contemporary Research (1990s)	56
	• Ethnic Attitudes Towards Housing (1990s)	61
	• Summary: Emerging Complex Realities	63
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	<b>CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS</b>	71
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY</b>	78
	• Type of Analysis, Reference Population, and Study Groups	78
	• Study Area and Unit of Analysis	83
	• Dimensions of Residential Differentiation and Related Measures	93
	• Addressing Data Issues: Definitional and Procedural Revisions	99
	• Data Sources	103
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	<b>RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY</b>	109
	• Introduction	109
	• Ethnic Residential Differentiation	110
	• Immigrant Residential Divergence	113
	• Summary	119

<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	<b>RESIDENTIAL CENTRALIZATION</b>	120
	• Introduction	120
	• Ethnic Residential Centralization	121
	• Immigrant Centralization Patterns	128
	• Synthesis and Summary	138
<b>CHAPTER 7</b>	<b>ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION</b>	143
	• Introduction	143
	• Delineating Density Patterns	147
	• British	148
	• Greek	151
	• Jewish	155
	• Multiethnic	161
	• Aboriginal	165
	• Chinese	169
	• Jamaican	174
	• Concentration Overlap	178
	• Summary	179
<b>CHAPTER 8</b>	<b>IMMIGRANT RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION</b>	181
	• Introduction	181
	• Geographic Representation by Immigration Period	182
	• External Migrant Concentration	200
	• Ethnic Concentration Configurations	206
	• British	209
	• Greek	210
	• Jewish	211
	• Multiethnic	212
	• Aboriginal	213
	• Chinese	214
	• Concentration Overlap	217
	• Summary	218
<b>CHAPTER 9</b>	<b>CROSSTABULAR DATA ANALYSIS</b>	263
	• Comparative Crosstabulation Profiles	263
	• Mobility Status	266
	• Tenure	276
	• Census Family Status	281
	• Educational Attainment	284
	• Household Income	292
	• Profile Summary	298
<b>CHAPTER 10</b>	<b>SYNTHESIS: CONTEXTUALIZING CONFIGURATIONS</b>	300
	• Introduction	300
	• Urban Form and Ethnic Localization: Establishing Likages	300
	• Rapid Suburbanization (1945-1965)	306
	• Urban Renewal and High-Rise Construction (1965-1973)	310
	• High-Density Nodes and Corridors (1973-1983)	316
	• Post-Industrial Urban Restructuring (1983-1989)	320



	• Reurbanization (Post-1989)	323
	• Formulating an Explicative Model of Ethnic and Immigrant Residential Patterning	327
<b>CHAPTER 11</b>	<b>RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND CONCLUDING REMARKS</b>	337
	• Research Overview	337
	• Concluding Remarks	340
<b>APPENDIX A</b>	<b>CENSUS ETHNIC ORIGIN QUESTIONS, 1971-1991</b>	342
	• Categorization Taxonomy	343
	• Mark-in Entries	343
	• Write-in: "Other (Specify)"	343
	• Nomenclature Consistency	345
	• Random Rounding and Area Suppression	348
<b>APPENDIX B</b>	<b>CLASSIFICATION OF ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS</b>	349
<b>APPENDIX C</b>	<b>NUMBER OF CENSUS TRACTS PER POPULATION RANGE FOR ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOBILITY STATUS, 1981-1991</b>	350
<b>APPENDIX D</b>	<b>NUMBER OF CENSUS TRACTS PER POPULATION RANGE FOR IMMIGRATION PERIOD AND ETHNIC ORIGIN BY IMMIGRATION PERIOD, 1981-1991</b>	351
<b>GLOSSARY</b>		352
<b>REFERENCES CITED</b>		356

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Chronology of Canadian Immigration Policy	6
Table 2. Summary of 1991 Arrival Characteristics	8
Table 3. Hypotheses of Post-Modern Urban Form and Structure	33
Table 4. Matrix of Factors Influencing Ethnic Settlement Patterns	44
Table 5. Ethnic Spatial Location Propositions Identified in the Literature Review	66
Table 6. Major Reorganizations in the Toronto CMA, 1941-1981	86
Table 7. Indices and Data Employed to Test Hypotheses	94
Table 8. Schedule of Data Sources Employed	104
Table 9. PUMF and PUT Crosstabulation Matrix	107
Table 10. Residential Dissimilarity Indices of Ethnic Groups, Toronto CMA, 1971-1981	111
Table 11. Residential Dissimilarity Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	114
Table 12. Residential Dissimilarity Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	115
Table 13. Residential Dissimilarity Indices of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, 1981	118
Table 14. RCE Zone Specification and Census Tract Aggregation, 1981 and 1991	124
Table 15. Individuals per Zone, Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	125
Table 16. Cumulative Proportion of Ethnic Group Members per Zone, 1981 and 1991	126
Table 17. Relative Centralization Indices by Ethnicity, Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	127
Table 18. Proportional Distribution of Ethnic Group Members per Zone, 1981 and 1991	129
Table 19. Relative Centralization Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	130
Table 20. Relative Centralization Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	130
Table 21. Proportional Distribution of Immigrants per Zone, 1981-1991	133
Table 22. Relative Centralization Indices by Ethnicity and Immigration Period, 1981	134
Table 23. Proportional Distribution of Ethnic Origin Groups by Immigration Period per Zone, 1981	136
Table 24. Ethnic Non-Representation ( $LQ = 0$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	144
Table 25. Ethnic Overrepresentation ( $LQ \geq 2$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	146
Table 26. Immigrant Non-Representation ( $LQ = 0$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	184
Table 27. Immigrant Overrepresentation ( $LQ \geq 2$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	185
Table 28. External Migrant Non-Representation ( $LQ = 0$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	201
Table 29. External Migrant Overrepresentation ( $LQ \geq 2$ ), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991	201
Table 30. Ethnic Non-Representation ( $LQ = 0$ ) by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	207
Table 31. Ethnic Overrepresentation ( $LQ \geq 2$ ) by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	208
Table 32. Residential Differentiation Levels for Ethnicity and Immigration Period, 1981-1991	220
Table 33. Ethnic Origin Population Shares, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991	265
Table 34. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1991	267
Table 35. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1981	268
Table 36. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1971	269
Table 37. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	272
Table 38. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	273
Table 39. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971	274

Table 40. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Tenure, Toronto CMA, 1981-1991	277
Table 41. Tenure of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	279
Table 42. Tenure of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	280
Table 43. Non-Census Family Persons Living With Relatives by Ethnicity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	282
Table 44. Non-Census Family Persons Living With Relatives by Ethnicity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	283
Table 45. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Highest Level of Educational Attainment, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991	286
Table 46. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991	288
Table 47. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	289
Table 48. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971	290
Table 49. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Household Income, Toronto CMA, 1991	293
Table 50. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Household Income, Toronto CMA, 1981	294
Table 51. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Family Income, Toronto CMA, 1971	295
Table 52. Average Income Level of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991	297
Table 53. Post-War National Urban Growth Intervals	302
Table 54. Comparison of Ethnic Origin Classifications, 1971-1991	346
Table 55. Classification Taxonomy of Caribbean Origins	347
Table 56. Number of Census Tracts per Population Range for Ethnic Origin and Mobility Status, 1981-1991	350
Table 57. Number of Census Tracts per Population Range for Immigration Period and Ethnic Origin by Immigration Period, 1981-1991	351

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Idealized Models of the Urban Ecological Structure	13
Figure 2.	Social Area Analysis Constructs and Indices Development	18
Figure 3.	Idealized Spatial Arrangement and Composite of Social Area Indices	20
Figure 4.	Neighbourhood Life Cycles According to Stage Theory	25
Figure 5.	Spatial Outcomes Based on the Degree of Ethnic Distictiveness and Amount of Assimilation	37
Figure 6.	Spatial Expression of Boal's (1976) Ethnic Area Typology	39
Figure 7.	Analytic Typology of Ethnic Settlement Patterns	41
Figure 8.	Influences Upon and of Ethnic Residential Concentration	50
Figure 9.	Personal and Societal Factors Influencing Involuntary and Voluntary Ethnic Residential Segregation	54
Figure 10.	Conceptual Model of Ethnic Residential Location	72
Figure 11.	Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981	139
Figure 12.	Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1991	139
Figure 13.	Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981	141
Figure 14.	Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1991	141
Figure 15.	Ethnic Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981	142
Figure 16.	Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981	142
Figure 17.	Number of Immigrant Arrivals to Canada, 1967-1995	305
Figure 18.	Linking Urban Form Development and Ethnic Distribution Patterns	325
Figure 19.	Schematic Model of Ethnic and Immigrant Residential Distribution	334

## LIST OF MAPS

Map	1. Toronto CMA Boundary Changes, 1941-1981	87
Map	2. Toronto CMA Boundary and Municipal Components, 1981	88
Map	3. Toronto CMA Boundary and Municipal Components, 1991	88
Map	4. Toronto CMA Residential Zones, 1981	89
Map	5. Toronto CMA Residential Zones, 1991	89
Map	6. Metropolitan Toronto Neighbourhood Nomenclature, 1991	90
Map	7. Selected Ethnic Diminutives in Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	92
Map	8. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Toronto CMA, 1991	122
Map	9. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	122
Map	10. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Toronto CMA, 1981	123
Map	11. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	123
Map	12. British Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	150
Map	13. British Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	150
Map	14. British Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	152
Map	15. British Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	152
Map	16. Greek Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	154
Map	17. Greek Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	154
Map	18. Greek Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	156
Map	19. Greek Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	156
Map	20. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	159
Map	21. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	159
Map	22. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	160
Map	23. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	160
Map	24. Multiethnic Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	162
Map	25. Multiethnic Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	162
Map	26. Multiethnic Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	164
Map	27. Multiethnic Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	164
Map	28. Aboriginal Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	167
Map	29. Aboriginal Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	167
Map	30. Aboriginal Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	168
Map	31. Aboriginal Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	168
Map	32. Chinese Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	172
Map	33. Chinese Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	172
Map	34. Chinese Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	173
Map	35. Chinese Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	173
Map	36. Jamaican Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	176
Map	37. Jamaican Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	176
Map	38. Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Metropolitan Toronto, 1971-1986	183
Map	39. Pre-1945 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	188
Map	40. Pre-1945 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	188
Map	41. 1945-1954 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	189
Map	42. 1945-1954 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	189
Map	43. 1955-1964 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	190
Map	44. 1955-1964 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	190
Map	45. 1965-1970 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	191
Map	46. 1965-1970 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	191
Map	47. 1971-1974 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	192
Map	48. 1971-1974 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	192
Map	49. 1975-1977 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	193
Map	50. 1975-1977 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	193

Map 51.	1978-1981 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	194
Map 52.	1978-1981 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	194
Map 53.	Pre-1961 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	195
Map 54.	Pre-1961 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	195
Map 55.	1961-1970 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	196
Map 56.	1961-1970 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	196
Map 57.	1971-1980 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	197
Map 58.	1971-1980 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	197
Map 59.	1981-1987 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	198
Map 60.	1981-1987 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	198
Map 61.	1988-1991 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	199
Map 62.	1988-1991 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	199
Map 63.	1976 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	203
Map 64.	1976 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	203
Map 65.	1986 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	204
Map 66.	1986 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	204
Map 67.	1990 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1991	205
Map 68.	1990 Arrival Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	205
Map 69.	British Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	221
Map 70.	British Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	221
Map 71.	British 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	222
Map 72.	British 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	222
Map 73.	British 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	223
Map 74.	British 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	223
Map 75.	British 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	224
Map 76.	British 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	224
Map 77.	British 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	225
Map 78.	British 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	225
Map 79.	British 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	226
Map 80.	British 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	226
Map 81.	British 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	227
Map 82.	British 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	227
Map 83.	Greek Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	228
Map 84.	Greek Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	228
Map 85.	Greek 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	229
Map 86.	Greek 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	229
Map 87.	Greek 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	230
Map 88.	Greek 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	230
Map 89.	Greek 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	231
Map 90.	Greek 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	231
Map 91.	Greek 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	232
Map 92.	Greek 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	232
Map 93.	Greek 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	233
Map 94.	Greek 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	233
Map 95.	Greek 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	234
Map 96.	Greek 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	234
Map 97.	Jewish Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	235
Map 98.	Jewish Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	235
Map 99.	Jewish 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	236
Map 100.	Jewish 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	236
Map 101.	Jewish 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	237
Map 102.	Jewish 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	237
Map 103.	Jewish 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	238
Map 104.	Jewish 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	238

Map 105. Jewish 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	239
Map 106. Jewish 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	239
Map 107. Jewish 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	240
Map 108. Jewish 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	240
Map 109. Jewish 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	241
Map 110. Jewish 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	241
Map 111. Multiethnic Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	242
Map 112. Multiethnic Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	242
Map 113. Multiethnic 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	243
Map 114. Multiethnic 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	243
Map 115. Multiethnic 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	244
Map 116. Multiethnic 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	244
Map 117. Multiethnic 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	245
Map 118. Multiethnic 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto 1981	245
Map 119. Multiethnic 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	246
Map 120. Multiethnic 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto 1981	246
Map 121. Multiethnic 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	247
Map 122. Multiethnic 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	247
Map 123. Multiethnic 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	248
Map 124. Multiethnic 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	248
Map 125. Aboriginal Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	249
Map 126. Aboriginal Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	249
Map 127. Aboriginal 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	250
Map 128. Aboriginal 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	250
Map 129. Aboriginal 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	251
Map 130. Aboriginal 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	251
Map 131. Aboriginal 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	252
Map 132. Aboriginal 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	252
Map 133. Aboriginal 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	253
Map 134. Aboriginal 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	253
Map 135. Aboriginal 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	254
Map 136. Aboriginal 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	254
Map 137. Aboriginal 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	255
Map 138. Aboriginal 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	255
Map 139. Chinese Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	256
Map 140. Chinese Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	256
Map 141. Chinese 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	257
Map 142. Chinese 1945-1954 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	257
Map 143. Chinese 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	258

Map 144. Chinese 1955-1964 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	258
Map 145. Chinese 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	259
Map 146. Chinese 1965-1970 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	259
Map 147. Chinese 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	260
Map 148. Chinese 1971-1974 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	260
Map 149. Chinese 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	261
Map 150. Chinese 1975-1977 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	261
Map 151. Chinese 1978-1981 I Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981	262
Map 152. Chinese 1978-1981 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981	262
Map 153. Growth of Metropolitan Toronto, 1793-1988	302
Map 154. Apartment Clusters in Metropolitan Toronto, 1960, 1967 and 1975	312
Map 155. Ethnic and Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Toronto CMA, 1991	330
Map 156. Ethnic and Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	330
Map 157. Immigrant Settlement in Apartment Clusters, Metropolitan Toronto, 1991	332



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH INITIATIVE AND SCOPE

This chapter identifies the issues being addressed, research question to be answered, hypotheses to be tested, and contribution of this investigation. A brief review of Canadian immigration and refugee policy is presented in an effort to identify major changes in the source, type, and socio-economic characteristics of recent *immigrant* arrivals (refer to glossary for highlighted terms). Finally, subsequent chapter contents are specified in the dissertation format section.

#### Problem Statement

Urban form and immigration flows change concurrently (Olson and Kobayashi 1993). These changes have been more pronounced over the past few decades. Newcomers enter metropolitan environments during various developmental stages (McGahan 1986). Immigrant groups, by virtue of their shared ethnicity, are traditionally assumed to follow an evolutionary pattern of residential location in which ethnic units are initially cohesive within the *inner-city*, subsequently displaced to sub-nodes, and eventually *dispersed* (Cressey 1938; Richmond and Kalbach 1980; Schwab 1982; Kalbach 1987). This supposition is being challenged. Contemporary literature suggests that past ecological conceptualizations and prescriptive models inadequately represent the increasingly complex ethnic residential geographies of Canadian metropolitan areas. The persistence of ethnic enclaves despite improved economic integration and suburbanization reveal shortcomings of the spatial assimilation model and suggest a need for additional investigation (Teixeira and Murdie 1997). Changing immigration policies, increasing ethnic diversity, urban form development,

along with housing opportunities and constraints interact to influence the extent and pattern of ethnic residential differentiation and mobility. While members of the new stream of educated and affluent immigrants are establishing themselves in the same cities as their predecessors, they are settling at a time when Canadian communities are experiencing land use pattern changes, population deconcentration, and employment decentralization (Bourne 1989 and 1991b; Ray 1994).

The significance of the City of Toronto as the major reception area for immigrants has declined while an increasingly dispersed settlement pattern has been noted for the post-1966 period (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department 1991). Attracted by employment opportunities, a supply of available and affordable housing along with the support of other recent arrivals, many immigrants and refugees, in addition to professional and entrepreneurial admissions, are circumventing inner-city enclaves of the same *ethnic group* and moving directly into suburban locations (Chamberlain 1980; McGahan 1986; Mercer 1989; Ray 1994; Sarick 1994). The characteristics of these decentralized reception areas differ from those of their older core area and inner-borough counterparts and one another in terms of ethnicity (Teixeira and Murdie 1997). Many well-educated and highly-skilled newcomers are initially establishing themselves in suburban, single-detached homes while visible minorities and economically disadvantaged refugees are often restricted to living in suburban high-rise apartment buildings.<sup>1</sup> Different experiences are also evident for recent chain migrants whose sponsors are now spatially dispersed (Allen and Turner 1996). Given this “suburban character” of newcomers, it has been argued that traditional models of residential separation along ethnic lines “provide relatively little insight into the dynamics of immigrant settlement in contemporary Toronto” (Ray 1994, 262). Direct suburban entry and the increasing complexity of domiciliary relocation and mobility among the recent stream of arrivals has rendered traditional conceptual models of “immigrant entry into the

---

<sup>1</sup> While being distinguished from independent class admissions, and appreciable segment of refugee intakes consists of individuals with high educational attainment and professional experience. Many of them are expected to exhibit an increasingly scattered residential pattern within the urban housing market context.

housing market and their social geography [as] largely outdated” (Ray 1994, 265). Actual patterns of ethnic residential location “defy simple explanation” according to Olson and Kobayashi (1993). Current urban restructuring and trends associated with immigration and ethnic habitation configurations are inciting a reexamination and reconceptualization or replacement of models that explain metropolitan residential location. Given the acknowledgment that urban form is indeed changing, one would expect that the generation of these models will reflect urban spatial reality.

### **Research Question, Hypotheses, and Goals**

The discussion above, in conjunction with the increasing complexities of a constantly changing spatial reality, leads to a fundamental question: Are ethnic groups displaying a dispersed pattern of residential location? Responding to contemporary urban and social changes, this research endeavours to answer this question by developing an explanatory model that links waves of ethnic settlement with urban spatial development. It is asserted that most ethnic groups, especially recent *visible minorities*, do not follow the patterns of residential mobility prescribed by the traditional urban spatial models and that some never did. Moreover, it is hypothesized that both established and recent ethnic groups are demonstrating a changing aerial pattern of residential *dispersion* resulting in *evenness* or scattering. While residential scattering is anticipated, new configurations of dispersion are also emerging. The search for inexpensive rental units has resulted in the increased vertical *concentration* of newcomers in suburban high-rise apartment buildings. Ethiopians (Neuwirth 1989), Somalis (Opoku-Dapaah 1995), and Ghanaians (Owusu 1996), for example, have moved directly into decentralized and dispersed dwelling complexes. Immigrants are finding affordable housing through informal contacts (i.e. social networks). Indeed, Vincent (1995, A12) reports that ethnic ‘pockets’ in decentralized towering

residential complexes occur when building managers are hospitable to members of particular ethnic groups who in turn “bring their friends and relatives and create a community.” Locational bias can also be explained in terms of access to employment opportunities and public transit as well as the influence of ethnic and mainstream real estate agents (Teixeira 1993 and 1995; Teixeira and Murdie 1997). Proximity and interaction are being used to facilitate a sense of place within a vertical environment. This observation runs contrary to an earlier assumption which suggested that telephones and automobiles easily linked geographically dispersed households (Etzioni 1959; Gordon 1964; Kantrowitz 1973; Neumann, Mezoff and Richmond 1973; Conzen 1979; Godfrey 1988). Social networks, as Agocs (1979) notes, are conceivably more resolute and durable among individuals sharing ethnic ties at a “community base.”

To test the residential dispersion hypothesis, this research intends to: measure and analyze the extent and arrangement of residential differentiation with respect to evenness, concentration, and *centralization* according to selected ethnic origins, immigration period (including ethnicity by admission interval for 1981) along with mobility status during 1981 and 1991; determine the distributional (i.e. temporal and scalar) patterns exhibited by mobility, tenure, and selected socio-economic characteristics among ethnic communities according to comparative bi- and multivariate crosstabulations; and develop a conceptual model of ethnic residential patterns that links urban development phases with immigrant settlement patterns. The dimensions of residential differentiation and their measures along with other procedural aspects are addressed in the methodology section.

## **Immigration Policy Review**

Immigration policy changes have influenced the source, socio-economic, demographic characteristics, and ethnic diversity of new Canadians. Varying with the period of arrival, these characteristics affect initial residential location and subsequent mobility. Consequently, it is necessary to briefly highlight important legislative revisions related to entry regulation. Table 1 chronologically summarizes significant changes in Canadian immigration legislation over the period 1933 to 1995.<sup>2</sup> Annual intake targets or quotas are discussed elsewhere in the literature (Anderson and Marr 1987; Hawkins 1988; Herberg 1989; Simmons 1990).

Canadian immigration policy experienced three major changes during the 1960s: the removal of racial discrimination, an increase in the educational attainment and skills of newcomers, and the management of sponsored relatives. Pre-1962 legislation was exclusionary in terms of race because entry was limited to individuals from preferred European source countries. In fact, the 1953 Immigration Act was amended as late as 1956 to give preference to persons from the United Kingdom as well as Caucasian citizens of the Commonwealth. But changes in 1967 introduced a universally applicable selection system designed to abolish bias with respect to source countries. There has been a shift toward an increased preference for highly educated and skilled newcomers. Immigration policy since 1978 can be categorized according to three major criteria: social, humanitarian, and demographic-economic. A major component of this policy is referred to as family class immigration which emphasizes family reunification. Convention refugee admission on humanitarian and compassionate grounds relates to another policy while the third criteria is associated with the independent class which includes skilled workers and business people (i.e. self-employed individuals, entrepreneurs, and investors).

---

<sup>2</sup> Post-war Canadian immigration policy phases and their relation to different urban phases are examined in Chapter 10.

Table 1. Chronology of Canadian Immigration Policy

Year	Major Policy Revisions
1953	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New <u>Immigration Act</u> with prohibited entry on the grounds of an ethnic group's unique customs, climatic adaptability, and ability to assimilate.</li> </ul>
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Act</u> amended to give preference to individuals of British origin and Caucasian residents of the Commonwealth and United States of America. Persons from western European states possessing specific economic qualifications received second order preference.</li> </ul>
1962	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Revision of <u>Immigration Act</u> entry regulations.</li> <li>• Preferential treatment replaced by a focus on economic qualifications (e.g. education, training, and employment skills).</li> </ul>
1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Act</u> amended following the White Paper on Immigration and establishment of the Department of Manpower and Immigration.</li> <li>• Introduction of the universally applicable 'points system' in which educational preferences replaced ethno-racial discrimination as the primary selection criteria.</li> </ul>
1975	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canadian Immigration and Population Study (Green Paper) issued to present alternatives and obtain feedback via public discussion.</li> <li>• More conservative vision of immigration than previous legislative revisions.</li> </ul>
1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New immigration legislation enacted.</li> </ul>
1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establishment of contemporary policy based on three immigrant classes: family reunion, refugee admission on humanitarian and compassionate grounds, and independent or self-sponsored persons (i.e. skilled workers, entrepreneurs, and investors).</li> <li>• Coordination of immigration with human resource requirements.</li> </ul>
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Act</u> amended to reform management techniques.</li> <li>• Principal changes focus upon: immigration quotas, priority changes between classes, regional emphasis, streamlined refugee claim and determination process.</li> </ul>
1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Active recruitment of young, well educated, and experienced independent immigrants who fluently speak an official language.</li> <li>• Decrease in the number of family class arrivals.</li> </ul>
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forthcoming working group report with proposed policy changes.</li> </ul>

Source: Marcia Wallace, "Immigration Policy: A Timeline," presented during Ph.D Comprehensive Examination on 01 December 1995 at the University of Waterloo.

Since 1994, Citizenship and Immigration Canada has been actively recruiting independent immigrants in the 23-35 year-old age bracket who are fluent in English or French, well educated, and have several years of professional work experience. The new policy reflects the federal government's goal of decreasing the number of family class immigrants and attracting more prospective newcomers "who bring in significant capital and will adjust more easily to Canada's rapidly changing economy" (Sarick 1995, A4). Independent immigrants are assessed according to their language skills, education, age, and occupation while business immigrants are required to either invest in a Canadian enterprise or start a company that employs at least one Canadian (Nash 1987; Sarick 1995). Emphasis is being placed upon capturing the attention of computer-literate professionals specializing in the high technology sector and financial services.

Postwar Canadian refugee policy, according to Adelman (1991), was initially 'Eurocentred' (1933-1968) and subsequently focused upon other areas of the world (1969-1995). The first period relates to the pre- and immediate postwar rejection of Jews (1933-1947) and anti-communism in Europe (1947-1968). Public opinion and legislative initiatives influenced policy shifts during the second phase: rights for Convention refugees and humanitarian refugee admission (1969-1977), Convention refugee status determination procedures and humanitarian refugee programs (1978-1987), and the issue of Convention versus humanitarian refugees (1988-1995).

Badets and Chui (1991) examined the changing composition of Canada's immigrant population with particular emphasis upon recent (i.e. 1981-1991) arrivals. The shifting source, number, settlement pattern, linguistic diversity, demographic changes, educational profile, and labour force participation of immigrants are addressed by them. Table 2 states their findings which are based upon census data. Changes in immigration policy, as noted in Table 1, have altered the source of newcomers along with Canada's ethnic and linguistic diversity. Nearly half (48%) of all recent admissions were born in Asia and the Middle East. They were especially attracted to Canada's three largest cities and

Table 2. Summary of 1991 Arrival Characteristics

Characteristics	Remarks
Country of Origin	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hong Kong, China, India, Vietnam, Phillipines, Lebanon, United Kingdom, Portugal, and the United States of America.</li> </ul>
Urban Settlement Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Majority settled in the Toronto CMA followed by Vancouver, Montréal, Hamilton, Kitchener, Windsor, Calgary and Victoria CMAs.</li> </ul>
Linguistic Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decline of English as a home language.</li> <li>• Nearly 50% of recent arrivals can not communicate in an official tongue.</li> </ul>
Educational Attainment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Higher education levels among 1981-1991 arrivals.</li> <li>• More likely to have a university degree but many elder members with only elementary level schooling.</li> </ul>
Labour Force Participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lower than those settling during the 1960s and 1970s.</li> </ul>
Adaptation Period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Longer time to acquire official language and adapt to labour force among recent newcomers.</li> </ul>
Employment Sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Men concentrated in professional, managerial, service, and product fabricating sectors.</li> <li>• Women concentrated in clerical, professional, service, and product fabricating sectors.</li> </ul>
Sex	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More women admitted then men during 1981-1991 period.</li> </ul>
Marital Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing number of married couples.</li> </ul>

Source: Jane Badets and Tina W. L. Chui, Canada's Changing Immigrant Population, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1994).



respectively accounted for 70, 60 and 40 percent of all recent arrivals living in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montréal. Other major urban centres in Ontario and Alberta attracted a considerable number of newcomers. In terms language profile, a non-official language was reported by 70% of all 1981-1991 arrivals as a mother tongue and by 56% as a home language. Just over half of them spoke neither French nor English. Given the emphasis on educational attainment and occupational qualifications in immigrant selection, it is not surprising to note that a higher share (17%) of recent intakes had university degrees compared to pre-1961 settlers (9%). Older individuals, however, tend to have an elementary education with less than nine years of schooling. Labour force participation varies with educational attainment and length of residence in Canada. It is lower (69%) among new arrivals than those who came during the 1960s (76%) and 1970s (77%). This rate reflects a longer integration period (i.e. language skill acquisition and labour market adaptation). Nearly one-third of all recent male immigrants are employed in either professional or service occupations while a greater proportion of females (22%) work in the service sector. With respect to sex, men comprise a slightly smaller segment of recent intakes. It is difficult to establish the characteristics of smaller immigrant classes because newcomers are aggregated in this study. However, the socio-economic attributes of entrepreneurs is discussed by Nash (1987). His preliminary studies indicate that this stream of immigrants is primarily composed of 'economically active' males in their mid-30s to mid-40s who are well educated and fluent in English. Given that the sources and socio-economic profiles of recent arrivals differ from those of earlier settlers, different residential patterns are anticipated for newcomers in general and their ethnic constituents in particular.

## **Dissertation Format**

Having established the initiative, scope and context of this research, Chapter 2 reviews the development of urban social geographic thought. Residential location and spatial analytic models are discussed along with demand-oriented, behaviouralist and Marxist interpretations, and post-modern perspectives on urban form and structure. A section outlining the patterning, explanation and measurement of residential segregation is also included. Finally, ethnic attitudes towards housing are evaluated. A nascent explanatory conceptual model illustrating primary destinations of initial immigrant settlement and subsequent relocation is then developed in Chapter 3. It provides a means of interpreting the literature review, analyzing the data, and linking ethnic residential patterns with metropolitan development stages.

Methodological considerations addressed in Chapter 4 include a discussion about the type of analysis, reference and study group specification, plus study area and unit of analysis delineation. Furthermore, the dimensions of residential differentiation to be investigated and their related measures are conceptually and operationally defined herein. An examination of data issues and sources complete this segment.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 respectively deal with research findings based upon the measurement and analysis of residential dissimilarity (i.e. evenness), centralization and concentration among ethnic communities and immigrants according to arrival period. Special attention is accorded to patterns displayed by recent entrants. Choropleth maps of Location Quotient values are found in Chapter 7 for ethnic groups and Chapter 8 for immigrants. They are instrumental in identifying where residential concentrations occur and the degree of locational stability or dispersion associated with ethno-specific enclaves and universal immigrant reception areas over time. Results of bi- and multivariate crosstabular analyses are found in Chapter 9. While not providing spatially referenced information, they

afford comparative profiles of proportional distributions among and within ethnic groups in relation to mobility, tenure, and selected socio-economic characteristics.

Chapter 10 is devoted to the synthesis of material assessed and interpreted in the previous textual components. It focuses upon the establishment of linkages between urban form, ethnic localization, and immigrant settlement. A refined model explaining contemporary and emerging trends associated with residential patterns is formulated in the aforementioned chapter. A summary of findings, concluding remarks and suggestions for further research are located in Chapter 11.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW: THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

Following other academic disciplines, geographers have developed models to aid in their understanding of city structure and growth. Urban social geographic thought advanced from three descriptive spatial models of social status variable distribution within metropolitan areas. These idealized archetypes established the conventional convictions, beliefs, and principles maintained by most social geographers and urban sociologists. Although their relevancy is questioned, they still provide insights into the development of knowledge about (ethnic) residential patterns (Matwijiw 1979; Ley 1983; Bassett and Short 1980). The ensuing literature review serves to outline the evolution of primary models and the current level of understanding regarding urban social spatial structures, ethnic residential differentiation, and its measurement. Criticisms of the models discussed herein will not be examined; only their contributions to the development of thought or knowledge are considered. A chronological examination of these models and their derivatives follows.

#### **Human Ecology: Rings, Sectors and Nodes (1920s-1940s)**

Three alternative residential location models, based on urban land-use, were developed by examining urban growth. The influential Chicago School of Human Ecology gave rise to the *Concentric Zone Model* (Burgess 1925) which predicted demographic household differentiation with outward movement from the Central Business District (CBD) and neighbouring residential locales (refer to Figure 1). Ecological concepts of *natural areas*, invasion, competition, *segregation*, and succession are employed. The model is based upon three principle assumptions: cities grow outwards in a concentric ring form; there is one CBD; and growth (i.e. increasing demand for space) is accomplished by

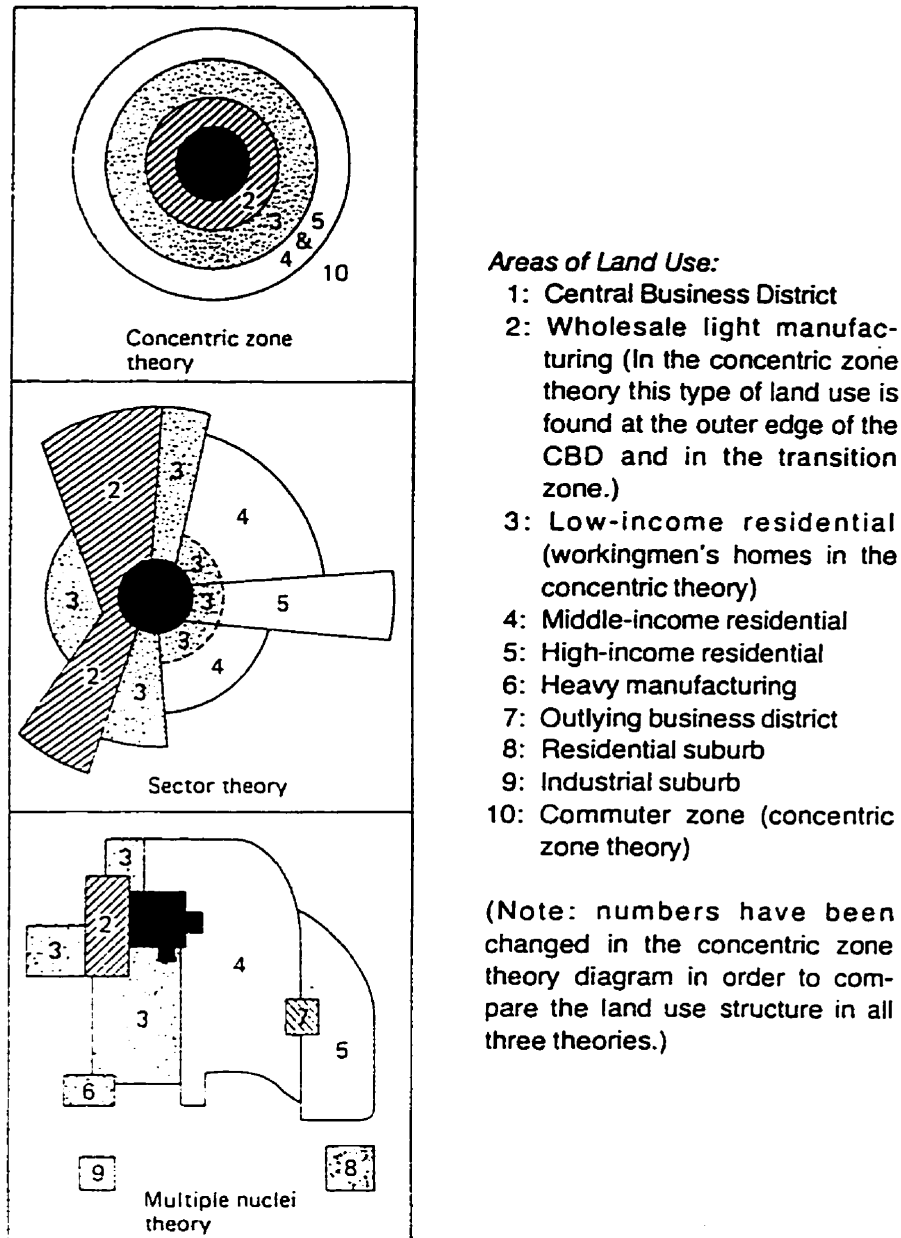


Figure 1. Idealized Spatial Models of the Urban Ecological Structure

Source: William A. Andrews, ed., Urban Studies (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1976), 67. Adapted from Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 242 (November 1945), 13.

a simple extension of each zone into the next one. Initial immigrant settlement and subsequent ethnic residential relocation, for example, occur in a process of invasion and succession resembling a 'ripple effect' originating in the oldest central ring. Relatively impoverished newcomers are presumed to settle in concentrations within the *transition area* located along the CBD's edge. Ethnic communities establish reception areas in these high-density inner-city districts of mixed low-income housing, retail and light manufacturing to facilitate immigrant economic adjustment. A particular reception area is used by several ethnic groups, one successively displacing another.<sup>1</sup> Initial involuntary *clustering* was attributed to necessity rather than choice. The human ecology literature also includes the concept of 'competitive cooperation' which represents a "compromise between conflicting demands" (McGahan 1986, 27). The process of mutual adjustment and interdependence occurs after the invasion of a group (or activity) induces a resumption of competition. The new group may adopt the dominant resident community's characteristics in an effort to reach a new equilibrium.<sup>2</sup> While ethnicity was not assumed to take on a concentric pattern, urban social geographers were attracted to this model because of the assumption that spatial location, relations, and mobility respectively reflect their social correlates (Cater and Jones 1989; Filion and Bunting 1995). Social distance was translated into physical distance.

In contrast to the concentric zone model, Hoyt (1939) placed emphasis upon axial growth. The *Sector Model* was developed to account for the distance and direction of urban expansion along fixed surface transportation arteries (refer to Figure 1). Wedge-shape sections, characterized by increasing wages, spread outward from the city centre along

---

<sup>1</sup> This is due to the fact that "[r]esidence in...centrally located ethnic neighbourhoods was seen only as a transitory phenomenon that would diminish as immigrant groups became more economically *integrated* and socially *assimilated* into the [mainstream] society" (Kalbach 1987, 105). Impersonal economic and ecological factors, such as financial circumstances and housing market mechanisms, influence residential patterns. They determine employment opportunities and stability along with the availability and cost of housing thereby affecting the interval required to accumulate sufficient capital for relocation to more desirable residential districts.

<sup>2</sup> Park (1950) suggested that ethnic minorities would 'accommodate' themselves through cultural and linguistic assimilation. However, Cater and Jones (1989, 47) maintain that most contemporary scholars would "reject this reasoning as obscurantist" because urban society is not held together "by some inbred urge to cooperate."

natural boundaries, transportation routes, and growth axes (Gillis 1986). Housing quality and cost respectively improve and increase as one moves away from the CBD. Residential differentiation is based on “rent-paying ability” (Godrey 1988, 39). The socio-economic attributes of residents vary between sectors with high-income housing radiating from the core in one wedge, an ethnic concentration in a second, manufacturing operations in the next, and ‘working-class’ dwellings in the other (Gillis 1986). Recognition is given to variations in income and rent for residential districts in the *transition zone*. In agreement with the previous model, Hoyt (1939) also recognized that traveling to work in the core from peripheral residential areas would be uneconomical for low-income individuals and families. Affluent households attempted to geographically further themselves as much as possible from industrial activities and neighbourhoods dominated by reduced earnings (Bunting and Filion 1995).

Harris and Ullman (1945) questioned the primacy of a monocentric metropolis while acknowledging the aforementioned models’ socio-spatial structures. Their *Multiple Nuclei Model* took into account the influence of automobiles upon urban decentralization and the existence of several distinct functional nodes or clusters (refer to Figure 1). These dispersed nuclei attract similar, repel different, and segregate certain land uses, socio-economic groups and activities. They also function as growth points thereby affecting the location and development of industrial, commercial, and related residential areas.<sup>3</sup> Ethnic groups would begin to concentrate in areas where merchants provide unique retail products (Driedger 1991). These areas eventually become nodes that attract immigrants of similar *ethnic origin*. Subsequent residential resettlement occurs in distinctive directional movements rather than an arbitrary dispersion. Outward sectoral growth was predicted for large ethnic groups that were minimally discriminated in the real estate market (Bunting 1991). Urban social spatial structure is not a universally fixed entity according to this

---

<sup>3</sup> Clustering would be influenced by the requirement of particular business operations for linkages to specialized goods and services. Different activities have varying accessibility requirements. Residential areas would evolve around employment nodes in an effort to minimize commuting distances.

model. Nuclei formation depends upon the unpredictable combination of various factors that differ among cities.<sup>4</sup> Each city's spatial form is somewhat distinctive in this respect.

Urban ecology research established that the spatial distribution of land-uses, activities and people is not random (Agocs 1979). Similar types of households agglomerate in specific residential areas. New urban growth models were developed as cities changed.<sup>5</sup> Spatial differentiation according to ethnicity, with the exception of the Multiple Nuclei Model, was merely treated as a temporary artifact of one's relatively lower *socio-economic status*. Moreover, ethnicity itself was considered as 'noise' (Peach 1983). Culturally assimilated ethnic group members would behave according to residential patterns predicted for the undifferentiated mainstream society.

#### **Spatial Analytical Models: Social Area Analysis and Factorial Urban Ecology (1950s-1970s)**

Several sophisticated statistical techniques, derived from urban ecology studies, were developed in a cumulative and complementary manner to "provide a basis for evaluating the [aforementioned] spatial models" and to analyze residential segregation in metropolitan areas (Murdie 1969, 72). Translating the concept of *social distance* into physical distance, Shevky and Bell (1955) developed a technique termed *Social Area Analysis*. This approach permits the systematic analysis and classification of *census tracts* according to essential aspects of social status segmentation (i.e. constructs). The geographic distribution of subcommunities can then be determined. Differences in neighbourhood social structure are summarized in terms of three constructs common to all cities: social rank (economic status),

---

<sup>4</sup> These include economic and topographic conditions as well as changing ethnic composition.

<sup>5</sup> Yeates (1990) suggested that three fundamental time periods associated with urban travel modes could elucidate the spatial manifestations of traditional social structure models. The Concentric Zone Model, it was reasoned, reflected the pre-1914 pedestrian era while the inter-war interval was depicted by the Sector Model when public transit prevailed. Sectoral growth patterns would occur when people settled along railway and tram lines. A multinucleated urban form corresponds with the emergence of widespread private vehicle use. Automobiles, Driedger (1991) maintains, provided freedom of movement to all destinations and facilitated the dispersal of ethnic communities (i.e. proximity is no longer determined by propinquity).



family status (urbanization), and ethnic status (segregation). These constructs are based upon Wirth's (1938) ideas of social differentiation as a product of increasing urbanization. Increasing population size, density, and homogeneity provided the basis for societal change. Figure 2 outlines the development of these constructs and their empirical indices. The location of ecological groups or social areas is determined by ordering tracts containing similar scores according to a four by four table. These constructs were respectively related to concentric, sectoral, and cluster arrangements of spatial differentiation in a complementary manner by geographers. Thus, each descriptive model represents a separate aspect of social differentiation. Recognizing that an increasingly concentric arrangement was undertaken by family status, Social Area Analysis confirmed the hypotheses advanced by Burgess (1925) and Hoyt (1939). Ethnic segregation, as initially postulated by Shevky and Bell (1955), had followed the Multiple Nuclei Model (Driedger 1989). Operational limitations, methodological concerns and criticisms of Social Area Analysis led to the development and subsequent dominance of Factorial Urban Ecology.<sup>6</sup>

The development and application of *Factorial Urban Ecology* (FUE) during the 1960s inaugurated the first wave of multivariate statistical analyses aimed at mathematically investigating the accuracy of Social Area Analysis' constructs and typology. Like Social Area Analysis, FUE assumes that urban areas possessing analogous or similar socio-demographic arrangements can be aggregated into communities. Instead of predetermining constructs, FUE "allows them to emerge from the data" (Palen 1992, 106). Factor analysis focuses upon the results of processes leading to social differentiation while Social Area Analysis simply concentrates upon the processes themselves.

---

<sup>6</sup> The main issues were the subjective definition of indicators via deductive reasoning or post facto inductive rationalization to support constructs and the question of whether census tracts represent or include homogeneous groups or natural areas (Hawley and Duncan 1957; Murdie 1969; Kantrowitz 1973; Peach 1975; Yeates 1990; Davies and Murdie 1994).

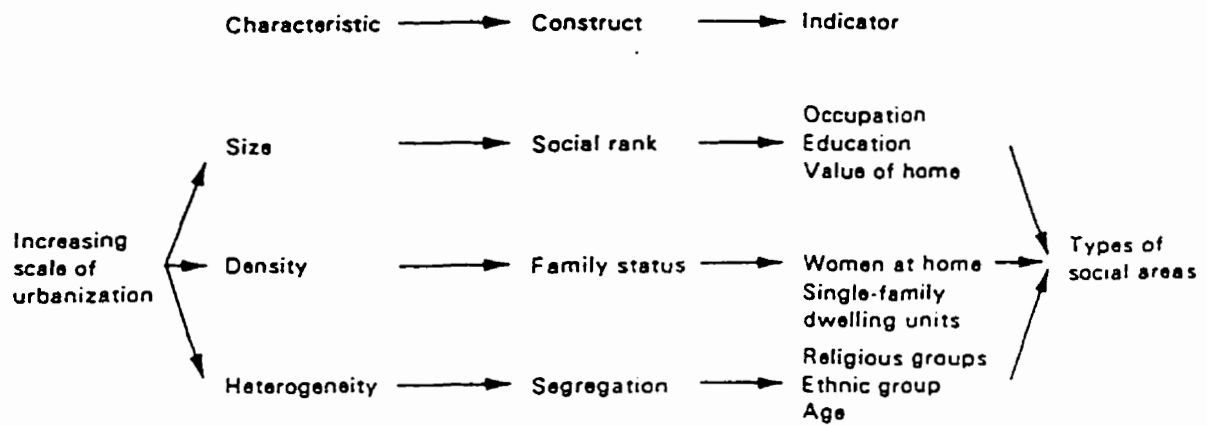


Figure 2. Social Area Constructs and Indices Development

Adopted from Ershef Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Conceptual Procedures, (Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 1955), 4.

Various forms of principle components analysis were employed to study residential distribution according to census tract distinctions. Data association patterns at one point in time are summarized by factors derived from a correlation matrix. Parts of metropolitan areas possessing analogous or similar socio-demographic arrangements are then aggregated into communities. Some form of cluster analysis is usually involved. The vast number of factorial ecologies precludes reviewing or even mentioning them all in this section. Nevertheless, most FUE investigations empirically support the aforementioned social area constructs and report the presence of additional ones such as migrant status (i.e. mobility). They also underscore the continued significance and complementary nature of the concentric, sectoral, and multiple nuclei models (La Gory and Pipkin 1981). This frenzy of empiricism identified and reconfirmed that ethnicity, frequently characterized by a nodal arrangement, assumes an important function in residential stratification.

Research findings of both social area analysts and the preliminary work of factorial urban ecologists induced Berry (1965) to analyze the spatial distribution of factor scores and to generate three broad patterns of urban social space: a sectoral distribution for social status, a concentric arrangement for family status, and a multiple nuclei or cluster distribution for ethnicity (refer to Figure 3). A comprehensive analysis of Metropolitan Toronto for 1951 and 1961 conducted by Murdie (1969) along with a comparative factorial ecology of Quebec City, Hamilton, and Edmonton executed by Foran (1976) confirm the spatial generalizations advanced by Berry (1965) and indicate that the ring, sector, and nodal models are additive rather than alternative descriptions of urban space.<sup>7</sup> Construct consistency has also been emphasized in recent investigations of Metropolitan Toronto by Fabbro (1986) and Murdie (1987).

---

<sup>7</sup> The latter study accounts for topographical barriers.

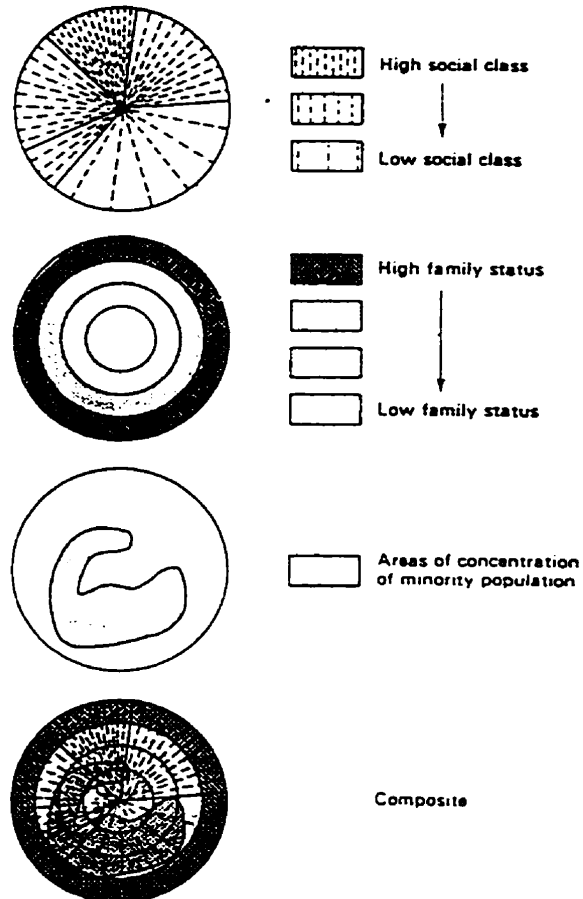


Figure 3. Idealized Spatial Arrangement and Composite of Social Area Indices

Source: Maurice Yeates, The North American City, 4th ed., (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), 160.

Some additional comment is required with respect to the findings of Murdie (1969) and Foran (1976). The first researcher reported that most, not all, ethnic groups dispersed outwards from immigrant neighbourhoods as their socio-economic positions improved. While combinations of sectoral and concentric patterns were postulated for ethnic status, a sectoral movement from traditional reception areas to the metropolitan periphery was noted for both the Jewish and Italian groups under consideration.<sup>8</sup> Murdie (1969, 101) explains that the “ideal model of ethnic diffusion” is applicable to groups which have recently arrived in “relatively large numbers,” are relatively impoverished and culturally different. Foran (1976) ascertained that social area constructs were present in all three cities being examined yet their ranking differed. In this case, ranking may be a reflection of the number of variables representing each construct. Economic status was less significant in describing social areas than its ethnic and family counterparts. Thus, ethnicity was established as an important dimension in describing the social areas of Canadian cities.

With respect to ethnicity, Hill (1976) and Ray (1977) noted a considerable amount of variation in their studies.<sup>9</sup> Spatial patterns in Toronto appeared to correspond with the Concentric Zone Model, Winnipeg displayed multiple ethnic nuclei while Vancouver followed a sectoral pattern. Contemporary multivariate analysis research suggests that ethnicity is often “city-specific” (Davies 1984; Bourne et al. 1986).<sup>10</sup> New areas of ethnic concentration are forming parallel to the traditional peripheral movement of previous immigrant arrivals (Davies and Murdie 1993).

---

<sup>8</sup> This occurred because these groups are sufficiently large and housing market discrimination at the time was relatively limited or non-existent (Bunting 1991). Collective migration was employed as a method by which Jews could maintain and perpetuate their group cohesiveness.

<sup>9</sup> Family income (social status), family life cycle (family status), and ethnic diversity (ethnic status) were used as indices to examine twenty-one Canadian metropolitan areas using 1971 Census data.

<sup>10</sup> Davies and Murdie (1994) concede that inter-urban distinctions are attributable to research design inconsistency. Ethnic dimensions are often individually composed for each city and compared against the majority population (e.g. British and all other origins in Montréal versus French and others in Vancouver).

Since FUE lacks a strong and coherent 'theoretical' base, "no direct inferences can be drawn as to the nature of the processes which gave rise to the social and spatial patterns which are revealed" (Clark 1982, 155). Qualitative analyses remained descriptive and failed to contribute additional perceptions. Factorial ecologists have been unable to explain or interpret their "elegant descriptions" of ethnic group spatial arrangement (Palm 1973; Agocs 1979; Davies 1984).<sup>11</sup> Interest in this line of rigorously quantitative research began to fade during the 1970s after its practical value was questioned (Bassett and Short 1989). The next investigation phase would have contributed to or tested theoretical explanations by way of a multivariate-structural approach. It was never realized due to the increasing disinterest in analytic models. Clark (1982) suggests that this phase would have examined the processes which bring about observed areal arrangement.<sup>12</sup> Residential mobility would have been statistically analyzed "within the framework of individual choice behaviour" (Herbert and Thomas 1982, 41). Such an approach could have conceivably furnished a linkage between spatial analysis models, behaviouralism, and constraints.

### **Demand-Oriented Interpretations: Neo-Classical Economics and Neighbourhood Change Models (1960s-1970s)**

The prevalent topic of land values, rents and use attracted attention during the 1960s and ensuing decade in an effort to explain residential choice. Neo-classical micro-economic interpretations of the concentric arrangement of household earnings initiated the next explanatory interval (Clark 1982). Based upon rent theory, which postulates that space is allocated according to rent paying ability, the *Alonso Model* (Alonso 1960 and 1964) was

---

<sup>11</sup> Representative of this methodology, a 1966 study of Leamington Spa in the United Kingdom merely identifies "latent patterns which exist in [the] multivariate data set" (Clark 1982, 155). It does not expound upon how the measured apportionments of socio-economic variation developed.

<sup>12</sup> Structuralism seeks to identify the thought patterns or logic which underlie and generate human behaviour (Walmsley and Lewis 1984). This logic is based upon the type of structures (i.e. values, rules, conventions, constraints, etc.) within which individuals function (Clark 1985; Mayhew and Penny 1992).

developed to explain property value patterns and the relative location of different land-uses within an idealized urban realty market. The model asserts that land values decrease while the price of transportation increases with distance from the city centre where employment is situated. Dwelling location is determined by the trade-off between the amount of disposable income a household is prepared to devote to land and travel costs along with consumer goods. Residential Bid-Rent Curves, similar to the indifference curves of neo-classical economics, are calculated to represent the set of prices particular households are prepared to pay for sites with increasing distance from the core. Those able to afford commuting costs can live away from where they work.<sup>13</sup> Alonso (1964) revised his model to include factors which explain spatial household dissimilarity in the importance attached to “space consumption and commuting time” (Bunting and Filion 1995, 8). The predicted and resultant configuration of land utilization is one of concentric rings around the CBD reflecting property values. This “demand-oriented interpretation” has been expanded upon and extended by scholars to account for variables, other than income level, which elucidate dwelling location choices (Bunting and Filion 1995).<sup>14</sup>

Neo-classical economic explanations were applied to develop filtering-down and stage models which themselves endeavoured to elucidate the waning and decay of inner-city areas. Hoover and Vernon (1965) formulated a five-stage ‘life cycle’ model of neighbourhood housing and population change.<sup>15</sup> Settlement or residential area age was found to be associated with housing type and condition, the social class of its inhabitants, household size, density of occupancy, tenure and conversion. Two conflicting trends

---

<sup>13</sup> Paradoxically, the affluent tend to inhabit inexpensive land while low income individuals and families are compelled to live compactly near the CBD.

<sup>14</sup> Hecht (1974) notes that the journey-to-work distance of individual households is concurrently influenced by income level, marital status, family size, sex, and age. Wage rate was established as a “strong determinant of location decision” while the remaining socio-economic variables “slightly” influenced residential placement when considered independently of earning level (Hecht 1974, 377).

<sup>15</sup> Building up (development of single-family homes), transition (substantial new construction, population growth, and density increase), downgrading (conversion of older housing to higher density use), thinning out (gradual density and dwelling occupancy reduction), and renewal (replacement of obsolete housing via demolition or gentrification) constitute the housing cycle stages of the *Hoover-Vernon Model*.

influence an individual's residential choice: unconstrained employment access and the attraction of the commodious suburbs. Butler (1976, 139) indicates that this model "implicitly assumes many aspects of [Social Area Analysis, including] the concept of homogeneous areas differentiated from other areas." This model has been primarily criticized for its ambiguously defined stage intervals (i.e. time span) and the possibility that housing and population cycles may function autonomously.

Elaborating on the succession concept and the work of Hoover and Vernon (1965), Birch (1971) suggests that neighbourhoods evolve over a long-term period according to a predictable sequence known as the *Stage Theory*. Each phase describes a neighbourhood's adjustment with respect to population density, dwelling type, and household composition (refer to Figure 4).<sup>16</sup> Succession occurs as the housing stock of a residential area ages and is filtered down to new inhabitants. Although ethnicity is indirectly addressed, immigrant reception areas in pre-1950 American cities were assumed to form during the 'packing' stage in locations characterized by aged buildings, low rent, and maximum density. The ethno-racial composition of a neighbourhood changes with aggregate population mobility. Ley (1983), however, notes that this model does not apply to all North American cities, especially Canadian ones.

The Alonso Model and other related assumptions have not been extremely useful since the implementation of social mix policies which permit diverse residential opportunities throughout an urban area. These elegant models of spatial economics provide an essentially static view. Much of the complexities of modern cities escapes them. An increasing interest in the social aspects of urban life initiated a decline in the application of the neighbourhood change models described above.

---

<sup>16</sup> Stages of the neighbourhood development cycle include: rural transformation, initial development (large-scale subdivision construction), fully developed (infill and increased densities), packing or downgrading (dwelling conversion to multiple household resulting in maximum population density), thinning (building deterioration and gradual density reduction), recapture or renewal (gentrification or demolition and redevelopment), and decay (abandonment). The last implies an erosion of gentrified or rehabilitated districts. Modifications of this typology replace the renewal phase with abandonment (Hartshorne 1992).



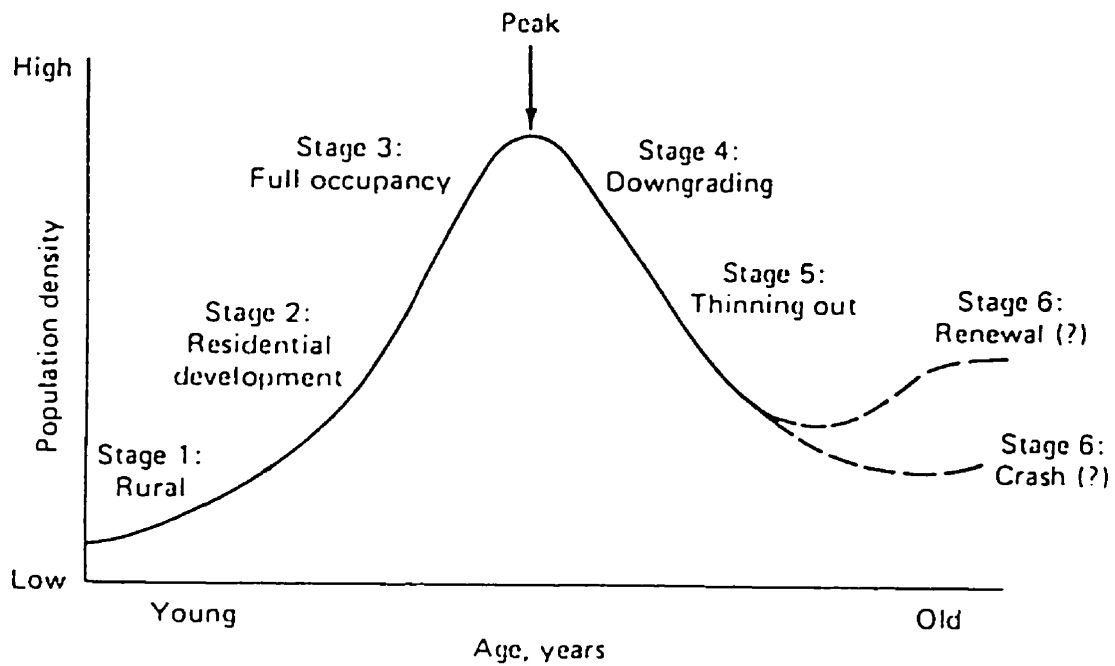


Figure 4. Neighbourhood Life Cycle According to Stage Theory

Source: Harvey M. Choldin, Cities and Suburbs: An Introduction to Urban Sociology, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1985), 333.

### **Behaviouralism and Marxism (1960s-1990s)**

Increasing criticism associated with the inability of neo-classical economic and quantitative models to explicate the manner in which spatial patterns are established, retained, and modified resulted in the development of Behavioural Geography during the 1960s. It was argued that residential location is not simply determined by a trade-off between accessibility and space because individual behaviour and decisions are based upon incomplete and distorted knowledge. Choices are often rationalized as being optimal in light of personal goals and preferences. Spatial analytical models, such as Factorial Urban Ecology, identified residential patterns without examining the processes which resulted in them. The analysis of autonomous household decision-making behaviour at the individual (i.e. micro), rather than aggregate (i.e. macro), level functioned as a linkage between geographic distribution and cognitive processes (Bassett and Short 1980).

Qualitative studies of residential differentiation focused upon the manner in which decisions to migrate are made and operationalized. Household mobility was conceptualized in terms of 'place utility' (i.e. household satisfaction level) and 'action space' (i.e. urban areas frequented by a household). Relocation within the action space occurs when the utility perceived at another position is greater than that achieved at the current site. Residential location decision models were developed to provide insights into individual thought processes underlying micro scale intra-urban migration.<sup>17</sup> This approach is of limited utility with respect to ethnic residential patterns with the exception of evaluating internal and external perceptions of ethnic enclaves.

Behavioural geography was criticized in the late 1970s for excessively stressing that individual cognition, perception, and choice while insufficiently addressing structural (e.g.

---

<sup>17</sup> An alternative approach is concerned with the analysis of "known spatial outcomes of individual and group actions as a basis for the opportunities for, and constraints on, the behaviour that produced them" (Jackson and Smith 1984, 169). In other words, spatial behaviour was modeled to account for the random and unpredictable elements of human conduct. Another line of investigation considered the relationship between the external and perceived environments. Cognitive images of spatial structures were examined by way of mental maps.

housing markets) and institutional (e.g. urban 'gatekeepers') constraints implicit in the social concepts of human action (Herbert and Thomas 1982; Jackson and Smith 1984; Bassett and Short 1989). As a result, managerialism within the housing market was examined in terms of an allocative system. The concept of "who gets what and where" was explored in terms of authority constraints on residential choice (Jackson and Smith 1984, 52). Research indicated that the degree of discretion retained by housing managers, or gatekeepers, imposes limitations on individual decision making with respect to dwelling unit selection. Real estate agents and landlords decide where to locate 'problem' households, financial institutions decide whether to provide mortgages, while suburban social order is maintained by restrictive covenants and public housing exclusion. A particular household's dwelling options, Ley (1983) notes, are also restricted by its socio-economic and personal characteristics (e.g. income, life-cycle stage, and ethnicity) in addition to urban spatial opportunities.<sup>18</sup>

Rex and Moore (1967) investigated the existence and nature of allocative structures within metropolitan housing markets and suggested that the allotment process is a function of class conflict. The income, occupation, and ethnicity of individuals in conjunction with private- and public-sector apartment allocation criterion determined the extent of access to different tenure options. Lengthy waiting periods, for example, meant that recently arrived immigrants had restricted access to public housing. Bassett and Short (1980, 50) observed that "Rex and Moore's [1967] work and its subsequent criticisms shifted research towards the analysis of institutions and constraints in the housing market." Pahl (1969 and 1975) suggested that a better comprehension of social constraints could be realized by examining activities and values associated with those who managed the social system (e.g. realtors, landlords, and developers, and lenders). A social group's access to constantly scarce urban

---

<sup>18</sup> A review of research findings conducted by Bassett and Short (1989, 180) indicates that household mobility is "mainly prompted by...new space requirements associated with...family life-cycle [changes]," that housing searches are restricted to familiar areas, and that residential choice is influenced by dwelling cost and "neighbourhood social status" in addition to physical environment quality.

resources was influenced by spatial and social constraints. Critics emphasized that while managers are responsible for resources allocation, one could not attribute scarcity (e.g. housing shortages and low vacancy rates) to them. Subsequent research focused upon managers as arbiters rather than autonomous and discretionary units (Pahl 1979).

The role of realtors as intermediaries between buyers and sellers in the housing market was of increasing interest to urban geographers. Differential neighbourhood marketing is often practiced by restricting information access and locational choices when potential buyers are members of certain racial groups. As such, mainstream and ethnic real estate agents can “accelerate, decelerate, and prevent neighbourhood change” (Teixeira 1995, 117). The limited number of earlier Canadian studies yielded inconsistent findings (Barrett 1973; House 1977; Bordessa 1978; Spector 1979; Henry 1989; Jenkins 1989). Bordessa (1978) recognized the role of realtors in endorsing and facilitating ethnic community expansion in Metropolitan Toronto yet concluded it was minor. Real estate agents had a greater influence on individual households rather than entire ethnic groups. Conversely, House (1977), Spector (1979) and Henry (1989) argued that these agents occupy a powerful position in the formation and preservation of ethnic neighbourhoods. Recent investigations point to differences in terms of ethnicity and tenure: buying versus renting and public- versus private- sector housing units. Owusu (1996) observed that most Ghanaian immigrants are highly concentrated in certain older suburban neighbourhoods and apartment buildings within them. Overrepresentation, especially in limited divided housing, was ascribed to four factors: the need for affordable rental units, effects of chain migration, desire for propinquity, and dependence upon compatriots for housing information. While mitigating incidents of racial discrimination, these factors have narrowed housing options to districts in which Ghanaians are concentrated. A strong homeland orientation has resulted in a predisposition to accommodation rental. The influence of ethnic information sources among another immigrant group - the Portuguese - was also examined by Teixeira (1999 and 1995). Recentness of arrival, official language

proficiency, a lack of information about housing market complexities, and presence of social networks were hypothesized to determine an individual's choice of and dependence on ethnic information sources. Household search strategies and ultimate dwelling selection were often influenced by the behaviour and practice of ethnic realtors who 'channeled' information to their clients. Single-family homes, dwellings owned by Portuguese sellers and/or listed with another Portuguese firm were emphasized by Portuguese agents. In this case, information was "filtered" in terms of the clients' "needs, aspirations and lifestyle orientation" (Teixeira 1995, 179). Canadian-born recent home purchasers who spoke English were not as predisposed to relying upon their ethnic communities for housing information. While both sources provided spatially biased knowledge (i.e. limited coverage), Portuguese realtors tended to focus upon districts identified with their ethnicity. Suburban resegregation, while being influenced by ethnic real estate agents, was attributed to cultural preferences rather than socio-economic status or discriminatory practices.<sup>19</sup> Three spatial patterns were identified by Murdie and Teixeira (1997): maintenance/nucleus consolidation, nucleus extensions, and dispersal. Dispersion is an outcome of several factors including a realtor's territorial specialization and a client's preferences during the housing search strategy.<sup>20</sup>

Since the early-1970s, private sector rental unit allocation in large Canadian cities has been conducted according to a "thoroughly regulated and price-controlled system" rather than a "normal" competitive housing market (Hulchanski 1993, 7). The circumstance, in conjunction with very low rates of vacancy and new unit construction, permit apartment building owner and managers to select tenants according to non-market criteria. Research indicates that racial discrimination is limiting dwelling options among newcomers and visible minorities (Quann 1979; Kalbach 1981; Henry 1989; Hilton, Potvin

---

<sup>19</sup> Existing concentration patterns were not substantially reinforced by the Portuguese realtors.

<sup>20</sup> Similar observations about housing search behaviour among new Chinese immigrants in Toronto were advanced by Xie (1991).

and Sachdev 1989; Neuwirth 1989; Pearson and Celine 1991; Ray and Moore 1991; City of Toronto Housing Department 1992b; Lundrigan 1992; Murdie 1992 and 1994; Prairie Research Associates 1992; Wilson 1992). Access to subsidized and non-profit units, in the context of an insufficient supply of affordable housing, is restricted by discrimination on behalf of private- and public-sector landlords as well as long or closed waiting lists (City of Toronto Housing Department 1992b). An examination of the changing social composition of public-sector housing in Metropolitan Toronto revealed that visible minorities were more concentrated in this sector in 1986 than in 1971 and that recent immigrant arrivals and Blacks were more segregated within limited dividend units, especially high-rise developments (Murdie 1992 and 1994).<sup>21</sup> Possible explanations include: recentness of arrival, income constraints, household size along with the “supply, cost, and discriminatory constraints in Toronto’s rental housing market” (Murdie 1994, 435). Moreover, discrimination limits the number, type, and location of dwelling options. Cultural misunderstandings between tenants and landlords often reinforce prejudices maintain barriers to equal access (Race Relations Committee of Kitchener-Waterloo 1991a and 1991b).

Concentrating upon the connection between social processes and spatial relations, Marxist approaches argue that economic factors determine social relations and land-use patterns or metropolitan form. These patterns are attributed to the aerial unevenness of urban development (Goodall 1987). The transformation of urban social organization occurs with economic reorganization. Unequal household incomes are spatially sorted (LaGory and Pipkin 1981). Ethnic residential separation is explained in terms of socio-economic class cleavages (i.e. ‘ethclass’). The application of Marxist philosophy to urban social

---

<sup>21</sup> The proportion of Caribbean Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority (MTHA) housing increased from 4.2% in 1971 to 27.4% in 1986 (Murdie 1994). While members of this community were fairly distributed within the MTHA system, spatial variability between MTHA developments was notable.

geography has been criticized on the grounds of “excessive abstraction” and its inappropriateness to post-industrial economic reorientation (Bassett and Short 1989). Moreover, the nature of residential location is not unidimensional; it goes beyond the class variable. To date, much of Marxist geography has taken the form of a critical commentary on the workings of market and social systems in capitalist societies.

### **Post-Modern Urban Restructuring: Urban Dispersion, Social Mosaics, Gentrification, and Multinucleated Cities (1980s-1990s)**

A critique of social theory and Marxist thought, Post-modernism advocates the deconstruction and restructuring of existing knowledge and uniqueness. Emphasis is placed upon the presence of numerous realities instead of universal truths and upon various frameworks instead of a unified theory. This accentuation is attributed to the fact that societies are more complex than existing conceptualizations of them. There is a reduction and/or absence of strong social divisions in the post-industrial urbanization phase (Petersen 1994). The post-modern urban landscape is characterized by fragmentation, multinodality, plurality, and diffusion (Mahieu 1994). Consequently, there is a need to “reconceptualize the social and residential dynamics of contemporary cities under the very different conditions prevailing in the 1990s” (Bourne 1994, 572).

The Canadian urban structure has been profoundly transformed from the spatial patterns upon which the concentric, sectoral, and multiple nuclei models were based (Davies and Murdie 1994). Technological, economic, and social changes are producing new urban spatial trends. None of the models discussed thus far can adequately explain the progressive growth and change of urban form and related social spatial differentiations by themselves (Clark 1982). Current assertions and propositions related to the changing form and structure of Canadian cities include: the Dispersed City Hypothesis, the Social Mosaic

Hypothesis, the Reverse Status Gradient Hypothesis, the Labour Market Mismatch Hypothesis, and the Multinucleation Hypothesis (refer to Table 3).

The *Dispersed City Hypothesis* relates to the decentralization and rearrangement of land uses, movement, and operational linkages. Residential densities decline as the 'urban envelope' or 'suburban margin' is enlarged (Bourne 1989). Suburbanization, according to this conceptualization, will result in an expeditious and protracted spatial dispersion of residents, their jobs, and businesses toward peripheral districts. Fewer people are expected to live in the inner-city.

Increasing social or ethno-cultural diversity and residential dissimilarity form the assumptive base of the *Social Mosaic Hypothesis*. Distribution patterns of a city's constituent groups are "much more complex, spatially variable, and less predictable" than those forecasted by the concentric, sector, and multiple nuclei models (Bourne 1989, 314-315). Residential variation is expressed at a "finer resolution" than rings, wedges, and nodes (Knox 1987, 333). The intensifying intricacy of urban structure has produced "more localized patterns that cannot be captured as general sources of differentiation" (Davies and Murdie 1993, 73). There are likely to be several axes of divergence, including those based on ethnicity being produced by newly arrived immigrants from varied sources (Davies 1984; Knox 1987). Heightened 'visibility' among racial minorities is being translated throughout the cosmopolitan landscape as a multitude of segregated and sizable clusters inhabited by particular collectivities. This model accounts for the displacement of reception areas to peripheral districts due to suburban housing availability and affordability along with employment redistribution.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> Research on the residential geography of visible minorities in Canada's three largest Census Metropolitan Areas for the 1986 Census conducted by Sharpe (1992, 2) detected a "decentralized and more complex residential pattern" in which recent overseas migrants were inclined to concentrate in "widely dispersed and fragmented" suburban areas. Differences in residential patterns appear when visible minorities are disaggregated into their respective ethnic origins. For a recent examples, see Owusu (1996) on the Ghanaians in Toronto.



Table 3. Hypotheses of Post-Modern Urban Form and Structure

Hypothesis	Dominant Trend	Process/Processes
Dispersed City	Deconcentration of urban envelope.	Relative urban decentralization and density thinning resulting in suburbanization and inner-city decline.
Social Mosaic	Increasing social diversity and differentiation.	Social and spatial polarization in both city and suburb.
Reverse Status Gradient	Elite inner-city.	Gentrification and displacement of low-income residents.
Labour Market Mismatch	Shifts in residential location and commuting.	Increasing separation of housing and labour markets.
Multinucleation	Emergence of a multinucleated urban form.	Concentrated decentralization of employment and the polynucleation of commuting patterns.

Source: Larry S. Bourne, "Are New Urban Forms Emerging? Empirical Tests for Canadian Urban Areas." Canadian Geographer 33 (4) (1989), 314.

The transformation of inner-city neighbourhoods into enclaves inhabited by households with increased incomes has been explained by the *Reverse Status Gradient Hypothesis* or *Gentrification*. Its spatial incidence, usually a nodal pattern, depends on the whereabouts of dwellings most amenable to upgrading as well as access to central area employment and recreational activities. Professional, middle and upper class people purchase, move into, renovate, and restore large, older but structurally sound inner-city homes. Changes occur in a residential district's social character (poorer inhabitants are displaced) as well as property value and tenure (from affordable, privately rented, multiple family accommodation to expensive owner-occupied dwellings). Gentrification interrupts or reverses the filtration process. It inhibits, delays, and prevents the neighbourhood change sequence. Traditional immigrant reception areas are dislocated while "areas of second settlement" are created when the availability and price of housing are affected (Ray and Moore 1991; Ley 1991).

The *Labour Market Mismatch Hypothesis* deals with the increased separation of residential neighbourhoods and employment locations. Cities, especially American ones, often experience situations in which skilled employment is required in the outer suburbs yet this labour pool primarily resides in the inner-city. Commuting distances have increased with time despite employment decentralization and greater accessibility to dispersed occupational locales (Bourne 1989). Origins and destinations in the journey-to-work are scattered. Distance remains an obstacle when it should not. Hence the mismatch between the location of labour supply and demand.

The *Multinucleation Hypothesis* also accounts for the peripheral dispersion of employment and its movement towards other economic sectors including those of service (tertiary), information processing (quaternary), and administrative or government (quinary). Such shifts have resulted in a "weak" core, residential scattering, and "an absence of multi-purpose nodes" within a post-industrial metropolitan form (Bunting and Filion 1995, 11). It goes beyond the previous model in suggesting that commuting patterns, influenced by

work place location, are polynucleated. This is due to the location of numerically concentrated employment nodes throughout the suburbs (Bourne 1989).

Bourne (1989) empirically tested the aforementioned conceptualizations to determine whether post-modern urban forms are 'emerging.'<sup>23</sup> Support for the Dispersed City Hypothesis was confirmed but not substantiated in light of inter-regional and inter-urban variations. The measured increase in residential differentiation according to ethnicity and earnings suggests that social complexity and segmentation are indeed growing. Hence, support for the Social Mosaic Hypothesis exists. An extremely limited amount of data was found to substantiate the Reverse Status Gradient Hypothesis. Notwithstanding the process and product of gentrification, traditional gradient patterns, indicative of suburbanization, have persisted. Gentrification's "spatial and social imprint" is either significantly limited or "essentially irrelevant" in most cities because it has not transformed them (Bourne 1994, 572).<sup>24</sup> Changes in average commuting distances for inner-city and suburban residents signify restricted verification for the Labour Market Mismatch Hypothesis. In reference to the Multinucleation Hypothesis, Bourne (1989, 323) notes that "suburban employment has [not] become sufficiently concentrated." The emanation of a predicted multinucleated urban form has yet to take place.

Waldinger (1989) examined the residential geography of recent (i.e. post-1965) immigrants in the context of economic and land market restructuring in large American cities. Entering metropolitan areas during the post-industrial urban transformation phase, the latest newcomers exhibit "highly diverse settlement patterns among cities" which are

---

<sup>23</sup> Calculations are based on 1971 and 1981 Census data for all CMAs along with the three largest Census Agglomerations with populations over 100,000 for 1981.

<sup>24</sup> With respect to the increasing marginality of gentrification, Bourne (1994, 572) claims that "many of the socio-demographic, economic and political conditions which initially encouraged the gentrification process during the 1960s and following decade are unlikely to continue in the 1990s." Perhaps we are entering a post-gentrification era. On the other hand, Ley (1991, 330) reports that inner-city renovation and redevelopment have "expanded substantially in the 1970s and 1980s" in major Canadian cities such that "inner-cities actually contained a greater proportion of...high status workers" by 1981. The City of Toronto experienced considerable gentrification since the 1970s (Ley 1992).

inconsistent with traditional ecological assumptions (Waldinger 1989, 224). The inclination for immigrants to bypass inner-city ethnic enclaves and establish themselves in the outer boroughs, sometimes via leapfrog migration, was partially attributed to urban form changes. Dispersed settlement patterns are encouraged by metropolitan decentralization, housing market circumstances (i.e. locational bias of vacancy rates and effects of gentrification and inner-city redevelopment on housing stock filtration).

### **Urban Sociology: Patterning, Explaining, and Measuring Segregation (1960s-1990s)**

The contribution of urban social geographers to ethnic and racial residential differentiation is recognized by their focus upon the spatial dimension as well as investigations centered upon patterning, explaining, and measuring residential differentiation among population subgroups. Two geographers stand out among those engaged in the classification of ethnic areas according to internal group cohesiveness. A conceptual typology to elucidate the spatial outcomes of various social processes was developed by Boal (1976) while Agocs (1977, 1979 and 1981) constructed an analytical typology of ethnic settlement patterns over time. Boal (1976) maintained that a relationship exists between ethnic group distinctiveness, the difficulty of and desire for assimilation, and residential arrangement. A low degree of distinctiveness results in an ethnic group's eventual spatial dispersal while a high degree produces certain levels of spatial concentration defined as colonies, enclaves and ghettos (refer to Figure 5). *Colonies* are characterized by temporary concentration or clustering followed by eventual dispersion while *enclaves* imply a prolonged period of concentration which is occasionally maintained despite suburbanization. *Ghettos*, however, are permanent spatial manifestations that result in geographical segregation which is maintained by ethno-racial and socio-economic

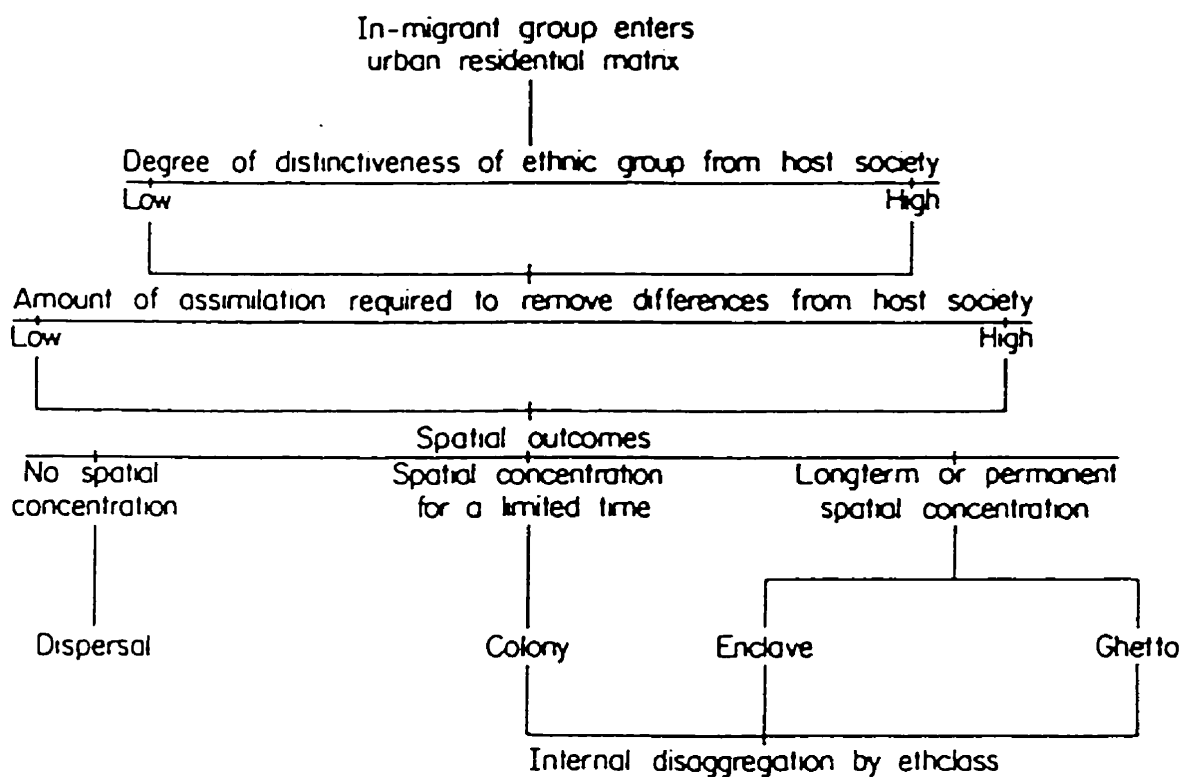


Figure 5. Spatial Outcomes Based on the Degree of Ethnic Distinctiveness and Amount of Assimilation

Source: Frederick W. Boal, "Ethnic Residential Segregation," in Social Areas in Cities: Spatial Processes and Form, Vol. 1, eds. David T. Herbert and Ronald J. Johnston, (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1976), 57.

discrimination.<sup>25</sup> Dispersion is predicted to occur for upper income immigrants who have “close cultural affinities with the host population or with a particular occupational segment of it” (Boal 1976, 59). Herbert and Thomas (1982) suggest some ways in which Boal’s (1976) typology might emerge (refer to Figure 6).

Agocs (1977, 1979 and 1981) formulated an analytic typology of ethnic settlement patterns based on measures of group and generational variations in the degree of residential clustering, dispersion, and segregation along with the amount and timing of participation in suburbanization trends for the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area during the 1940-1970 period. A noteworthy correlation was discovered between measures of ethnic clustering and segregation. Consequently, it was assumed that clustered groups were also segregated while their dispersed counterparts were not. Four spatial patterns emerged: centralized and clustered, suburbanized and clustered, suburbanized and dispersed as well as centralized and dispersed. The first one involves groups characterized by a centralized, clustered and segregated residential pattern (e.g. Blacks and Hispanics to a minor extent). Highly suburbanized but clustered and segregated groups, such as the Jews and, to a lesser degree, Hungarians and Italians, distinguish the second distribution type. A pre-1940 shift to outlying dwelling districts among the Germans and British produced suburbanized, dispersed and integrated ethnic communities. Finally, three variants of a centralized immigrant generation and suburbanized descendants emerged: both generations thoroughly clustered (Poles), both generations in small scattered clusters (Irish), and clustered immigrants in the company of dispersed descendants (Russians).

---

<sup>25</sup> Enclaves and ghettos, according to Knox (1987, 256), often assume one of two distinctive spatial expressions; either a sectoral pattern “where an initial residential clustering in inner-city areas has formed the base for the subsequent formation of new suburban residential clusters” or a concentric pattern of ethnic neighbourhoods which “spread from an initial cluster to encircle the CBD.” Zonal discontinuities reflect urban fabric inconsistencies with respect to dwelling type availability which impede residential mobility. Anderson (1962) claims that a sectoral pattern is displayed by ethnic groups characterized by numeric growth and an adequate amount of prosperous constituents who can manage to purchase improved domiciliation. Economic hindrances operating at the ‘suburban margin’ often foreshorten sectoral development (Boal 1976).

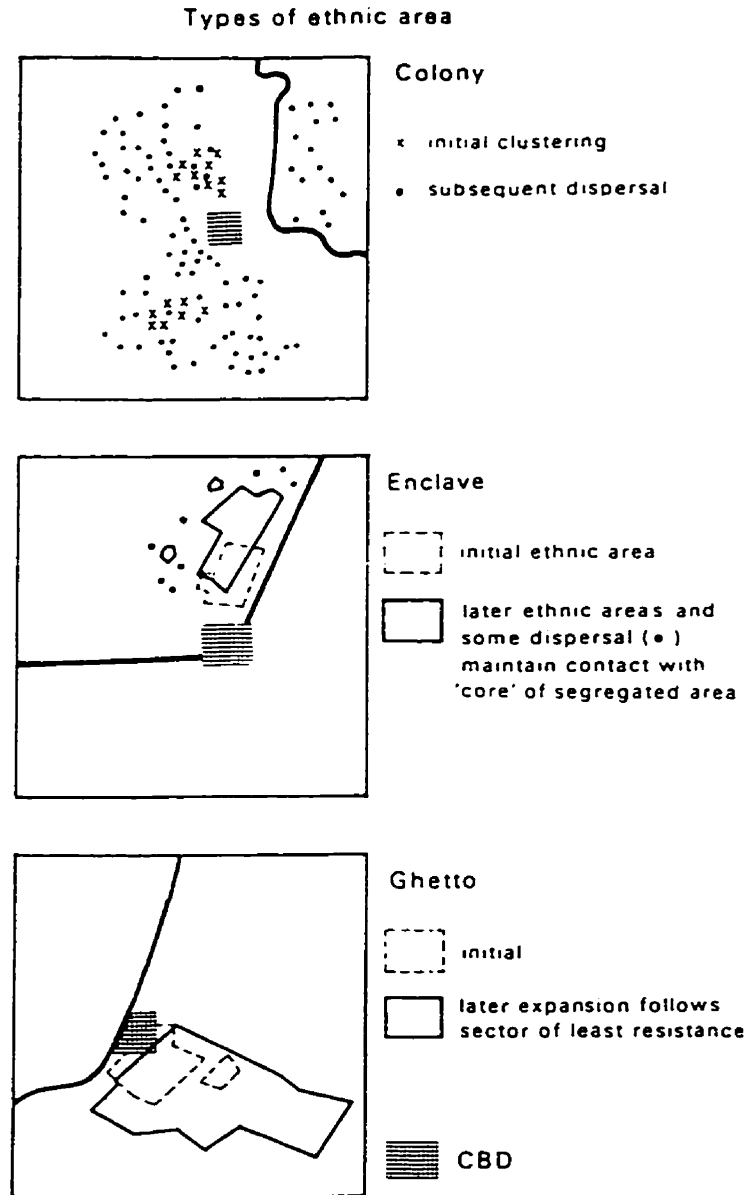


Figure 6. Spatial Expression of Boal's (1976) Ethnic Area Typology

Source: David T. Herbert and Colin J. Thomas, Urban Geography: A First Approach (Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 1982), 311.

Seven distinct types of ethnic communities were identified: ghetto, recent immigrant reception centres, urban villages, residual communities, transplanted communities, new suburban settlements, and aterritorial communities (those without a neighbourhood base). Nearly all of the study groups exhibited several settlement patterns by 1970. The Hungarian enclave, for example, initially functioned as an immigrant reception centre, then as an urban village, and finally as a residual community. Figure 7 summarizes the typology. The *ghetto* is defined as a precisely delimited and spatially compressed inner-city precinct characterized by a high population concentration and a deteriorating housing stock. It is best exemplified by Detroit's highly clustered Black inhabitants for whom outward expansion towards the 'middle zone' of older suburbs was 'block-like' rather than sectoral as per most other groups (Agocs 1981). *Recent immigrant reception centres* are either situated within the inner-city or suburban neighbourhoods located close to industrial areas. The latter is a product of *chain migration* among recent immigrant groups. Representing the incipient phase of an ethnic community's life cycle, these neighbourhoods often have established social networks and a range of organizations. *Urban villages* are persevering ethnic concentrations principally inhabited by immigrants' native-born children and containing different ethno-specific institutions. This residential pattern was common among the 'Latinos' and Mexicans who tend to be highly clustered and centralized. Second generation movement towards middle and outlying zones as well as more mature suburbs occurred in a sectoral pattern while the limited amount of suburbanization "focused primarily on older industrial suburbs adjacent to traditional Latino settlement areas" (Agocs 1981, 136). *Residual communities* are associated with isolated ethnic nodes found within the inner-city which are essentially transferred to other nationality groups. They contain a declining assemblage of retired immigrants and a few second-generation members. Suburbanites periodically return to patronize the small number of remaining businesses and organizations. Extremely 'clustered and segregated' populations situated a great distance



Ethnic population distribution	Clustered and segregated	Dispersed and integrated
Centralized	1. Ghetto 2. Immigrant reception center 3. Urban village	4. Residual community
Suburbanized	5. Transplanted community 6. New suburban settlement	7. Community without neighbourhood

Figure 7. Analytic Typology of Ethnic Settlement Patterns

Source: Carol Agocs, "Ethnic Settlement in a Metropolitan Area: A Typology of Communities," Ethnicity 8 (1981), 132.

from previous residential placements describe *transplanted communities*.<sup>26</sup> Similar to the previous community type, *new suburban communities* are distinguished by reduced compactness, density, as well as territorial circumscription. They are customarily a consequence of sectoral movement and are best represented by the Hungarians, Italians and a segment of the Polish population.<sup>27</sup> A certain degree of clustering was apparent in this milieu among groups which either “abandoned traditional central city neighbourhoods or expanded far beyond them” (Agocs 1981, 139). Agocs (1979, 10) observed that ethnic collectivities which set up new suburban settlements “frequently expand outward in a sectoral pattern from nuclei of initial settlement in the central city toward suburban areas.” The settlement sector is usually “narrow toward the inner[-]city, where some members...continued to live, and spread out over rather broad areas in the urban periphery and suburbs” (Agocs 1981, 139).<sup>28</sup> Finally, *aterritorial communities* are associated with ethnic populations that are randomly scattered in suburban residential districts. They are

---

<sup>26</sup> This outcome is typical of the Jewish group’s staged relocation which is features pre-1940 abandonment of original inner-city neighbourhood and resettlement to the middle zone followed by further migration postwar suburbs in the 1960s and then to recently developed peripheral suburbs in 1970. Members of the immigrant, second, and subsequent generations partook in the suburban exodus as did a range of their religious and cultural establishments.

<sup>27</sup> The first two collectivities remained fairly clustered and segregated, notwithstanding their suburbanization, with the former’s institutions being uniformly apportioned between the residual community and its suburban counterparts while that of the latter were scattered owing to the greater amount of dispersion among its constituents. Individuals of Polish extraction also established residential concentrations yet the level of clustering remained greater within downtown neighbourhoods and industrial suburbs where their institutions remained.

<sup>28</sup> This opinion is also held by Thompson (1973, 63) who indicates that nodal expansion based on ethnic criteria is “outwardly and sectorally confined.” Sectorally confined ethnic homogeneity, according to Thompson (1973, 334), is distinguished by peripheral “higher socio-economic areas” which are predominantly inhabited by second generation individuals desiring to “maintain ties with the original neighb[or]hood.” Outward movement from the ethnic core would reveal a “concentric variation according to age, family structure, and income” (Thompson 1973, 334). Anderson (1962) maintains that ethnic groups characterized by population growth display a sectoral spatial pattern. Toronto’s Jewish constituents exhibited this arrangement despite a relatively low immigration rate while the Italian community’s sectoral diffusion was attributed to immigration (Murdie 1969). Whereas the Italian group’s outward movement was generally confined to “zones of least resistance based on economic status,” that of the Jewish population coincides with “rapid upward economic mobility” (Murdie 1969, 101-102). This observation suggests that the variables affecting residential patterns (i.e. the recency and scale of immigration, economic status, and social distance) are different for each of the ethnic groups studied. The “ethnic status component,” however, was “separated into two independent factors involving [the] Italian and Jewish groups” (Yeates 1990, 161). Other ethnic collectivities may have exhibited different residential location patterns. Economic and housing market circumstances vary for each ethnic community’s components (immigrants) at the time of arrival which affects employment prospects (economic mobility).

representative of segments of the German and aggregate British groups which exemplify an emerging type of ethnic community that is, according to Agocs (1981), based upon communication (interaction) among spatially dispersed social networks rather than residential propinquity (territory). Telephones and automobiles are cited as instruments which enable people to maintain social relations. Ethnicity is expressed through shared activities at institutions located in the inner-city and/or suburbs (e.g. the Portuguese in Toronto)

Settlement patterns noted in the typology discussed in the preceding pages are shaped by immigration levels along with internal influences (group preferences) and external societal influences as summarized in Table 4. The first type of preference relates to kinship networks, shared religion and/or linguistic and cultural maintenance, and institutional development while the latter is associated with social status (discrimination) and economic status (poverty). Agocs (1981) acknowledges that further study is required to understand the relationships, internal influences, and levels of residential clustering and segregation. The ghetto is assumed to be heavily subjected to both internal and external influences while urban villages and residual communities tend to be formed by internal preferences and, to a shallower extent, economic status. Internal factors seem to influence transplanted communities and new suburban settlements almost without exception. The expression of "internal solidarity" through "residential enclaves" is possible by the attainment of "middle-class socio-economic status" (Agocs 1981, 145). Settlement behaviour resulting in territorial communities is limited to internal sources of ethnic unit cohesion. Dissimilarities in ethnic residential location are notable and infrequently predictable in terms of traditional ecological models (Agocs 1977). No association was discovered to exist between suburbanization and the dispersion of ethnic populations.<sup>29</sup> Ethnic pluralism continues to be a significant dimension of suburban neighbourhoods as

---

<sup>29</sup> Applying the Core-Periphery Model, Hecht, Sharpe, and Wong (1983) found that while socio-economically integrated ethnic units are disposed to suburban migration, some groups dispersed, others concentrated, and still others maintained their continuity during the suburbanization process.

Table 4. Matrix of Factors Influencing Ethnic Settlement Patterns

<u>Internal Influences or Preferences</u>			<u>New Immigration</u>	<u>Societal Influences</u>	
Kinship Networks	Shared Religion and/or linguistic and cultural maintenance	Institutional Development		Social Status	Economic Status
IRC	IRC	IRC	IRC	IRC	IRC
GHO	GHO	GHO		GHO	GHO
UV	UV	UV			UV
RU	RU	RU			RU
TC	TC	TC			
NSS	NSS	NSS			
CWN		CWN			

Notes: IRC = Immigrant Reception Centre, GHO = Ghetto, UV = Urban Village, RC = Residual Community, TC = Transplanted Community, NSS = New Suburban Settlement, CWN = Community Without Neighbourhood (i.e. aterritorial community)

Source: Carol Agoos, "Ethnic Settlement in a Metropolitan Area: A Typology of Communities," *Ethnicity* 8 (1981): 145.

does voluntary segregation.

Huttman and Jones (1991) write that suburbanization is not necessarily indicative of residential integration among Black Americans. Suburban resegregation occurred in spite of neighbourhood stabilization and affirmative marketing programs respectively aimed at balancing racial composition and enabling homebuyers to expand their search area. While the causes for decentralized concentration are complex, housing availability was identified as a major factor. Integration is often a temporary situation due to a dual housing market which involves racial steering. The suburb's location was also found to be an important determinant of dissimilarity levels and concentration patterns. The six distinctive types of Black suburban settlements delimited by Lake and Cutter (1980) were discernible: colony in industrial satellites, spillover types, metropolitan rural exclaves, subsidized housing communities, industrial-mixed community, outer industrial community. Spillover migration facilitated outward sectoral movement in into adjacent suburban districts while leapfrogging was somewhat more typical of professional households. The likelihood of suburban resegregation increases if a suburb is "directly in the path of spillover from the ghetto" (Huttman and Jones 1991, 352). Goering and Coulibaly (1991) were interested in establishing whether the extent and spatial pattern of segregation varied between public housing projects and the private housing market in American cities. They ascertained that concentration and clustering in social housing projects does not necessarily manifest itself in the same way as in the private market (i.e. neighbourhoods consisting of single-detached homes). As Murdie (1994) observed, differences were evident among subsidized apartment buildings where certain racial and social groups were overrepresented. Exclusionary zoning bylaws were singled out as one of the main causes. Some cities intentionally designate low-income housing complexes, in which Black families now form an overwhelming majority of the occupants, from their older public housing stock.

Another line of investigation focuses upon either identifying and explaining major factors influencing the formation, evolution, and maintenance of ethnic concentrations or the empirical measurement of residential isolation according to ethnicity. Institutional completeness, period of immigration along with socio-economic and 'ecological' variables are examined. Ethnicity is often assumed to observe one of the spatial patterns hypothesized in the aforementioned human ecology models. Mapping techniques are not frequently applied to identify residential locations. This long-standing tradition of investigating ethnic residential patterns has been "pursued as an extension of the theoretical and methodological lead of the Chicago School" (Darroch and Marston 1987, 115). Most studies begin by referring to urban ecology statements which themselves function as the basis for measuring segregation trends and patterns.

A considerable body of literature suggests that ethnic groups often congregate into particular areas of large urban areas. Immigrants tend to establish ethnic communities in order to be close to others of the same background and to facilitate their economic adjustment to the host society. Transition areas, according to the classical urban growth models, provide residential opportunities for newcomers.<sup>30</sup> Ethnic enclaves develop and serve as reception areas or ports of entry. As new immigrants arrive, established members of a given ethnic population often tend to move from initial settlement areas in a pattern of invasion and succession. New ethnic communities are re-established in other parts of the city. In some cases a particular reception area has been used by several ethnic groups, one consecutively displacing another.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes an ethnic area persists and becomes a permanent feature of the urban landscape. One would expect newcomers to initially settle in concentrations near the core and established inhabitants to either voluntarily cluster or

---

<sup>30</sup> These high-density inner-city areas of mixed low-income housing, retail and light manufacturing are characterized by "deteriorated land use" (Bunting 1991, 300).

<sup>31</sup> The reception area, in such circumstances, is characterized by low-rent housing and proximity to employment and support services (e.g. street market). It is where ethnocultural differences are recognized and accepted. Earlier immigrants are able to relocate when sufficient capital is accumulated.

disperse in suburban or peripheral areas. To this end, Kalbach (1987, 105) writes that “[r]esidence in...centrally located ethnic neighbourhoods was seen only as a transitory phenomenon that would lessen as immigrant groups become more economically integrated and socially assimilated into the [mainstream] society.” This pattern of “diminishing residential segregation” through successive generations does not apply to numerically weaker and more recent newcomers (Kalbach 1987, 106).<sup>32</sup>

Early Canadian research indicates that socio-economic status differences explain an increasingly limited number of observed variances in ethnic residential separation between groups (Darroch and Marston 1971; Richmond 1972; Richmond and Kalbach 1980; Kalbach 1981). Nevertheless, income continues to influence dwelling location choice(s) especially among recent immigrant arrivals for whom involuntary segregation reflects financial constraints and a somewhat bounded assortment of housing (Kalbach 1981). While scholars concur that residential differentiation exists among and within some of the city’s constituent ethnic groups, they disagree about the nature, development, and causal factors associated with this spatial manifestation. This may be attributed to the fact that “Canada has never fully or consistently subscribed to any particular ‘theory’ of assimilation with respect to its immigrants” (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, 184). Seemingly related processes that yield urban ethnic residential segregation, as Darroch and Marston (1987) note, have been individually investigated.

Burnley and Kalbach (1984, 15) examined the residential distribution of immigrant groups in relation to that of the native born and total population for “evidence of segregation which might be associated with differences in length of residence [i.e. period of immigration], socio-economic status or cultural origins.” An *index of segregation* was

---

<sup>32</sup> It tends to be associated with ‘older’ ethnic groups from northern and western Europe (e.g. Germans). Conversely, Toronto’s Chinese population remained in the urban core while other immigrant groups were participating in the suburban transition. Gorrie (1991) writes that social and economic prejudice in conjunction with discriminatory immigration legislation served to localize the community and restrain its growth until urban renewal displaced historic Chinatown. Likewise, Jewish residents are highly segregated despite their socio-economic integration and upward mobility (Kalbach 1987).

used to measure the degree of residential separation between the foreign- and native-born populations by census tracts. Data suggest that recent arrivals were “distinctly more segregated” than their established counterparts yet they settled away from existing ethnic concentrations. Richmond (1967a) also found that residential mobility among immigrants and ethnic entities is also influenced by settlement period. Differences in segregation levels between ethnic communities persisted even after controlling for inter-group variation in socio-economic status. The Concentric Zone Model was unable to explain the observed residential distribution changes for all birthplace groups. Chain migration tended to disperse immigrants.<sup>33</sup> Aside from occupational skills, English language proficiency, and the type, location, and cost of housing, Richmond (1967a) found that the location of initial settlement among international migrants is influenced by immigration policy. The sponsorship program “strongly encouraged immigrants to live in the same community and sometimes the same household as the sponsor” (Richmond 1967, 11). Given their higher income and education levels, business and professional members of recent Asian immigrants can “afford to live in different residential areas from their predecessors” (Burnley and Kalbach 1984, 20). Circumvention of traditional reception districts and initial resettlement in prestigious dwelling domains suggests the presence or formation of a “hierarchical residential stratification” within ethnic groups (Burnley and Kalbach 1984, 34). Most other new admissions, however, continued to cluster in established suburban enclaves before dispersing.

It has also been asserted that the degree of residential segregation may be primarily attributed to an ethnic groups’ capacity to absorb newcomers. Investigations of Winnipeg carried out by Driedger and Church (1974) and Driedger (1978) indicate that the

---

<sup>33</sup> This process is characterized by the arrival of newcomers who join their compatriots in clustered destinations located outside and away from the reception area. Rather than settling in older neighbourhoods adjacent to the urban core, Greek arrivals in the 1960s, for example, tended to establish themselves in the suburbs where their sponsors resided. Burnley (1972a) reported that chain migration in metropolitan Sydney, Australia during the 1947-1966 period resulted in a multiple nuclei spatial pattern of immigrant residential distribution.



continuance of institutional completeness among ethnic communities encourages and sustains voluntary residential concentration.<sup>34</sup> Schwab (1992, 370) suggests that “[o]nce an area becomes associated with a social [or ethnic] group, individuals who wish to identify with it move into the area [thereby] perpetuating [voluntary] segregation.” Subsequent domestic mobility within the area ensures its resilience and durability. Alternatively, some ethnic communities maintain traditional cores populated by a steadily declining proportion of members. Emphasis is placed on contemporary retail opportunities and the commercialization of cultural differences.<sup>35</sup>

Arguing that spatial congregation is imperative for maintaining institutional completeness, Darroch and Marston (1987) developed a conceptual model showing the association between ethnic residential concentration and five other variables (refer to Figure 8). Community continuance is said to be affected by “the interaction of urban size, ethnic group size and residential and institutional patterns” (Darroch and Marston 1987, 135). The relative dimensions of an ethnic group’s generational components, according to previous research, influences its geographical segregation (Darroch and Marston 1969 and 1971). Territorial dispersion is predicted to occur when individuals choose their residential location principally on the grounds of socio-economic factors while clustering is expected when ethnic affiliation is followed. The latter scenario implies settlement in small widely separated enclaves.

Trovato and Halli (1990) examined the relationship between ethnicity and geographic mobility by comparing patterns of residential relocation among seven major ethnic categories for the 1981 Census.<sup>36</sup> Migration differentials, it was proposed, are partly

---

<sup>34</sup> Voluntary segregation implies that a specific group is not required by legislation or tradition to reside in designated areas.

<sup>35</sup> Toronto’s Chinatown West is an example of this concept. Although the Chinese initiated their suburban transition during the mid-1970s, a significant number of them continue to obtain goods and services, conduct transactions, and socialize downtown (Wong 1980). To this end, municipal authorities designated the neighbourhood as an area of “special identity” in 1979.

<sup>36</sup> Census Metropolitan Areas employed in the study are unspecified. Immigrants entering Canada during the 1976-1981 census interval were excluded because their relocation was not internal.

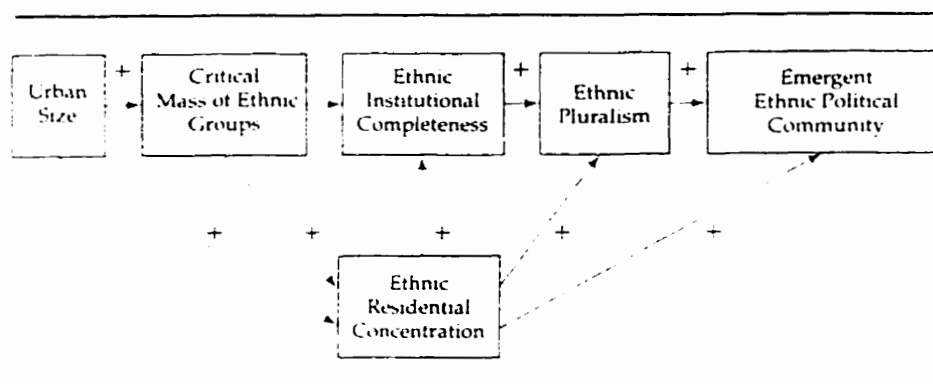


Figure 8. Influences Upon and of Ethnic Residential Concentration

Source: Gordon A. Darroch and Wilfred G. Marston, "Patterns of Urban Ethnicity," in Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities, ed. Leo Driedger, (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987), 125.

explained by the characteristics hypothesis (i.e. an ethnic group's level of linguistic assimilation) and the ethnic effect hypothesis (i.e. the degree of community maintenance or institutional completeness).<sup>37</sup> Empirical measurement was restricted to ethnic origin and home language information because data on institutional completeness is unavailable.<sup>38</sup> Crosstabular analyses of the type of move by ethnicity and home language during the 1976-1981 interval confirm that cohesive and institutionally complete ethnic groups are predominantly non-movers as are persons speaking a non-official language at home. Chi-square significance tests and a multivariate logit analysis involving the five-year mobility question, ethnicity and one of three variables (education, language, and age) respectively indicate that "mobility may not be statistically independent of ethnicity" and that the proportion of variance in residential relocation explained by ethnicity was relatively small (Trovato and Halli 1990, 82). Statistical support for the ethnic effect thesis among mobile groups was weak. Linguistic assimilation did not increase an individual's probability of geographic movement. Mobility differential was attributed to age composition and educational attainment rather than ethnicity. This finding supports the conjecture that assimilation and institutional completeness marginally influences post-arrival migration and residency patterns among 1976-1981 newcomers.

Conclusions drawn from other Canadian studies indicate that patterns of ethnic residential concentration are attributed to ethnicity rather than being exclusively induced by socio-economic variables. Kalbach (1981) compared the extent of segregation between eighteen major ethnic populations and the English origin reference group according to the *index of dissimilarity* based on 1971 Census tract data for Toronto. Using educational

---

<sup>37</sup> The latter is based upon the *Ethnic Status Theory* which argues that "a group's ethnicity, operating independently of socio-economic status, alone can account for residential dissimilarity" (Schwab 1992, 382).

<sup>38</sup> Often used as surrogate indicators for many unquantifiable aspects of ethnicity, various dimensions of ethnic status (e.g. nationality, mother tongue, religion, period of immigration, and birth place) are not mutually inclusive (McGahan 1986; Trovato and Halli 1990). Consequently, the extent and pattern of residential differentiation depends on which variable is applied.

attainment as a status control, variations in residential evenness were examined by generation. Findings revealed a broad range of dissimilarity relatively independent of socio-economic status distinctions. Excluding the English, an overwhelming majority of the remaining ethnic groups exhibited segregational patterns that are inconsistent with the classical ecological models of urban growth. Individual *integration* and *assimilation* were not found to produce a widespread reduction of residential separation according to ethnicity while the “dynamics of urban population growth and distribution” curtailed the presumed evolution of a ‘uniformly’ apportioned ethnic populace (Kalbach 1981, 13). Concentrational shifts, rather than an external divergence from principal reception areas, occurred as a result of immigration.<sup>39</sup> The diversity and size of ethnic groups were identified as “important structural dimensions underlying the nature of segregation patterns” (Kalbach 1981, 10). Similar conclusions were advanced in a subsequent examination by Kalbach (1987). Dwelling patterns could not be solely elucidated by socio-economic status because its importance varies within and between ethnic populations.

Balakrishnan (1976 and 1982) and Richmond and Kalbach (1980) also reported that a definite ‘ethnic effect’ exists after statistically controlling for socio-economic factors. Individuals of different origins but with similar socio-economic status were found to be highly segregated from each other. This suggests that “group differences, as measured by income, education, and occupation, were highly related to group differences in ethnic segregation” (Guest 1976, 1090). The size and “generational composition” of immigrant groups, in relation to the “culturally dominant group,” were identified as primary factors which foster the establishment and continuance of ethnic institutions and communities in specific urban locations (Kalbach 1987, 104-108).<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Group displacement took place instead of household dispersion.

<sup>40</sup> Generation composition refers to the nativity of parents and children in which the first generation relates to foreign-born parents and children, the second generation to one or both foreign-born parents and their native-born children, and the third generation to both native-born parents and children.

In their investigation and measurement of distinct ethnic residential segregation patterns at the census tract scale, Balakrishnan and Selvanathan (1990) proposed that the pattern and extent of spatial segregation are affected by four principal factors: ethnic group size (i.e. population threshold required for ethnic concentrations to develop); internal differentiation based on period of immigration (e.g. recent arrivals disadvantaged with respect to economic resources and language capacity); social distance; and social class. The index of dissimilarity was applied to calculate indices, based on 1981 Census data, for selected metropolitan areas according to ethnic origin, social distance, and social class.<sup>41</sup> Ethnic diversity has a diminutive or minute effect on segregation, social distance plays a leading role in residential patterns, and the contribution of social class differences is finite (i.e. segregation persists irrespective of census tract social status). Darroch and Marston (1984, 411) suggest that the positive relationship between the size of urban areas and that of their ethnic populations “facilitate the creating of ethnic neighbourhoods which result in greater spatial segregation patterns.” Excluding city size and recentness of immigration, Balakrishnan (1976) concluded that ecological characteristics noted in Figure 9 did not entirely explain differences in levels of ethnic segregation. Kalbach (1990) examined the relevance of ethnicity with respect to generational differences in the amount and configuration of residential separation among ten major ethnic groups in Toronto. Census (1971, 1976, and 1981) and interview (1978 and 1979) data revealed increasing areal integration through successive generations only for the British and a few well-established European communities. A weak relationship existed between an area’s ethnic character and the degree of group cohesion among the aggregate sample population. The importance of ethnic identity was more strongly connected to participating in cultural events among the latest arrivals and visible minorities. A neighbourhood’s ethnic character is more likely a

---

<sup>41</sup> Social distance was measured by ranking the mean segregation indices between the ethnic and British groups in ascending order. Social class was ascertained by constructing indices based on the percentage of adults with secondary and post-secondary education, males in higher status occupations, and families with a \$20,000+ annual income.

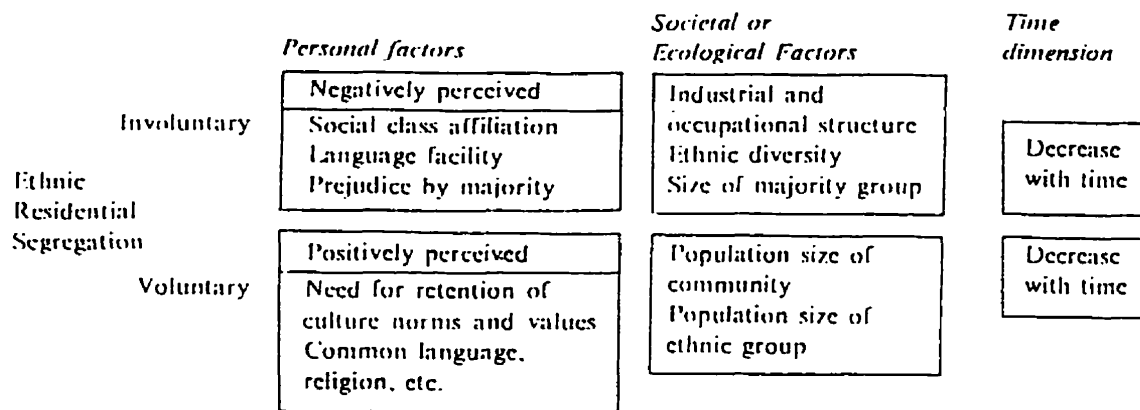


Figure 9. Personal and Societal Factors Influencing Involuntary and Voluntary Ethnic Residential Segregation

Source: T. R. Balakrishnan, "Ethnic Residential Segregation of Metropolitan Areas of Canada," Canadian Journal of Sociology 1 (1976), 483.

“facilitator or inhibitor of activity reflecting an individual’s feeling of identification and association with his or her ethnic...origin” (Kalbach 1990, 134).

Involuntary segregation is a reality among visible minorities. The conventional conjecture of initial voluntary residential segregation and subsequent linguistic and/or cultural assimilation into the receiving society, as observed among some European immigrants, is not necessarily applicable to racially discernible settlers (Kalbach 1981; Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987). The existence and continued practice of residential discrimination are often minimized by the media in an effort to present mainstream Canadian society as being colour blind. Mercer (1988, 36) mentions that the presence of Asian newcomers in certain suburban locales is inducing “a strong reaction” from individuals in the habit of encountering them in the metropolitan core and assuming that they reside in inner city neighbourhoods. Sarre’s (1986) article on choice and constraint in minority housing provides sufficient evidence to suggest, according to a structuralist perspective, that the wider citizenry can evoke impediments that practically prevent admittance to home ownership (e.g. turning down offers to purchase dwellings in certain neighbourhoods). Similarly, some building managers may be unwilling to take in members of certain ethnic groups as tenants. Direct exclusion on the basis of race significantly narrows housing choices (Bourne 1981).<sup>42</sup>

While it is recognized that residential patterns displayed among communities distinguished by their unique racial features are influenced by involuntary forces, Moghaddam (1994) argues that the notion of involuntary segregation is problematic.<sup>43</sup> There is a need to differentiate between individual and group discrimination, to determine the conditions in which they act independently or concurrently to induce domiciliary separation,

---

<sup>42</sup> Discriminatory practices carried out by realtors (e.g. steering and blockbusting) and mortgage finance agents (e.g. redlining) which discourage potential buyers and divert them elsewhere are reviewed by Knox (1994).

<sup>43</sup> Examples of involuntary forces include limited access to private-sector housing and social services (e.g. limited dividend accommodation) due to racial intolerance and/or personal economic constraints.

and to study the precise kind of prejudice that conditions segregation in greater depth. Ray and Moore (1991, 5) also acknowledge that “[s]tructural constraints in Canadian housing markets are imperfectly understood.” Although a relationship exists between housing market discrimination and residential differentiation patterns, a detailed discussion of the causes (i.e. societal attitudes and practices) and effects (i.e. personal reactions and group responses) of discrimination are excluded on the grounds that this research is primarily devoted to the spatial dimension of ethnic residential differentiation. This complex subject matter is addressed in the race relations literature.<sup>44</sup>

### Contemporary Research (1990s)

Balakrishnan and Hou (1995) examined spatial concentration and residential segregation among immigrants from less developed countries between 1981 and 1991.<sup>45</sup> Increased concentration and segregation levels among Black, Chinese and South Asian newcomers were postulated as being associated with greater social distance from European ethnic groups and their recent arrival status (i.e. visible minority group growth by way of immigration). Results based upon 1981, 1986 and 1991 census data indicate that changing residential patterns among visible minorities are influenced by their selectivity and “lack of ethnic enclaves to go to on arrival” (Balakrishnan and Hou 1995, i). With respect to concentration, all three of the aforementioned visible minority groups registered similar overrepresentation levels in terms of the percentage of census tracts in which 50% and 90%

---

<sup>44</sup> Definitional and methodological issues connected with the nature and types of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination are adequately addressed by MacKie (1985) who concludes that additional research is necessary to ascertain the circumstances in which racial, ethnic and/or religious prejudice incite(s) discrimination and residential segregation.

<sup>45</sup> Ethnic and immigration data are taken from census summary tapes and public use sample tapes for 1981 and 1986 along with public use microdata files for 1991 for the fourteen largest CMAs. All twenty-five CMAs were used for indices based on 1986 and 1991 data. “Selectivity” refers to the education level, occupational skills, and investment potential possessed by immigrants upon arrival.



of them were concentrated during 1991. Their concentration was greater than of western Europeans and charter group members yet slightly lower than that of the Jews when comparing CMAs.<sup>46</sup> No clear pattern emerged when 1986 and 1991 Gini indices were compared to determine whether concentration levels had increased among the latest visible minority arrivals. Index values for CMAs which experienced significant increases in the Black, Chinese and South Asian populations were inconsistent; some increased while others declined. For example, Toronto's Black population increased from 2.66% in 1986 to 3.22% in 1991 yet Gini indices did not increase markedly ( from 0.552 in 1986 to 0.557 in 1991). Based upon the assumption that new intakes gravitate to established ethnic enclaves, the 'immigration increases concentration' hypothesis received extremely limited support. The authors surmise that urban residential choice is more complex. Admission criteria applied to the independent stream, which includes many visible minority members, is "biased towards [applicants] with higher education and occupational qualifications" (Balakrishnan and Hou 1995, 20). As such, they have a wider range of residential districts in which to relocate upon arrival. Excluding the Chinese in Vancouver, many visible minority groups had no enclaves in which to enter due to the recentness of their arrival. In terms of segregation, Index of Dissimilarity (ID) values calculated with respect to the British reference population for all fourteen CMAs (excluding Montréal) yielded "no clear temporal patterns" (Balakrishnan and Hou 1995, 23). All three study groups registered similar ID levels in the 0.4 to 0.6 range but there were no signs of increasing residential integration. Segregation was also measured according to the Index of Interaction (P) which indicates the amount of potential contact within census tracts between an ethnic group's members and those of the reference population. The reduction of P values between 1986 and 1991 was partially attributed to a more rapid growth of visible minority members.

---

<sup>46</sup> Ranging from 0 (no concentration) to 1 (high concentration), Gini Index scores based on Lorenz Curves for the Toronto and Montréal CMAs indicate that Jews were the most concentrated (0.900) while values for visible minorities (0.600) were similar to some European groups and lower than others.

These declines were less evident for visible minorities than Europeans. Hence, there is an inverse relationship between minority group population growth and interaction with the majority group. Incomes for 1980, 1986 and 1990 were examined to determine whether residential segregation declines with economic integration.<sup>47</sup> Minorities registered lower incomes, notwithstanding a limited improvement in relative position in 1980 and 1990, even though many constituents had higher educational attainment due to selectivity. There was an insufficient amount of evidence to suggest a continued narrowing of minority group incomes with respect to the British. Balakrishnan and Hou (1995, 35) conclude that “the basis for residential concentration may be changing” such that propinquity is no longer required to “maintain social networks.” While occupational segregation was inclined to influence past settlement patterns, contemporary transportation and communication systems allow individuals to live in one area and work in another.

Allen and Turner (1996) compared contemporary spatial patterns of immigrant assimilation among twelve ethnic groups in the greater Los Angeles area according to concentration by zonal distribution. It was anticipated that less and more assimilated people would tend to respectively dwell in the “concentrated” and “highly dispersed zones”.<sup>48</sup> The majority of newly arrived communities and those with better incomes often exhibited greater differences in between zones. The authors established that native-born individuals were more residentially dispersed than immigrants, that recent arrivals were more likely to be concentrated relative to previous admissions, and that this concentration is mainly in suburban areas. The presence of an “assimilation gradient” was suggested by an increase in the amount of cultural assimilation and economic integration with outward movement from centralized enclaves. Chain migration to suburban locales, however, blurred expected

---

<sup>47</sup> Unadjusted and adjusted deviations of mean wage income from the overall mean of the employed male population aged 20-26 by ethnic origin were calculated. Adjustments were made for age, immigration year, education, occupation, mother tongue, province of residence, and full-time/part-time employment work.

<sup>48</sup> Concentration was measured in terms of an ethnic group’s absolute numbers per areal unit. Three zones were delimited: concentrated, dispersed, and highly concentrated.

zonal differentiation patterns. Direct suburban entry among newer intakes was attributed to their educational attainment and income level. Zonal differentiation was found to be a function of population diversity. Ethnic concentrations, it is concluded, are “no longer exclusively located in older centralized zones and the areal differentiation of relative assimilation is often weaker than implied by the...spatial assimilation [model]” (Allen and Turner 1996, 154).

Ley and Smith (1997) extended American conceptualizations of an “underclass” to the analysis of immigrant experiences in Canadian cities. Four indicators were used to define and spatially delimit underclass areas: extreme poverty, multiple deprivation, crime, and non-market housing. A general lack of indicator overlap suggests the absence of a pronounced underclass. The profile corresponded with only one census tract in both Toronto (Regent Park) and Montréal in 1991. Toronto’s St. Lawrence neighbourhood “exhibits high social disadvantage” but lacks the “residential isolation” typical of American definitions. Broader districts of multiple deprivation and deep poverty exist without the geographic stability characteristic of American cities. Poverty was localized in inner-city pockets of Toronto containing public housing (e.g. Regent Park and Moss Park) during 1971. Since then, the ‘incipient underclass’ has become increasingly decentralized and dispersed, rather due to inner-city redevelopment projects, private-sector housing stock gentrification, and public-sector housing policy initiatives.<sup>49</sup> Suburban social housing complexes in Metropolitan Toronto are scattered, compact, and situated near middle-class neighbourhoods while their American counterparts are clustered in or close to a ghetto. The spatial correspondence between multiple deprivation and recent immigrants, especially visible minorities, in Canadian cities occurs in suburbanized, non-market housing units (Ray 1992 and 1994; Murdie 1992 and 1994). Ley and Smith (1997) contend that the modest

---

<sup>49</sup> Toronto’s poverty sector “runs fairly continuously from tracts west of downtown and northwest through The Junction into the suburbs along the spine of the Jane Street corridor” (Ley and Smith 1997, 34). Inner-city census tracts associated with extreme poverty primarily coincide with public housing projects (e.g. Regent Park, Moss Park, and St. James Town).

correlation between immigrants and deep poverty during the first ten years since arrival is marginally explained by ethnic variables. Unemployment levels, official language capacity, and household composition are more important factors. American criteria are of limited utility in identifying an underclass within the Canadian context.

In an earlier study, White (1989) observed that housing type influences residential differentiation patterns. Extreme racial segregation was mostly found in inner-city high-rise apartment buildings. The presence of an immigrant underclass in older peripheral suburbs was not in line with the spatial assimilation model. New arrivals, according to 1980 census data, were more centralized, less concentrated, relatively more residentially integrated, and predisposed to leapfrog migration during suburban relocation. Geographic mobility among recent admissions was not strongly connected to the spatial outcomes of generational assimilation. Four factors were advanced to account for observed patterns: differential self-congregation, assimilation rates, discrimination, and urban morphology changes (White 1989).

In summarizing recent research about urban ethnicity, Boal (1996) identifies various factors and processes that affect the diverse metropolitan experiences of ethnic and immigrant communities, especially the dynamics underlying spatial patterns. These determinants include: immigration policies, newcomer adjustment and ethnic community-forming processes, welfare structures, and host society perceptions of and responses to foreign migrants and residential segregation. Their interaction produces different patterns of ethnic diversity and locational bias among and within cities.<sup>50</sup> Immigration policies vary in terms of residency conditions. Some countries encourage and facilitate permanent settlement, others confer special treatment to past colonial subjects while many more advocate temporary sojourns for guestworkers. Ethnic community formation occurs in all three cases with residential integration and concentration being respectively lower and

---

<sup>50</sup> Segregation levels vary significantly between urban areas and among their ethnic inhabitants.

higher when short term labour migration is involved. Depending upon whether an assimilationist (i.e. ecological) or conflict perspective is taken, residential separation can be interpreted as: “a transitional device on the road to assimilation,...a long-term situation selected by choice,...a prolonged phenomenon constituted by opposed nationalisms, and...an enclave that corrals unwilling people...on a long-term basis” (Boal 1996, 290). The type of welfare system (liberal, selective, or universal) and extent of government intervention (direct or indirect) in the housing and labour markets also influence ethnic ‘emplacement’ patterns. Attitudes towards immigrants and the desirability of ethnic enclaves among host societies are accompanied by a range of government initiatives (e.g. welfare redistribution, housing dispersal and social mixing, and laissez-faire policies). The degree of economic integration is a major determinant of ethnic residential configurations. Given the recent shift towards a polarized immigrant flow in which individuals are differentiated by educational attainment and occupational skill, recency of arrival does not always yield excessive geographic isolation. New immigrants are less dependent upon established ethnic networks during the adaptation phase. Their housing and tenure options are greater than those of earlier settlers and recent yet economically disadvantaged arrivals. Thus, the interaction of the aforementioned factors in conjunction with the changing socio-economic profile of contemporary immigrants are producing complex urban ethnic residential patterns.

### **Ethnic Attitudes Towards Housing (1990s)**

Ray and Moore (1991) and Ray (1992 and 1994) examined ethnic attitudes towards housing and factors affecting access to home ownership among immigrants in Canada. Home ownership was represented “a sense of permanency, stability and identity” (Ray and Moore 1991, 19; Ray 1994, 263). Its function as status symbol influences how certain

ethnic communities behave in the housing market.<sup>51</sup> These studies observed a notable disparity among ethnic groups in relation to ownership rates and type of dwelling occupied. The value of home ownership differs with each immigrant unit. While members of most immigrant groups desire to reside in owner-occupied housing, a temporal differentiation exists with respect to tenure. Significantly decreased proprietary rates were measured for more recent arrivals, even after controlling for age and immigration period. For instance, 'Afro-Caribbeans' primarily reside in high-rise apartments located in the more affordable suburban rental market (Ray 1992 and 1994).<sup>52</sup> The type of immigrant (i.e. birthplace and education), capital accumulation time span, and housing market circumstances (availability, price, quality, size, location, and financing) varied with immigration period. The authors conclude that traditional models of housing market entry and subsequent mobility for settlers from abroad are predominantly obsolete. Ray and Moore (1991, 5) suggest that the "willingness to enter into home ownership [is influenced by] social norms and a community infrastructure supporting this behaviour, as well as a sense of permanency in Canadian society."

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) commissioned two sequential studies aimed at investigating immigrant housing choices (1994) and newcomer living arrangements, housing characteristics and preferences (1996).<sup>53</sup> The latter report confirms a continuance of trends detected in former. It was established that recent entrants (1981-1986 and 1986-1991) have significantly reduced household formation rates, primarily rent their

---

<sup>51</sup> Newcomer housing market participation reflects "cultural values and norms, time of immigration, socio-economic characteristics, housing market conditions, and perceptions of the dominant society about immigrants and their status in society" (Ray and Moore 1991, 7). Highly educated newcomers, in addition to southern Europeans who have a strong attachment to home ownership, are inclined to dwell in owner-occupied dwellings.

<sup>52</sup> This group's reduced level of home ownership is ascribed to their recency of arrival, "relatively lower income levels, a predominance of [single] parent households, inflation within the Toronto home ownership market, and racial discrimination" (Ray 1994, 264). Lower ownership rates among Asian and Caribbean newcomers resulted in queries about their cultural values regarding tenure as well as neighbourhood and lifestyle commitments (Ray and Moore 1991).

<sup>53</sup> Age-specific average household sizes and headship rates (i.e. household formation) in addition to tenure and dwelling type choices were analyzed in terms birthplace, immigration period, and income.

accommodation, and are less inclined to occupy single-detached units.<sup>54</sup> Curtailed household income levels seem to instigate these circumstances. Accommodation demands vary in accordance with age structure. It was noted that “home ownership propensities and preferences for single-detached units are low in the younger age groups, rise through the middle years, then fall off again in later years” (CMHC 1994, 8). Recent arrivals tend to be relatively younger than immigrants as a whole and have larger household sizes, especially among Asians. Ownership rates are higher among immigrants, increase with length of time in Canada, and vary by place of birth.<sup>55</sup> Irrespective of tenure arrangement and arrival interval, non-native residents are less apt to occupy single-detached quarters but this increases with time in Canada and ultimately surpasses that of non-immigrants. Foreign-born households generally have greater apartment, semi-detached as well as row and mobile unit ownership rates. Variations in renter domiciliary tendencies are better explained by birthplace than length residency in Canada.<sup>56</sup>

### **Summary: Emerging Complex Realities**

This chapter has traced the advancement of knowledge in urban social geography which has gone through a series of conceptual and methodological reorientations and refinements. Changing urban form and structure along with increased social complexities

---

<sup>54</sup> With respect to household formation patterns, recent immigrants are more likely to be family members (spouse or child) or individuals residing with relatives or other persons. This pattern is noted at the federal level and within the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area during 1986 and 1991.

<sup>55</sup> This was measured at the national scale as well as within Toronto during 1986 and 1991. European-born residents had the highest ownership rates while that of the Asians reflected those of non-immigrants. Significantly lower incidences of dwelling possession and single-detached ownership registered by Caribbean households is said to be an impression of their composition (i.e. a higher proportion of non-family households). The probability of owning a single-detached home increases for all immigrants with their length of residency yet it remains below that of persons born in Canada.

<sup>56</sup> An elevated level of apartment habitation was measured for households that rented. The disposition to own condominium units is considerably greater among recent elderly admissions. Non-apartment unit occupancy tends to be higher among Europeans.

have compelled geographers to develop, revise and occasionally discard descriptive and explanatory land-use models. Each approach attempted to move beyond its antecedent.<sup>57</sup> They have added knowledge to our understanding of the urban socio-spatial system by moving from a descriptive level to an analytical one. Contemporary thought in this discipline suggests that the traditional models and explanations of observed and measured spatial patterns need to be re-examined despite their continued yet limited validity.

Intellectual evolution and spatial reality rarely coincide; theory lag often prevails. Earlier research employed a limited number of ethnic groups, usually European, to develop universally applicable conceptualizations of immigrant settlement patterns in urban areas. This practice of excluding ethnic collectivities distinguished by racial features tended to obscure or distort more complex relationships (Walmsley and Lewis 1993). It is quite true that ethnic populations may exhibit locational configurations without reference to the models discussed in the preceding literature review.<sup>58</sup> Escalating social complexities within metropolitan areas warrant further discussion in an effort to comprehend ethnic residential geography. Ethnicity's spatial manifestation reflects economic, demographic and societal changes occurring within the context of an emerging post-industrial (i.e. post-modern) urban form characterized by increasing decentralization, dispersion, and de- or reconcentration (Austin 1988; Harvey 1989).<sup>59</sup> Post-modernism involves the dismantling of "past certainties" and a movement away from "grand theories which purport to explain everything" (Rogers 1992, 249). Explanations of reality are partial. Hence, the proposed conceptual model will consider selected variables: changing group specificities (i.e. internal

---

<sup>57</sup> For example, Social Area Analysis and Factorial Urban Ecology, have established, in spite of their critiques, that a metropolitan area's social composition is indeed differentiated according to socio-economic status, life cycle, and ethnicity.

<sup>58</sup> Ray (1994, 263) observed that "the suburban character of immigrants [emphasizes] that settlement is more complex than the taken-for-granted notion of initial location in the inner-city and subsequent diffusion to the suburbs."

<sup>59</sup> These changes include: a shift away from production and manufacturing, an increasingly educated workforce, greater female labour market participation, a declining birth rate and aging population, more single-parent families and single-person households (Bourne 1989; Davies and Murdie 1993).



differentiations with respect to immigration era) and urban form and structure (including housing location and development).

In summary, it can be said that two sets of propositions emerge from this literature review. Those describing spatial behaviour and residential differentiation and those hypothesizing major factors affecting residential patterns. Table 5 summarizes and categorizes the contents of this section into the aforementioned propositions in chronological order. Various scholars have presented evidence suggesting that socio-economic status does not solely and satisfactorily explain either levels of inter-ethnic residential differentiation or the presence, persistence, and, in certain instances, growth of ethnic neighbourhoods. Moghaddam (1994, 247) asserts that “a separate, independent influence arising from ethnicity exists that cannot be attributed to mere social class.”

Table 5. Ethnic Spatial Location Propositions Identified in the Literature Review

Author(s)	Proposition(s)
Burgess (1925) <i>Concentric Zone Model</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Ethnic groups move in a process of invasion &amp; succession.</li> <li>⊕ Immigrants initially settle in transition zones.</li> <li>⊗ Residential patterns due to impersonal ecological &amp; economic forces (housing type, location &amp; cost; access &amp; proximity to diverse to employment opportunities; degree of ethnic group homogeneity).</li> <li>⊗ Degree of ethnic residential concentration declines over time as ethnic groups prosper, acculturate and suburbanize.</li> <li>⊗ Tendency to migrate increases with education and income levels.</li> </ul>
Hoyt (1939) <i>Sector Model</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Ethnic groups migrate outwards from the city centre along wedge-shaped sections differentiated by rent and income.</li> </ul>
Harris and Ullman (1945) <i>Multiple Nuclei Model</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Concentration of ethnic groups in areas providing unique goods &amp; services. Immigrants attracted to nodes inhabited by compatriots.</li> <li>⊕ Outward sectoral expansion of from nodes or nuclei of initial settlement.</li> </ul>
Shevky and Bell (1955) <i>Social Area Analysis</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Ethnic residential segregation follows the Multiple Nuclei Model.</li> <li>⊗ Ethnic status index is influenced by group size &amp; is inversely related to the economic status index.</li> </ul>
Berry (1965) <i>Idealized Spatial Arrangements</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Ethnicity follows a multiple nuclei or cluster distribution.</li> </ul>
Richmond (1967) recentness <i>Immigrants &amp; Ethnic Groups in Toronto</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊗ Immigrant and ethnic group residential patterns influenced by of arrival &amp; immigration policy.</li> </ul>
Rex and Moore (1967) <i>Race, Community and Conflict</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊗ Allocative structures within metropolitan housing markets are a function of class conflict.</li> </ul>
Phal (1969, 1975, 1979) <i>Resource Allocation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊗ Income, occupation, and ethnicity of individuals along with private- and public-sector (housing) allocation criteria determine the extent of access to different tenure options.</li> </ul>
Murdie (1969) <i>Factorial Urban Ecology Analysis (Toronto)</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊕ Outward sectoral movement from traditional reception areas to suburbs according to the Multiple Nuclei Model.</li> <li>⊗ Most ethnic groups disperse as their socio-economic positions improve.</li> </ul>
Darroch & Marston (1969) <i>Ethnic Differentiation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>⊗ Residential segregation influenced by group size &amp; generational composition rather than period of immigration.</li> </ul>

- Darroch & Marston (1971)  
*Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation*
- ⊗ Social class differences unable to fully explain observed residential segregation patterns.
- Driedger & Church (1974)  
*Residential Segregation & Institutional Completeness*  
& Driedger (1978)  
*Ethnic Boundaries*
- ⊗ Continuance of institutional completeness encourages and sustains voluntary residential segregation.
- Foran (1976)  
*Comparative Factorial Ecology*
- ⊗ Ethnic status of greater significance than family or economic status in describing social areas.
  - ⊗ Internal urban structure may be affected by Multiculturalism which came late in Canada.
- Hill (1976) & Ray (1977)  
*Canadian Urban Trends*
- ⊗ Considerable inter-urban variation noted for ethnicity: concentric pattern for Toronto, multiple nuclei for Winnipeg, and sectoral for Vancouver.
- Boal (1976)  
*Distinctiveness, Assimilation and Spatial Outcomes*
- ⊗ Relation exists between ethnic group distinctiveness, the difficulty of & desire for assimilation, and ethnic residential patterns.
  - ⊗ Low degree of distinctiveness results in eventual spatial dispersal while a high degree produces certain levels of concentration (colonies, enclaves, and ghettos).
  - ⊗ Enclaves and ghettos spread from initial cluster to encircle CBD in concentric patterns.
- Balakrishnan (1976 & 1982)  
*Personal & Ecological Factors Influencing Voluntary & Involuntary Ethnic Residential Segregation*
- ⊗ Industrial & occupational structure, ethnic diversity, & size of majority group influence involuntary segregation.
  - ⊗ Population size of city & ethnic group affect voluntary segregation.
  - ⊗ Social class affiliation, language proficiency, & prejudice (by the majority) perceived as negative personal factors.
  - ⊗ Preservation of identity, language, religion, etc. identified as positively influencing voluntary segregation.
  - ⊗ Ecological character of urban areas and recentness of immigration did not entirely explain differences in ethnic segregation levels.
- Kalbach (1981 & 1987)  
*Growth & Distribution of Ethnic Populations (Toronto)*
- ⊗ Concentrational shifts (group displacement) from principal reception areas occur as a result of immigration.
  - ⊗ Diversity, size & generational composition of ethnic groups foster the establishment & continuance of ethnic institutions & communities (i.e. spatial concentration).
  - ⊗ Spatial segregation independent of socio-economic status distinctions (i.e. educational attainment).
- Hecht, Sharpe & Wong (1983)  
*Core-Periphery Model*
- ⊗ Socio-economically integrated ethnic groups are disposed to suburban migration.
  - ⊗ Continued social & cultural distance from some economically integrated ethnic groups.

- Burnley & Kalbach (1984)  
*Urban & Ecological Aspects of Immigrants in Canada and Australia*
- ⊕ Recent arrivals more segregated than their established counterparts but settled away from existing ethnic concentrations.
  - ⊕ Persistence of inter-ethnic segregation level differences after controlling for socio-economic status variations.
  - ⊗ Degree of residential segregation attributed to an ethnic group's capacity to absorb newcomers.
  - ⊗ Chain migration dispersed immigrants.
- Darroch & Marston (1987)  
*Residential Segregation & Institutional Completeness*
- ⊗ Ethnic community continuance affected by the interaction of city and ethnic group size & residential and institutional patterns.
  - ⊗ Geographic dispersion occurs when individuals choose residential location according to socio-economic factors.
- Balakrishnan & Kralt (1987)  
*Residential Concentration Among Visible Minorities in Toronto, Montréal & Vancouver*
- ⊗ Spatial concentration attributed to cultural background, period of immigration, official language proficiency, & institutional completeness.
- Bourne (1989)  
*Social Mosaic Hypothesis*
- ⊕ Several segregated and sizable nodes inhabited by particular societal collectivities.
  - ⊗ Relocation of immigrant reception areas to peripheral locations.
- Mercer (1989)  
*Asian Canadians*
- ⊕ Professional and entrepreneurial immigrants circumvent inner-city ethnic enclaves & settle directly in suburban areas.
- White (1989)  
*American Neighbourhood and Residential Differentiation*
- ⊗ Most extreme segregation in high-rise apartment buildings.
  - ⊗ Persistence of ethnicity and ethnic enclaves along with greater spatial integration among recent arrivals challenge the spatial assimilation model.
  - ⊕ New arrivals more centralized, less concentrated, and predisposed to leapfrog migration during suburban relocation.
  - ⊗ Settlement patterns affected by differential self-congregation, assimilation rate, discrimination, changing urban morphology.
- Waldinger (1989)  
*Immigration and Urban Change*
- ⊕ Newcomers tend to bypass inner-city enclaves and settle in outer boroughs.
  - ⊗ Dispersed settlement patterns influenced by urban decentralization, housing market circumstances, service sector growth and decentralization.
- Balakrishnan & Selvanathan (1990)  
*Ethnic Residential Segregation*
- ⊗ Social distance most important factor affecting ethnic residential segregation.
  - ⊗ Diminutive and limited roles of ethnic diversity & social class.
- Trovato & Halli (1990)  
*Residential Relation Patterns*
- ⊕ Low residential migration propensity for cohesive & institutionally complete ethnic groups.
  - ⊗ Migration differentials partly explained by an ethnic group's level of linguistic assimilation & degree of community maintenance.
  - ⊗ Relatively small proportion of variance in residential segregation explained by ethnicity.
  - ⊗ Residential mobility differentials attributed to educational attainment for movers.

- Kalbach (1991)  
*Significance of Residential Segregation*
- ⊗ Importance of ethnicity connected to individual participation in ethnic activities except among visible minorities and new arrivals.
  - ⊗ Neighbourhood's ethnic character a facilitator in inhibitor of ethnic activity which then influences an individual's identification and/or association with his/her ethnicity.
- Huttman and Jones (1991)  
*Suburban Desegregation and Resegregation*
- ⊗ Suburban resegregation occurs despite neighbourhood stabilization and affirmative marketing programs.
  - ⊗ Resegregation affected by location of suburb, housing availability, and presence of a dual housing market.
  - ⊕ Resegregation most likely in suburbs directly in the path of outward (sectoral) spillover migration from ghetto.
- Ray and Moore (1991) &  
Ray (1992 & 1994)  
*Ethnic Attitudes Towards Housing & Factors Affecting Immigrant Access to Home Ownership*
- ⊕ Home ownership represents permanency, stability, & identity.
  - ⊕ Value of home ownership & its functions as a status symbol varies among ethnic groups.
  - ⊕ Decreased home ownership rates among recent arrivals.
  - ⊗ Access to home ownership affected by period of immigration (i.e. type of immigrant, time required for capital accumulation, real estate market circumstances).
- Sharpe (1992)  
*Residential Geography of Visible Minorities*
- ⊕ Recent 'visible' minority immigrants inclined to concentrate in "widely dispersed and fragmented suburban areas."
- Murdie (1992)  
*Social Composition of Public Housing*  
Murdie (1994)  
*Blacks in Public Housing Units*
- ⊕ Visible minorities concentrated in public-sector housing with recent arrivals and Blacks in limited dividend units.
  - ⊗ Racial discrimination limits number, type, and location of housing options.
  - ⊗ Overrepresentation in public housing due to recentness of arrival, income constraints, family composition, and supply, cost, and discriminatory constraints in the rental market.
- Teixeira (1993 and 1995)  
*Ethnic Information Sources*  
Murdie and Teixeira (1997)  
*Role of Ethnic Realtors in Residential Relocation*
- ⊗ Ethnicity of realtors influences marketing strategies and location of recommended neighbourhoods and dwelling types.
  - ⊗ Recent immigrant groups more reliant on ethnic information sources during housing search than native-born homebuyers.
  - ⊗ Limited role of ethnic realtors in reinforcing existing ethnic enclaves.
- Davies & Murdie (1994)  
*Multivariate Factorial Ecology Analysis*
- ⊕ Ethnicity is often 'city-specific.'
  - ⊕ Social Area Analysis dimensions unable to summarize urban social complexities of Canadian metropolitan areas.
- CMHC (1994)  
*Immigrant Housing Choices*  
CMHC (1996)  
*Immigrants and the Canadian Housing Market*
- ⊗ Home ownership propensities and preferences influenced by age.
  - ⊗ Immigrant households more likely to own, but not recent arrivals.
  - ⊗ Ownership rates increase with length of residency in Canada.
  - ⊗ Home ownership rates vary by place of birth.
  - ⊗ Lower ownership rates among recent immigrants due to relatively lower incomes.
  - ⊗ Immigrants less likely to own single-detached homes.
  - ⊗ Single-detached propensities increase for immigrants with time.
  - ⊗ Higher apartment occupancy among renter immigrant households.
  - ⊗ Place of birth more important factor than length of time in Canada in explaining variation in renter dwelling propensities.
  - ⊗ Lower single-detached propensities among immigrants consistent with lower average incomes.

- Balakrishnan and Hou (1995)  
*Concentration and Segregation of Visible Minorities*
- ⊗ Changing residential pattern influenced by immigrant selectivity (i.e. socio-economic profile) and lack of established enclaves in which function as reception areas.
  - ⊗ No increasing concentration due to increased immigration.
  - ⊗ Stable residential dissimilarity levels but no signs of increased integration.
  - ⊗ Changing basis for settlement patterns in which propinquity is no longer needed to maintain social networks.
- Owusu (1996)  
*Ghanaians in Toronto*
- ⊕ Concentration in older suburban neighbourhoods and apartment buildings within them.
  - ⊗ Concentration attributed to need for affordable rental units, effects of chain migration, desire for propinquity, dependence on own group for housing information.
  - ⊗ Housing options narrowed by information sources and strong home-land orientation rather than racial discrimination.
- Allen and Turner (1996)  
*Spatial Patterns of Immigrant Assimilation*
- ⊗ Suburban shift of new arrival concentration due to chain migration and better socio-economic status of recent immigrants.
  - ⊗ Assimilation gradient blurred by direct suburban entry.
  - ⊗ Residential differentiation patterns not always consistent with spatial assimilation model.
- Boal (1996)  
*Immigration and Ethnicity in the Urban Milieu*
- ⊗ Dynamics underlying spatial patterns include: immigration policy (permanent or temporary residency), ethnic community-forming processes (assimilationist or conflict interpretation of enclave function), welfare structures (liberal, selective, or universal) and extent of government intervention (direct or indirect) in the housing and labour markets, and host society perceptions of and responses to foreign migrants and residential segregation.
  - ⊗ Residential configurations affected by degree of economic integration
  - ⊕ Lower residential integration and higher concentration for temporary migrants.
- Ley and Smith (1997)  
*Immigrant "Underclass" in Canadian Cities*
- ⊗ Absence of a pronounced underclass.
  - ⊕ Spatial correspondence between multiple deprivation and recent immigrants occurs in suburbanized, non-market housing units.
  - ⊗ Modest correlation between immigrants and deep poverty marginally explained by ethnic variables.
  - ⊗ Unemployment levels, official language capacity, and household composition more important factors.

---

Notes: ⊕ identifies propositions describing spatial behaviour and residential differentiation.  
 ⊗ identifies propositions hypothesizing major factors affecting residential patterns.

## CHAPTER 3

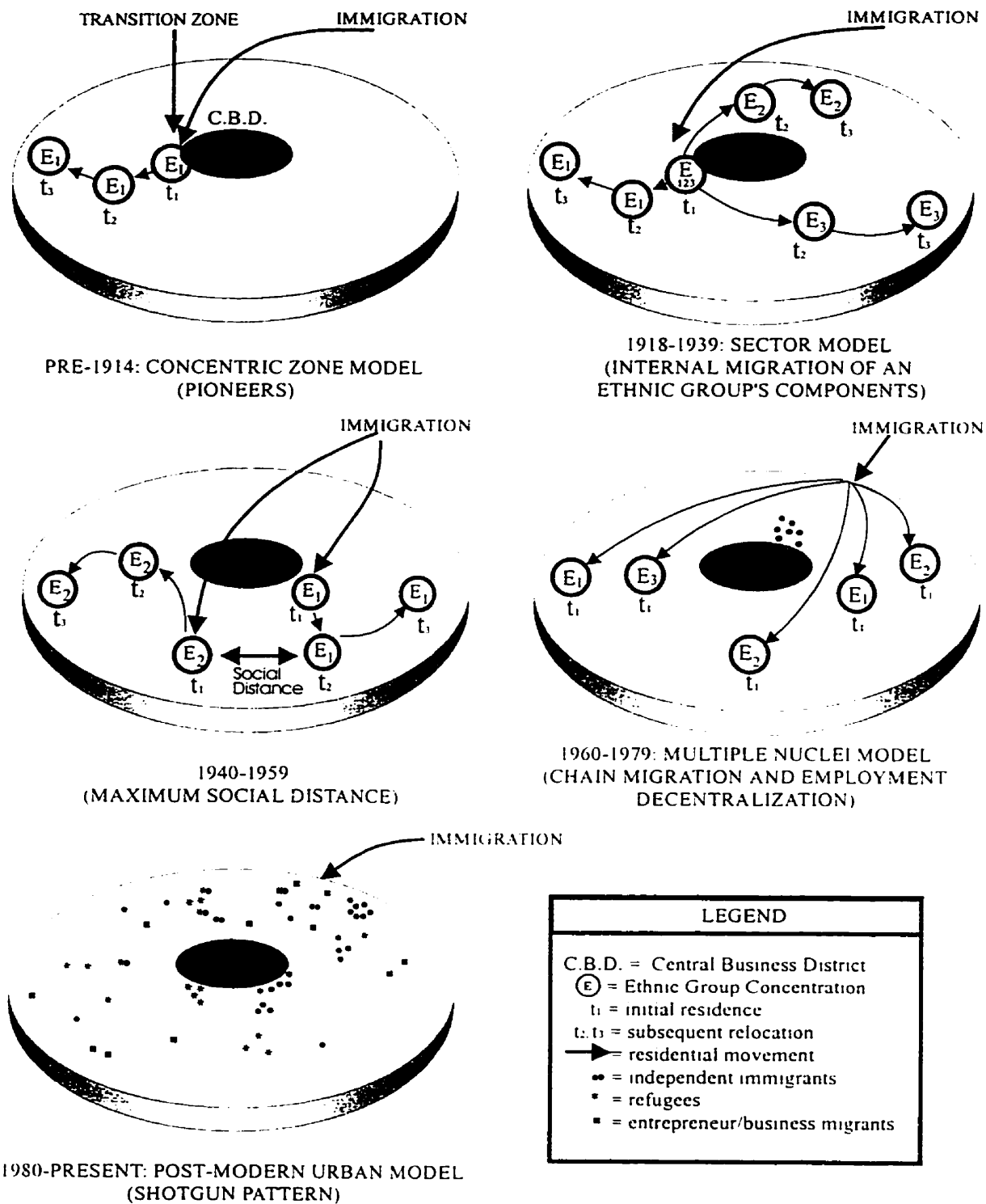
### CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

Drawing upon examples from different schools of thought discussed in the literature review, the new conceptual model, illustrated in Figure 10, describes various spatial outcomes related to primary destinations of initial settlement and subsequent residential relocation. It is probabilistic instead of deterministic in that it attempts to find explanatory factors rather than dictating what must happen. Selected time periods correspond with major immigration waves to Canada: pre-1914, 1918-1939, 1940-1959, 1960-1979, and 1980-Present. This research places emphasis on spatial occurrences illustrated in the last two diagrams, especially prevailing circumstances and emerging trends associated with the last one. It should be noted that this model represents an initial effort and is subject to refinement and modification following empirical analyses of the dimensions of residential differentiation.

The pre-1914 period is characterized by the establishment of proto-ethnic neighbourhoods in the transition zone where employment and affordable accommodations were located (Godrey 1988). The arrows indicate the outward concentric movement of an ethnic group (E1) from the core to the periphery as its members are integrated and assimilated into the mainstream society (Burgess 1925; Murdie 1969; Knox 1994). Foreigners entered rapidly growing yet relatively compact, pedestrian-oriented urban areas. Persons admitted from preferred northwestern European countries were expected to be culturally absorbed into the dominant British population more quickly.<sup>1</sup> Ensuing residential

---

<sup>1</sup> Immigration policy changed from a passive to restrictive regime in 1910 such that entry could be denied to entire 'racial' groups in addition to individual exclusion. Those permitted entry since 1900 established small ethnic enclaves primarily in working class neighbourhoods situated near industrial districts (e.g. The Junction) but had an ineffectual impression on the dominant group's residential placement (Relph 1997). For example, Italian areas instigated during the pre-1914 era became established enclaves by the 1940s (Harney 1990). Otherwise, British immigrants without agricultural experience gravitated to urbanized areas.



LEGEND	
C.B.D.	= Central Business District
⊙	= Ethnic Group Concentration
t <sub>1</sub>	= initial residence
t <sub>2</sub>	= subsequent relocation
→	= residential movement
••	= independent immigrants
▪	= refugees
▪	= entrepreneur/business migrants

Figure 10. Conceptual Model of Ethnic Residential Location



mobility would eventually approximate patterns exhibited by British inhabitants.

Newcomers continued to settle, albeit in significantly restricted numbers, within traditional inner-city reception areas during the inter-war period.<sup>2</sup> Cleavages which result in different residential patterns among an ethnic community's components are depicted in the second circle (Burnley and Kalbach 1984). For instance, intra-urban mobility amid the established British population's English (E1), Scottish (E2), and Irish (E3) constituents followed the outward sectoral spread of working class and affluent suburbs along tram routes (Gills 1986; Yeates 1990; Relph 1997). Socio-economic variation and mobility within subcommunities (e.g. Irish) are reflected in terms of enclave location among residential segments.<sup>3</sup> Alternatively, an entire ethnic collectivity's migration path, indifferent of income level, assumes an axial pattern which follows a particular thoroughfare. Indigent households of sufficiently large groups (e.g. Jews) dwell closer to the urban core while their more established counterparts live in suburban locations.

Displaced persons and political refugees constituted the majority of new arrivals immediately after the conclusion of the Second World War and throughout the 1950s. Their initial domiciliary location continued to be influenced by lodging and employment considerations (Burnley and Kalbach 1984). Inner-city quarters continued to function as disembarkment points with the older housing stock being filtered-down to successive newcomers. Some groups initially established themselves in the inner boroughs where secondary settlements were being formed by their predecessors. The first and second scenarios are exemplified by ethnic groups E1 and E2.<sup>4</sup> The third diagram also accounts

---

<sup>2</sup> The Great Depression (1929-1939) significantly limited the magnitude of immigrant entry while World War II (1939-1945) nearly cut it off.

<sup>3</sup> Burnley and Kalbach (1984, 34) refer to this apportioning as "hierarchical residential stratification."

<sup>4</sup> In Toronto's case, incipient land conversion in sizable yet dispersed suburban districts (1945-1948) and antecedent low-density sprawl (1948-1950) coincided with the initial post-war expatriate influx (Hancock 1968). These development phases had a greater impact on residential mobility among established immigrant households and their Canadian-born descendants. Likewise, high-density apartment and other multiple dwellings construction on suburban sites began during the mid-1950s (Jones 1968). These projects did not have a direct effect upon new arrivals as they did during the following decades.

for inter-ethnic social distance due to ethno-genesis and related issues of identity assertion abroad (e.g. 'Macedonians' and Greeks). Immigrants from multinational states are at liberty to abandon imposed supranational identities (e.g. Soviet) and move into or form enclaves associated with their own ancestry (e.g. Russian, Armenian and so forth).<sup>5</sup> Spatial separation can also emerge among established communities (Knox 1994).

Independent immigrants continued to settle in or near the city centre, albeit in rapidly declining numbers. Centralized enclaves began to assume a residual status in terms of initial settlement points. Access to affordable accommodation in high-density suburban apartment complexes and townhouse clusters attracted a substantial segment of newly arrived households during the 1960s and following decade (Chamberlain 1980; Relph 1997). Sponsored relatives established themselves in suburban and fringe areas where their benefactors resided. This period is characterized by chain migration along with the beginning of Third World and professional/technical immigration in addition to employment decentralization (Richmond 1967; Burnley 1972; Bourne 1989; Ray 1994). In terms of urban form, it is distinguished by central area renewal which displaced some traditional reception areas (e.g. Toronto's Old Chinatown), high-rise construction in scattered concentrations, and the development of high-density nodes and corridors (refer to Chapter 9). Destinations of subsequent relocation are not shown because many are settling and migrating within secondary settlements or adjacent districts or resegregating in the suburbs (Teixeira 1993 and 1995; Murdie and Teixeira 1997).

Sponsored and independent immigrants continued to arrive during the 1980s and present decade with entrepreneurs and refugees displaying different residential patterns. Regardless of immigration class, recent admissions are entering a changing urban landscape. A limited number of refugees tended to be attracted to the metropolitan nucleus or core due to employment and housing access. Entrepreneurs, on the other hand, move

---

<sup>5</sup> Differential settlement can also represent regional and village affinities which are sustained by chain migration and/or formal organizations.

directly to suburban locations (Mercer 1988). These business and professional immigrants often place little or no significance upon ethnic group cohesion.<sup>6</sup> Members of this “occupationally and geographically mobile group” are often confronted by temporal restrictions in their hunt for housing (Knox 1994, 250). Consequently, they are predispositioned to purchase suburban dwellings that can be expeditiously resold. These newcomers frequently work from their homes and take advantage of communication advances such as computers, electronic mail, and facsimiles (Mercer 1988). Initial spatial cohesiveness among refugees is diminished with the passage of time. Newly arrived ethnic groups, often of visible minority status, reside in fragmented clusters (Sharpe 1992). They have not had enough time to form specific neighbourhoods. Vertical concentration is often the case (Ray 1994; Vincent 1995; Owusu 1996). Among established collectivities, subdivision development increasingly coincided with suburban ethnocultural diversification or ‘ethnoburbs’ (Hughes 1995). Another recent phenomenon is the emergence of less spatially-based Multiethnic communities.

Six factors are identified in the literature as processes influencing and leading to the aforementioned evolutionary spatial outcomes depicted in Figure 10 (Ray and Moore 1991). The first factor relates to changes in immigration policy and stream with respect to the selection criteria, source, number, and type (i.e. education, skills and affluence) of newcomers. Second, economic circumstances and housing market mechanisms in Canada at the time of arrival influence the interval required to attain employment stability and thereby accumulate sufficient capital to relocate into more prestigious residential districts. Knowledge of housing opportunities and the initial location of settlement are influenced in varying degrees by real estate agents who are sensitive to the preferences and values of ethnic clients along with those of a given neighbourhood’s residents. Initial housing

---

<sup>6</sup> This trend was observed among ethnic groups from Asia (e.g. Hong Kong, China, Taiwan, and Japan) by Mercer (1988).

demands of recent entrepreneur immigrants are different from those of their predecessors because they tend to have sufficient financial resources for immediate suburban property acquisition thereby circumventing the rental stage (Cheri 1981). The majority of newcomers tend to find cheaper housing in areas located away from the CBD where affordable high-rise apartment buildings are mixed with 'mid-range and luxury homes' (Vincent 1995).

The third factor relates to the decentralization and dispersion of employment to the urban periphery and the economy's movement toward the service and information sectors. This outward expansion has permitted the residential scattering of former ethnic concentrations among relatively established groups which maintain traditional links to a particular trade, occupation, or labour sub-market (e.g. immigrant women in the garment industry and Greeks overrepresentation in the restaurant business). Mercer (1988, 361) cites the example of South Asian Canadians working in the wood-processing operations of British Columbia's lower mainland. A corresponding geographic shift of the community occurred after the industry relocated. Recent entrepreneurs from Hong Kong provided an economic stimulus within Chinese communities thereby influencing the location of related employment opportunities and residences. Another factor is the social *mixing* policy of urban planning and its differentiated structure of housing prices. Inclusionary zoning initiatives "require or encourage all or certain prescribed market housing developments to contain some proportions of affordable housing" (Hulchanski and Drdla 1993, 24). Implemented since the early 1970s, these initiatives reflect social changes and provide a greater choice of housing types and locations within neighbourhoods.

The next factor is internal ethnic group differentiation along social class lines. Educated and affluent individuals tend to disperse residentially if they have "close cultural affinities" with the host society or with "a particular segment" of it (Boal 1976, 59). Residential patterns are also affected by the pre-emigration perception of Canada and post-immigration experiences with the mainstream society. Phillips (1981) suggests that an

intense homeland orientation yields little or no dispersion and cultural isolation. Economic interests, in this case, are directed towards an eventual return. Those aspiring to permanent residency view spatial integration as a means of assimilating into the host society. The attitudes, goals, and access of different ethnic groups towards home ownership are discussed in the literature review section.

Finally, the availability of mainstream social services, such as income maintenance, subsidized housing and employment referral, throughout cities that no longer make immigrants who understand an official language dependent upon ethno-specific agencies which are themselves located in ethnic neighbourhoods. While the importance of the factors discussed above merit further consideration, it is beyond the scope of this research to determine the degree and combination of their influence(s).

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

#### **Type of Analysis, Reference Population, and Study Groups**

This census-based examination of ethnic collectivities in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) focuses on inter- and intra-group variations in the degree of residential dissimilarity (evenness), concentration, and centralization. It is not a historical study of a particular group's dwelling location patterns. Rather, it is a spatial analysis of the six selected ethnic communities with respect to the British reference population and each other during the last three decennial censuses for which data are available (i.e. 1971, 1981, and 1991).<sup>1</sup> A longitudinal trend study was chosen instead of a cross-sectional one for two simple reasons: the former permits the examination and comparison of changes within a general population (i.e. ethnic groups) at multiple time points; and the latter attempts to explain processes that occur over time based on observations made at a single point in time. These decennial censuses were selected because they provide a range of detailed ethnic data. Established statistical techniques were used to verify the partial relevance of earlier models and develop a new conceptual model of ethnic residential patterns. Data was analyzed in reverse chronological order beginning with 1991 figures to ensure that this research would not be prejudiced by expected spatial outcomes for the succeeding census.

While it could be argued that the aggregate British group has become a numerical minority in most metropolitan areas, it continues to form the majority of the CMA's mainstream society, or host culture, and has members who have been here for three or more

---

<sup>1</sup> Analyses of residential differentiation dimensions are restricted to 1981 and 1991. It was originally proposed to include the 1951, 1961 and 1971 censuses on the grounds that they cover different phases of the suburbanization process. Ethnic origin data at the census tract level for the 1951, 1961, and 1971 digital versions could not be retrieved from Statistics Canada in time for statistical manipulation and examination.

generations (Kalbach 1981; Breton et al. 1981). This is the most appropriate reference group for assessing residential separation by virtue of its dominant economic, political and social positions (Kalbach 1980). The British population could be replaced by those declaring themselves as ethnic “Canadians.” Such a substitution has been deemed inappropriate on the grounds that the term “Canadian” has a greater degree of association with an individual’s legal status and civic identity (i.e. citizenship) than with the realm of ethnic ancestry (White 1993). Use of this designation would defeat the purpose of self-identification which measures a respondent’s ethnocultural extraction.<sup>2</sup> Only 266,440 Toronto CMA inhabitants identified themselves as Canadian in 1991 while single British ancestry was declared by 747,250 individuals. Similarly, figures at the national level indicate that 5.6 million people acknowledged themselves as British versus only 765,095 Canadians.

Six ethnic communities will be studied: three established entrance groups (Greek, Jewish, and Multiethnic) and three ‘visible minority’ groups (Aboriginal, Chinese, and Jamaican).<sup>3</sup> Established entrance members are defined as immigrants entering Canada after the founding of its national framework and who do not belong to either the British or French ethnic populations. The aforementioned ethnic groups permit comparative studies and ensure reasonably large census tract representation. The number of groups selected for inclusion is necessarily limited due to considerations of manageability, availability of census tract data, and the degree of analysis. Published material associated with each ethnic group will be consulted to determine significant periods of immigration.

The Hellenic community represents a group characterized by strong affinity ties and chain migration under the sponsorship program (Burnley and Kalbach 1984).<sup>4</sup> Greek

---

<sup>2</sup> Refer to the glossary for a definition of *ethnic origin* and Appendix A for ethnic origin questions appearing in decennial censuses since 1961.

<sup>3</sup> *Visible minority* is defined in the glossary.

<sup>4</sup> Its constituents, as well as those declaring themselves as Jewish, can and often do ‘pass’ in the mainstream Canadian society.

immigration and settlement at a significant scale were initiated after the Second World War (Douranakou-Petroleka 1985). Consequently, this group is predominantly composed of foreign-born individuals. The Danforth area is recognized as Toronto's Greektown because most businesses and institutions located there are of Greek origin (Brearton 1996). This culturally unique area's decline is being abated by an influx of newcomers requiring affordable housing and the continued domiciliation of entrepreneurs operating restaurants. Chimbos (1980) attributed a pattern of "strong [suburban] residential clustering" to household relocation in neighbourhoods populated by other Greeks and recent arrivals entering Canada as family-class members. Inclusion of this ethnic unit, therefore, permits an investigation into the effect of recent immigrant status and chain migration upon residential location patterns which themselves are hypothesized to exist in a multiple nuclei arrangement.

The Jewish group is of interest because this ethnically heterogeneous collectivity is highly concentrated in spite of that fact that its members are neither a visible minority nor are they involuntarily segregated. Residential patterns vary according to socio-economic status such that those with the highest ranking live farthest from the city centre (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987; Driedger 1989). Bathurst Street in Toronto traverses the entire social stratum and life cycle span. Households migrate along this artery in accordance with family unit needs and financial prosperity. Nonetheless, they continue to reside within the community. Internal differentiation is also based upon the degree of religious orthodoxy (Harvey 1984). Toronto's Jewish group is often described as an "extremely cohesive community which relocates as a whole" (Hecht, Sharpe and Wong 1983, 107). Many of its institutions have been transplanted to suburban locales.

The Multiethnic classification will function as a semi-control group since its members are tied to numerous ethnic communities. It represents a prevailing trend towards societal amalgamation. The rationale for including Multiethnic is underlined by the fact that reality has changed; it is more complex. Post-modernism celebrates diversity, differences,



and fragmentation. Whereas ethnicity was previously considered an aberration, it is now acceptable for individuals to assert identities based on ethnic mixing. McGahan (1986, 133) emphasizes that the “continuation of an ethnically based social structure and identity” should no longer be treated as “deviant.” Ethnic neighbourhoods, in accordance with Matwijiw (1979, 45), should be considered “an integral part of the metropolitan social structure” rather than an “abnormality.” Initially considered a fixed entity which was determined by endogamous marriage or exogamous conjugality into a closely affiliated group, national identity was assumed to erode until it was lost via assimilation into the host society. Respondents have been able to acknowledge their multiple ethnic origins since 1981. The proportion of those recording “hybrid identities” in which there are no British, French or Aboriginal components was 24.7% in 1981 (Burnet 1987, 73).<sup>5</sup> This research attempts to establish whether the Multiethnic group’s residential arrangement follows that of the reference population, that of other cohesive ethnic communities, or neither (i.e. the Multiethnic group behaves like an aggregate of several ethnic collectivities). It is expected that this group’s spatial pattern will provide an indicator of emerging residential scattering.

The Aboriginal group is extremely useful for comparison because its affiliates are not immigrants. As visible migrants to the Toronto CMA, members of this indigenous Canadian group adjust to the urban environment in a manner akin to that of newcomers from abroad. Having relocated by virtue of financial distress, this group tends to exhibit the greatest amount of dissimilarity (Sharpe 1992). Its constituents were not evenly distributed throughout Toronto according to 1986 statistics. Census tracts containing noteworthy

---

<sup>5</sup> Two types of multiple identities exist: (1) “the typical hyphenated identities reflecting an individual’s identification with both the [mainstream or host] society...and [their] ancestral ethnicity or ethnicities” and (2) “multiple identities of ancestral ethnicities...without direct reference to the [mainstream] society” (Isajiw 1993, 419). This research employs the latter distinction as per the “European and Other” classification for the 1981 User Summary Tape, “Other Multiple Origins (not included elsewhere)” for the 1981 Public Use Sample Tape, “Multiple Origins” for the 1991 Basic Summary Tables, and “Canadian and Other” and “All Other Multiple Origins” for the 1991 Public Use Microdata File. None of these categories include combinations of British, French, Aboriginal, and Other.

congregations were dispersed throughout the metropolitan area. Thus, a greatly dispersed yet concentrated residential configuration is expected for Aboriginals.

The Chinese represent the spatial experiences of an older and newer visible immigrant community. Located in three distinct centralized nucleations, Toronto's Chinatown is relocating to suburban areas in Scarborough and North York (Con 1982; McAndrew 1984; Mercer 1989; Driedger 1989; Gorrie 1991).<sup>6</sup> Research based on 1981 figures indicates that only a third of this city's Chinese are concentrated near its centre while the remainder are "scattered elsewhere" (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987; Driedger 1989).<sup>7</sup> Aside from the "isolated concentrations scattered throughout Metropolitan Toronto," well over half (56%) of the Chinese populace was concentrated in the urban core and mature northeastern suburbs (Sharpe 1992, 21). Recent immigration flows are dispersing the Chinese population in outer residential districts (Goldberg 1984; Gorrie 1991; Gray 1992; Vincent 1995). Markham and Richmond Hill are experiencing an influx of affluent newcomers from Hong Kong (Murray 1995). A bipolar concentration pattern is hypothesized for the aggregate Chinese population with centralized and suburban enclaves.

The Jamaicans are members of a recently arrived group that is classified as a visible minority due to racial heritage. They are included in an effort to illustrate the residential distribution of a group predominantly composed of initially unsponsored immigrants admitted because of a demand for their occupational skills (Agocs 1979). There is no Black, Caribbean, or West Indian ghetto in metropolitan Toronto; only dispersed settlement clusters. According to 1986 Census data, the aggregate Black community was "widely distributed" throughout Toronto's "mature suburban area" with a single partially fragmented cluster in the northwest (Sharpe 1992, 21). Canadians of Black ancestry were not present in outlying residential districts. Henry (1994) and Vincent (1995) write that

---

<sup>6</sup> These enclaves are Old Chinatown at Elizabeth and Chestnut, Chinatown West at Dundas and Spadina, and Chinatown East at Broadview and Gerrard. Refer to the ethnic neighbourhood reference map for their relative locations.

<sup>7</sup> Sharpe (1992) observed that most census tracts possessed some members of this ethnic group.

Toronto's Caribbean population, of which the Jamaicans are members, is in transition. While being concentrated in apartment complexes in North York, Scarborough, Etobicoke, and housing developments in central Toronto (Murdie 1994), a significant number of the Caribbean group's constituents are beginning to establish themselves in Pickering and Ajax.

### **Study Area and Unit of Analysis**

The Toronto CMA was selected primarily because of its large and heterogeneous immigrant population which itself "reflects postwar immigration policy" as well as the fact that it is the "pre-eminent destination for new immigrants" in Canada (Ray 1994, 262). Badets and Chui (1994) emphasize that foreign-born individuals composed 38% (1.5 million) of this CMA's population in 1991. Metropolitan Toronto was declared the most multiculturally diverse city in the world by the United Nations in 1989. Its ethno-racial mix has changed dramatically such that members of visible minorities compose approximately a third of the population (Hulchanski and Drdla 1993). Furthermore, this CMA's dynamic growth and outward expansion allow for diverse housing and employment opportunities. Such an environment, depending upon the scale of development, affords municipal authorities with the opportunity to implement social mix policies in various residential areas. Ethnic residential patterns, especially changing and emerging ones, are expected to materialize within this CMA first. The Toronto CMA also has a sufficiently large number of census tracts to permit a detailed statistical analysis of reasonably large sub-samples. All of the aforementioned reasons make this CMA an ideal environment in which to examine ethnic residential and immigrant settlement patterns.

The basic unit of analysis is the census tract (CT). It is the smallest geographic unit to supply the greatest amount of statistical data pertaining to ethnicity especially in relation to enumeration areas (EAs). Census tract data are suppressed if an ethnic group contains

fewer than five persons to conform with confidentiality requirements.<sup>8</sup> While it is true that EAs provide data at the smallest geographical scale, use of this unit would greatly increase the probability of information suppression and emphasize its micro uniqueness (Fong 1995).<sup>9</sup> The CT level has been selected also because of the focus on the metropolitan, rather than the neighbourhood, scale. In addition, smaller spatial units tend to produce higher measures of residential differentiation due to the fact that EAs are more homogeneous than CTs (Mehta 1974; Massey and Denton 1988). Aerial units larger than the census tract would “obscure” the extent of ethnic spatial concentration (Richmond 1967). As Massey and Denton (1988) note, the census tract is the most widely used areal unit in residential differentiation studies. Another issue is practicality. Although EAs could be considered an ideal unit that would identify additional sources of variation on the grounds of increased sensitivity, this areal scale would involve an excessive amount of work in terms of data analysis and map production. Finally, EA files are also expensive to obtain while CT data is available free of charge.

Temporal comparisons of ethnic spatial behaviour require consistent CMA and CT boundaries. Changing demarcation lines affect group distribution patterns and complicate data collection, manipulation and interpretation. Some CTs experience significant population alterations directly caused by annexation and consolidation. In such cases, census tract amalgamation is necessary to permit inter-censal comparisons.<sup>10</sup> Modifications of this sort were not conducted on the grounds that most Metropolitan Toronto tracts were adequately stable between 1981 and 1991 and because this research is not a time-series analysis (i.e. snapshots at single points in time). While outer suburban and fringe area CTs

---

<sup>8</sup> Richmond and Kalbach (1980) recommend that the group size be neither smaller than the number of tracts nor larger than the total population of the smallest tract. Both situations, argue Richmond and Kalbach (1980, 187), “can produce an abbreviated and inconsistent range of possible values which creates problems in the interpretation of results [produced by differentiation indices].”

<sup>9</sup> Enumeration Areas are inclined to accentuate aberrant distinctions rather than a broader pattern of ethnic localization.

<sup>10</sup> For example, Hecht, Sharpe, and Wong (1983) and Weiss (1986) established arbitrary areal units based on municipal planning districts.

experienced a greater degree of subdivision, it is impractical to merge 1991 census tracts to reflect 1981 borders as this would obscure the detail currently available and eliminate some peripheral CMA municipal components which contain ethnic enclaves as a result of intra-urban migrations. Partitioning 1981 tracts into their 1991 equivalents is impossible without knowing population figures associated with the revised areal units. Thus, the analysis of spatially referenced data is based upon tract boundaries used during a given censal year (i.e. 1981 and 1991 CTs respectively for 1981 and 1991 data). Crosstabulations of selected variables are not affected by alterations in tract confines because figures are aggregated to the CMA scale.

For those readers interested, Table 6 reviews, while Map 1 illustrates, the major census subdivision reorganizations between 1941 and 1991 for the Toronto CMA. Maps 2 through 5 respectively indicate CMA limits and constituent municipalities and residential zones for 1981 and 1991.<sup>11</sup> All thematic maps showing census tracts for the CMA and central (i.e. metropolitan) area appearing herein are reproduced at the same scale and aligned in an identical orientation. Several commonly recognized and well-defined residential neighborhoods exist throughout Metropolitan Toronto.<sup>12</sup> They include towns annexed by the City of Toronto (e.g. Forest Hill) and corporate subdivisions (e.g. Don and Erin Mills). Since these districts are frequently mentioned in this dissertation, Map 6 associates their appellations with discrete census tract locations. There are, however, numerous areas with no specific identity. Reference to these places is made in terms of relative directional location within a municipality (e.g. northwest Ajax).

---

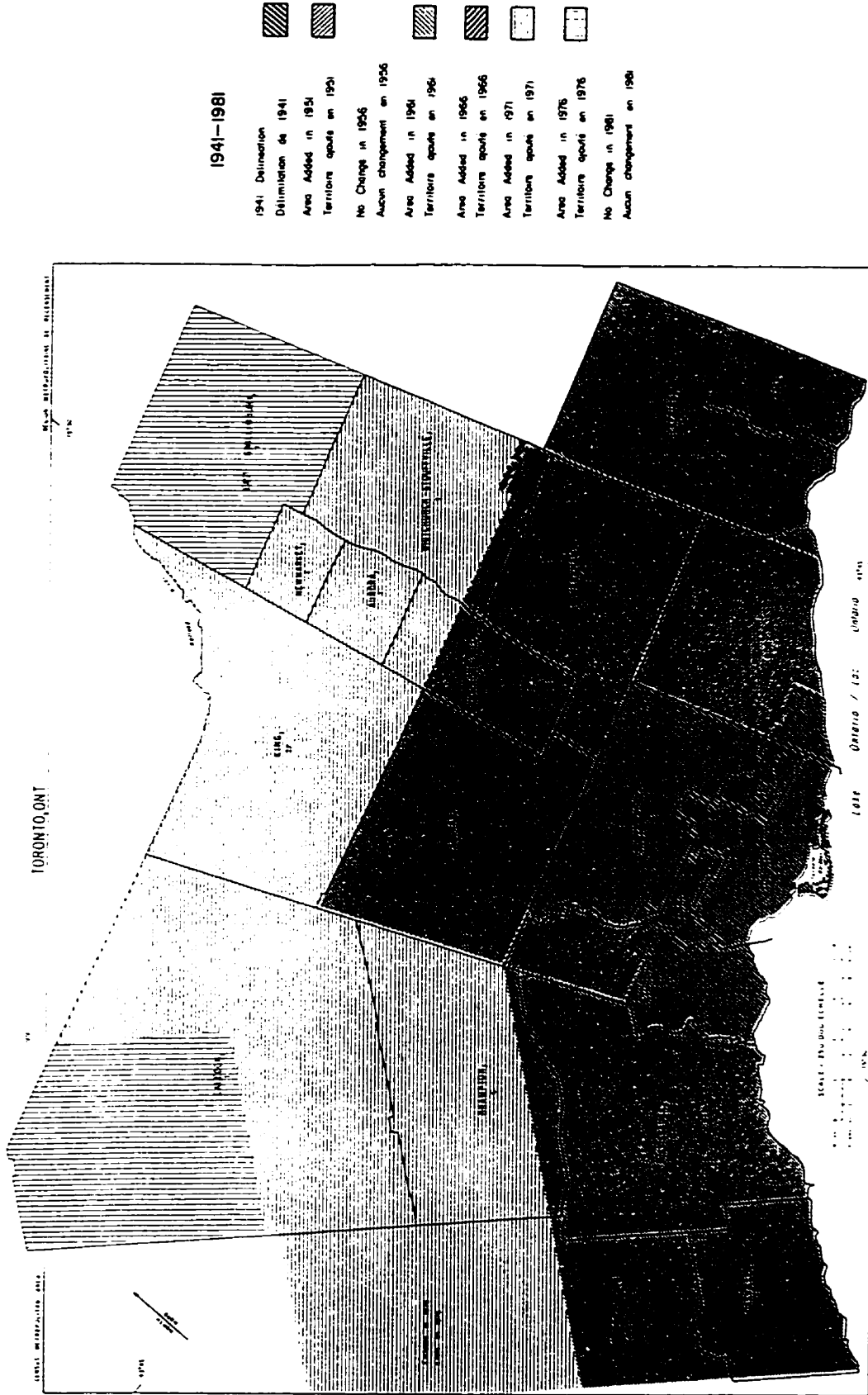
<sup>11</sup> The 1981 CMA outline and CT map versions were constructed by merging and deleting polygons contained in the 1991 digital boundary file.

<sup>12</sup> *Metropolitan Toronto* refers to the Regional Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto's administrative area which consists of City of Toronto and its boroughs: Etobicoke, York, North York, East York, and Scarborough. This entity ceased to exist on 01 January 1998, but pre-1998 terminology will be used.

Table 6. Major Reorganizations in the Toronto CMA, 1941-1991

Census Year	CMA Delineation and Modification(s)
1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CMA composed of Toronto, East York, Leaside, Forest Hill, York, North York, Weston, Swansea, Mimico, New Toronto, Long Branch and parts of Etobicoke and Scarborough.</li> </ul>
1951	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remaining portions of Etobicoke and Scarborough added to CMA.</li> </ul>
1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1951 delineation retained.</li> </ul>
1961	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limits extended to include populated areas within the Trafalgar, Toronto, Vaughn, Markham, and Pickering townships.</li> </ul>
1966	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Annexation of Stouffville.</li> </ul>
1971	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limits extended to include populated areas within the Esquesing, Chinguacousy, Toronto Gore, Albion, and King townships and the towns of Aurora and Newmarket.</li> <li>• Reorganization of Whitchurch-Stouffville.</li> </ul>
1976	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Modification western limits due to advent of regional government in Peel and Halton.</li> <li>• CMA limits extended to include Caledon and East Gwillimbury.</li> <li>• Brampton became a part of Toronto.</li> <li>• Deletion of Milton and Halton Hills portions included in 1971 because they failed to meet new commuting-based delineation criteria.</li> </ul>
1981	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1976 delineation retained.</li> </ul>
1986	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limits extended to include populated areas within the Uxbridge, Georgina, West Gwillimbury, and Tecumseth townships, the town of Orangeville, and Toronto Island.</li> <li>• Reincorporation of the Milton and Halton Hills Primary Census Agglomeration Areas.</li> </ul>
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduction of West Gwillimbury Township's northern limit.</li> <li>• Addition of Alliston and deletion of Pefferlaw.</li> <li>• Addition of Orangeville Primary Census Agglomeration Area.</li> </ul>

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Metropolitan Area/Census Agglomeration Program: A Review, 1941-1981, Working Paper No. 8, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984). Catalogue No. 99-978.



1941-1981

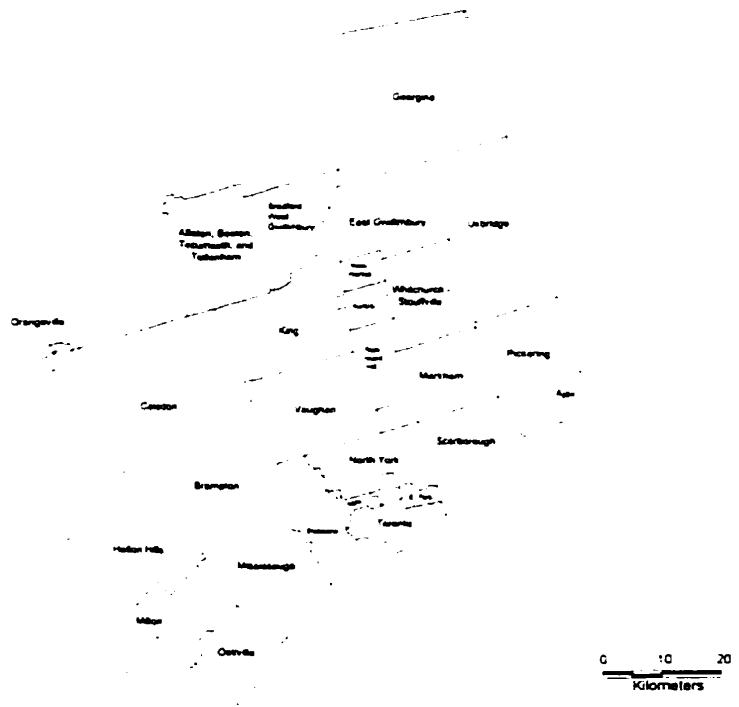
- 1941: Delimitation  
Délimitation de 1941
- Area Added in 1951  
Territoire ajouté en 1951
- No Change in 1956  
Aucun changement en 1956
- Area Added in 1966  
Territoire ajouté en 1966
- Area Added in 1976  
Territoire ajouté en 1976
- No Change in 1981  
Aucun changement en 1981

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Metropolitan Areas/ Census Agglomeration Program: A Review, 1941-1981, Working Paper No. 8, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984), 99. Catalogue No. 99-978.

Map 1. Toronto CMA Boundary Changes, 1941-1981

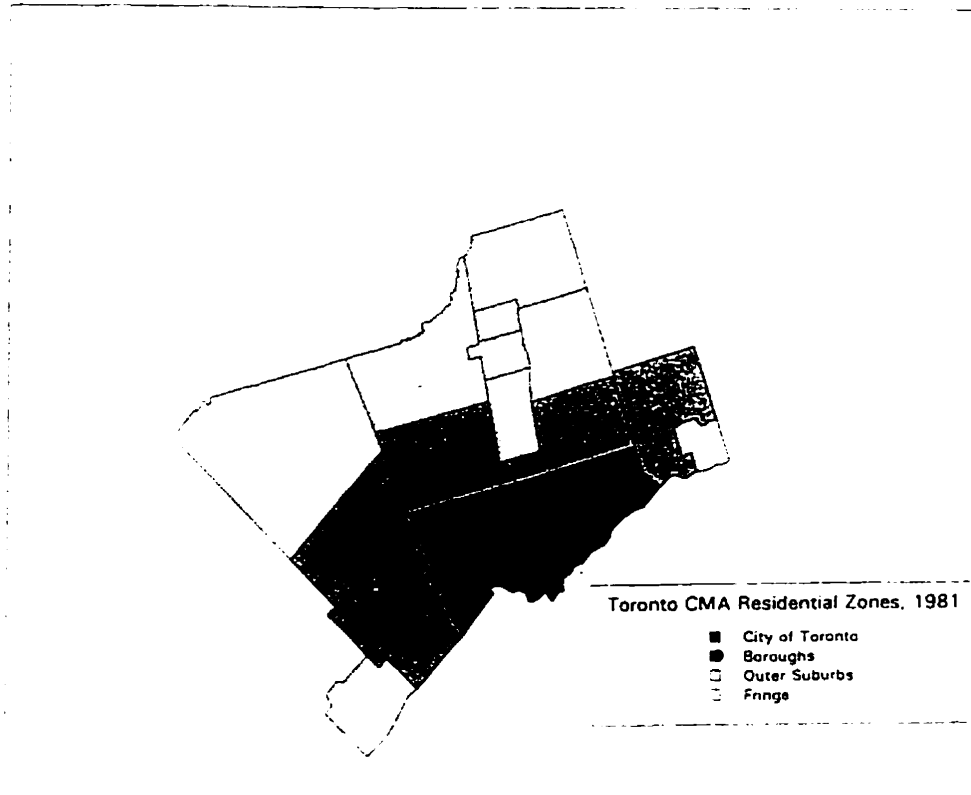


Map 2. Toronto CMA Boundary and Municipal Components, 1981

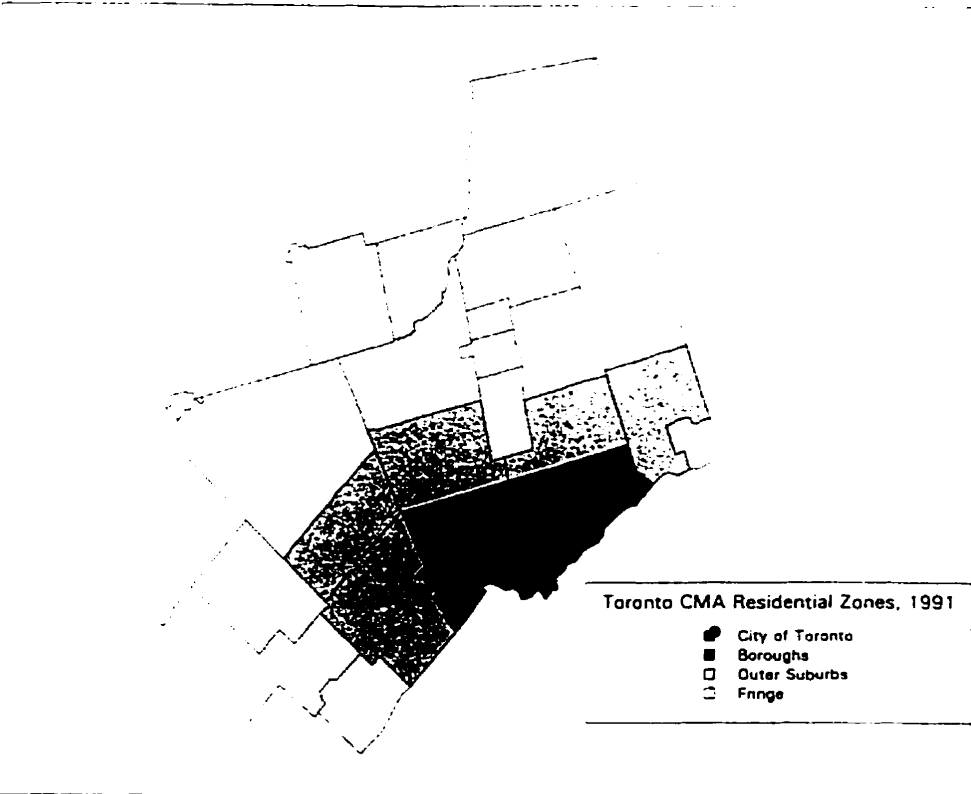


Map 3. Toronto CMA Boundary and Municipal Components, 1991

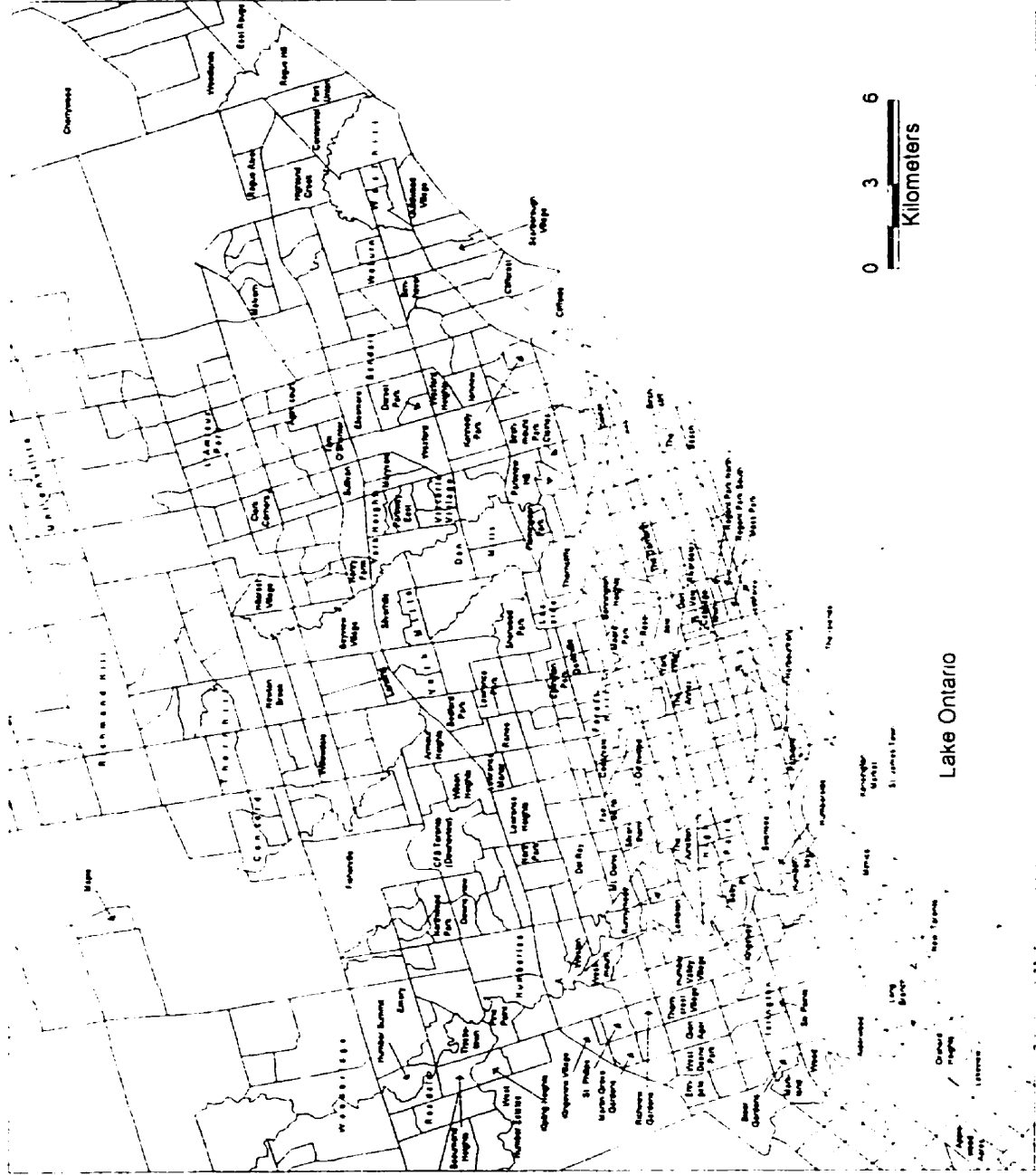




Map 4. Toronto CMA Residential Zones, 1981



Map 5. Toronto CMA Residential Zones, 1991



Map 6. Metropolitan Toronto Neighborhood Nomenclature, 1991

The urban landscape also contains its unique street slang which is used in reference to specific areas, including those inhabited by ethnic groups. As social constructs, some designations are accepted with moderate complaint and have been streetsigned as distinctive commercial centres.<sup>13</sup> Other creative, although offensive, oronyms presently being applied were presented in an article published by Jenkins (1995). The concentration of Caribbean immigrants in northeastern Scarborough has been dubbed 'Scarbados' while the Chinese presence in nearby Agincourt resulted in the 'Asiancourt' label. Within North York, the cluster of high-rise apartments around the Jane-Finch intersection in which a disproportionate number of Jamaicans congregate are collectively known as 'The Corridor.'<sup>14</sup> The incremental ingress of Jamaicans into Little Italy's Oakwood segment has produced a hybrid cognomen indicative of this transition - 'Rasta-Pasta.' Although no universal tag has been agreed upon for the Jewish enclave along Bathurst Street, the Bathurst Manor area has been nicknamed 'Gaza Heights.' Wilson Avenue, west of Yonge Street, becomes the 'Gaza Strip' which links both Jewish concentration bands. Map 10 identifies places associated with ethnic communities being studied herein.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Neighbourhood names are often employed to identify the ethnicity of an area's residents. The term Chinatown provides an example of how a place and its boundaries are defined in accordance with race. Anderson (1991) interprets the formation of Vancouver's Chinatown as an expression of racial discrimination. Wong (1980) suggests that the degree to which past and present inhabitants identify with an area in terms of its traditional and contemporary function(s) (e.g. residential, commercial, and/or institutional) must also be considered in addition to external perceptions. Such distinctions frequently differ among non-residents in terms of clarity and consistency. Outsiders may continue associate a neighbourhood in terms of its previous function while its residents recognize demographic and functional changes (Fulford 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Specific names (e.g. 'Zululand' and 'Chocolate City') have been given to individual complexes (Carey 14 July 1983).

<sup>15</sup> Common parlance includes 'Brambaladesh' instead of Brampton, 'Singhdale' for Malton's Springdale subdivision development, and 'Somali Park' for an apartment complex in Etobicoke.



Map 7. Selected Ethnic Diminutives in Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

## Dimensions of Residential Differentiation and Related Measures

Statistical analyses measuring evenness (i.e. distribution across census tracts with respect to the majority by way of an Index of Dissimilarity), concentration (i.e. Location Quotient per census tract), and centralization (i.e. the extent to which ethnic group members reside near the CBD by way of the *Relative Centralization Index*) along with thematic maps of census tract ethnic origin data generated on MapInfo, an advanced mapping software package, are employed to investigate temporal changes with respect to residential location. Table 7 specifies the indices and data used to measure the dimensions of domiciliary separation under consideration. Residential differentiation is recognized as being a “multidimensional concept” composed of evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, and clustering (Massey and Denton 1988). Each dimension corresponds to differing aspects of spatial variation: “an uneven distribution across census tracts in comparison to the majority [population]; isolation from interaction with the majority; a concentration into small geographic areas; centralization in the inner-city; and clustering into spatially contiguous zones” (Sharpe 1992, 13).<sup>16</sup> It is important, at this point, to explain why certain dimension have been included at the expense of others.

Evenness, concentration, and centralization are included on the basis of their appropriateness in relating ethnic and immigrant residential patterns associated with the hypothesized ‘shot gun’ distribution pattern characterized by scattered enclaves and reception areas. Measurements of the aforementioned dimensions respectively allow one to

---

<sup>16</sup> An ‘index war’ broke out in 1947 over the issue of which statistical measure most appropriately represented segregation. Duncan and Duncan (1955) evaluated various proposed indices, found that several of them were affected by population composition, and concluded that the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) was more effective since “there was little information in any of the [other] indices not contained in [it]” (Lieberson 1981, 63). The was resumed in 1976 when ID was challenged in terms of its effectiveness and accuracy. Since then, several indices have been developed to measure each dimension of residential separation. Massey and Denton (1988) established that indices associated with a particular dimension are highly correlated. The dimensions and their related indices are as follows: evenness (Index of Dissimilarity, Entropy Index, Atkinson Index), exposure (Interaction Index, Isolation Index, Correlation Ratio), concentration (Duncan’s Delta Index, Absolute Concentration Index, Relative Concentration Index, Location Quotient), centralization (Central City Proportion, Absolute Centralization Index, Relative Centralization Index), clustering (Absolute Clustering Index, Relative Clustering Index, Spatial Proximity Index, Distance Decay Interaction Index, Distance Decay Isolation Index).

Table 7. Indices and Data Employed to Test Hypotheses

Dimension of Residential Differentiation	Measure	Census Data Sources
<b>Evenness:</b> degree of an ethnic group's proportional distribution across a city's areal units with respect to another ethnic group.	Index of Dissimilarity. (or similarity)	Ethnic origin, period of immigration, ethnicity by period of immigration, mobility status at the CT level.
<b>Concentration:</b> degree of an ethnic group's local density per census tract relative to its total city-wide population.	Location Quotient.	As above.
<b>Centralization:</b> degree of an ethnic group's congregation in a central area relative to another ethnic group.	Relative Centralization Index.	As above.

Note: The output medium, file name or catalogue number, along with table name and number are specified in Table 8.

determine whether ethnic groups are more residentially integrated, the degree and location of overrepresentation, and the extent of suburbanization. Additional advantages of using these dimensions and their measures are: conceptual and operational simplicity, application of readily available census data sets, and ease of computation.

Considered a measure of evenness by some scholars (e.g. James and Taeuber 1985), exposure refers to the extent to which members of two different groups share common residential areas. Exposure indices “attempt to measure the experience of segregation as felt by the average minority or majority member” (Massey and Denton 1988, 287). As an empirical assessment of potential contact, they are affected by the relative population size of the groups being compared and provide limited information about where interaction or isolation occur.<sup>17</sup> Blau (1977) observed that individuals belonging to large study groups can experience minimal exposure while being evenly distributed and that small groups, irrespective of residential separation patterns, are inclined to have greater contact with the reference population. The exposure dimension is also excluded on the basis that its indices are strongly correlated with those of evenness (Lieberson 1981; Stearns and Logan 1986; Massey and Denton 1988). Once standardized for population composition, the exposure index becomes nearly equivalent to the index of dissimilarity which measures evenness (White 1989).

Clustering, the extent to which spatial units inhabited by an ethnic group are contiguous, considers the distribution of ethnic areas with respect to one another. Low and high index values respectively indicate scattering and the existence of an extensive enclave. While conceptually distinct, the dimension tends to be correlated with evenness and concentration (Massey and Denton 1988). City-wide clustering indices do not reveal the number or spatial distribution of enclaves. Sets of contiguous tracts can be visually

---

<sup>17</sup> Balakrishnan and How (1995) noted that lower exposure index values are registered by ethnic communities whose populations increased rapidly due to immigration.

discerned from Location Quotient maps. We now turn our attention to the conceptual and operational definitions of the dimensions and measurements employed in this research.

Evenness refers to the proportional distribution or uniformity of two groups (i.e. a particular ethnic group and a reference group) across an urban area's areal units (i.e. enumeration areas or census tracts). This dimension was selected primarily because it best relates to the hypothesized dispersion and random scattering among recent immigrant arrivals. It is measured by the Index of Dissimilarity which represents the percentage of one population which would have to redistribute itself in order to have the same percent distribution by spatial units as another population (Lieberman 1963; Darroch and Marston 1969; Balakrishnan 1976). It is calculated for a specific ethnic group "with respect to the distributions of two distinct ethnic populations" (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, 185). Conversely, the Index of Segregation is computed in comparison to all other ethnic groups combined. The Index of Dissimilarity is operationally defined as follows:

$$ID = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^n |x_i - z_i| \cdot 100$$

where  $x_i$  denotes the percentage of ethnic group  $x$  in the  $i$ th area,  $z_i$  expresses the percentage of ethnic group  $z$  in the  $i$ th area, and  $n$  stands for the number of urban areas examined. Index values range from zero (complete similarity) to 100 (complete dissimilarity from the reference population). Values beyond 70 are considered indicators of high segregation (i.e. dissimilarity) while those of 30 or below are associated with greater residential similarity or integration (Kantrowitz 1973). The index tends to register high values "even when the minority group under study makes up only a small percent of a city's population" (Schwab 1992, 372). This is because the index neglects "variations between ethnic groups in their absolute numbers" (Lieberman 1963, 37). Indexes of dissimilarity are also sensitive to the



number of census tracts for which data are available. Cities with a large number of tracts are inclined to register higher ID values which are indicative of less similarity. Also, the index is inversely proportional to the spatial unit size (Liebersohn 1963). While providing a quantitative measure, this index does not identify specific ethnic neighbourhoods nor does it identify the nature of residential distribution patterns (i.e. locational tendencies) for any particular ethnic group (Burnley and Kalbach 1984; Darroch and Marston 1987).

Concentration is associated with an ethnic group's degree of local density or spatial agglomeration. Massey and Denton (1988, 289) define it as the "relative amount of physical space occupied by a minority group." Residentially concentrated populations are characterized by their occupancy of a limited apportionment of the entire metropolitan region. Temporary, prolonged, and permanent concentration, as previously noted, respectively yield different residential arrangements known as colonies, enclaves, and ghettos (Boal 1976). This aspect of domiciliary distinction is measured either by the Location Quotient (LQ) or *Relative Concentration Index*. While both indices are correlated, there is a fundamental distinction between them. The former is defined as the percentage of a given (ethnic) group found within a specific areal unit relative to its total CMA population (i.e. all areal units) while the latter is "calculated as the ratio between the proportion of [a particular group] in an [areal unit] to the proportion of [that unit's] total population" (Sharpe 1992, 17). The LQ will be used because of the focus on the macro, rather than the micro, scale. Its operational definition is noted below:

$$LQ = x_i / x_j$$

where  $x_i$  equals the percentage of ethnic group  $x$  in the  $i_{th}$  areal unit and  $x_j$  represents the percentage of ethnic group  $x$  in all areal units (i.e. the CMA). Higher values indicate increasing degrees of concentration within the metropolitan sub-unit being investigated. A score of 1 indicates that "the areal unit has exactly the same relative frequency for a

category [i.e. ethnic group] as is found across the entire map” (Griffith and Amrhein 1991, 70). In other words, ethnic group representation in a specific area is equal to the metropolitan average. If the LQ value is greater than 1, then an ethnic collectivity is overrepresented or concentrated in a particular location. Underrepresentation is denoted by an LQ figure below 1. It should be noted that LQ is “highly sensitive to the size and shape of the areal units” (Griffith and Amrhein 1991, 70). Nevertheless, areas of spatial concentration can be exposed by plotting these ratios onto census tract or enumeration area boundary maps. Ethnic neighbourhoods and immigrant reception areas can then be identified.

Centralization describes the degree to which a group’s members are spatially located near the city centre. Massey and Denton (1988) note that residential communities may, in certain cases, be centralized but dispersed. Initial immigrant settlement areas are assumed to be centralized for newcomers confronted by income and language constraints in spite of employment relocation to peripheral districts. New ethnic communities formed by recent arrivals in Metropolitan Toronto, however, tend to be “disparate and more decentralized” (Vincent 1995, A12). The latest wave of immigrants has found more affordable housing in suburban apartment buildings. This emerging trend merits further consideration. The extent of one group’s centralization compared to another is measured by the Relative Centralization Index (RCE). This index indicates the “relative share of [a group’s] members that would have to change their place of residence to match the degree of centralization of [another group’s] members” (Massey and Denton 1988, 292). It is operationalized as follows:

$$RCE = \left( \sum_{i=1}^n x_{i-1} y_i \right) - \left( \sum_{i=1}^n x_i y_{i-1} \right)$$

where  $n$  denotes the areal units ordered by increasing distance from the CBD,  $x_i$  represents the cumulative proportion of group  $x$ ’s population in an areal unit, and  $y_i$  signifies group

y's cumulative proportion in the same areal unit.<sup>18</sup> RCE values range from -1, which indicates that group x's members reside farther away from the CBD than group y's constituents (completely decentralized), to +1 which suggests complete centralization (i.e. group x's members are located in closer proximity to the urban core than those group y). A value of 0 implies that both groups have an identical spatial distribution around the urban centre. The aforementioned dimensions and their related measures are used in order to maintain conformity with conventional analytic techniques applied by urban geographers. This research, however, goes beyond earlier studies in that it concurrently examines several measures rather than drawing conclusions based on a single one.

### **Addressing Data Issues: Definitional and Procedural Revisions**

Major variables employed in this analysis are defined in the Census dictionaries and noted in the glossary. Some additional comment is required concerning definitional changes along with the varied amount and quality of detail which may affect the comparability of findings. 'Ethnic origin' refers to the ethnic or cultural group(s) to which respondents or their ancestors (real or symbolic) belong.<sup>19</sup> Replies to the census ethnic origin question reflect respondents' personal perceptions of ethnicity and the question itself is subject to a range of interpretation. Some respondents follow language, others religion or place of birth. Ethnic origin (nationality) must not be confused with either citizenship or country of birth because they do not always coincide. Bias is also introduced when

---

<sup>18</sup> When  $y_i$  corresponds to the total CMA population, the adjusted index would be the RCE value divided by one, minus the proportion of the total population that a specific ethnic group comprises (i.e. the cumulative percentage distribution of the total population minus that of the ethnic group being examined). Such a procedure is not required for the purposes of this research.

<sup>19</sup> The ethnic origin question for the 1971 Census was: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this country?" During 1981 it was modified to read: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent? And, in 1991 respondents were asked: "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?" Refer to Appendix A for the mark-in entries and number of write-in spaces provided for each of the aforementioned censuses.

respondents either do not know or have misconceptions about their ethnic origin(s). In other cases the ethnicity question is ambiguous for individuals whose roots can be traced to several nationalities or whose ancestors came to their original homeland and Canada through other countries (Bourne et al. 1986). In this case, immigrants may change their identity upon or after arrival in Canada. The core group definition for each of the six aforementioned ethnic groups is assumed to be relatively stable with additions and losses attributed to births, deaths, migration, intermarriage, and life cycle perception(s) of ethnocultural identity.

Ethnic categories used in census publications change and/or are augmented. Once an ethnic group acquires sufficient additional members, it is identified as a separate entity (Herberg 1989). The Jewish and Asian classifications are examples of anomalous categories.<sup>20</sup> Misleading conclusions regarding a group's size and spatial characteristics can be drawn when definitional discrepancies exist. Census ethnic category development and consistency with respect to the study groups are addressed in Appendix A. Kobayashi (1993) notes that essentialism is often used to create and distinguish between ethnic and racial groups. Fundamental differences between two or more groups are stressed in order to categorize them. 'Other' groups are then constructed by ascribing qualities which are themselves employed to establish facts. Social relations or 'reality' are subsequently explained by these 'facts.' All deviations from the established norm are considered radically different thus yielding a distinct ethnicity. Racification is also employed to ascribe the ethnic affiliation of visible minority members with that of aggregate racial groups such as "Black" or "Asian" and to delimit districts of ethnic concentration. The existence of an ethnic group is not based exclusively upon external perceptions of distinctiveness. Rather, it

---

<sup>20</sup> Jews are recognized as both an ethnic and religious group when, in fact, they are a religious category composed of several ethnicities (Richmond 1967). The Asian classification is also ambiguous because this is a continental identification made up of numerous supra- and sub-ethnic groups. Depending upon the country of origin, number, and type of migrants, the Asian population is periodically dominated by certain units. The British group, paradoxically, is "meticulously broken down into its component...elements" (Nagata 1979, 175).

is mutually affirmed by its members and those of other groups. An awareness of these definitional issues is undoubtedly important. It is, however, beyond the scope of this investigation to redefine, recategorize, and (re)analyze ethnic census data.

Since ethnicity can also be viewed as a multi-dimensional concept, the extent and degree of dissimilarity, dispersion and decentralization varies with the definitional criterion used (Darroch and Marston 1969). Mother tongue is an important determinant of ethnic spatial behaviour insofar as it is a dimension and “surrogate indicator” of ethnicity (Hecht, Sharpe, and Wong 1983; Trovato and Halli 1990). Statistics Canada (1984a) reports that a good correlation (75%) exists between ethnic origin and mother tongue for the 1981 Census. This observation suggests that mother tongue can, at times, represent ethnic dimensions. However, it should be noted that mother tongue refers to the language first learned as a child and still understood but not necessarily spoken. There is no requirement that the respondent ever spoke the language; the ability to still understand is sufficient. Neither the knowledge nor understanding of a mother tongue imply its use.

Introduced in 1971, the home language variable is operationalized as the tongue spoken most often at home by the respondent at the time of the census.<sup>21</sup> Data obtained by this question often reflects the extent to which a non-official language is employed in daily activities and communication. While home language may be used in conjunction with mother tongue to measure linguistic assimilation, it is not a reliable indicator of ethnicity. English and French are both the mother tongue and home language of numerous ethnic groups including those labeled as visible minorities (Statistics Canada 1984a). Anomalous situations also arise when ethnic origin and home language (non-official) differ. Individuals identifying with a particular ethnic group may have (in)voluntarily altered their home language before immigrating to Canada. These examples indicate that the utility of home

---

<sup>21</sup> The original phrasing was ambiguous in the sense that respondents could interpret the question as asking for individual language use or for the collective household language. Subsequent revisions made it clear that the individual characteristics was to be measured.

language is rather limited. Also, mother tongue and home language data are not employed because some members of the second generation and beyond may subjectively identify with their ethnic origin without communicating in their mother tongue or, inversely, they may not have strong feelings of attachment despite knowing the language.

Procedural revisions introduced in the 1981 Census pose some analytical difficulties. Pre-1981 data is based upon single origin (i.e. the respondent's male ancestors) while the 1981 Census was the first in which respondents were allowed to trace their ethnic origin or ancestry of either or both the paternal and maternal sides of their families. Replies, however, were classified into single origin totals.<sup>22</sup> Although respondents were not specifically informed that multiple responses were permitted, eleven percent of them reported more than one ethnic group (White 1993). Intra-censal comparisons will be made despite these limitations. Moghaddam (1994, 242) explains that such definitional and methodological variations do not erect "insurmountable obstacles" toward the goal of examining ethnic residential patterns. Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987) did not detect any significant settlement pattern differences between single and multiple responses for Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver in the 1981 Census. While inter-censal comparability is desirable, census definitions and procedures are accepted as they are because this research focuses on spatial differentiation at various points in time. Each census produces a "snapshot" of the "changing ethnic landscape" (White 1993, 52). Single origin figures will be employed for all ethnic groups examined to ensure greater comparability with earlier census data.

---

<sup>22</sup> All multiple responses included a mark-in entry. Two or more mark-ins were captured as a multiple response while two or more write-ins were not. Instances of the latter were "reduced to and counted as single responses by acceptance of the first valid response...located in a prescribed list of ethnic origins" (Statistics Canada 1984a). The 1981 Census questionnaire allowed respondents to write up to three ethnic origins not included in the mark boxes while the 1991 questionnaire provided for only two responses and classified figures according to single and multiple origins (refer to Appendix A). In other words, the only difference was an expansion of the ethnic group example list to include other origins in addition to the largest unlisted groups (White 1993).

## Data Sources

The emergence and duration of socio-economic and migrational trends are not necessarily captured or correspond with the latest decennial census. It is necessary to examine earlier data in order to avoid statistical illusions and potentially misleading interpretations. Census information is available in two output mediums: print and non-print products. The first relates to published catalogues containing summary tabulations of a particular data type. A considerable amount of variation exists with respect to the scope and detail of statistics disseminated in this format. Basic Summary Tabulations, User Summary Tapes, Public Use Sample Tapes, and Public Use Microdata Files are associated with the latter medium. Easy to access, they permit researchers to manipulate and analyze data that is more detailed than that featured in printed documents. These non-print products require additional elaboration because data retrieval, manipulation, and analysis associated with this research are based primarily upon electronic data files.<sup>23</sup> The 1971 and 1981 User Summary Tape files were downloaded and exported from magnetic tapes while 1991 Basic Summary Tape files were already available on Banyan, Wilfrid Laurier University's computer network. Printed census bulletins issued by Statistics Canada were only employed in instances when computerized versions do not exist and are either incomplete or inaccessible. Beginning with the most recent census files, Table 8 itemizes all of the data sources and types used in this investigation. A discussion of each follows.

Two major classes of computer-readable census products have been produced by Statistics Canada since 1971: User Summary Tapes (USTs) and Public Use Sample Tapes (PUSTs). In 1991, the terminology changed such that USTs are now called Basic Summary Tabulations (BSTs) while PUSTs are referred to as Public Use Microdata Files (PUMFs). These electronic files will now be examined in greater detail beginning with the most recent Census.

---

<sup>23</sup> SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) spreadsheet software package (Windows version) was used to select data files, calculate indices, and create bi- and multivariate crosstabulations.

Table 8. Schedule of Data Sources Employed

Year	Output Medium	File Name or Catalogue Number	Table Number and Name	Geographic Scale
1991	BST (804 CTs)	j9101.sav	Ethnic origin showing age groups.	CT
		i9102.sav	Immigrant population by selected places of birth and sex, showing period of immigration.	CT
		ontm9101.sav	Population 1 year and over by age group and sex showing mobility status.	CT
		ontm9102.sav	Population 5 year and over by age group and sex showing mobility status.	CT
	PUMF (3% sample)	535ind91.sav	Bi- and multivariate crosstabulations of ethnic origin and immigration period by: mobility status, tenure, census family status, education, and household income.	CMA
1981	UST (microfiche) (602 CTs)	SPC81B50	SPC81B57. Population by ethnic origin and sex, Canada, Provinces, CMAs with Census Tracts.	CT
	UST (microfiche) (602 CTs)	SPC81B60	SPC81B63. Population by ethnic origin, by period of immigration, CMAs with Census Tracts.	CT
	PUST (2% sample)	inds81.sav	Bi- and multivariate crosstabulations of ethnic origin and immigration period by: mobility status, tenure, census family status, education, and household income.	CMA
1971	UST (448 CTs)	B2DEMB02-02	1. Total population by ethnic group and sex.	CT
	PUST (1% sample)	remaind71.sav	Bi- and multivariate crosstabulations of ethnic origin and immigration period by: mobility status, tenure, census family status, education, and household income.	CMA



The 1991 BSTs are a series of approximately sixty tabulations, each of which features two or more interrelated variables associated with a specific attribute of different census universes (i.e. individual Canadians, the families and households to which they belong, and the dwellings in which they reside). BSTs provide the same data for standard geographic units ranging from the national scale to enumeration areas. Statistics presented at the EA level were aggregated to the CT scale. Data distortion may occur when rounded figures are combined. Imprecisions of this sort tend to cancel each other out when data cells are reaggregated. Use of appropriate subtotals can minimize such irregularities. Single origin ethnic data are employed to calculate figures related to the three dimensions of residential differentiation and to determine ethnic concentration patterns. Crosstabulations can not be made with this type of non-print product.

The 1991 PUMFs contain three percent samples of anonymous unaggregated records of individual responses to the long and short census questionnaire. Files related to individuals, families as well as households and housing are available.<sup>24</sup> Each file consists of several social, economic, and demographic variables which can be manipulated to create custom bi- and multivariate crosstabulations. These tabulations do not supply areal information due to confidentiality constraints (i.e. geographic identifiers are restricted to the CMA scale). Results, however, can be used to generate population profiles by which each ethnic group being investigated is compared against their reference counterpart. Given the existence of extensive data files, it is not difficult to become distracted with and pursue redundant and/or marginally relevant information. It is necessary to select only those variables which are primarily pertinent to the spatial distribution of ethnic and immigrant communities, especially those identified in the literature review as factors influencing the location of initial and subsequent residential location. For example, crosstabulations

---

<sup>24</sup> The 1991 PUMF target population, or universe, includes all Canadian citizens, landed immigrants, and, for the first time, non-permanent residents (i.e. persons holding student or employment visas, Minister's Permits, and refugee claimants).

involving, mobility status to establish the distance of dwelling relocation, tenure to relate whether newcomers are observing the hypothesized trend toward home ownership, and census family status to test for the presence of chain migration. Similarly, income and education data are used to verify whether recent arrivals are indeed more affluent and professionally skilled. Justification for the inclusion of other variables is provided in the appropriate sections of Chapter 9. Crosstabulations based upon the Individual file are listed in Table 9. Empirical base variation is attributable to data availability. Ethnic origin functions as the dependent variable in each case.

Most of the 1981 Census files saved on magnetic tapes as tables of raw data were assembled for specific research purposes with geographic coverage being restricted to the Census Division (CD). Special tables produced for the study of variables related to ethnicity are available for the Toronto CMA. Unfortunately, they are confined to the Census Subdivision (CSD) scale.<sup>25</sup> A UST Special Series file (microfiche version) related to tables indicating, at the CT delineation, population by ethnic origin and population by ethnic origin by period of immigration was used (refer to Table 8). USTs contain tabulated data, rather than individual records, pertaining to demographic, household, family, dwelling, and income characteristics. They are similar to BSTs.

PUSTs are microdata files consisting of three separate population domains: persons, families and households. Each file contains several variables, including those associated with ethnicity, and is based upon on an independent stratified two percent sample size (i.e. one in fifty records). Comparable to the 1991 PUMFs, 1981 PUSTs provide the same type of information and permit cross tabulations as discussed above. The Individual file contains detailed demographic and economic data, along with selected family and household characteristics, for each person in the sample.

---

<sup>25</sup> Special tables were produced for the 1971 Census are also restricted to the CSD scale.

Table 9. PUMF and PUST Crosstabulations Matrix

Crosstabulation (Ethnic Origin by:)	1991	1981	1971
Year of Immigration	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mobility Status - 5 Years Ago	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year of Immigration controlling for Mobility Status - 5 Years Ago	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mobility Status - 1 Year Ago	Yes	No	No
Year of Immigration controlling for Mobility Status - 1 Year Ago	Yes	No	No
Tenure	Yes	Yes	No
Year of Immigration controlling for Tenure	Yes	Yes	No
Census Family Status	Yes	Yes	No
Year of Immigration controlling for Census Family Status	Yes	Yes	No
Education (Highest Level of Schooling)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year of Immigration controlling for Education	Yes	Yes	Yes
Household Income Groups	Yes	Yes	No
Year of Immigration controlling for Household Income	Yes	Yes	No

UST files for the 1971 Census present combinations of two or more variables per table. Each file contains a single table and is named after its primary subject area (e.g. mobility). The long form questionnaire (80% data sample) was retrieved and utilized because, unlike the short form version (100% sample), it contains ethnic origin and mobility data. Statistical information available at the EA scale will be aggregated to the CT level in order to describe a larger geographic area. It should be noted that figures are not supplied for the Greek, Jamaican, and Multiethnic communities.

PUSTs, as described above, are also available for 1971 Census data. Representative records identifying ethnic or cultural group, immigration period, place of residence (mobility) and level of schooling were activated to produce crosstabulations, similar to those for 1991 and the previous decade, for the study and reference populations. The sample size is one in a hundred (1%). Although PUMF and PUST files represent a small segment of the entire CMA population and are susceptible to sampling error in some multivariate crosstabulations, their sample size is larger than any available surveys. This is especially true with respect to the 1981 tabulation of ethnic origin by immigration period where Canadian-born residents appear to be under counted.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESIDENTIAL DISSIMILARITY

#### Introduction

It has been traditionally assumed, in accordance with the ecological model of ethnic integration, that the extent of residential dissimilarity will decline as immigrants become culturally assimilated. Previous studies have demonstrated that domiciliary separation has declined for certain groups, especially northern and western Europeans, while remaining fairly high for other collectivities (e.g. Jews). In particular, Balakrishnan (1976) noted a modest reduction in the extent of dissimilarity between 1951 and 1961 among CMAs while empirical evidence derived from a comparison of 1961 and 1971 data did not indicate a continuance of this trend due to an increase in the ethnic diversity of immigrant arrivals during the 1960s (Balakrishnan 1978 and 1982). Subsequent investigations reported that the degree of residential differentiation did not diminish among numerically smaller and more recent immigrant communities although some anomalies were cited (Kalbach 1987). Balakrishnan and Hou (1995) report that members of three visible minority groups, Blacks, Chinese and South Asians, registered moderate dissimilarity levels in fourteen major CMAs in 1986 and 1991. The Index of Dissimilarity (ID) is expected to change among most study groups, especially those dominated by more educated and affluent recent arrivals who have entered an increasingly decentralized urban form and service-oriented economy (Sharpe 1992).

Some methodological remarks are required prior to a discussion of observations. The degree of distributional differentiation (evenness) between two ethnic populations among census tracts (CTs) will be ascertained and analyzed in terms of a dissimilarity

index.<sup>1</sup> Conceptual and operational definitions of this summary measure are provided in the previous chapter. A low degree of residential separation (i.e. highly similar to the British) is represented by values ranging between 0 and 30, moderate dissimilarity by those in the 30 to 60 bracket, and highly segregated ethnic communities by index scores spanning the 60-100 interval. A value of 50 indicates an average amount of spatial integration. Exceptionally elevated levels imply that the majority of an ethnic group's constituents inhabit dwelling districts primarily populated by it. Depreciated values denote that a significant proportion of a particular ethnicity lives in neighbourhoods essentially occupied by (an)other group(s). As previously mentioned, index results derived from numerous small-sized CTs will be higher than those based upon a few large or aggregated spatial units. Differences in census geography often necessitate a regrouping of tracts to produce comparable results. This procedure was not carried out because this research analyses different ethnic groups within, rather than between, the latest decennial censuses.<sup>2</sup>

### **Ethnic Residential Differentiation**

A cursory inspection of Table 10 reveals that the degree of residential dissimilarity with respect to the British population has been relatively moderate and stable among ethnic groups over time. Results advanced by other researchers also indicate that the extent of differentiation in Toronto tends to be average when compared to other CMAs (Richmond and Kalbach 1980; Balakrishnan and Selvanathan 1990; Balakrishnan and Hou 1995).<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Although not calculated, indices based on mother tongue and home language would be comparatively higher since ethnicity is marginally significant potentially of no consequence among more assimilated respondents (Hill 1976).

<sup>2</sup> Inter-censal variation in the number and size of CTs can become a relevant issue in time-series or historical studies. In such cases, it is impossible to disaggregate 1981 ethnic data and redistribute it according to 1991 CT boundaries. It is possible to combine 1991 spatially referenced figures such that they correspond with earlier areal delimitations. The primary disincentive to doing so is the loss of new or modified tracts corresponding to urban form change as well as the generation of reduced, and potentially misleading, dissimilarity scores. A greater degree of precision is maintained by working with existing CT demarcation lines.

<sup>3</sup> Disproportionate segregation levels, in comparison to many American cities, are not typical of Canadian metropolitan areas (Goldberg and Mercer 1986).

Table 10. Residential Dissimilarity Indices of Ethnic Groups, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991

Ethnic Origin	1991	1981	1971
British	----	----	----
Greek	50.90	53.20	52.10
Jewish	78.25	76.62	73.20
Multiethnic	11.25	31.30	n.a.
Aboriginal	57.15	52.85	n.a.
Chinese	57.05	51.50	52.20
Jamaican	51.06	41.60	47.60

Notes: Indices are not calculated for the British reference population since they would consistently equal zero. The Jamaican value for 1981 is taken from Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987, 153). All 1971 figures are taken from Kalbach (1981, 22) and relative to the English third and subsequent generations.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.

The highest and lowest amounts of separation are respectively and consistently reported by Jewish and Multiethnic individuals. Indeed, the latter collectivity is becoming increasingly dispersed. Changing or inconsistent ethnic origin classifications, evolving identity perceptions, and acceptance of multiple ancestries can be advanced as possible explanations for the emerging pattern. Jews have always maintained an exceedingly large level of unevenness (Balakrishnan 1976; Hill 1976; Kalbach 1980 and 1987). Moderate measures prevailed among the remaining ethnicities for whom the amplitude of residential differentiation has essentially increased over the years. This trend would suggest corresponding augmentation in the amount, rather than locational tendencies, of geographic concentration. Only the Hellenic community is characterized by a slight rise in spatial integration. Otherwise, Greeks sustained an intermediate level of segregation. Results derived from 1991 Census data indicate that residential dissimilarity is not exclusive to newly arrived ethnic groups. Jamaicans, for example, registered a score marginally higher than that of the Greeks while in 1981 they were less differentiated than most other groups. Excluding high levels characteristic of the Jews, that of visible minorities varied between 1981 and 1991 with an increase being noted during the latest census among Aboriginals and Chinese inhabitants. The Aboriginals were the most dissimilar during 1991 even though no reservations, which could have contributed to elevated ID levels, were included within the CMA.

Although no explanations for the degree of separation can be extracted from Table 10, rising ID scores have been attributed to increasing ethnic group membership via immigration while variations are partially a reflection of the CMA's suburban decentralization, economic development, and the "dominant cultural milieu within which the urban community exists" (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, 14). The magnitude and dispersion of British suburban migration from East to North York during the 1960s is also noted to have increased the degree of segregation in 1971 (Richmond 1972). Voluntary segregation, as an expression of ethnic closure, is acknowledged to operate among the Jews,



for whom 78.25% would have to relocate to different sub-areas in order to have the same percent distribution over spatial units as the reference population, while group and personal discrimination or substantial concentration in subsidized housing have explained unevenness among some visible minorities (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987; Herberg 1989; Henry 1994; Murdie 1994). Individuals are generally exposed to neighbourhoods characterized by increasing ethnic diversity with each successive relocation yet a district's ethnic composition can change after moving there (Kalbach 1981).

### **Immigrant Residential Divergence**

Newcomer residential integration is recognized as partially being a function of temporal order - the duration of urban domiciliation. Encompassing a distinction between individuals born in Canada and abroad, immigration period data permits the computation and analysis of ID values between each arrival interval and native-born people which, in this case, function as the standard population.<sup>4</sup> Segregation pattern variation is partially influenced by age bias and subsequent migration among earlier entrants (Darroch and Marston 1969). As such, Tables 11 and 12 relate the present location of individuals rather than where they first took up residence following admission into Canada. Data associated with the latest intakes is more reliable in terms of capturing initial settlement configurations.

Two patterns of immediate interest are presented in Tables 11 and 12. First, differentiation figures constantly increase in magnitude as one enumerates entries up- and rightwards of the principal diagonal. Marginal variation displayed by the 1991 data are attributable to a greater degree of admission interval aggregation. The extent to which this

---

<sup>4</sup> Low index values, ranging between 0 and 30, indicate that individuals associated with a particular immigration period exhibit a high degree of similarity in terms of spatial distribution relative to the comparison population. Values greater than 70 represent a high degree of dissimilarity (i.e. spatial separation). A substantive explanation of ID values is provided in terms of the proportion of one intake interval's members that would have to relocate to different census tracts in order to register the same percent apportionment as the reference group.

Table 11. Residential Dissimilarity Indices by Immigration Period. Toronto CMA, 1991

Immigration Period	Pre-1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1987	1988-1991
Canadian-born	12.15	20.40	27.90	34.45	38.95
Pre-1961	----	21.60	34.30	38.50	41.90
1961-1970		----	20.35	28.30	33.40
1971-1980			----	17.65	22.65
1981-1987				----	17.75
1988-1991					----

Notes: Read table across rows. The 1988-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Immigrant Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.

Table 12. Residential Dissimilarity Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Immigration Period	Pre-1945	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1970	1971-1974	1975-1977	1978-1981
Canadian-born	46.30	40.35	39.45	40.70	45.60	45.50	46.40
Pre-1945	----	26.65	32.50	39.35	44.75	44.60	44.40
1945-1954		----	18.00	27.90	36.90	37.25	38.75
1955-1964			----	17.75	29.10	30.85	33.45
1965-1970				----	18.95	23.40	26.50
1971-1974					----	16.30	21.05
1975-1977						----	19.00
1978-1981							----

Notes: Read table across rows. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

apportionment exhibits a regulated form suggests that an inverse relationship between immigration period and spatial divergence, in terms of residency, exists among external migrants. Regardless of which arrival phase is selected, individuals associated with it are highly segregated from non-immigrants followed by early arrivals and least from their immediate precursors.<sup>5</sup> Focusing upon the last column in Table 11, it is evident that immigrants associated with the dispersion model continue to follow a consistent pattern of increasing spatial distance from members of each previous arrival interval. One should not be deceived into thinking that 1988-1991 admissions are becoming more residentially integrated (i.e. similar) by declining ID values when reading down the column. They are, however, relatively less segregated than their from the Canadian-born 1981 counterparts (i.e. 1978-1981 arrivals).

Second, index values between native-born CMA constituents and each settlement segment also display a tenuous u-shaped apportionment when reading across table rows. Both the earliest and latest arrivals have comparatively elevated measures of unevenness as evidenced by 1981 figures. This arrangement is less pronounced and some what more skewed for the 1991 version. Although relatively moderate levels of spatial separation, implying an intermediate caliber of integration, were registered by each data set, recent entrants were less differentiated from those born in Canada during the 1991 Census.

Residential separation configurations according to origin group differences in admission interval permit a more direct and precise investigation of evenness. The degree of dissimilarity between each ethnic community's entire immigrant population and that of their British counterpart, according to 1981 figures, reflected values associated with their respective aggregate constituencies. Slightly deviant yet stable measures were noted by the Greeks (50.50), Jews (75.00) and Chinese (46.55) while higher levels distinguished Multiethnic (46.25) and Aboriginal (66.05) newcomers. In terms of rank order, excessive spatial unevenness was maintained by Jewish and Aboriginal settlers. Intermediate range

---

<sup>5</sup> Similar observations based upon 1961 data were drawn by Darroch and Marston (1969).

values were expressed by the remaining ethnic units. The degree of separation between native-born people of British ancestry and each study group's immigrant segment was exorbitant with the minimum (95.95) and maximum (100) being associated with Multiethnic and Aboriginal external migrants.<sup>6</sup>

An examination of residential differentiation between each study group and their reference population according to immigration reveals a greater amount of variance among a given community's immigrants (refer to Table 13). ID values are also higher than those previously discussed. Intra- and inter-group differences were not calculated as they would be less meaningful. Reading across each row and down every column, one realizes that, as observed beforehand, a slight u-patterned distribution of indices is apparent amidst nearly all ethnic collectivities. Thus, internal group variance exists with respect to evenness. Only the Aboriginals and Chinese display relatively increased amounts of similarity among their latest arrivals. These observations suggest that social distance is at its greatest when comparing the earliest and most recent admission intervals and that those arriving during a given period do not necessarily register similar ID values.. The aforementioned exception also applies in this case. Focusing upon 1978-1981 entrants, established entrance groups (Greek, Jewish, and Multiethnic) are inclined towards a stable yet high degree of segregation from each successive set of British settlers. Recent Chinese immigrants also exhibited steady yet reduced ID figures. Divergence among Native Canadians was greater with respect to early than recent British arrivals. Pre-1945 migrants are more separated from all of their British counterparts while those who are more residentially integrated varies - prior Greek (1955-1964), Jewish (1965-1970) and Multiethnic (1945-1954) arrivals and later (i.e. 1971-1974) Aboriginal and Chinese newcomers. Excluding pre-1945 entrants, the greatest dissimilarity occurred among newly arrived persons except among the Chinese for whom 1945-1954 admissions stand out. One would suspect that the lower amount of

---

<sup>6</sup> See Table 13 for an explanation of the inordinately high number of Aboriginal immigrants captured in the data file.

Table 13. Residential Dissimilarity Indices of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, 1981

Ethnic Origin/ Immigration Period	BRITISH REFERENCE POPULATION						
	Pre-1945	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1970	1971-1974	1975-1977	1978-1981
<b>Greek</b>							
Pre-1945	82.50	86.55	87.45	87.30	86.30	87.55	88.00
1945-1954	60.35	62.35	64.25	66.20	67.45	67.10	68.85
1955-1964	52.25	53.25	55.40	56.80	57.55	59.30	61.60
1965-1970	56.20	58.35	59.30	59.00	58.15	60.20	63.35
1971-1974	63.25	66.65	67.20	66.75	64.35	66.45	70.55
1975-1977	71.25	47.35	74.35	73.65	70.20	72.05	74.00
1978-1981	76.75	80.50	80.35	80.20	78.20	77.70	78.75
<b>Jewish</b>							
Pre-1945	84.47	84.75	85.45	85.75	86.10	86.10	84.55
1945-1954	80.40	79.95	80.65	80.65	82.05	81.85	80.00
1955-1964	79.60	78.95	79.35	79.35	81.85	81.40	79.20
1965-1970	78.82	76.85	77.00	76.65	79.05	77.95	76.95
1971-1974	81.50	80.65	81.70	80.90	82.20	81.05	81.05
1975-1977	84.45	83.40	83.95	83.95	84.20	84.00	82.70
1978-1981	86.35	84.95	85.25	84.80	85.50	80.15	82.85
<b>Multiethnic</b>							
Pre-1945	88.45	91.05	91.35	92.40	92.20	92.85	91.65
1945-1954	68.90	65.90	67.40	69.50	71.75	71.65	69.05
1955-1964	72.00	69.30	70.40	70.60	71.05	77.75	70.60
1965-1970	73.55	72.15	71.50	71.95	74.30	74.60	73.50
1971-1974	82.90	83.15	82.50	81.25	81.90	81.00	80.90
1975-1977	89.80	89.25	87.75	85.65	85.35	85.25	84.50
1978-1981	91.45	88.95	88.10	87.95	87.00	80.35	85.45
<b>Aboriginal</b>							
Pre-1945	98.95	98.95	98.80	99.05	99.10	98.70	99.05
1945-1954	99.70	99.99	99.95	99.90	99.95	99.95	100.00
1955-1964	97.25	97.05	97.75	97.15	97.45	97.00	98.10
1965-1970	92.85	92.23	92.15	89.90	87.75	88.35	89.90
1971-1974	83.05	82.10	82.10	76.90	73.95	74.05	77.20
1975-1977	86.75	86.30	85.85	83.32	80.00	79.15	83.05
1978-1981	87.55	85.60	84.45	80.90	77.75	75.60	78.30
<b>Chinese</b>							
Pre-1945	88.00	90.30	90.85	91.15	89.50	90.10	91.45
1945-1954	69.85	71.50	71.25	72.60	74.80	73.55	73.40
1955-1964	62.70	63.50	63.80	65.10	66.45	66.90	67.75
1965-1970	58.95	56.40	54.80	54.48	56.50	58.25	58.15
1971-1974	57.50	55.85	53.45	52.25	52.25	52.60	55.65
1975-1977	61.15	61.40	58.55	57.50	57.15	56.65	60.90
1978-1981	62.70	63.15	62.30	61.25	59.85	60.05	63.05

Notes: Read table down each column. Jamaican surrogate data unavailable. There were 3,950 Aboriginal immigrants. The number of individuals per arrival period is: 35 (pre-1945), 5 (1945-1954), 85 (1955-1964), 365 (1965-1970), 1,225 (1971-1974), 990 (1975-1977), and 1,215 (1978-1981). Statistics Canada (1986) reports that nearly 50% of the 9,525 immigrants born outside of North America who reported an Aboriginal origin were born in India, Guyana, or Trinidad and Tobago. They likely could have been of "Asiatic Indian" descent since over 90% of them marked the Native Peoples tick box on the 1981 Census. Hence, this anomaly is due to response error resulting from a misunderstanding of the word "Indian." Aboriginals born in the United States and Latin America also included in the data set used to calculate residential differentiation indices. The place of birth for Aboriginal immigrants could not be determine from 1981 PUST crosstabulations due to selected ethnic group inclusion.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

differentiation registered by recent Chinese arrivals implies a greater extent of suburban residency. This concept is examined in the next chapter.

## Summary

Intermediate levels of residential integration are maintained by most ethnic collectivities. Temporal variations imply a relatively moderate but appreciable inflation of ID values, particularly among the Jews (refer to Table 10). Stability among Greek inhabitants is accentuated by a modest decline in domiciliary dissimilarity. One revealing indicator of emerging and less rigidly defined ethno-specific neighbourhoods is the extremely low index figures associated with Multiethnics (refer to Table 10). Immigrant residential divergence patterns, including those associated with ethno-specific data, primarily conform with the traditional assumption of declining geographic segregation with increased passage of time since initial settlement. Increased similarity measures among newly arrived individuals (i.e. all 1978-1991 entrants irrespective of ethnicity), however, suggest that districts in which these newcomers reside may be different, perhaps in dispersed clusters, from those of their immediate predecessors.

Since differences in ID values are attributable to changing residential placement, especially among the reference population, it is necessary to establish and compare centralization and concentration tendencies among ethnic communities and their immigrant components. Location Quotient mapping and analysis will reveal whether there are any considerable spatial shifts belying ID scores which themselves can be charted. Areas registering higher ID ranges, however, should also coincide with those registering high concentrations (Burnley 1972a).

## CHAPTER 6

### RESIDENTIAL CENTRALIZATION

#### Introduction

The Relative Centralization Index (RCE) compares the cumulative proportions of two ethnic populations residing in “circular rings of varying radii [centred] on the CBD” at one point in time (Galster 1984, 476). It is not sensitive to the relative size of a CMA and its urban core. Conceptually, RCE “measures the actual populations at various distances from the CBD...and is not biased by potentially misleading vagaries of density patterns” (Galster 1984, 467). Density gradient differentials at disparate locations, in other words, are irrelevant. This measure is used instead of the centographic technique because it provides a more precise and economical means of quantitatively summarizing and comparing (de)centralization trends.<sup>1</sup> High concentration areas can be ascertained from Location Quotient maps.

Operationalization is somewhat more labourious and involves three stages: radii specification, census tract aggregation, and index computation (Redick 1956; Galster 1984). RCE has thus received limited empirical application. Based upon the 1991 Toronto CMA digital boundary file, seven locational rings were manually scaled with the following radii: 0.05R (the innermost ring), 0.10R, 0.15R, 0.25R, 0.35R, 0.76R, and R - the longest radius between the peak land value intersection (Yonge and Queen Streets) and urbanized fringe. A finer resolution would have excluded outer suburban tracts thereby giving an imprecise

---

<sup>1</sup> Standard deviational ellipses, which identify mean centres for each ethnic group, do not graphically evince distributional expanses. Centre of gravity shifts, in the form of trace paths connecting mean centres, and standard distances away from the metropolitan core, both expressed in kilometers per decade, can be respectively plotted for each ethnic unit as x and y scattergram coordinates (Deskins 1972). This approach was not applied due to an insufficient number of decennial cases and the fact that ethnic collectivities are charted independently of a reference population.



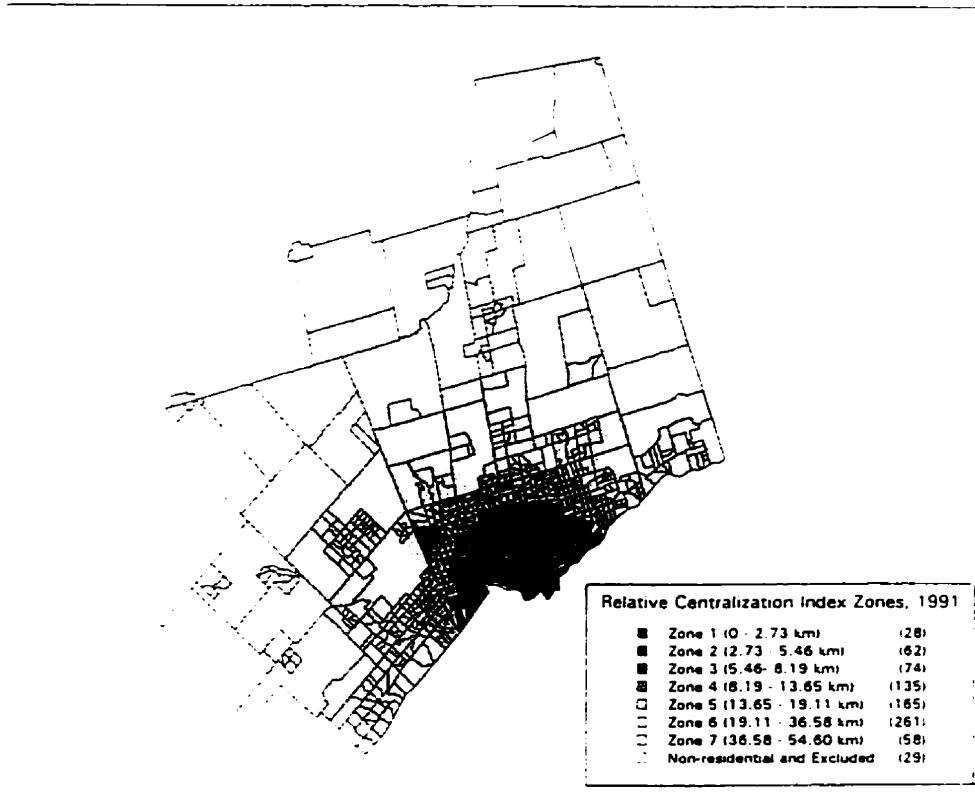
measure of centralization patterns.<sup>2</sup> Identified in Maps 8 and 9, these concentric delimitations roughly correspond with residential development phases (refer to Map 153 in Chapter 10). They were applied to 1981 UST data (refer to Maps 10 and 11). Next, census tracts were assigned to zones which encompass at least half of their domain (Redick 1956). Table 14 specifies the number of tracts and share of the CMA population per zone. The number and cumulative proportion of reference and study group members in each ring were then determined (refer to Tables 15 and 16) in order to calculate RCE values which range from a maximum of 1, indicating residential centralization, to a minimum of -1 which denotes a completely decentralized dwelling pattern. A value of zero indicates that a particular community has the same spatial distribution around the metropolitan core as the British collectivity. Galster (1984, 469) notes that marginal gains in the degree of decentralization will be registered if identical proportions of control and research group constituents reside “within rings of varying radii from the CBD.”

### **Ethnic Residential Centralization**

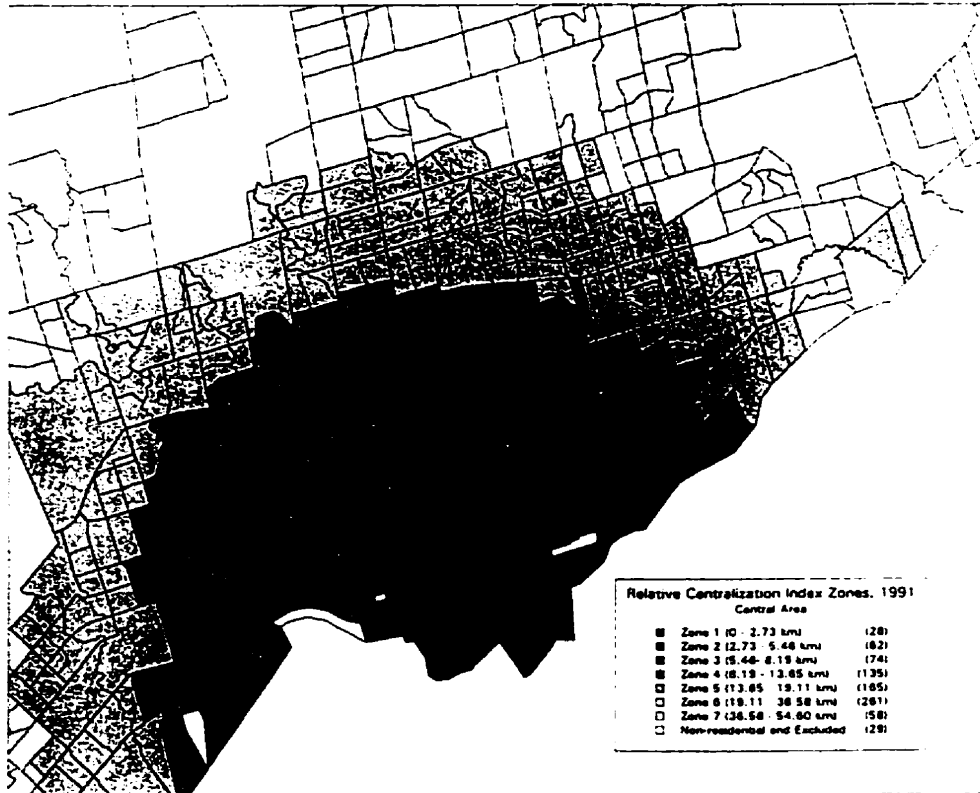
The extent and direction of centralization are indicated in Table 17. None of the study groups were completely centralized or decentralized. They all exhibited a relatively moderate degree of residential centralization with figures being confined to the 0.00-0.35 range. The Multiethnic population consistently registered the least extent of habitation near the metropolitan core. Although 1981 data are unavailable, the Jamaican group is believed to be characterized by a significantly decreased order of centralization across urban space. An incremental yet definite decentralization trend is noted among nearly all of the ethnic communities being examined. Chinese inhabitants displayed the greatest amount of relocation to outlying CMA districts partially due to new suburban reception areas. Only

---

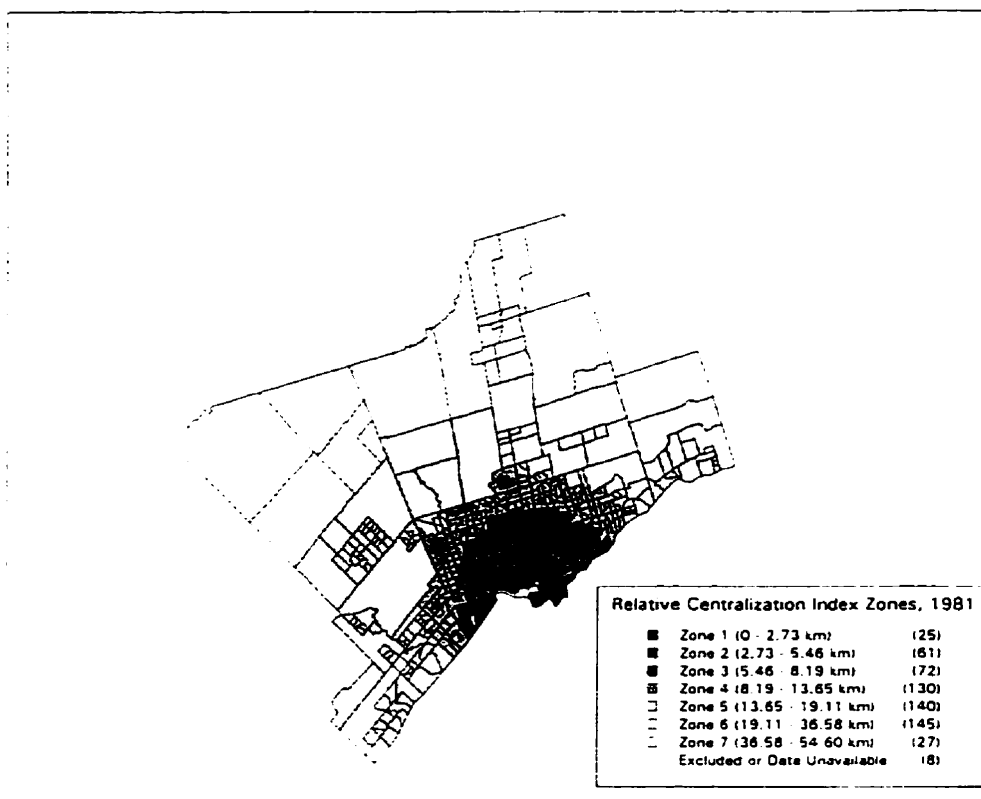
<sup>2</sup> RCE values are elevated as the amount of bands is increased through width reduction (Mehta 1974).



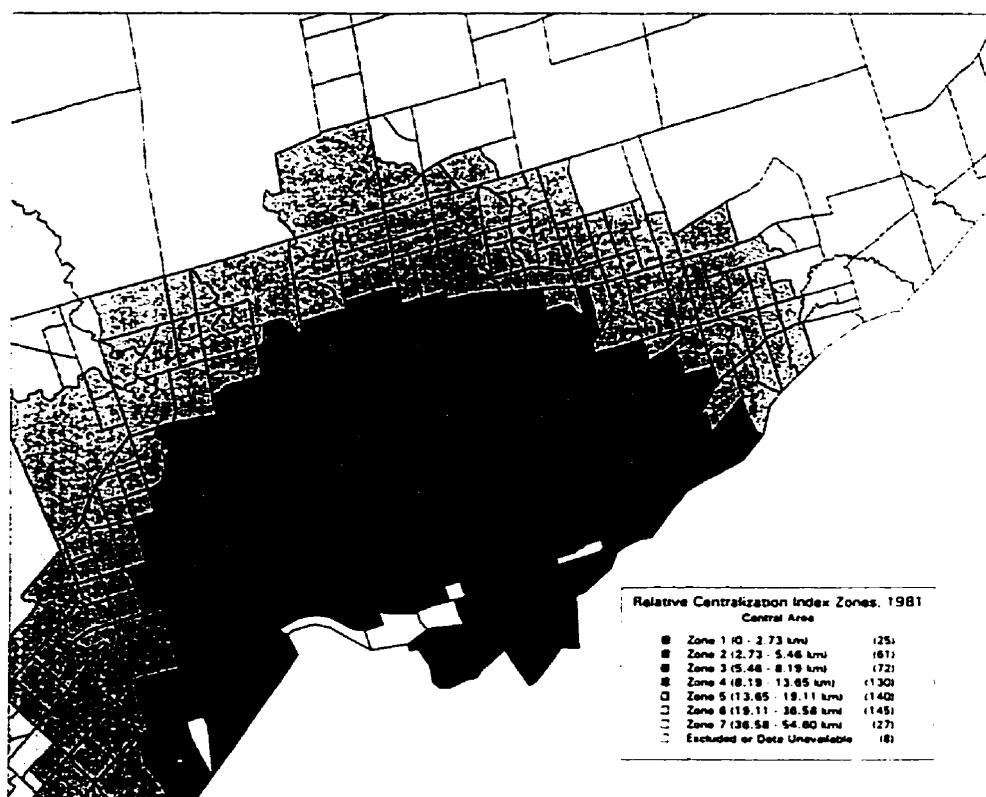
Map 8. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 9. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



Map 10. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 11. Relative Centralization Index Zones, Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

Table 14. RCE Zone Specification and Census Tract Aggregation, 1981 and 1991

Zone (Range in kilometers)	<u>Number of Census Tracts</u>		<u>CMA Population Apportionment</u>	
	1991	1981	1991	1981
1 (00.00-02.73)	28	25	02.91%	02.93%
2 (02.73-05.46)	62	61	06.66%	08.46%
3 (05.46-08.19)	74	72	09.14%	11.83%
4 (08.19-13.65)	135	130	15.40%	19.85%
5 (13.65-19.11)	165	140	22.02%	26.12%
6 (19.11-36.58)	261	145	35.53%	26.34%
7 (36.58-54.60)	85	27	06.88%	04.43%
Total	738	600	98.54%	99.96%

Notes: Non-residential and selected peripheral census tracts are excluded along with those containing fewer than 200 inhabitants whose data has been already suppressed by Statistics Canada to ensure confidentiality. Four uninhabited tracts are located in zone 4 and one each in zones 2 and 3 during 1981 and 1991. A single tract in zones 6 and 7 were also established to be non-residential for the 1991 data file. Intentionally abandoned tracts in zone 7, one in 1981 and nineteen in 1991, respectively accounted for 0.13% and 2.44% of the entire CMA population. Although these spatial units are primarily parts of the sparsely populated rural fringe, they also encompass urbanized labour market areas that have incorporated into the CMA due to commuting criteria: Orangeville, Beeton, Alliston, Kegwiche-Elmhurt Beech, Sutton and parts of the outlying townships.

Table 15. Individuals per Zone, Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year/Origin	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7
<u>1991</u>							
British	18,370	38,595	65,310	117,390	138,655	255,040	80,825
Greek	700	8,510	9,720	11,690	17,280	14,205	1,180
Jewish	1,815	5,475	15,730	26,540	45,235	19,135	725
Multiethnic	27,555	62,865	89,260	134,905	167,465	325,830	95,060
Aboriginal	340	670	840	1,115	1,025	1,865	275
Chinese	18,215	27,135	13,260	21,120	61,810	88,100	1,920
Jamaican	3,915	4,990	8,600	20,290	35,730	49,875	2,060
$\Sigma$	112,470	256,995	352,855	594,155	849,710	1,332,405	265,480
<u>1981</u>							
British	34,960	88,035	145,540	449,885	345,511	415,222	88,775
Greek	700	11,735	13,920	13,715	18,326	6,155	485
Jewish	1,955	5,790	17,160	32,085	38,855	8,070	365
Multiethnic	875	2,425	4,075	6,363	8,450	7,695	1,405
Aboriginal	615	1,705	1,410	2,160	2,655	2,650	150
Chinese	10,365	17,385	8,580	12,255	22,760	17,465	465
Jamaican	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
$\Sigma$	87,300	251,735	352,206	591,015	777,515	1,553,095	131,995

Note:  $\Sigma$  = all CMA residents , n.a. = not available.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 16. Cumulative Proportion of Ethnic Group Members per Zone, 1981 and 1991

Year/Origin	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7
<u>1991</u>							
British	02.57%	07.97%	17.11%	33.55%	52.96%	88.67%	100%
Greek	01.11%	14.56%	29.92%	48.39%	75.70%	98.15%	100%
Jewish	01.58%	06.36%	20.08%	43.23%	82.68%	99.37%	100%
Multiethnic	03.05%	10.01%	19.90%	34.84%	53.39%	89.48%	100%
Aboriginal	05.55%	16.48%	30.18%	48.37%	65.09%	95.51%	100%
Chinese	07.87%	19.59%	25.32%	34.44%	61.13%	99.18%	100%
Jamaican	03.12%	07.10%	13.95%	30.12%	58.60%	98.35%	100%
<u>1981</u>							
British	02.23%	07.84%	17.12%	45.18%	67.85%	94.33%	100%
Greek	01.08%	19.12%	40.52%	61.61%	89.79%	99.25%	100%
Jewish	01.87%	07.42%	23.88%	54.65%	91.91%	99.65%	100%
Multiethnic	02.80%	10.55%	23.57%	43.91%	70.92%	95.51%	100%
Aboriginal	05.42%	20.45%	32.88%	51.92%	75.32%	98.68%	100%
Chinese	11.61%	31.08%	40.69%	54.42%	79.91%	99.47%	100%
Jamaican	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Note: n.a. = not available.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 17. Relative Centralization Indices by Ethnicity, Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Ethnic Origin	1991	1981
British	----	----
Greek	0.26	0.31
Jewish	0.25	0.20
Multiethnic	0.02	0.04
Aboriginal	0.19	0.16
Chinese	0.13	0.25
Jamaican	0.04	n.a.

Notes: British population functions as the comparison group. Index values of 1 and -1 respectively indicate complete central and decentralized residential locations.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.

Jewish and Multiethnic members are becoming more residentially centralized. It is the Greeks, however, that have maintained an exceptionally large index of centralization despite a diminished level thereof. Given the exceptionally low amount of Jamaican domiciliary congregation near the city centre and impressively high rate of Chinese decentralization, the foregoing discussion tentatively suggests that visible minorities are less centralized than established entrance groups.

In terms of location, the greatest proportion of each group lives in one of the three outermost zones which themselves coincide with the CMA's mature suburban districts. A greater consignment of Greeks and Jews resided in zone 5 (refer to Table 18). Members of the remaining groups experienced a redistribution with more individuals living in zone 5 during 1981 and zone 6 a decade later. Increases were also noted within older suburbs (i.e. zones 3 and 4) among Aboriginal respondents. Interestingly, a larger component of the British population was located in zone 4 (28.69%) followed by zone 6 (26.48%) in 1981. This observation is consistent with previous centrographic analyses employing 1971 and 1976 data (Wong 1982). The largest segment (35.71%) was situated in zone 6 by 1991. Multiethnic and British distributions were remarkably similar in 1991 while the proportion of visible minority groups in zone 6 surpassed that of the reference group. Otherwise, the commensurate decline of residential apportionment closest to the CBD indicates an overall suburbanization trend.

### **Immigrant Centralization Patterns**

The extent of immigrant centralization according to arrival period was calculated with reference to the Canadian-born population. RCE values based upon 1981 and 1991 data are respectively noted in Tables 19 and 20.<sup>3</sup> A moderate yet marginally significant

---

<sup>3</sup>Index values should be examined with prudence since native-born and Aboriginal immigrant counts recorded in the 1981 UST file respectively appear to be inordinately low and high. Reasons for this distortion are not provided nor are adjusted figures. A comparison and reassignment of figures in each case was impossible due to ethnic and immigration data file discrepancies.



Table 18. Proportional Distribution of Ethnic Group Members per Zone, 1981 and 1991

Year/Origin	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7
<u>1991</u>							
British	02.57%	05.40%	09.14%	16.44%	19.41%	35.71%	11.32%
Greek	01.11%	13.45%	15.36%	18.47%	27.31%	22.45%	01.86%
Jewish	01.58%	04.78%	13.72%	23.15%	39.45%	16.69%	00.63%
Multiethnic	03.05%	06.96%	09.89%	14.94%	18.55%	36.09%	10.53%
Aboriginal	05.55%	10.93%	13.70%	18.19%	16.72%	30.42%	04.49%
Chinese	07.78%	11.72%	05.73%	09.12%	26.69%	38.05%	00.83%
Jamaican	03.12%	03.98%	06.85%	16.17%	28.48%	39.72%	01.64%
<u>1981</u>							
British	02.23%	05.61%	09.28%	28.69%	22.04%	26.48%	05.66%
Greek	01.08%	18.04%	21.40%	21.09%	28.16%	09.46%	00.75%
Jewish	01.87%	05.55%	16.46%	30.77%	37.26%	07.74%	00.35%
Multiethnic	02.80%	07.75%	13.02%	20.34%	27.10%	24.59%	04.49%
Aboriginal	05.42%	15.03%	12.43%	19.04%	23.40%	23.36%	01.32%
Chinese	11.61%	19.47%	09.61%	13.73%	25.49%	19.56%	00.52%
Jamaican	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Note: n.a. = not available.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Immigrant Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 19. Relative Centralization Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991

Immigration Period	RCE Value
Pre-1961	0.11
1961-1970	0.05
1971-1980	0.04
1981-1987	0.11
1988-1991	0.11

Notes: Index values are for all immigrants, regardless of ethnic origin, associated with the specified admission interval. Canadian-born population functions as the comparison group. The 1988-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Immigrant Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.

Table 20. Relative Centralization Indices by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Immigration Period	RCE Value
Pre-1945	0.13
1945-1954	-0.06
1955-1964	-0.09
1965-1970	0.56
1971-1974	-0.01
1975-1977	-0.03
1978-1981	0.00

Notes: Index values are for all immigrants, regardless of ethnic origin, associated with the specified admission interval. Canadian-born population functions as the comparison group. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

degree of centralization exists among all immigrants enumerated in 1991. Deviations between settlement periods are not entirely consistent with the conventional ecological presupposition of declining centralization as length of residency in Canada increases. Recently admitted individuals (1988-1991), their immediate predecessors (1981-1987) and very early entrants (pre-1961) registered identical values (0.11). Comparatively reduced centralization levels are characteristic of those who immigrated during the 1960s and subsequent decade with the former group's RCE value being marginally higher.<sup>4</sup> The absence of a linear distribution is partially explained by the "migration vintage effect" (Burnley and Kalbach 1984, 25). Metropolitan Toronto experienced an exceptional magnitude of urban development and expansion during the 1961-1966 interval. The reference group along with some other ethnic groups participated in this suburbanization process. Members of less established communities generally resided in more centralized quarters. Nonetheless, some of the earlier pre-1961 immigrants age on site. The increasing availability of affordable accommodation in outlying neighbourhoods attracted many overseas migrants during that growth phase (Burnley and Kalbach 1984). This is especially true of suburban public housing private-sector rental units built during late-1960s and early-1970s (Murdie 1994). Furthermore, newly settled individuals are entering a "substantially altered" urban form which includes the localization of ethnic suburban space (Bourne 1989; Sharpe 1992). There is a greater degree of variation among the 1981 data set. The earliest (0.13) and most recent admissions are relatively more centralized than all other immigrants except for 1965-1970 entrants. The latest intakes (1978-1981) registered an index value of zero which is indicative of an identical distribution around the urban core as Canadian-born inhabitants. Immigration period aggregation in the 1991 BST file and UST 1981 data inconsistencies do not allow for direct inter-censal comparison of RCE

---

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that RCE scores associated with the latest intakes reflect a new trend while those related to previous arrivals are final residential patterns (i.e. an outcome of post-arrival adjustment and relocation).

values. Notwithstanding, an examination of the last arrival intervals tentatively suggests that new Canadians are marginally more centralized than native-born individuals.

In terms of areal distribution, the greatest proportion of all immigration groups along with the native-born population resided in zone 6 in 1991 (i.e. more people in zone 6). This spatial disposition strongly reflects the radii specification process. More divergence was exhibited during 1981 with a larger element dwelling in zone 5. The proportion of each segment found in centralized districts, according to Table 21, generally decreased with duration of residency in Canada yet the highest share of 1988-1991 arrivals (33.42%) and Canadian-born (35.89%) were found in zone 6 rather than the previous one as per 1978-1981 newcomers (27.56%). Escalating proportional congregation levels in the outer belts indicate that new immigrants are either immediately establishing themselves in suburban areas or relocating to these locations in a narrower time span. A further comparison of intra-zonal immigrant distribution in Table 21 reveals a notable order within the inner- and outermost zones. During 1991, the relative share of foreign-born persons residing within the urban core and adjacent districts (i.e. zones 1 and 2) increased with the recentness of arrival. A similar trend was evident in zones 5 and 6 where overall percentage values were much higher among each arrival period than in centralized districts. Minor fluctuations occurred in the older suburbs, which correspond with zones 3 and 4, where the share of established and new settlers was fairly equal. Excluding marginal deviations, similar apportionments were registered in 1981. A possible explanation for this order is the prevalence of centralized and suburban immigrant reception areas.

RCE values were also determined for immigrants according to ethnicity and arrival period (refer to Table 22). It was expected that opposite ends of the admission period continuum would register higher centralization values. Although pre-1945 entrants tend to reside in closer proximity to the urban core, recent settlers were primarily decentralized in comparison to their precursors, including those admitted during the previous migration interval. Index scores for the latest admissions provide a more accurate approximation of

Table 21. Proportional Distribution of Immigrants per Zone, 1981 and 1991

Year/Period	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7
<u>1991</u>							
Canadian-born	02.78%	06.29%	09.46%	15.70%	20.65%	35.89%	09.42%
Pre-1961	01.88%	06.22%	11.00%	22.12%	25.67%	27.01%	06.10%
1961-1970	02.53%	07.87%	10.15%	14.73%	22.53%	37.57%	04.62%
1971-1980	03.79%	08.13%	08.32%	12.67%	23.86%	40.20%	03.03%
1981-1987	04.66%	08.32%	08.44%	15.46%	27.62%	33.30%	02.19%
1988-1991	03.99%	08.00%	08.12%	15.01%	30.42%	33.42%	01.44%
<u>1981</u>							
Canadian-born	02.88%	15.00%	15.43%	17.87%	21.71%	23.19%	03.84%
Pre-1945	03.39%	08.76%	18.33%	31.79%	22.73%	12.38%	02.64%
1945-1954	02.33%	07.51%	13.81%	25.16%	26.86%	20.02%	04.31%
1955-1964	12.28%	18.65%	13.02%	20.02%	28.38%	23.62%	03.12%
1965-1970	03.03%	00.27%	13.88%	17.10%	25.38%	27.06%	02.28%
1971-1974	04.01%	13.82%	12.34%	17.40%	26.27%	24.89%	01.25%
1975-1977	04.88%	11.54%	10.53%	18.09%	29.66%	24.04%	01.26%
1978-1981	06.32%	14.37%	10.90%	17.45%	27.56%	21.90%	01.50%

Notes: Index values are for all immigrants, regardless of ethnic origin, associated with the specified admission interval. Canadian-born population functions as the comparison group. The 1978-1981 and 1987-1991 intervals respectively include only the first five months of 1981 and 1991. Add across rows to calculate cumulative proportions per immigration period.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Immigrant Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 22. Relative Centralization Indices by Ethnicity and Immigration Period, 1981

Origin	Pre-1945	1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1970	1971-1974	1975-1977	1978-1981
British	0.53	0.35	0.26	-0.22	-0.16	-0.18	-0.23
Greek	0.21	0.08	0.13	0.18	0.24	-0.45	-0.50
Jewish	-0.49	0.02	-0.02	0.01	-0.02	-0.07	-0.09
Multiethnic	0.22	-0.01	0.01	0.02	-0.07	0.01	-0.30
Aboriginal	0.33	0.15	0.18	-0.10	-0.05	-0.13	-0.12
Chinese	0.66	0.41	0.13	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.30

Notes: The Canadian-born population functions as the comparison group. Jamaicans were excluded from the unpublished summary table. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981. Ethnic origin data by immigration period is not available for the 1991 BST.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Immigration Period, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

centralization patterns upon entry and shortly thereafter because census data files only specify final dwelling locations. As such, 1978-1981 indices are indicative of an incipient transition phase towards initially decentralized settlement points as envisioned by the dispersion model. Comparable 1991 statistics are unavailable and thus preclude verification of current trends. Nonetheless, an examination of origin groups reveals increasing decentralization with recentness of arrival among British, Aboriginal and Chinese immigrants. Greek and Multiethnic newcomers display a varied patterns whose deviations are confined to moderate RCE levels among the latter group. Both communities show an overall reduction in centralized residency, especially among the latest arrivals. Jewish immigrants are primarily decentralized irrespective of settlement interval. Aggregate figures for each ethnic community's foreign-born segment are not indicative of inter- and intra-group variation. They do, however, demonstrate that British (-0.15), Aboriginal (-0.09) and Multiethnic (-0.01) immigrants are comparatively more decentralized. Chinese, Greek and Jewish individuals were slightly more localized in districts situated closer to the metropolitan nucleus. Their respective index values, 0.27, 0.16 and 0.03, indicate that these groups' spatial distribution around the CBD is similar to that of the Canadian-born reference population. Overall, a greater degree of variation exists when specific ethnicities are evaluated instead of immigration periods.<sup>5</sup>

Excluding greater centrality among very early arrivals, a larger proportion of individuals were found in zone 5 while British immigrants had a noteworthy presence in zone 6 (see Table 23). The Chinese distribution pattern is prominent in that it uniquely exemplifies well-known ecological assumptions. New intakes primarily resided in zone 2 along with some of their forerunners while post-1965 arrivals dwelled further away in zone

---

<sup>5</sup> No consistent rank order of ethnic groups exists among arrival phases yet Greek, Multiethnic and British 1978-1981 newcomers were slightly more decentralized than their Aboriginal, Jewish and Chinese counterparts.

Table 23. Proportional Distribution of Ethnic Origin Groups by Immigration Period per Zone, 1981

Origin/Period	Zone 1	Zone 2	Zone 3	Zone 4	Zone 5	Zone 6	Zone 7
<b>British</b>							
Pre-1945	02.74%	08.38%	18.08%	29.17%	22.75%	15.51%	03.37%
1945-1954	02.23%	07.24%	10.21%	21.11%	26.74%	26.21%	06.25%
1955-1964	02.40%	06.06%	09.55%	17.98%	25.61%	33.16%	05.24%
1965-1970	02.11%	06.84%	09.48%	15.43%	27.73%	38.69%	04.72%
1971-1974	02.73%	07.87%	09.26%	17.94%	25.45%	33.51%	03.24%
1975-1977	02.89%	06.97%	08.55%	18.62%	24.49%	34.76%	03.72%
1978-1981	02.72%	07.93%	09.02%	15.11%	25.22%	35.59%	04.41%
<b>Greek</b>							
Pre-1945	04.26%	09.57%	29.79%	28.72%	22.34%	05.32%	00.00%
1945-1954	01.46%	12.01%	18.67%	24.84%	30.84%	11.69%	00.49%
1955-1964	00.86%	17.11%	19.62%	20.92%	31.97%	09.01%	00.51%
1965-1970	00.84%	20.30%	23.00%	20.20%	25.60%	09.40%	00.67%
1971-1974	02.13%	23.32%	24.06%	19.88%	23.49%	06.79%	00.33%
1975-1977	02.95%	20.43%	21.81%	19.06%	26.72%	08.64%	00.39%
1978-1981	01.16%	16.67%	20.15%	24.42%	26.36%	08.91%	02.33%
<b>Jewish</b>							
Pre-1945	01.28%	05.31%	23.07%	44.25%	25.53%	00.50%	00.06%
1945-1954	01.09%	03.22%	12.20%	37.40%	41.66%	04.08%	00.35%
1955-1964	02.09%	04.10%	08.55%	37.35%	40.92%	06.46%	00.52%
1965-1970	03.05%	06.81%	11.38%	25.94%	43.43%	09.04%	00.35%
1971-1974	02.60%	07.24%	11.87%	20.59%	46.38%	10.20%	01.11%
1975-1977	02.79%	02.18%	07.88%	25.94%	50.42%	10.67%	00.12%
1978-1981	01.41%	02.39%	06.61%	21.10%	62.87%	05.48%	00.14%
<b>Multiethnic</b>							
Pre-1945	01.19%	16.66%	17.86%	42.86%	17.86%	02.38%	01.19%
1945-1954	04.24%	05.30%	18.02%	25.09%	26.15%	18.02%	03.18%
1955-1964	04.12%	08.99%	13.86%	26.97%	23.97%	19.47%	02.62%
1965-1970	01.80%	15.47%	12.23%	21.22%	27.70%	19.42%	02.16%
1971-1974	04.29%	11.43%	13.57%	19.29%	22.14%	22.14%	07.14%
1975-1977	07.96%	07.96%	10.62%	15.04%	43.36%	14.16%	00.88%
1978-1981	02.83%	01.89%	02.83%	08.49%	48.11%	33.96%	01.89%
<b>Aboriginal</b>							
Pre-1945	14.29%	28.57%	00.00%	42.86%	00.00%	14.28%	00.00%
1945-1954	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	100.00%	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%
1955-1964	05.88%	23.53%	05.88%	23.53%	35.29%	05.88%	00.00%
1965-1970	04.11%	09.59%	09.59%	16.44%	31.51%	24.66%	04.11%
1971-1974	03.19%	11.16%	10.36%	24.30%	20.32%	30.68%	00.00%
1975-1977	00.00%	08.08%	10.61%	22.22%	27.27%	31.82%	00.00%
1978-1981	01.23%	07.82%	03.29%	21.40%	46.91%	19.34%	00.00%
<b>Chinese</b>							
Pre-1945	41.27%	28.57%	10.32%	08.73%	09.52%	01.59%	00.00%
1945-1954	23.27%	23.50%	16.62%	13.30%	13.53%	08.83%	00.95%
1955-1964	17.06%	25.47%	11.79%	13.68%	19.45%	10.66%	01.88%
1965-1970	08.84%	16.44%	09.13%	14.77%	28.63%	21.61%	00.58%
1971-1974	09.23%	15.56%	09.15%	14.29%	28.38%	23.14%	00.24%
1975-1977	10.25%	15.11%	08.22%	13.71%	30.74%	21.76%	00.21%
1978-1981	16.21%	28.56%	09.12%	12.55%	19.35%	13.97%	00.23%

Notes: Canadian-born population functions as the comparison group. Jamaicans were excluded from the unpublished summary table. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981. Add across rows to calculate cumulative proportions per immigration period.

Source: Statistics Canada. "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.



5.<sup>6</sup> Excessive Jewish residential dissimilarity is conveyed by the inhabitancy of at least 40% of each period's constituents in zone 5 where their enclave exists. An increasing share of recent Greek settlers living in peripheral areas contained in zone 7 is also evident.

Notwithstanding minor fluctuations along with the earliest and latest arrivals listed in Table 23, the relative share of each ethnic community's foreign-born constituents closest to and furthest away from the city centre (i.e. zones 1 and 7) were fairly stable when reading down each data column. A declining percentage of immigrants with recentness of arrival was noted among the Chinese in zones 1 and 2 (core and inner-city) and among Jews and Multiethnics in zones 3 and 4 (older suburbs). The opposite trend was registered in zone 2 by the Greeks, in zone 5 by the Jews, Multiethnics and Chinese, in zone 6 by all ethnic groups except the British and Greeks. Overall, zone 1 had more Chinese inhabitants, Chinese and Greeks predominated in zone 2, a greater share of zone 3 was composed of Greek inhabitants, zones 4 and 5 registered a Jewish signature, and zone 6 was primarily populated by reference group members. Among the latest newcomers, intra-zonal distribution patterns generally adhere to the aforementioned observations.<sup>7</sup>

RCE values ascertained for all reference and study group immigrants relative to the Canadian-born populace also denote moderate centralization, especially among the Jews (0.03). British (-0.15) Multiethnics (-0.01) and Aboriginals (-0.09) are marginally more decentralized. Registering an index score of 0.27, Chinese foreigners were the most centralized followed by the Greeks (0.16). In terms of location, a greater segment of all groups is attributed to zone 5. Apportionments are as follows: 27.74% Greek, 41.22%

---

<sup>6</sup> This situation is explained by the fact that Agincourt Chinatown was in a rudimentary development stage during 1981. Most newcomers entered the CMA by taking up residence in Chinatown West or its eastern correlate in Riverdale.

<sup>7</sup> Zone 1 registered a greater apportionment of Chinese (16.21%), zone 2 had more Chinese and Hellenic 1978-1981 settlers (16.67% and 28.56% respectively) while zone 3 registered a higher share of Greeks (20%). An almost equal allotment of recent Greek, Jewish and Aboriginal overseas migrants (24.42%, 21.10% and 21.40% respectively) distinguished zone 4. Approximately 61% of zone 5 contained newcomers of Jewish origin. British and Multiethnic admissions respectively accounted for 35.59% and 33.96% of zone 6's contingent of 1978-1981 arrivals. Although an extremely limited segment of the latest arrivals lived in zone 7, those with a British origin were somewhat more prevalent (4.41%).

Jewish, 28.40% Multiethnic, 31.39% Aboriginal, and 25.57% Chinese. Only the British had slightly more members (30.68%) in zone 6 as per the Canadian-born (23.19%).

### Synthesis and Summary

Figures 11 and 12 provide an immediate visual impression of the numeric relationship between residential dissimilarity (i.e. evenness) and centralization among selected ethnic groups with reference to the British population during 1981 and 1991. They also identify aberrant items which deviate from the overall association. Each observation is represented by a data marker whose horizontal and vertical coordinates correspond to the intersection of RCE and ID values. Axis scales conform with the aforementioned indices' ranges. Maximum and minimum centralization are respectively denoted by 1 and -1 along the x axis while 0 and 100 each indicate a lack of and complete residential separation.

Indicative of divergent spatial distributions, the Jewish and Multiethnic collectivities are outliers which broaden the span of RCE and ID scores. They generated an apparent high positive linear association whereas a very weak positive correlation was evident in 1981 and an extremely marginal curvilinear relationship had been plotted in 1991. An inclusion of more ethnic groups would have increased sample reliability. The remaining ethnic units registered a degree of centralization which was moderately greater than or, in the case of Multiethnics, similar to that of British inhabitants during 1981 (see Figure 11). RCE measurement latitude shifted in 1991 such that all study groups, excluding Jews, were somewhat more decentralized. Visible minorities, especially the Jamaicans, were less inclined to reside in neighbourhoods found in closer proximity to the CBD. Aboriginals, although a part of the aforementioned trend, recorded intensified centrality levels in 1991 (refer to Figure 12). There were no exclusively suburbanized ethnic communities.

In terms of residential differentiation, data plotted on the XY scatter diagrams indicate an average amount of spatial integration among most ethnic communities. ID values between 30 and 60 are considered moderate with a measure of 50 being mesial.

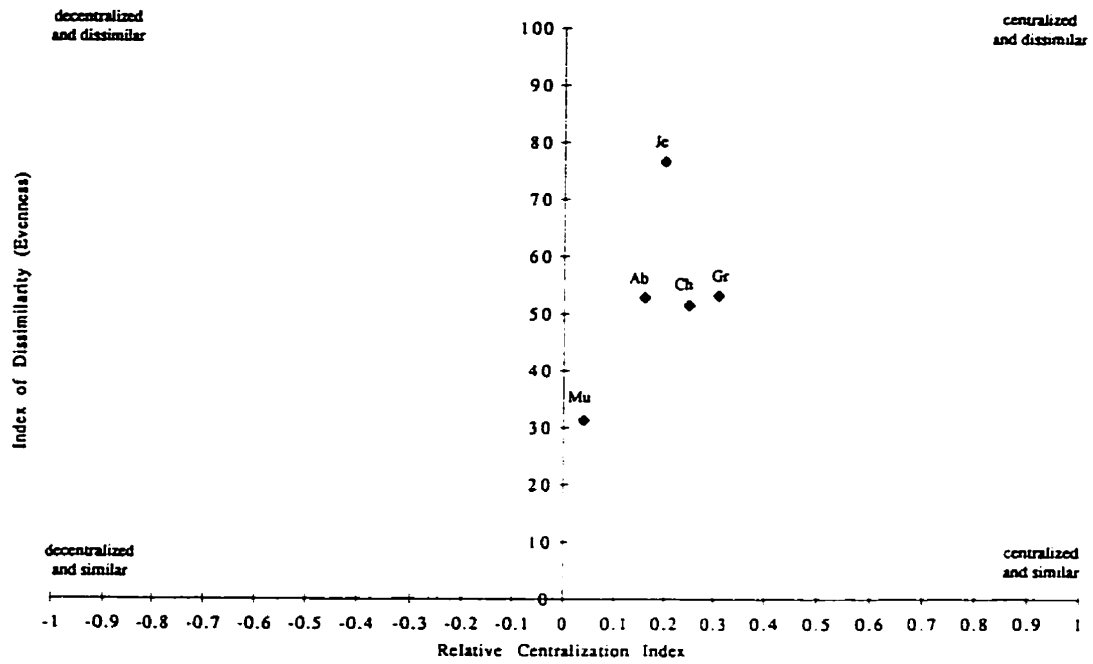


Figure 11. Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981

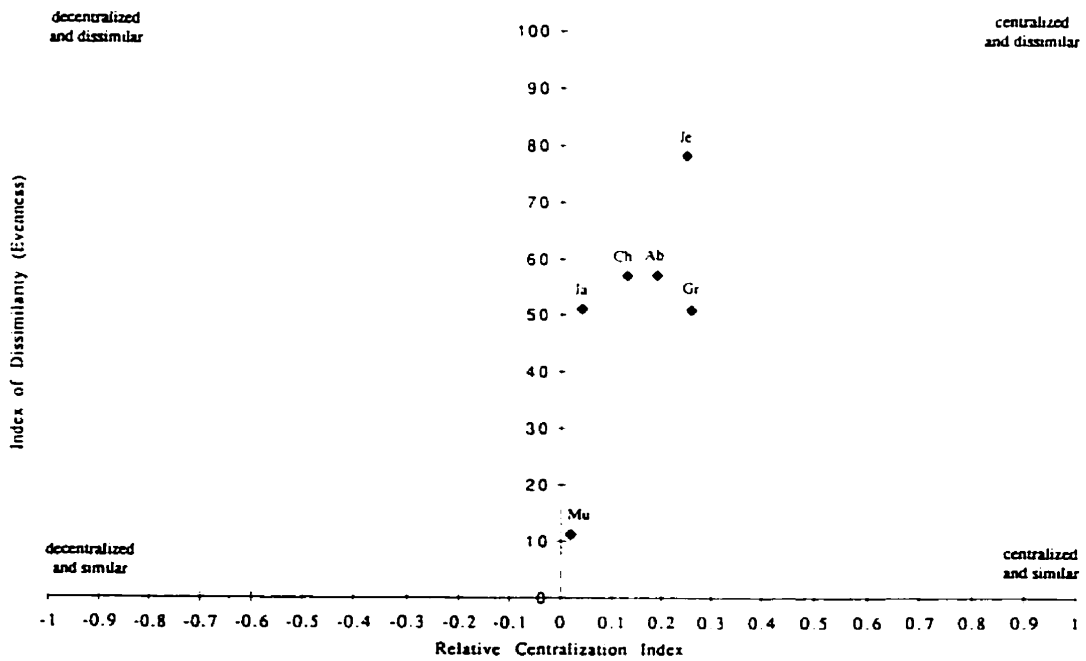


Figure 12. Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1991

Again, Jewish and Multiethnic constituents are respectively documented as the CMA's most and least 'segregated' populations during both decennial censuses. Although ID levels have been fairly stable, inter-censal alterations are neither unidirectional nor restricted to the degree of racial visibility or even relative historical presence. Established entrance and recently settled groups are found among both increasing and decreasing trends associated with this spatial dimension. The extent of uneven areal patterning increased among Jews, for whom it was always high, Aboriginals and Chinese people while the opposite was observed by Greeks and Multiethnics. While the Jamaican figure increased in 1991, it was less than that of other visible minorities. In summary, it can be said that Multiethnics and Greeks are decentralizing and integrating, that Jews and Aboriginals are centralizing and segregating, while the Chinese are decentralizing and segregating.

Figures 13 and 14 summarize the relationship between evenness and centralization among immigrants according to arrival interval for 1981 and 1991. Although not directly comparable due to periodization, both charts show a positive association between residential dissimilarity, decentralization, and residency in Canada. These patterns are more clearly portrayed by the 1991 data set. The latest arrivals tended to be more unevenly distributed across urban space and more concentrated yet they register nearly identical centralization values as the earliest arrivals. Figure 13 displays a relatively minor degree of variation with respect to centralization while the opposite observations apply to the 1991 data in Figure 14. A more representative image is portrayed in Figures 15 and 16. Individual components of each ethnic community's foreign-born population reveal a greater extent of divergence from aggregated immigration periods in the latter chart. ID and RCE coordinate points are not confined to a narrow band as in Figure 13. Of note are the reduced centralization levels among most ethnic groups. Findings suggest that recent admissions may be clustered in suburban districts. The following chapters attempt to verify observations of ethnically differentiated spatial structure and centralization patterns made in this section and the previous one by establishing the extent and mapping the location(s) of overrepresentation.

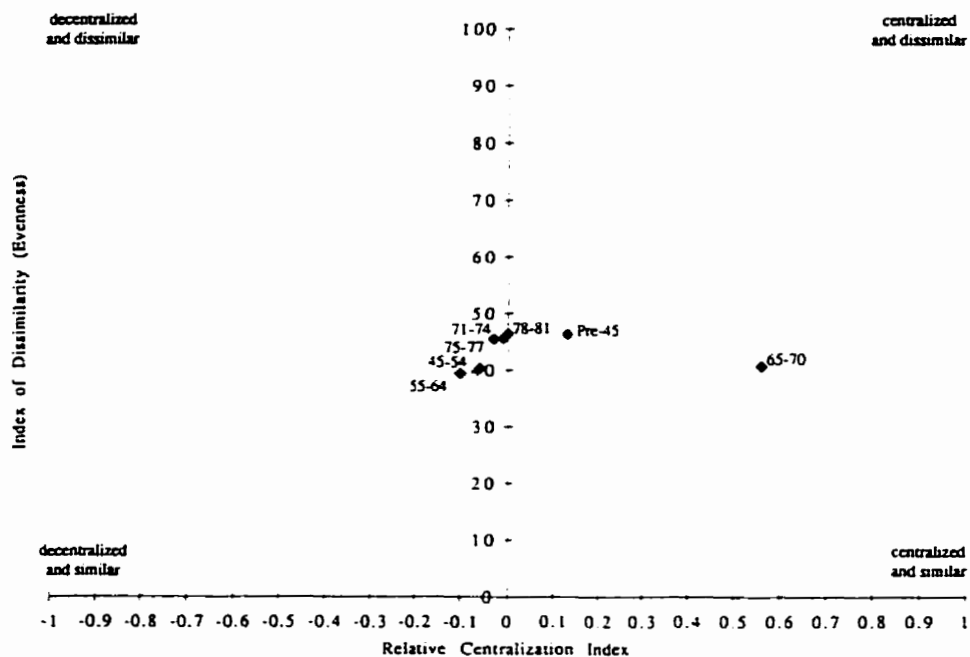


Figure 13. Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981

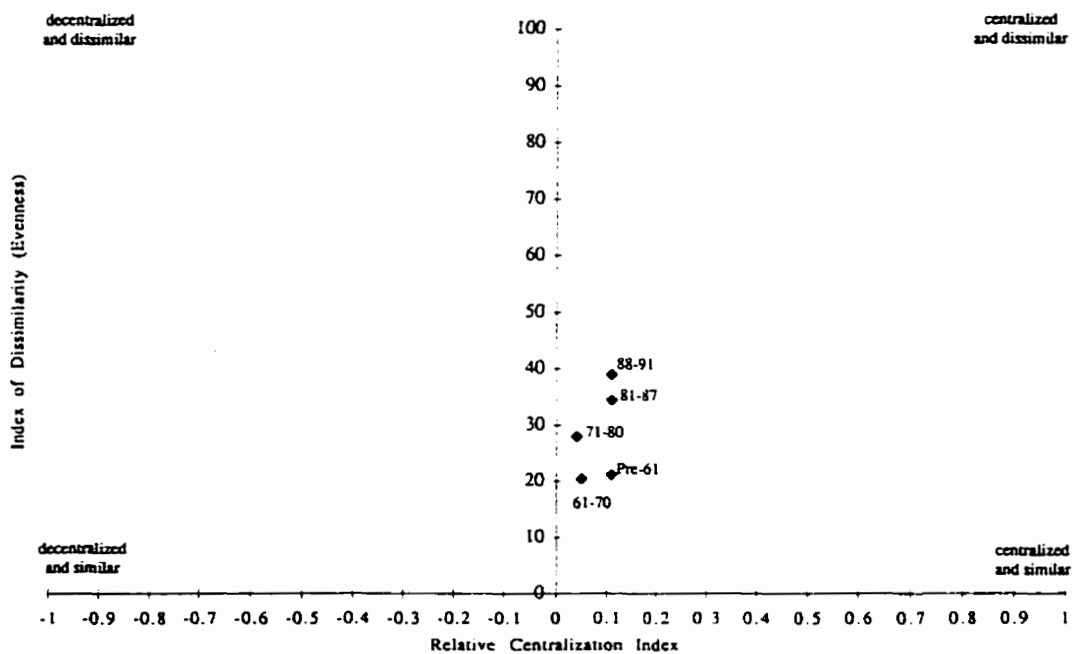


Figure 14. Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1991

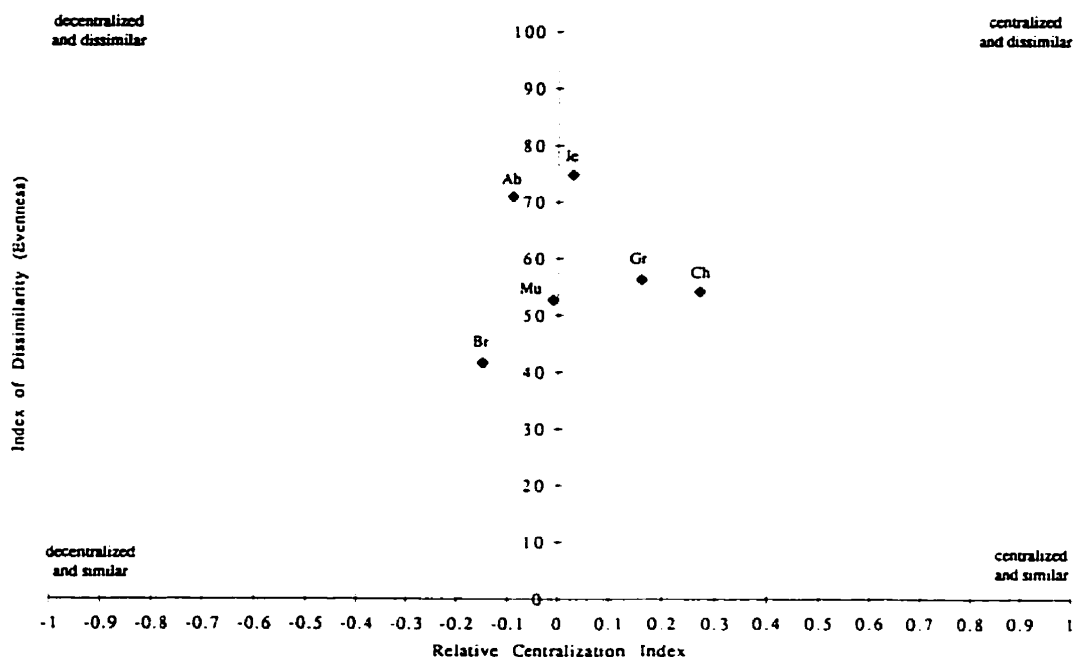


Figure 15. Ethnic Immigrant Centralization and Dissimilarity, Toronto CMA, 1981

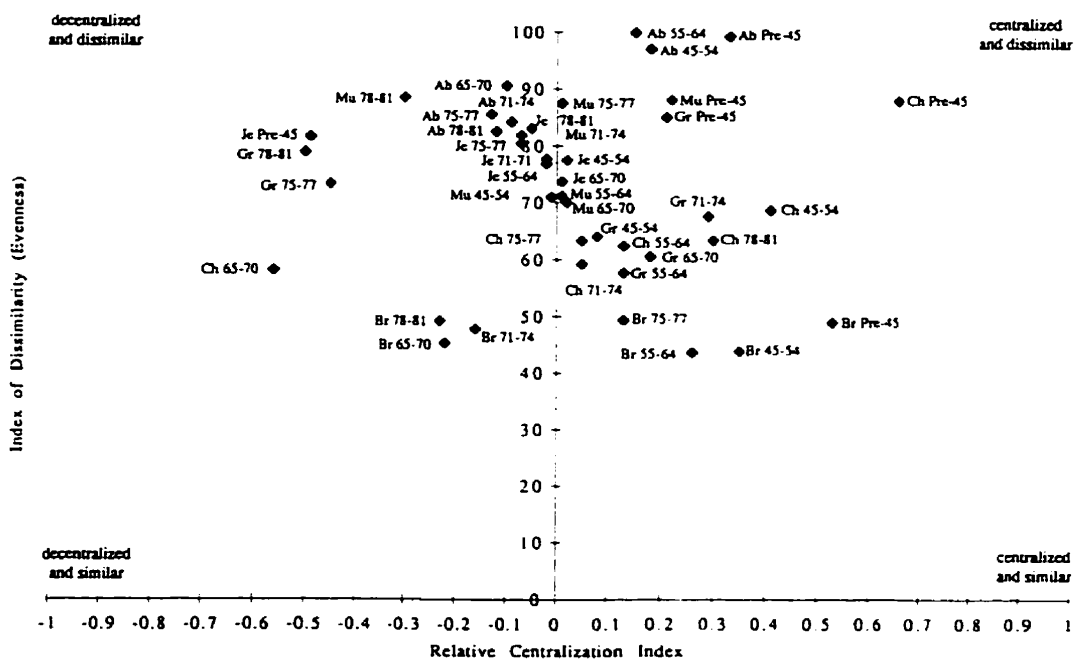


Figure 16. Ethnic Centralization and Dissimilarity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

## CHAPTER 7

### ETHNIC RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION

#### Introduction

An ethnic group's high visibility in specific neighbourhoods does not necessarily indicate the areas where most members dwell (Kralt and Shillington 1986). Also, a residential district can assume an ethnic signature without having an absolute majority of its population affiliated with a given ethnicity (Hill 1976). Residential concentration or dispersion must be measurable. As already noted, domiciliary congregation arises when a census tract's allotment of inhabitants belonging to a specific ethnic category is significantly greater than that what would be anticipated if this group's constituents were dispersed in proportion to the entire CMA population. Since ethnic communities vary in their membership and spatial distribution, Location Quotient (LQ) values were calculated to establish the degree of residential concentration per census tract. There are two approaches to interpreting the results: examining the absolute number and proportion of tracts in which constituents of each ethnic collectivity are absent (i.e. non-representation where  $LQ = 0$ ), and evaluating the distribution of tracts containing relatively high concentrations (i.e. overrepresentation where  $LQ \geq 2$ ).

The number and percentage of urban divisions across which each study group is not present along with the CMA population share therein appear in Table 24.<sup>1</sup> Higher apportionments indicate a greater probability of not encountering members of the ethnic community under investigation (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987). As anticipated, the British are present in all tracts. Jewish and Aboriginal residents, representing opposite ends of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Statistical rounding error and data suppression may 'hide' some individuals in an effort to ensure confidentiality. Refer to the sections on random rounding and area suppression in Appendix A for details.

Table 24. Ethnic Non-Representation (LQ = 0). Toronto CMA. 1981 and 1991

Year/Origin	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	CMA Population Share
<u>1991</u>		
British	1 (00.12%)	00.00%
Greek	144 (17.91%)	13.25%
Jewish	309 (38.34%)	39.97%
Multiethnic	0 (00.00%)	00.00%
Aboriginal	470 (58.45%)	55.32%
Chinese	74 (09.20%)	06.83%
Jamaican	111 (13.80%)	09.27%
<u>1981</u>		
British	0 (00.00%)	00.00%
Greek	73 (12.13%)	08.72%
Jewish	140 (23.25%)	18.50%
Multiethnic	18 (02.99%)	15.42%
Aboriginal	196 (32.56%)	02.79%
Chinese	60 (09.97%)	06.32%
Jamaican	31 (05.10%)	01.70%

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which non-representation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of the entire CMA population reside in these tracts. Jamaican data for 1981 taken from Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987, 146).

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.



socio-economic hierarchy, are consistently absent in numerous neighbourhoods. Jews, for instance, were not represented in 23.25% of all tracts in 1981 and 38.43% a decade later. They did not share a residential area with 60.03% of all CMA inhabitants in 1991. Characterizing reduced levels of nonresidency, Chinese and Jamaican absentee distribution patterns have been fairly uniform over time. That of the Greeks increased slightly such that they are now clustered in more localities. Only the Multiethnic community registered an extreme decrease in the proportion of tracts in which they do not live (from 15.42% in 1981 to 0% in 1991).<sup>2</sup> Hence, Aboriginals and Jews are the most concentrated ethnic populations, according to non-representation, while Multiethnics are the most dispersed. Jamaican values are also indicative of scattering.

The portion of census tracts in which each ethnicity is overrepresented ( $LQ \geq 2$ ) along with the share of their respective populations in these tracts are noted in Table 25. An LQ value of 2 indicates that a particular ethnic group is present in double the number expected (i.e. twice as concentrated) in a particular census tract relative to the entire CMA population. The British, Greek and Multiethnic communities have maintained stable yet declining degrees of overrepresentation while moderate and significant increases are respectively registered by Jews and Aboriginals. A slight growth in spatial concentration is also noted for the Chinese. Jewish constituents have been documented to reside in a limited number of primarily contiguous areas.<sup>3</sup> They continue to be the most geographically concentrated ethnic entity with about 83% of them living in only 10.57% of all tracts in 1991. Nearly 70% of Aboriginals are encountered in 19% of all tracts. Hellenic and Chinese distributions are similar to each other with around 50% of each group inhabiting roughly 14% of all spatial units. While just under half of all Jamaicans dwelled in 12 tracts (1.49%), they were relatively less concentrated during 1991. Balakrishnan and

---

<sup>2</sup> This decline can be partially attributed to the increasing number of persons registering mixed ancestry and inter-censal ethnic origin category definition changes.

<sup>3</sup> Balakrishnan and Kralt (1987) observed that 50% of Jews lived in 3.3% of the Toronto CMA's tracts in 1981. A decade earlier, over 50% were accommodated in only 1.36% of all tracts (Hill 1976).

Table 25. Ethnic Overrepresentation (LQ  $\geq$  2), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year/Origin	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	Ethnic Population Share
<u>1991</u>		
British	12 (01.49%)	01.38%
Greek	106 (13.18%)	49.42%
Jewish	85 (10.57%)	83.32%
Multiethnic	4 (00.54%)	00.62%
Aboriginal	150 (18.66%)	67.32%
Chinese	104 (12.93%)	55.19%
Jamaican	12 (01.49%)	46.93%
<u>1981</u>		
British	1 (00.00%)	11.57%
Greek	92 (15.28%)	55.14%
Jewish	67 (11.13%)	79.54%
Multiethnic	44 (07.31%)	16.58%
Aboriginal	92 (15.28%)	50.04%
Chinese	68 (11.29%)	50.12%
Jamaican	n.a.	n.a.

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which overrepresentation occurs while the second indicates the percentage of a given ethnic group overrepresentation in these tracts.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, Showing Age Groups - 20% Sample" (Table Name: j9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Sex, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B57). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B50). Ottawa, 1983.

Kralt (1987) mentioned that 90% of this entity was congregated in 52% of all tracts a decade earlier. This association was attributed to proportionate numeric strength. The least amount of population density is observed by British and Multiethnic respondents. Thus, data contained in Table 25 suggests that neighbourhoods can be delimited for the Jews, Aboriginals, Greeks as well as Chinese and, to a lesser extent, the Jamaicans. Distinct residential districts are not readily definable for the British and Multiethnic groups in spite of limited concentrations. Areas of overrepresentation are mapped in the next section in an effort to identify changing and emerging spatial patterns in terms of enclave expansion and locational shifts.

### **Delineating Density Patterns**

By mapping standardized LQ scores, it is possible to ascertain the geographic extent and shifting locus of ethnic neighbourhoods. This technique also provides a graphic and effective means of identifying distinct clusters of contiguous census tracts containing dense settlement concentrations in addition to dispersion and isolated tracts with above average ethnic population shares (Kralt and Shillington 1986; Sharpe 1992). Temporal comparisons permit an evaluation of intra-urban migration tendencies such as short distance and directionally biased moves and erratic motility. Additionally, areas of concentration overlap and incidents of leapfrogging can be determined.

Choropleth maps of the absolute number and LQ value ranges were created for each ethnic group at the macro (i.e. CMA) and meso (i.e. Metropolitan Toronto) scales.<sup>4</sup> Class intervals associated with fill patterns are specified in each map's legend: 0-1, 1-2, 2-3, 3-4, 4-5, accompanied by 5 and over. These ranges, while seeming to extend into each other, are

---

<sup>4</sup> This was achieved by joining SPSS spreadsheet files, in dBase format, containing population and calculated LQ figures to MapInfo digital boundary files of the Toronto CMA's census tracts. The 1981 base map was produced by editing the 1991 version.

mutually exclusive and exhaustive.<sup>5</sup> The extent of residential concentration is often a function of group size and demographic irregularities when census tracts are employed to calculate LQ values (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1987). There may be instances in which a particular ethnicity's degree of concentration is exceeded by that of another suggesting residential displacement yet the first group's count per tract remains relatively steadfast. Consequently, maps depicting the absolute number of individuals per census tracts were produced to verify such anomalies as well as subgroup continuity in urban space. Appendix C specifies the number of census tracts per population range for ethnic origin.

It is not the intention of this research to delve deeply into the historical development of Toronto's ethnic populations. Nonetheless, some comment on this aspect is necessary as a prelude to the examination of domiciliary patterns. Literature devoted to immigration and settlement was consulted in order to establish, verify, and link past concentration patterns with contemporary and emanating ones. Texts providing essentially anecdotal accounts of personal reminiscences, rather than collective experiences, have not been used because they advance exceedingly limited and often extraneous information about residential placement. A detailed description and analysis of concentration patterns exhibited by the reference and study groups follows.

### *British*

The British community exhibits a high degree of residential integration. It is evenly dispersed throughout the CMA with moderate concentration levels prevailing in parts of East York, Scarborough, and scattered lakeshore areas. Since 1961, the British experienced an eastward movement resulting in relatively elevated representation within the aforementioned districts (Richmond 1972; City of Toronto Planning Board 1974; Wong

---

<sup>5</sup> They are respectively interpreted as: 0.00-0.99 (i.e. 0 to, but not including, 1), 1.00-1.99, 2.00-2.99, 3.00-3.99, 4.00-4.99, 5.00 or over.

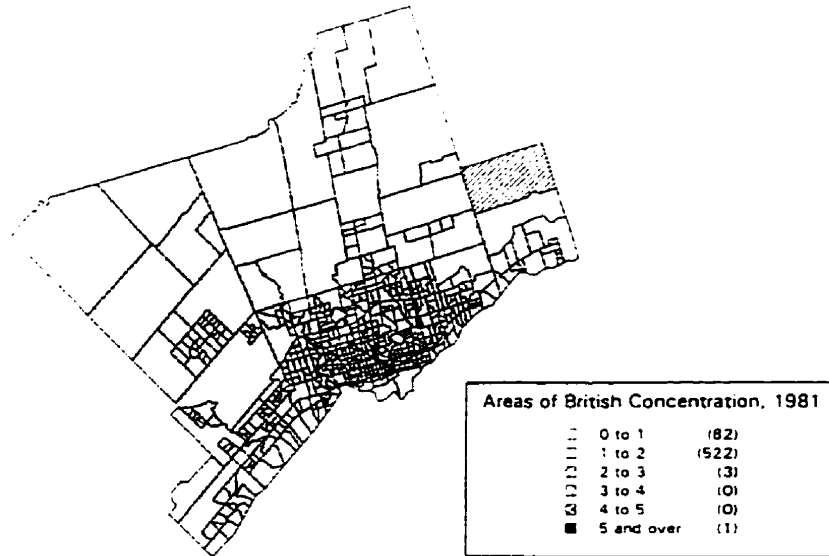
1982). No longer the exclusively English enclaves they once were, Rosedale, Sherwood Park along with the Islands, Beach and neighbouring Birchcliff maintained a significant number of British inhabitants in 1971 (Kumove 1975). These districts along with Leaside were unsusceptible to foreign migrant penetration during the 1965-1971 interval according to Hill (1976).<sup>6</sup> Suburban migration persisted throughout the 1970s. Irish dominance in Cabbagetown (1890s-1940s) was displaced after central parts of this inner-city zone were torn down and redeveloped into high density housing projects, including Regent Park and St. James Town, throughout the 1950s and subsequent decade.

British Canadians, in conformity with Maps 12 and 13, were prevalent throughout the urban agglomeration in a comparatively reduced concentration level during 1981. A single isolated residential tract located in Toronto's Bloor West Village registered an extremely high amount of overrepresentation. This area contains a diverse and stable housing stock and abuts two eminent Anglo quarters - Swansea and High Park. New apartment buildings along the Bloor subway probably attracted migrants from elsewhere in Canada. Three scattered tracts containing moderate LQ scores were each located within the urban core, northern Pickering, and central Ajax. Predominantly British domains, according to maps based on absolute numbers, persisted less conspicuously in areas of marginal concentration excluding those coinciding with Jewish and Italian districts.<sup>7</sup> British spatial placement in 1981 can be described as being evenly distributed partially because the English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh are not drawn together by an supranational identity (Heller 08 September 1983; Ward 15 December 1985). Although they insist on distinguishing themselves from one another, community invisibility, from an external perspective, has an important effect upon their constituents' residential dispersion.

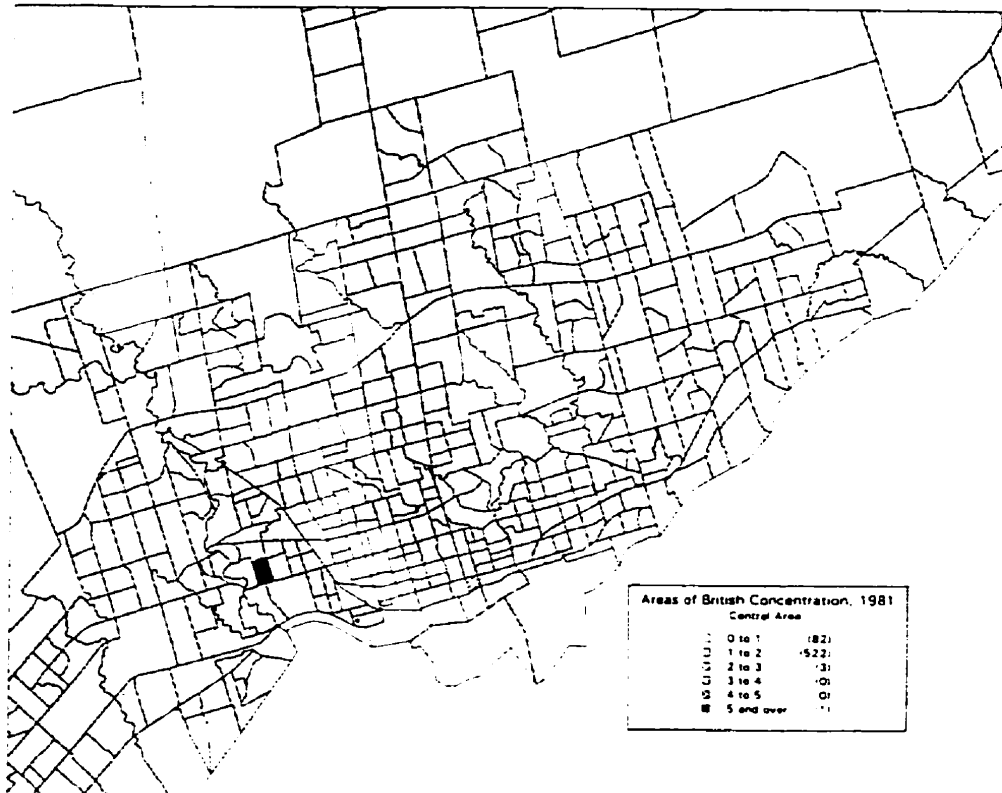
---

<sup>6</sup> Although there were no major post-war immigration waves from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Anderson and Marr (1987) note that a considerable number of Britons emigrated to Canada, presumably from Egypt, during and immediately after the Suez Crisis (1957).

<sup>7</sup> As a proportion of census tract population, the British continue to constitute at least 60% of those living along the entire Scarborough lakeshore, in The Beach and vicinity, Rosedale, Leaside, Sherwood Park, and Eglinton Park (Baine and McMurray 1984).



Map 12. British Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

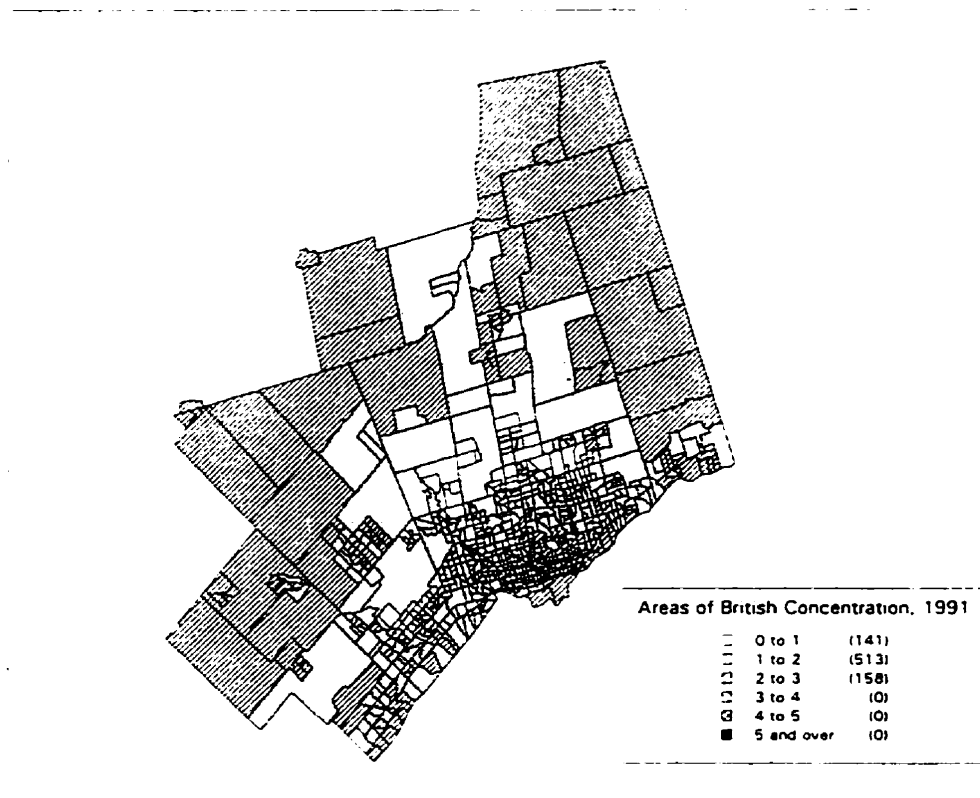


Map 13. British Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

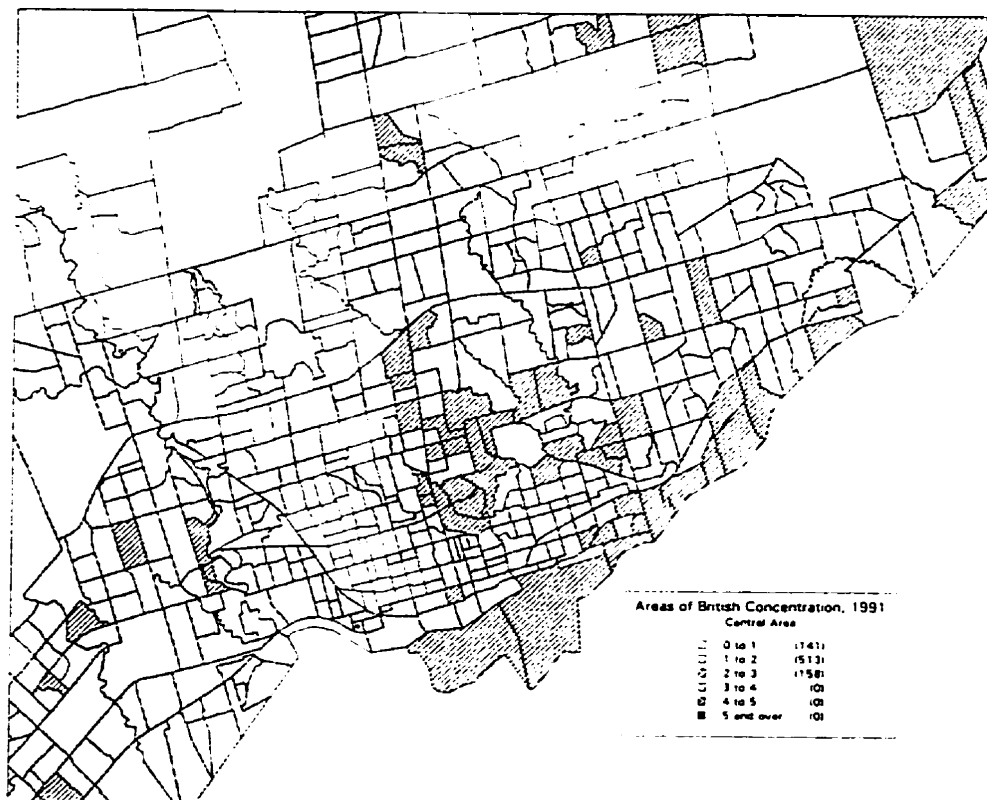
Extensive dispersion was also observed in 1991 with a noticeable absence of extremely concentrated areas (refer to Maps 14 and 15). Tracts with moderate density levels, however, were more prevalent. They were encountered in and imply the continued endurance of traditionally (contiguous) British neighbourhoods in Toronto-proper (Rosedale, Moore Park, Davisville, and a portion of Forest Hill), East York (Bennington Heights, Leaside, and a segment southeast of Thorncliffe extending to Birchmount via Clairlea), and North York (Sherwood Park, Don Mills, Bedford Park, Lawrence Park, and western York Mills) plus the Islands and Beach, and along Scarborough's lakeshore (from Birchcliff to Cliffcrest and in Guildwood). Isolated but adjacent tracts are also noted in central Scarborough (Dorset Park and Bendale), Thornhill, and Etobicoke (Markwood, Glen Agar and a portion of Humber Valley Village). The aforementioned territories are understood to coincide with earlier and/or intensified suburban concentrations which were not discernible in Maps 12 and 13. Slightly elevated concentrations are also evident in peripheral urbanized districts, including Aurora and Newmarket, and the rural townships. Exclusionary zones are essentially identical to those noted during 1981 with the addition of Agincourt Chinatown and vicinity.

### *Greek*

Toronto contains the world's fourth largest Hellenic population following Athens, Astoria in New York's borough of Queens, and Melbourne. Greek immigrants primarily originated from Macedonia followed, in declining proportions, by those from the Peloponnesse, Cyprus, the Dodecanese and Cyclades Islands, Rhodes, and then Crete (Nagata 1969). Ethnic Greeks from Egypt and Asia Minor are also present. The pre-1945 community was initially compartmentalized around Yonge and Carlton Streets and later in Cabbagetown (Heller 21 July 1983; Brearton 1996). During the 1960s, earlier entrants spread from their traditional reception area at Queen and Pape in Riverdale and established



Map 14. British Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 15. British Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



themselves along Danforth Avenue which became a disembarkment point for subsequent arrivals, especially after the Bloor-Danforth subway became operational in 1968, and Greektown's spine.<sup>8</sup> Although sporadic Greek settlement in this neighbourhood occurred during the late 1940s, it was a lower middle class realm inhabited by British residents until the mid-1950s when Italians momentarily replaced them (Kasher 1997). Little Athens displayed a weak sense of community during its incipient phase due to ambiguous boundaries. Internal stratification, namely local (i.e. village or island) and regional affiliations, was spatially translated among the 1967-1968 immigrant influx as multiple urban entry points (Nagata 1969). Some newcomers took up residence in the vicinity of Queen and Bathurst Streets (Kumove 1975). A predisposition towards nucleated settlement was attributable to nomination arrangements (i.e. chain migration), employment opportunities in sponsor-operated businesses and affordable housing (Chimbos 1980). Established members moved to suburban districts in East York and Scarborough at their earliest opportunity in an "outward radial" pattern according to Burnely and Kalbach (1984). Nonetheless, very high concentration levels persisted throughout the 1980s in spite of significant outmigration from the Danforth enclave which was hastened by rising downtown property values.<sup>9</sup> Commercial establishments continue to be owned and operated by Greeks, many of whom commute from the suburbs (Monsebratten 1984; Fulford 1997). The Danforth remains the Hellenic community's social, cultural, and retail anchor.<sup>10</sup>

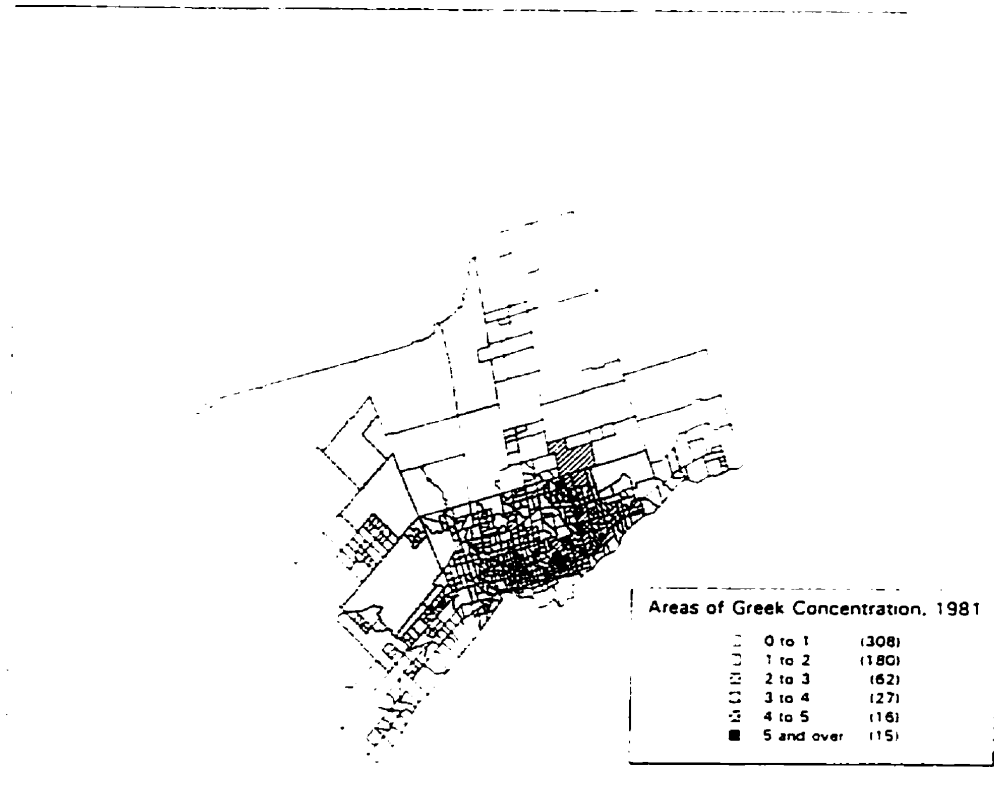
According to Maps 16 and 17, a series of contiguous census tracts clustered around the Danforth axis registered the greatest amount of concentration in 1981. Other places of overrepresentation are secondary relocation destinations from Greektown and the Queen-

---

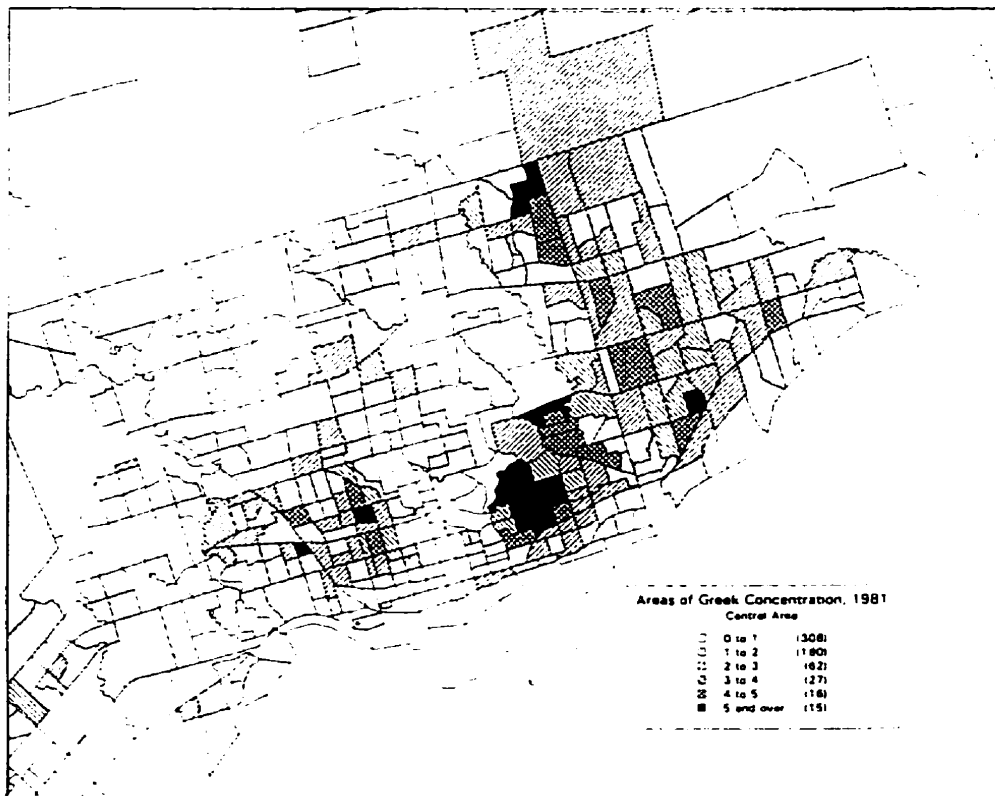
<sup>8</sup> Burnley (1976) also observed that Melbourne's Greek enclave developed along and around a thoroughfare.

<sup>9</sup> Greek restaurants expanded and multiplied with increased demand during the early-1980s when "the first wave of proto-yuppie immigration sandblasted its way into the area" (Brearton 1996, 14).

<sup>10</sup> Testifying to this sentimental attachment, an internet homepage was dedicated to Toronto's Greektown (<http://www.togreektown.com>). It includes an interactive map of Danforth Avenue, between Pape and Jackman Avenues, which identifies professional services, retail shops, restaurants, cafes, subway stations and parking facilities. A similar website exists for Detroit's counterpart.



Map 16. Greek Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



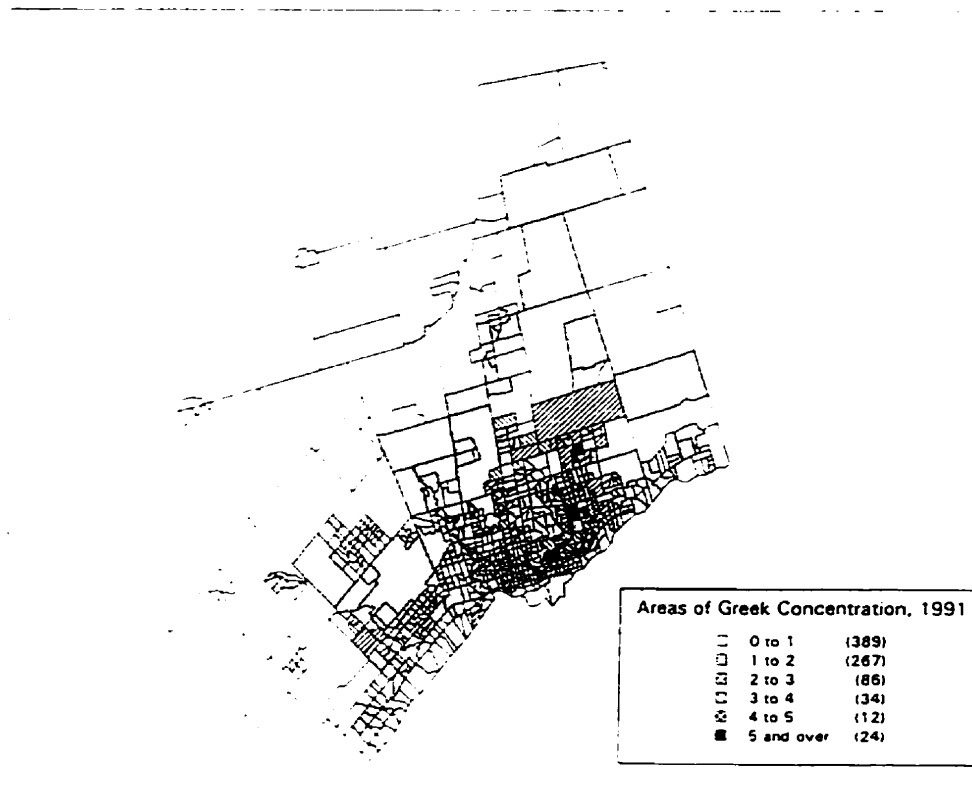
Map 17. Greek Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

Bathurst reception area (i.e. Oakwood and around The Junction). An almost equal number of tracts containing comparatively elevated density levels are either contiguous to or near the aforementioned locations. Those in Scarborough (e.g. Kennedy Park and Maryvale) are dispersed and oriented in a north-south direction. The overall concentration pattern resembles an ill defined j-shape.

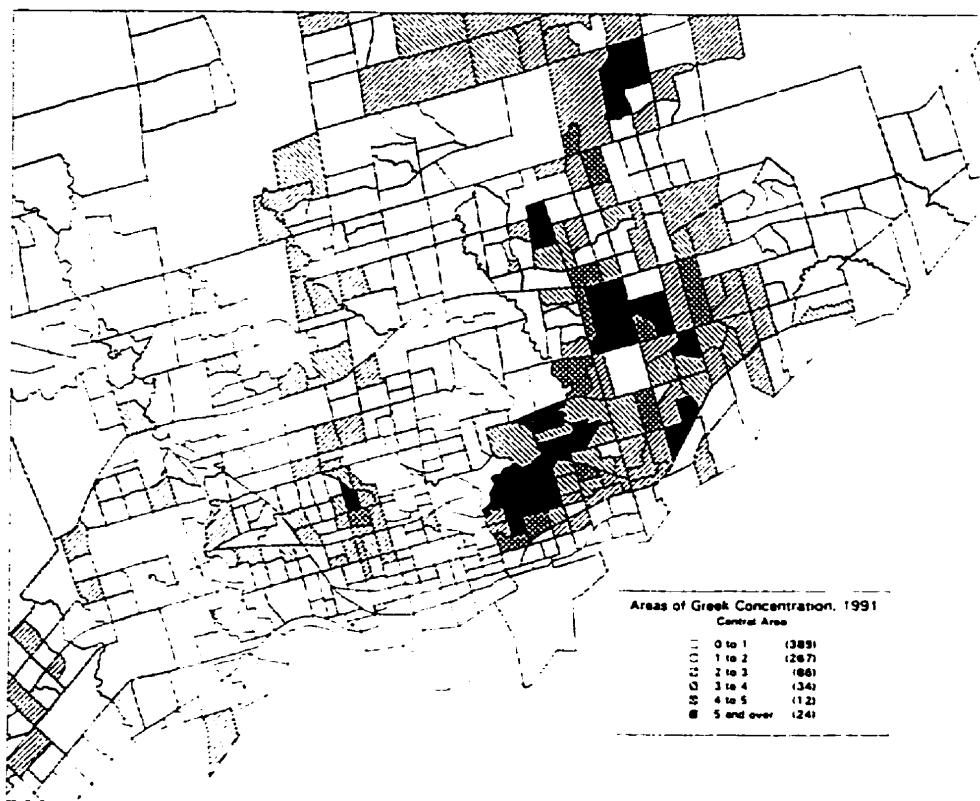
LQ values based on 1991 census data reveal a northeastern expansion of the Danforth enclave at the expense of its southeastern fringe along with the development of fragmented clusters in Scarborough around the Danforth-Birchmount and Birchmount-Ellesmere junctions through increased concentration. A new suburban enclosure emerged in Unionville (refer to Maps 18 and 19). The isolated Oakwood remnant remained visibly Greek while many sites around The Junction maintain acutely diminished degrees of compactness. Areas of absence or minimal representation lie within the fringe. In general, Canadian Greeks exhibit a multinucleated residential apportionment in which the primary cluster has endured while other areas of population density with a Hellenic signature have been established in the eastern boroughs and outer suburbs. There are indications that other ethnic groups are penetrating into or more becoming numerous in Greektown (e.g. spillover Chinese and newly arrived Central Americans).

### *Jewish*

An absence of general population dispersion, spatial compactness, and residency in concordant neighbourhoods distinguish the Jewish collectivity. Exceptionally high concentration levels have been maintained in defiance of suburban relocation during the 1950s and subsequent decades (City of Toronto Planning Board 1974; Harvey 1984; Lai 1988). Extensive concentration with outward sectoral migration has been attributed to the voluntary preservation of group cohesiveness (Wong 1982). Increased socio-economic



Map 18. Greek Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 19. Greek Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

status has not resulted in the enclave's dissolution but rather its displacement. Religious, cultural and social institutions were transplanted or reestablished with this group's northward expansion. The Jewish community is primarily of central and eastern European origins. Expatriates from Poland, Romania and Russia arrived throughout the 1920s followed by those leaving Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Latvia and Hungary a decade later (Ward 08 December 1985). Immediate post-war entrants included Holocaust survivors, whose numbers effectively expanded the population, and Sephardic Jews from northern Africa (Carey 1983). The (former) Soviet Union, Israel, and South Africa have been primary source countries since the 1970s. A substantial exodus out of Montréal also occurred around the same time. Descendants of Polish Jews dominate the CMA's Jewish constituents while those in Montréal and Winnipeg are Russian Jews (Ward 08 December 1985). Foreign-born members integrate themselves into the indigenous assemblage by initially settling and relocating within the enclave afterwards.<sup>11</sup>

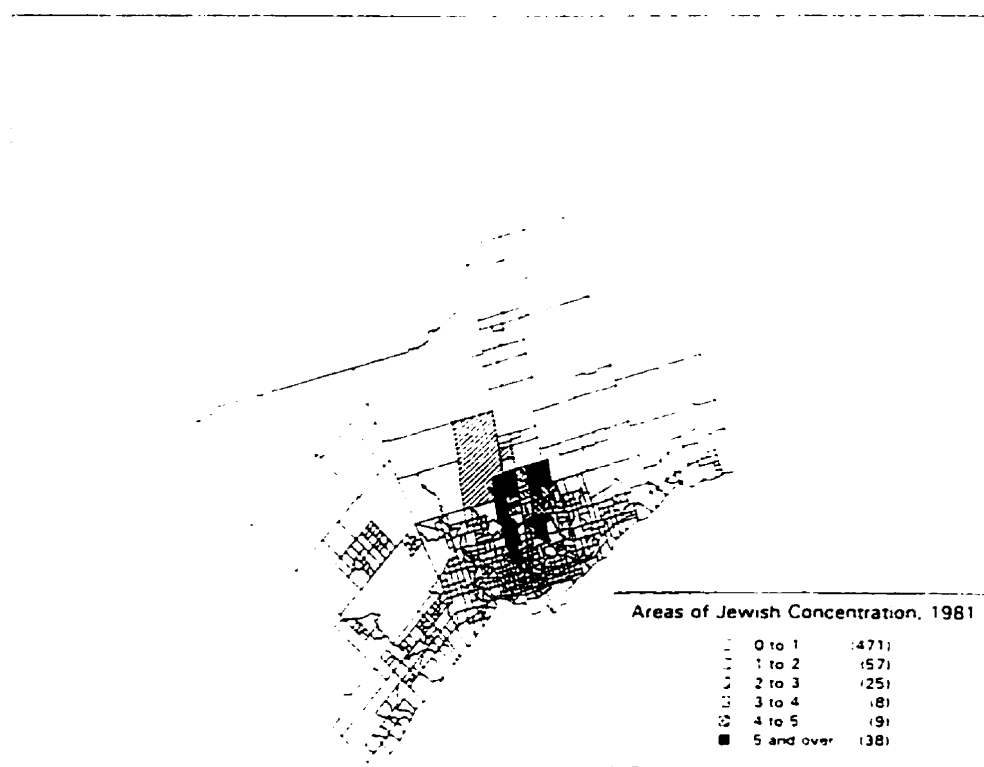
Early immigrants from England, the United States and Russia residing along York and Richmond Streets gradually moved northward into the Ward, an area bounded by Queen, College, and Yonge Streets as well as University Avenue (Carey 1983). Subsequent overseas admissions were attracted to the Kensington Market and Spadina reception areas between 1900 and 1930 (Relph 1997). Many households abandoned these neighbourhoods, with others bypassing Forest Hill's coveted addresses to which wealthy Jewish families relocated, as they began to migrate northwards along Bathurst Avenue all through the 1940s. This suburban movement reached its climax during the late-1950s as labour market participation shifted away from the garment industry (City of Toronto Planning Board 1974; Carey 1983; Hiebert 1983). Downsview was inhabited by Jews since 1956.

---

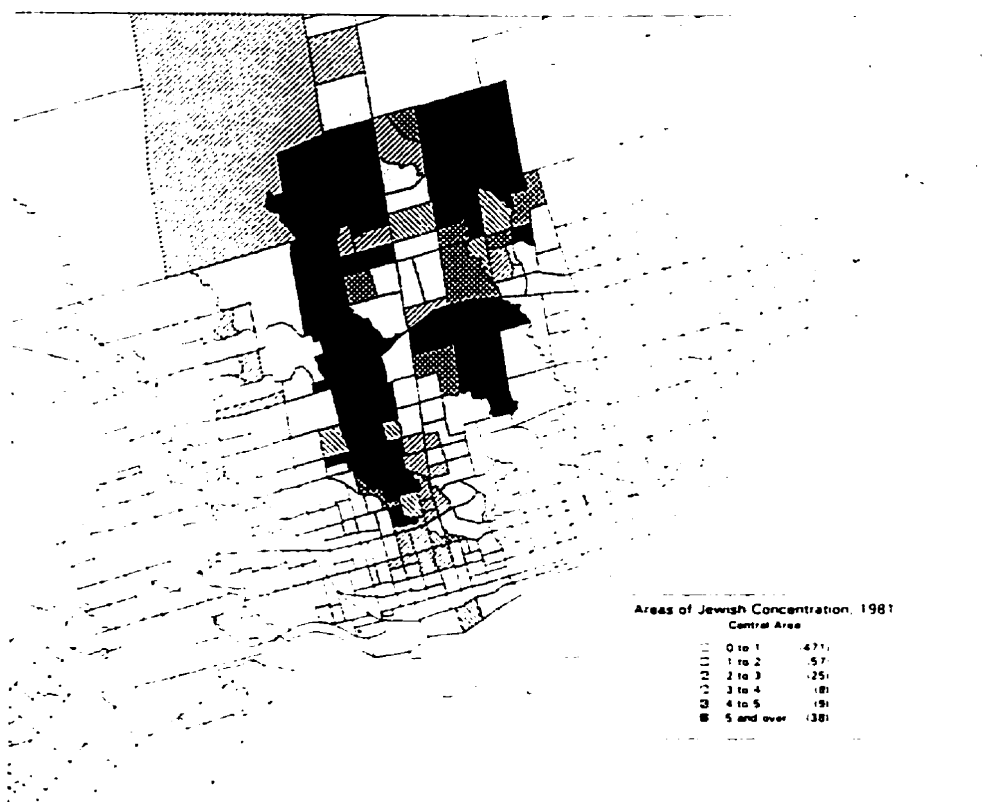
<sup>11</sup>This concept along with that of ethnic cluster development within the Jewish enclave are discussed in the section addressing ethnic concentration patterns according to immigration period.

Maps 20 through 23 clearly indicate that Canada's largest Jewish population is not randomly distributed throughout the CMA. It is concentrated in two parallel narrow bands indicative of a segmented sectoral alignment characteristic of income status apportionment. These regions were evident in 1971 with an inexactly defined eastern entity (Kumove 1975; Hill 1976). The first one extends northward along Bathurst Street, north of Davenport Road, through North York into Concord and Thornhill. It is respectively bounded to the west and east by Dufferin Street and Avenue Road. This remains the heart of Jewish Toronto's residential, religious, cultural, and commercial lives. Indeed, residential districts flanking Bathurst between Sheppard and Finch Avenues are collectively nicknamed 'Gaza Heights' (Jenkins 1995). In eastern Vaughan and neighbouring sections of North York, the occidental segment reaches out to Yonge Street. The second band, which has become fragmented at the centre (i.e. Willowdale), is aligned along Bayview Road between Rosedale and Richmond Hill. It includes prosperous districts of York Mills, Bayview, and Thornhill. Gad, Peddie and Punter (1973, 178) note that this detached cluster, which developed in Bayview, is traceable to "a small group of affluent, mobile Jews with young families who are mutual friends." Since these bands are not interconnected by any highly concentrated tracts, the place where they just touch along Wilson Avenue is commonly known as the 'Gaza Strip' (Jenkins 1995). Given sufficient future population density in southwestern Richmond Hill, the two parallel sectors might be united by contiguous tracts to form a Π-shaped residential configuration. Jews are absent or strongly underrepresented elsewhere.

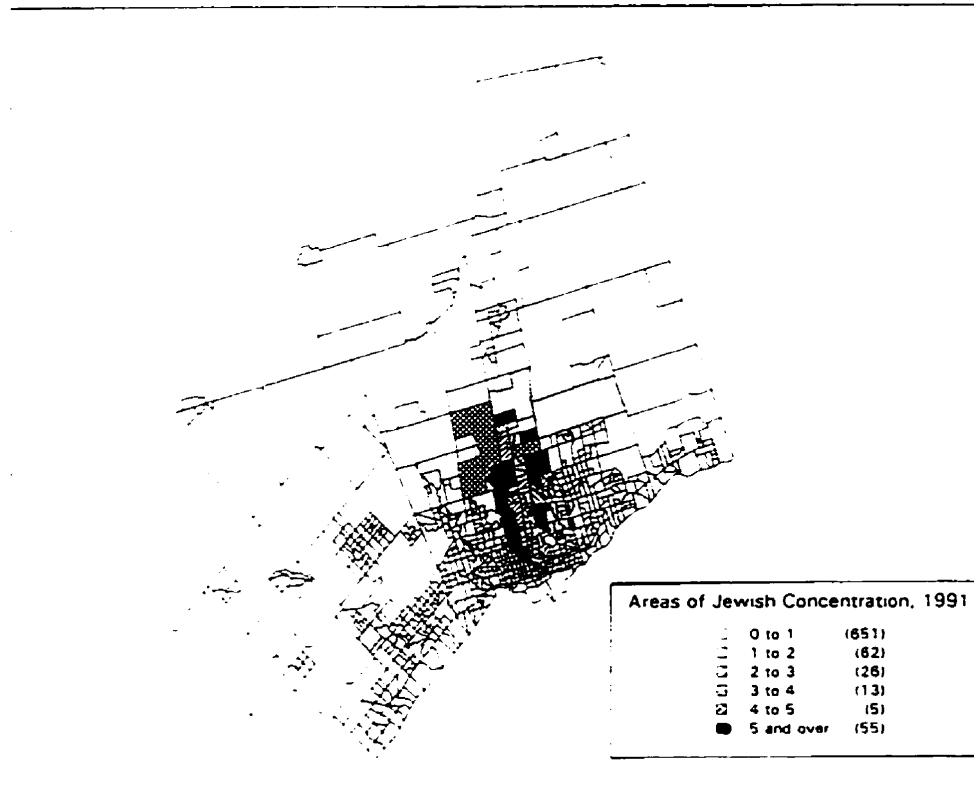
Households generally alternate their dwelling location along the Bathurst and Bayview axes in accordance with increased prosperity, family requirements and employment location. Movement between the corridors does occur yet neighbourhood stability persists. It is maintained by a greater residential property turnover period. The mean interval in 'Gaza Heights' is fifteen years while that of other metropolitan districts ranges between three to five years (Harvey 1984). Although the Jewish population has effectively vacated



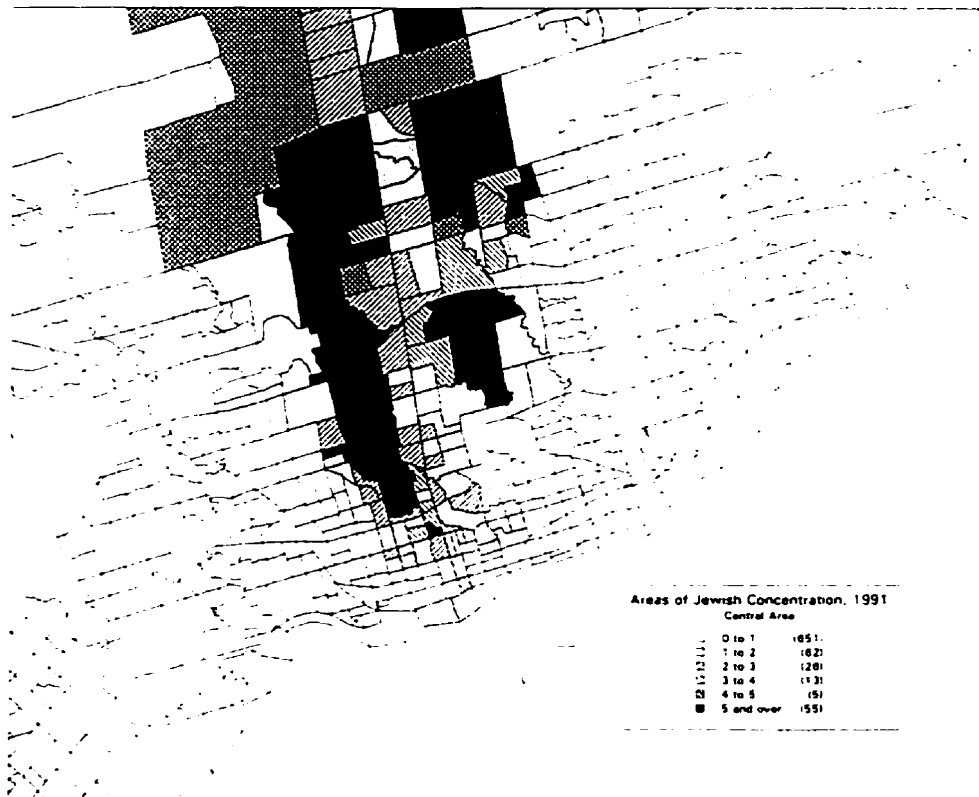
Map 20. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 21. Jewish Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



Map 22. Jewish Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 23. Jewish Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



its original concentration along the southern portion of Spadina Avenue, a diverse segment has returned to the urban core (McNenly 1987; Waksman 1996). This reverse migration trend was initiated during the early 1970s and complemented by immigrant arrivals. Young persons and older couples were respectively attracted by more affordable housing and condominium arrangements in Yorkville. A centralized enclave, which evolved around the Yonge-Bloor intersection, was evident in 1981. This area could become a component of the occidental band if concentration levels in it and adjacent tracts continue to increase as they did in 1991.

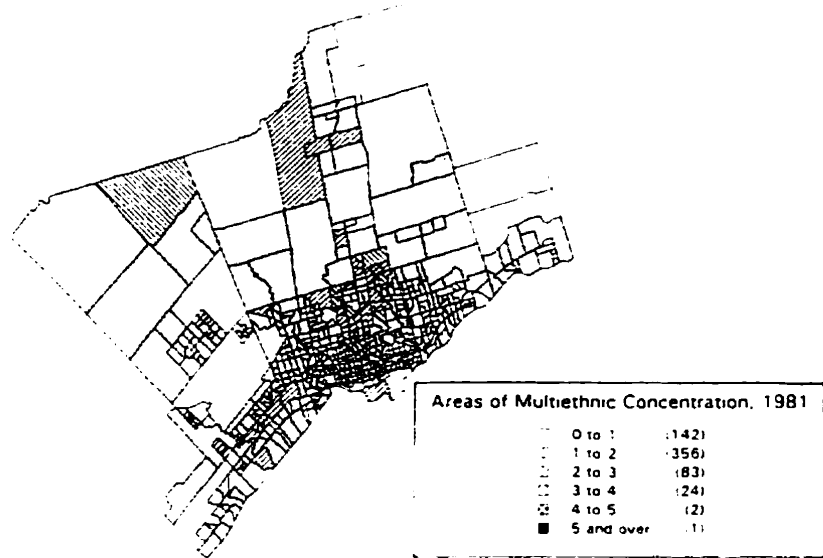
### *Multiethnic*

Multiethnic population density patterns are strikingly similar to those of the reference group. Constituents have become increasingly dispersed throughout the CMA. The number and location of coterminous census tracts with high LQ values have respectively declined and shifted eastwards. These changes reflect the acceptance, definition, and enumeration of multiple ethnic origins.<sup>12</sup> They also suggest that a greater degree of loyalty is placed upon individual relations (i.e. family and kin) instead of an aggregate identity. Attachment to specific cultural neighbourhoods is marginal (Kumove 1975).

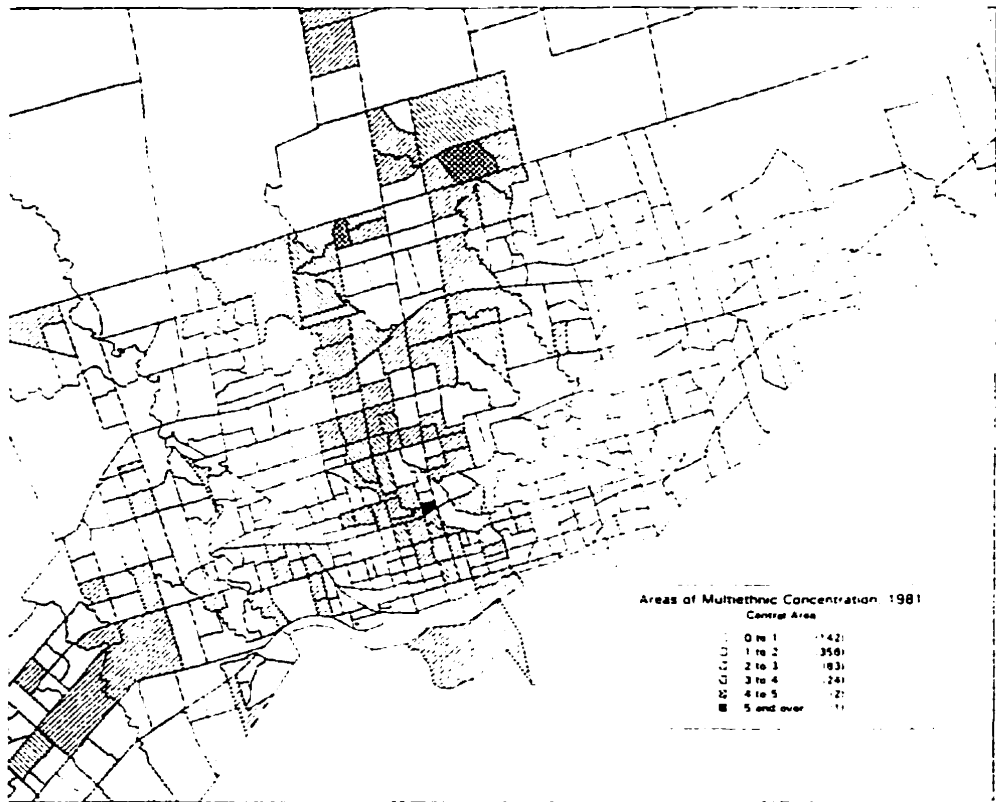
Three solitary and strewn tracts contained greater than normal Multiethnic consolidations in 1981 (refer to Maps 24 and 25). The Yorkville concentration plus one heavily populated suburban quarter in Willowdale respectively coincided with the occidental Jewish corridor's southern and northern limits while the Willowbrooke neighbourhood corresponded with the eastern counterpart's northern boundary. Clusters of adjacent tracts with intermediate densities were also scattered along Bathurst Street and Bayview Avenue.

---

<sup>12</sup> Australian studies also indicate a significant mixing of ethnic groups has resulted in the emergence of a multicultural identity (Grimes 1993).



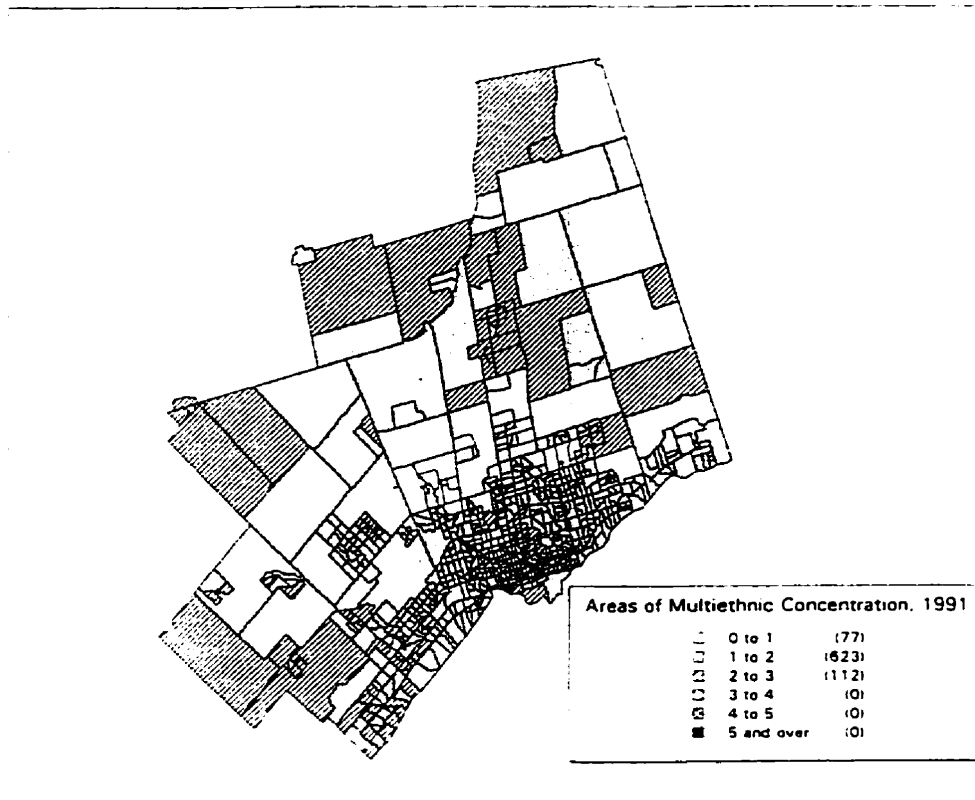
Map 24. Multiethnic Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



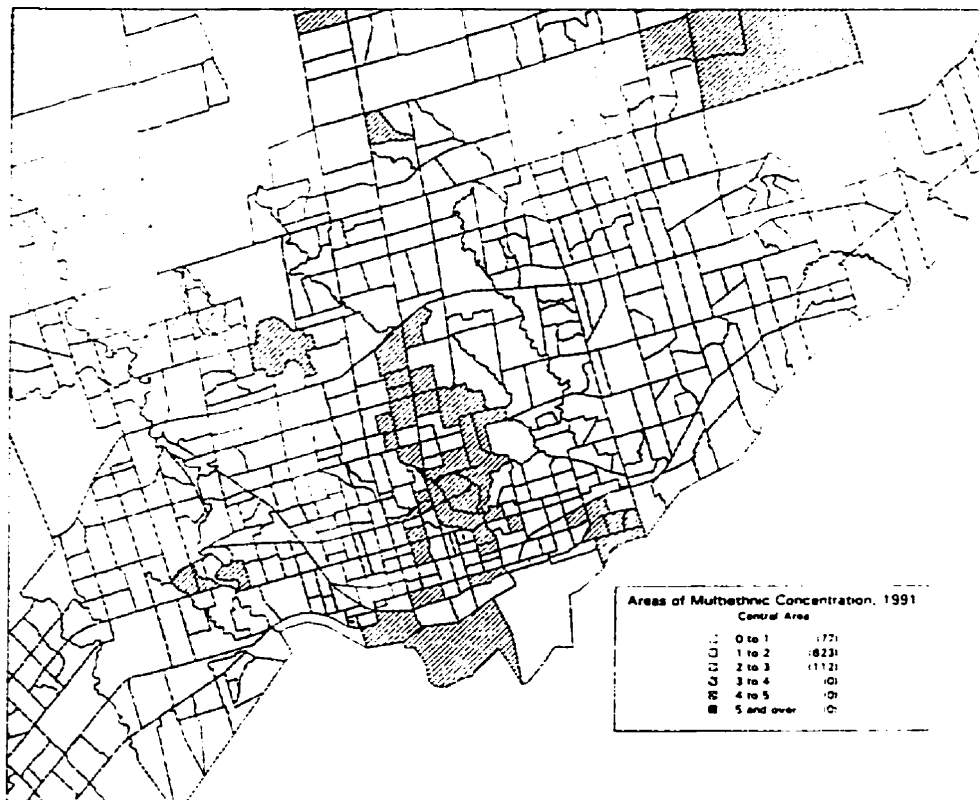
Map 25. Multiethnic Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

The prospect of including individuals with partial Jewish origins in the “European and Other” category is minimal. They would have been assigned to the “Jewish and Other” classification. It is possible that these respondent identified with the Jewish community on religious grounds. Multiethnic persons were notably absent or marginally represented in Greektown, some outer suburban zones, and a few outlying fringe areas.

By 1991, the extent of underrepresentation decreased such that Multiethnic residents were much more evenly spread out with moderate concentrations evident in peripheral and lakeshore districts (refer to Maps 26 and 27). No enduring enclaves materialized yet twice up to, but not exceeding, three times the number of Multiethnics congregated in an offset elliptical area whose major and minor axes are Jarvis Street - Mount Pleasant Road (between Carlton and Highway 401) and Eglinton Avenue (between Spadina Road and Laird Drive). Reduced LQ values exist at and around the mean centre which encompasses parts of Forest Hill and Rosedale. This area’s apparent directional displacement and concordance with inherently Britannic districts are ascribed to mutable perceptions of ethnic affiliation rather than being exclusively a function of group migration. Similar concentration levels exist in disparate metropolitan locations once associated with the British and scattered peripheral sites. Given the Multiethnic community’s disposition towards domiciliary integration and decentralization, members are expected to be predominantly overrepresented in an increasingly limited number of tracts. It is furthermore assumed that this collectivity will continue to imitate the reference population’s residential dispersion trend.



Map 26. Multiethnic Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 27. Multiethnic Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

*Aboriginal*

In their search for employment opportunities and improved housing conditions, many of Canada's original residents moved from their remote and rural reservations to urban areas. This exodus commenced during the early-1950s and reached its upper extremity by the mid-1960s such that 60% of all Aboriginals now dwell in urban areas (Comeau and Santin 1995). Some individuals migrate between ancestral territories and large cities but a considerable number stay behind in metropolitan locations (Bilodeau 1985; Harding 1989c). Although the highest number of urban Natives live in Metropolitan Toronto, they constitute a higher proportion of all persons in Winnipeg, Regina and Saskatoon. Census data accuracy regarding group size and areal distribution is complicated by migrant non-response and variations in self-identification among permanent urban residents (Peters 1995). Demographic information collected by local Native organizations between 1977 and 1981 indicates that a considerable segment of their clients originated from Sudbury and its environs, notably Manitoulin Island, followed by the Peterborough, London, and James Bay areas (Harding 1989c). Unlike immigrants, Aboriginals can return to these areas with minimal effort and expense thus impeding the conditions required to create a fixed urban reserve (Nagler 1970). Nonetheless, they constitute a pronounced underclass which is differentiated in terms of residential location (Goldberg and Mercer 1986). Concentrated sections of Cabbagetown, Regent Park, St. James Town, and Parkdale were identified as being points of initial residence and subsequent intra-urban migration during the late-1960s and early-1970s (Nagler 1970; Kumove 1975; McCaskill 1979).

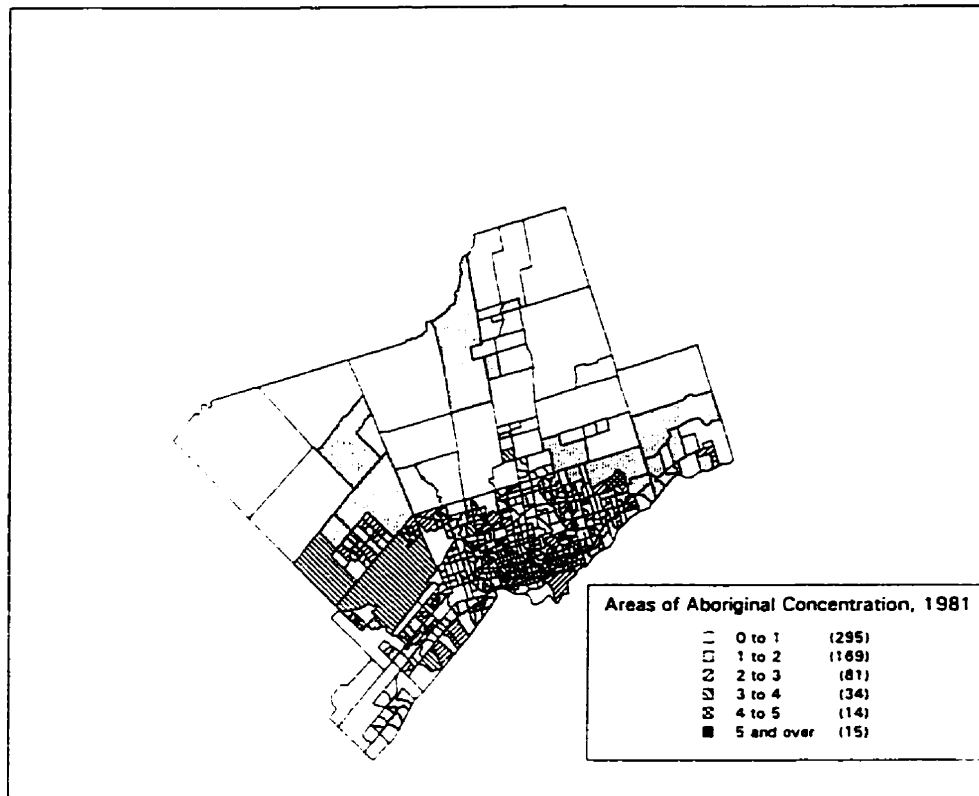
Nearly all of the CMA's Aboriginal population is congregated in dispersed pockets which are either located near one of twenty Native institutions or situated in low amenity areas close to older industrial sites and civic yards (Comeau and Santin 1995; Clatworthy, Hall and Loughran 1995). These social and cultural centres evolved from extended interpersonal networks based on informal interactions among early migrants residing in neighbourhoods where they were accepted (Friders 1988). The Jarvis-Dundas district, near

Old Cabbagetown, was noted by Nagler (1970) in this respect during the incipient stage of community development when band and family ties restrained the emergence of a common group identity. Consequent to population intensification, these institutions attracted subsequent migrants. Housing access, adequacy, and quality are often limited by landlord discrimination and fixed incomes (Maidman 1981; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1993). Desperate for lodging, many end up renting apartments in crowded buildings or homes in undesirable surroundings. Some qualify for subsidized public and private-sector arrangements in scattered dwelling units.<sup>13</sup>

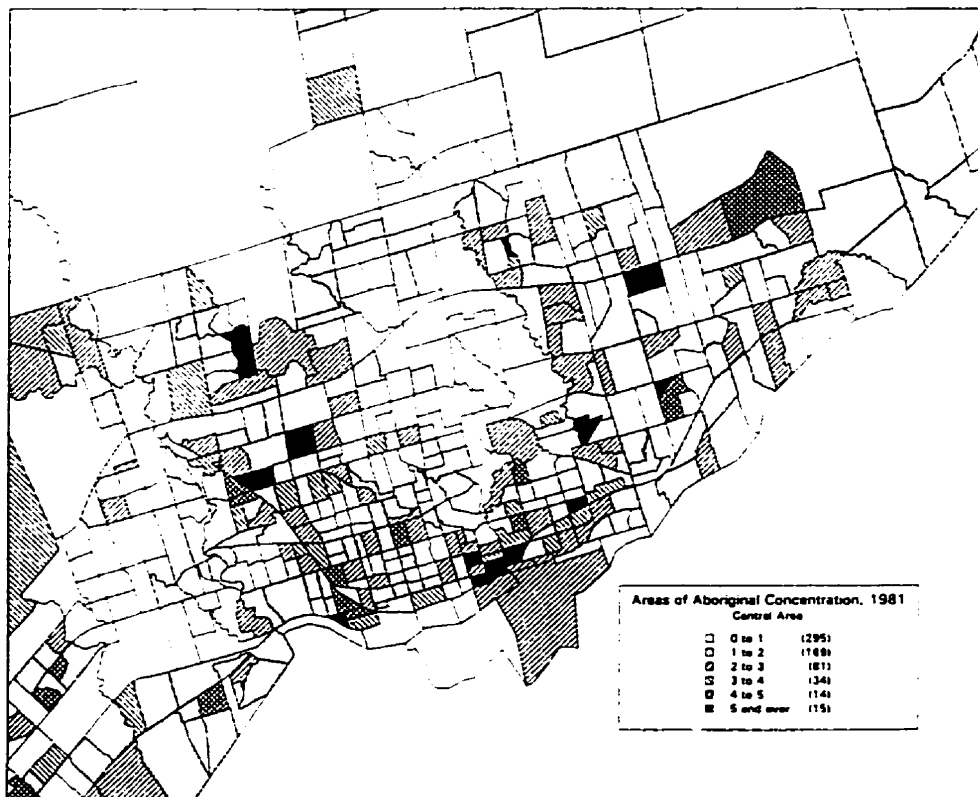
In accordance with previous research, Maps 28 and 29 indicate that Aboriginal concentrations were scattered throughout the built-up area in 1981. The core area cluster encompasses Cabbagetown, Regent Park, St. James Town, and Riverdale in addition to the St. Lawrence neighbourhood. Native Canadians have been residing there in converted buildings geared to the low end rental market since 1979. Overrepresentation was maintained in Parkdale and evident in the Annex. Metropolitan enclaves include the Ellesmere and Malvern neighbourhoods, a mixed-use zone between Ionview and Kennedy Park, Parkhill, and Mount Denis. An isolated suburban tract is noted in Bramalea. Elevated concentrations persisted in 1991. There was a westward extension into the outer suburbs and fringe along in a pattern resembling a rotated  $\lambda$ -shape (refer to Maps 30 and 31). A fragmented enclave developed in The Junction. Absence is pronounced in a significant proportion of the fringe except in and around Sutton which is near the Chippewas of Georgina Island First Nations Territory. Downtown concentration is expected to increase given the construction of eighty non-profit residential units for indigenous peoples (Monsebraaten 1995). Landholding redevelopment in centralized areas and 'pricing out' promise to further redistribute Aboriginal households.

---

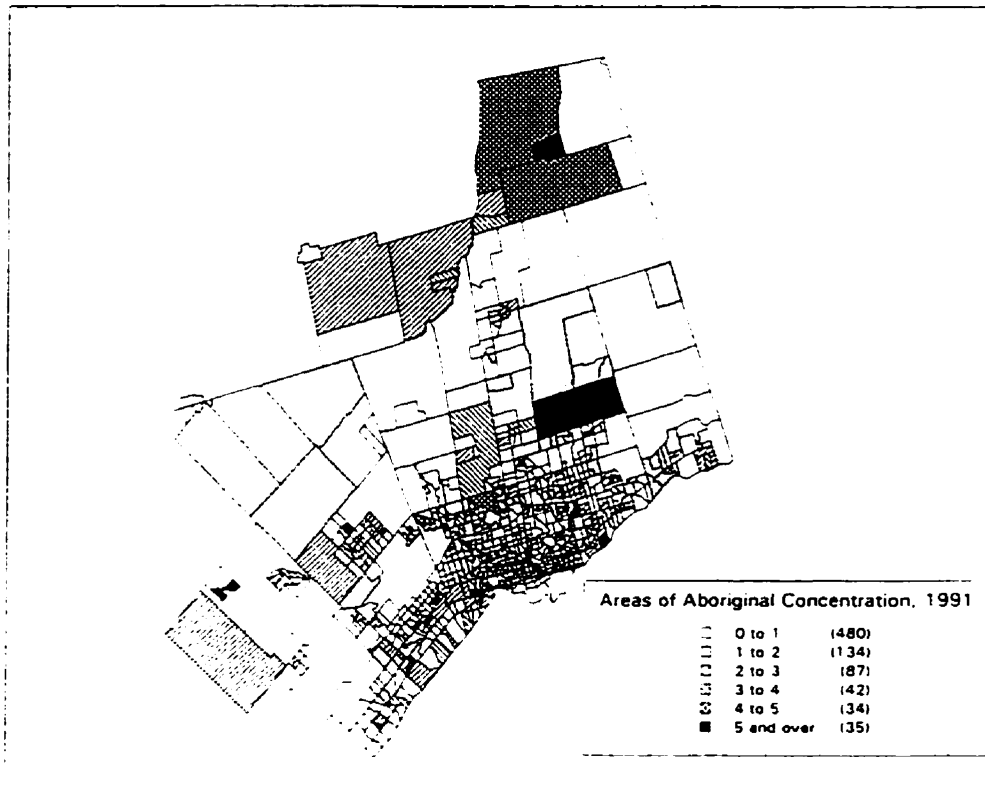
<sup>13</sup> Wigwamen, a Native non-profit housing corporation, has been providing assisted rental accommodation in single-detached quarters since 1973. During the mid-1980s, 570 Aboriginals lived in one of 250 units (i.e. 10 homes) which were dispersed throughout Metropolitan Toronto and aimed at larger or extended families (Brant 1986). A senior citizens building consisting of 103 units has been operating since 1979.



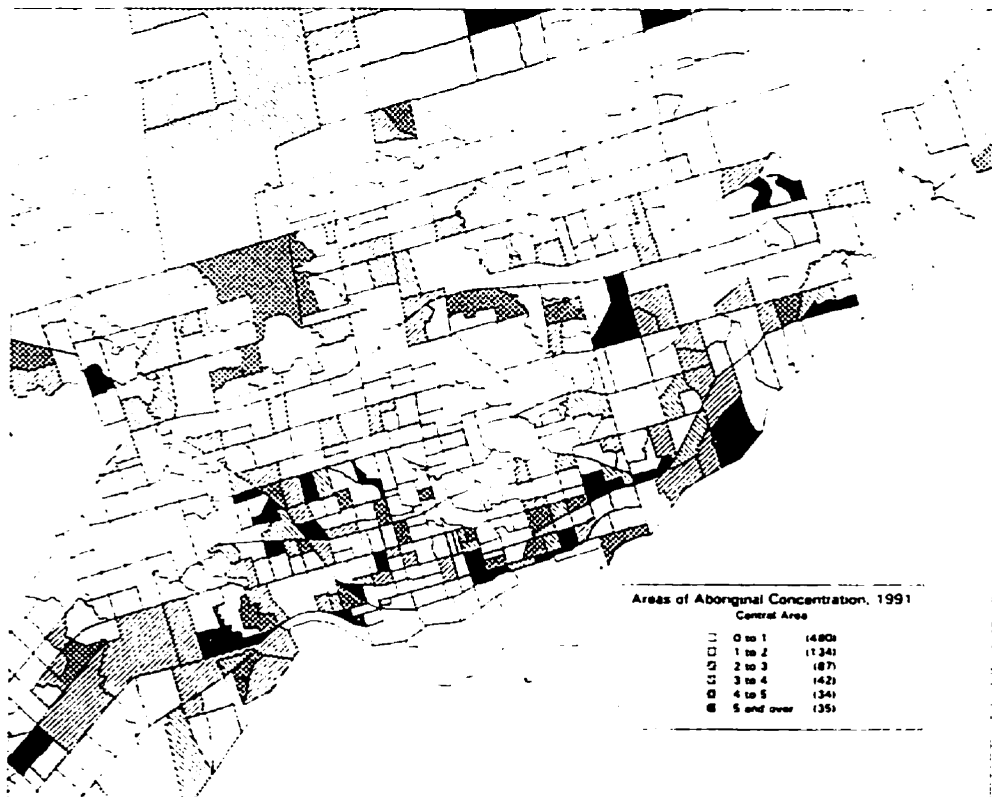
Map 28. Aboriginal Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 29. Aboriginal Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



Map 30. Aboriginal Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 31. Aboriginal Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



### *Chinese*

Four major immigration waves are represented among Chinese residents: single male sojourners from rural southern China who came to work on the railroads and were unable to return after their homeland became a People's Republic (1880-1947), elite young adults from Hong Kong and Taiwan and some sponsored family members from mainland China (1947-1975), ethnic Chinese refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos (1975-1985), affluent entrepreneurs, investors and professionals from Hong Kong and Taiwan (post-1986) (Thompson 1989; Harding 1989a). Toronto's Chinese community, one of the most visible, largest and established groups, experienced numerous relocations which resulted in four distinct and dispersed concentrations. Core area development during the 1910s displaced a developing business cluster along Queen Street (east of George Street) westbound to another one around the junction of Queen and York Streets (Wong 1982; Lai 1988). The intersection of Elizabeth and Dundas Streets became a community focal point during the mid-1920s (Thompson 1989). With the rapid northward population expansion and intensification along Elizabeth Street between Queen and Dundas Streets throughout the 1930s, an ethno-specific neighbourhood (Old Chinatown) formed. Much of this area was expropriated and demolished between the late-1950s and early-1960s to provide adequate space for a new city hall. Continued demographic and redevelopment pressures upon the remains of Old Chinatown quickly lead to the emergence of a new concentration (Chinatown West) on Dundas Street between Spadina Road and Beverley Street. Situated in a formerly Jewish district, this transplanted enclave was not precisely delimited or sufficiently formed up to 1975 (Con 1982). The Chinese were relatively dispersed until an influx of post-1967 Hong Kong emigrants settled in Chinatown West and transformed its socio-economic and physical characteristics (Johnston 1983).<sup>14</sup> Residential mobility was often directed towards adjacent neighbourhoods such as the Grange and Kensington Market (Holden 1985; Thompson 1989). The Spadina axis' function as an immigrant

---

<sup>14</sup> They contributed to Chinatown West's formation, expansion, and durability (Wong 1980; Lai 1988).

reception area began to decline during the early-1970s when affordable accommodation became difficult to find (Lai 1988; Thompson 1989). Chinatown East, as a result, took shape in Riverdale around the Broadview-Gerrard intersection. Initially catching the spillover of working-class immigrants from an increasingly congested Chinatown West, it attracted newly arrived diaspora refugees and underprivileged newcomers from China and Taiwan. This enclave is primarily residential in comparison to its occidental opposite (mixed land-use) and Old Chinatown (commercial-institutional function).

Suburban transition began in the mid-1970s as second generation members sought less expensive properties in Scarborough.<sup>15</sup> The exodus to Agincourt, often dubbed 'Asiencourt' by locals, was engineered by a few entrepreneurs who persuaded their clients to relocate their firms and construct a series of retail plazas along Sheppard Avenue East in response to existing clusters of extended families living near one another. Real-estate brokers then began promoting the district to middle-class households and upwardly mobile professionals during the early-1980s (McAndrew 1984; Goldfarb 1985). This area became a port of entry for the rapidly expanding number of migrant investors and sponsored relatives from Hong Kong. Some affluent arrivals leapfrogged Agincourt and went directly to either Richmond Hill or Markham while others established themselves in Rosedale (Gray 1992).<sup>16</sup> These entrepreneurs are transforming the Chinese community's spatial distribution and neighbourhood ethnic composition by developing suburban shopping facilities and condominiums that attempt to replicate the environment and atmosphere of Kowloon, Hong Kong's core area (Murray 1995; Spears 1995; Lu 1996). Lacking the visual chaos and spatial compactness of downtown concentrations, emerging suburban enclaves (e.g. Willowdale) are also centred upon service-oriented establishments yet their

---

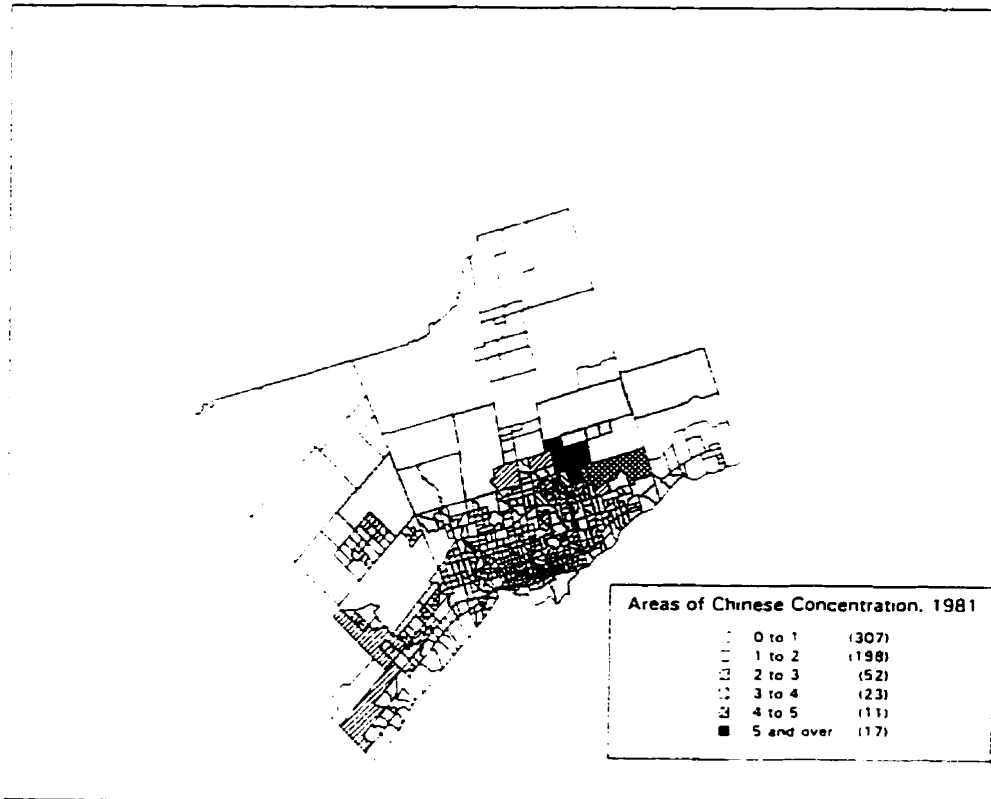
<sup>15</sup> Other ethnic groups, such as the Greeks, settled in Toronto decades after the Chinese yet migrated to suburban locales before them (Gorrie 1991).

<sup>16</sup> Richmond Hill's Chinese population, which expanded from less than a thousand to nearly 15,000 between 1986 and 1991, is expected reach 30,000 by the year 2000 while Scarborough, which tripled its contingent, will register the CMA's greatest concentration and Markham's six-fold growth will be complimented by a 73% increase (Spears 1995; Lu 1996).

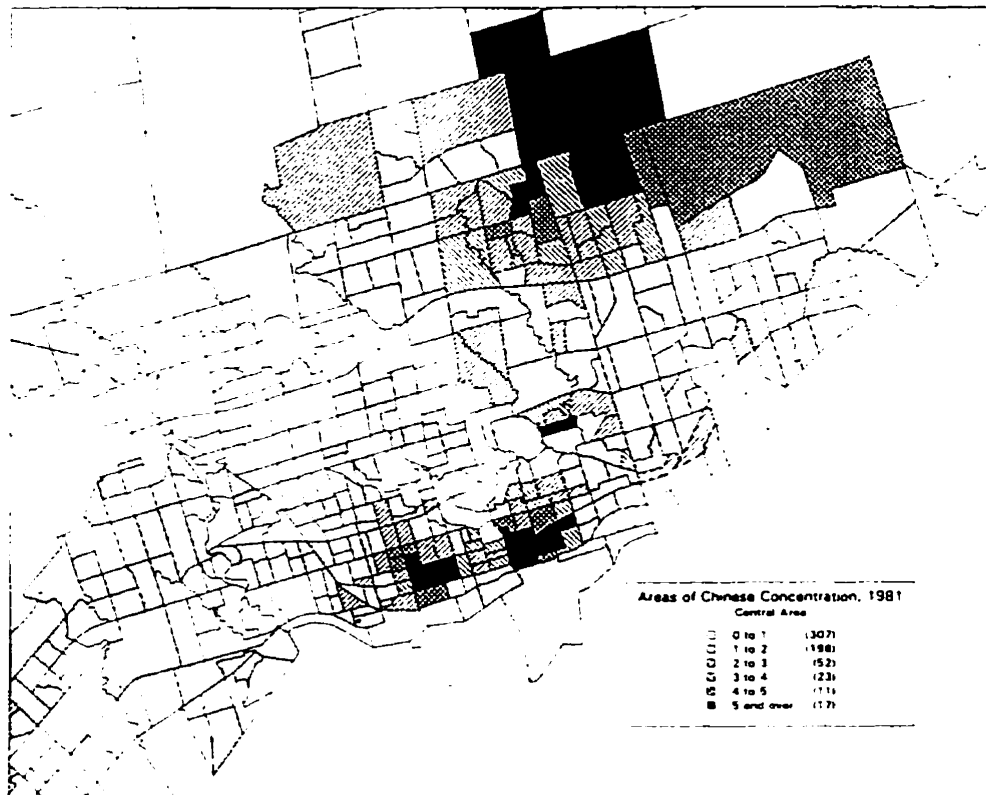
inhabitants are hardly noticeable within adjacent quarters containing similar dwelling types.

Four primary areas of residential concentration were evident in 1981 as per Maps 32 and 33. Of these, two were highly centralized and compact (i.e. Chinatown West and East). A single census tract containing remnants of Old Chinatown continued to register exceedingly elevated LQ levels. This particular neighbourhood borders Chinatown West. Another densely populated tract without previous Chinese overrepresentation was noted in Flemington Park. It appears to have been a location of temporary domiciliation during the suburbanization process but is more likely attributable to refugees from Vietnam in public-sector housing. The outer cluster is sufficiently developed and dispersed such that it includes Agincourt, L'Amreux Park, their immediate vicinities, along with adjoining tracts in North York (namely, McNicoll-Woodbine and Clysdale) and Markham (around Market Village at Kennedy Road and Steels Avenue). Its expanse and magnitude of intensification are indicative of an expeditious growth rate which occurred during the incipient phase of suburban community development (Ward 10 November 1985). Elevated concentrations were registered nearby in the Bayview-Seneca Hill district. Moderate population density levels could also be encountered within the moneyed neighbourhood known informally as the Bridle Path which lies northeast of Sherwood Park.

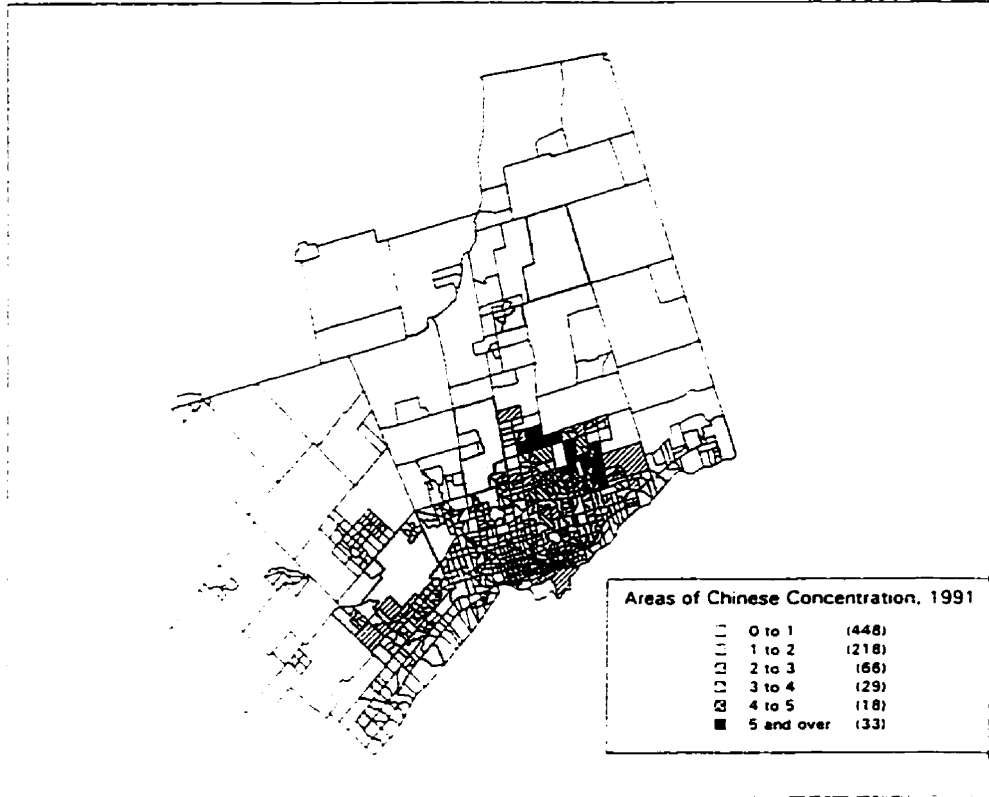
Maps 34 and 35 identify changes in the intensity and direction of residential concentration captured during 1991. The scale of overrepresentation decreased somewhat in Old Chinatown while its downtown correlates' spatial boundaries were altered. Possessing an aging population with lower income status and housing stock, Chinatown West no longer retains its peripheral extensions north of College and south of Queen Streets. This enclave is more geographically compressed notwithstanding a minor occidental shift along the latter thoroughfare. Modified LQ levels in Chinatown East suggest that its areal extent has also been reduced. Closer inspection discloses that increased concentration along its principal axis, Gerrard Street East, has pushed the oriental boundary outwards. The suburban cluster seems to have become fragmented due to census



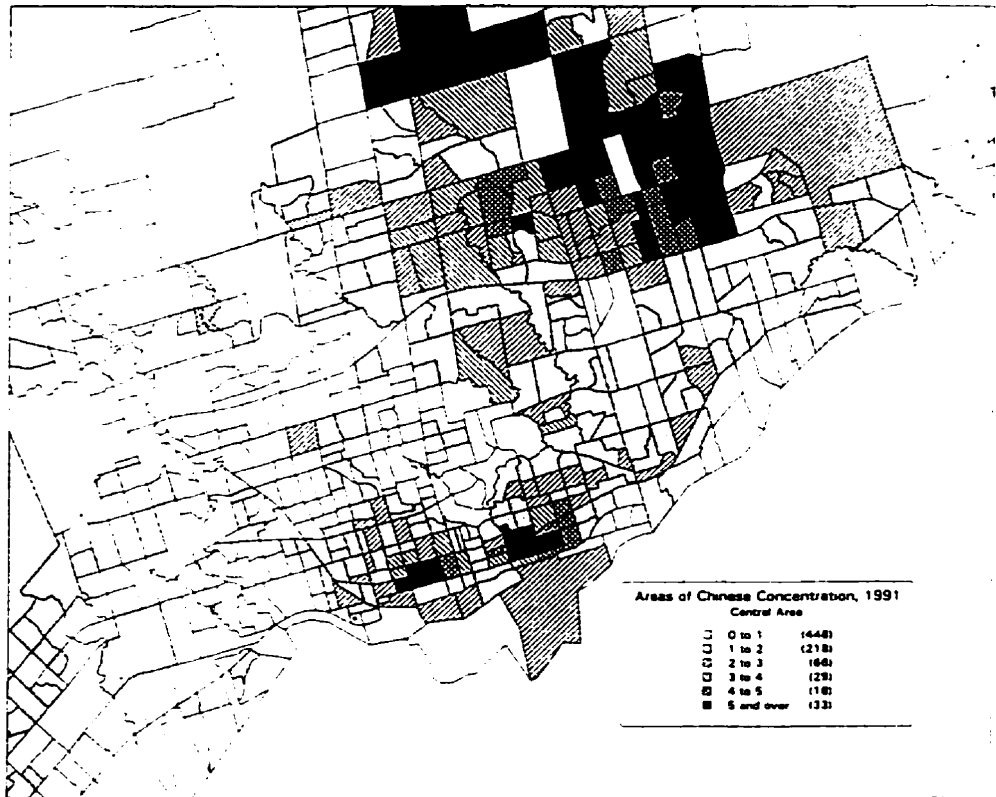
Map 32. Chinese Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 33. Chinese Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



Map 34. Chinese Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 35. Chinese Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

tract boundary changes. It has expanded south and eastwards to include most of north-central Scarborough and spilled-over into adjoining urbanized areas of Markham, Richmond Hill, and Thornhill. In essence, the Chinese population is characterized by a city-suburban dichotomy which involves reconcentration into distinct districts along the suburban edge (Bourne 1985). While each enclave possesses its own identity and represents a different community development stage, Chinatown West and its unique streetscape remain a focal point for Chinese retail, commercial and cultural activities.

### *Jamaican*

Although the analysis of residential concentration patterns among Jamaican inhabitants is based upon a single census year, this visible minority displays a unique spatial arrangement and migrational trend which merit discussion. Information about the West Indian and Caribbean groups extracted from secondary sources was carefully examined to avoid making misinterpretations about the Jamaicans based on supranational or aggregate patterns.

Prior to large-scale immigrant influxes which commenced during the 1960s, a small proportion (22.3%) of West Indians were congregated along the Bathurst Street's eastern portion to University Avenue, between Queen and College Streets (Hill 1960). The remainder were dispersed throughout the CMA. Newcomers initially settled in the Alexandra Park neighbourhood throughout the 1950s (City Toronto Planning Board 1961; Ramcharan 1980).<sup>17</sup> Another enclave, known among locals as Caribbean Village, emerged around a commercial district along Bathurst Street, north of Bloor and west of Christie Streets (i.e. opposite the Annex), ten years later (Kumove 1975; Kasher 1997). The community progressively migrated northwards into Oakwood, a working-class Italian

---

<sup>17</sup> Some transferred themselves to dwelling units in Kensington Market which itself became a transitory reception area during the 1970s.

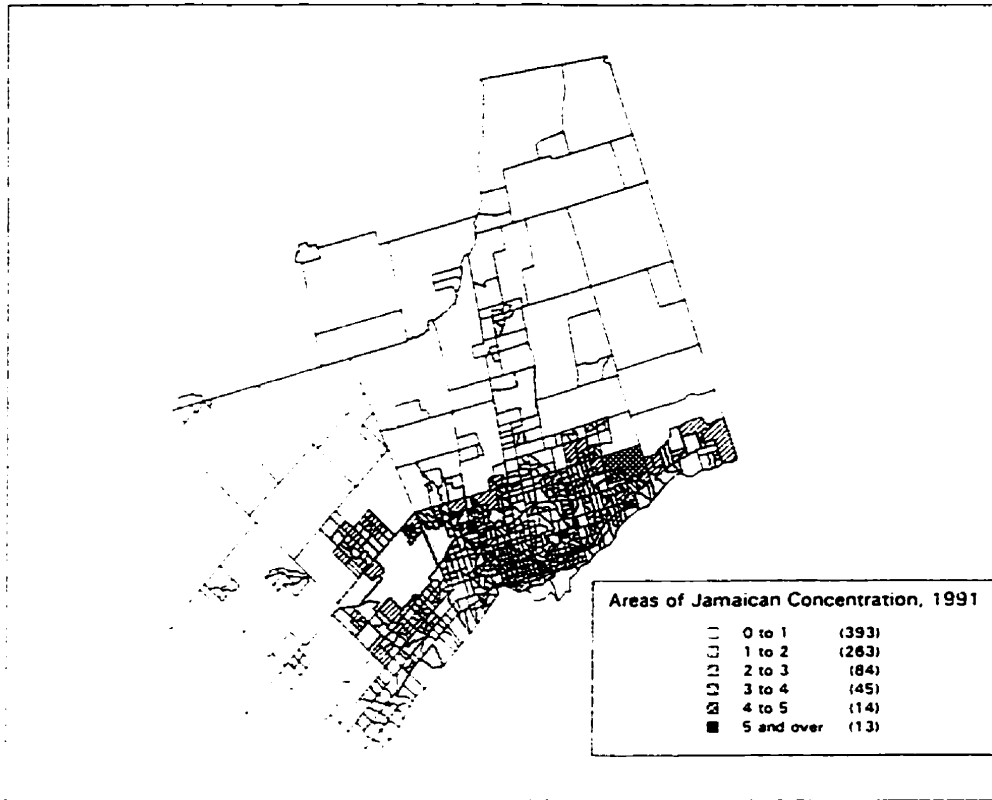
neighbourhood. A specialty retail node, designated Little Jamaica by ward residents, developed along Eglinton Avenue West between Dufferin Street and Oakwood Avenue. Taylor (1969, 78) quite early observed that West Indians within Metropolitan Toronto were “dispersed fairly thinly throughout the area” in comparatively small concentration pockets, the most significant being Little Jamaica, according to 1961 census data.<sup>18</sup> Sponsored relatives along with upwardly mobile immigrants arriving via the United Kingdom were found in suburban compartments: Rexdale, Downsview, Willowdale, Flemingdon Park and eastern Scarborough. The Oakwood area expanded westwards by 1971 such that Caribbean overrepresentation was prominent along Dufferin Street between Eglinton and St. Clair Avenues (City of Toronto Planning Board 1974; Henry 1994). This segment is recognized by Jamaicans as the ‘Eglinton Strip’ while others have conjured up an informal hybrid designation to acknowledge their continued incremental infiltration into Little Italy - ‘Rasta-Pasta.’ Many individuals, however, moved to scattered suburban clusters since the mid-1970s (Stevens 1978; Carey 1983). Suburban residency rose significantly throughout the 1980s with more established constituents relocating to reasonably priced homes in outlying areas of Mississauga and Brampton (Anderson 1993; Henry 1994).<sup>19</sup>

Research based upon the 1981 Census reveals increasing conglomeration in points throughout North York and Scarborough (Henry 1994; Ray 1994). Primary assemblages are dispersed along Jane Street between Eglinton and Finch Avenues (i.e. the ‘Corridor’) and in Malvern (dubbed ‘Scarbados’) where high-density apartment towers and townhouse complexes mainly built in the 1960s and 1970s respectively exist. Density levels indicative of an emerging cluster were also noted in Brampton. These sites and the scattered pattern they formed were evident in 1991 (refer to Maps 36 and 37). The Corridor extended south to York’s Runnymede neighbourhood. Borough concentrations persisted in Etobicoke:

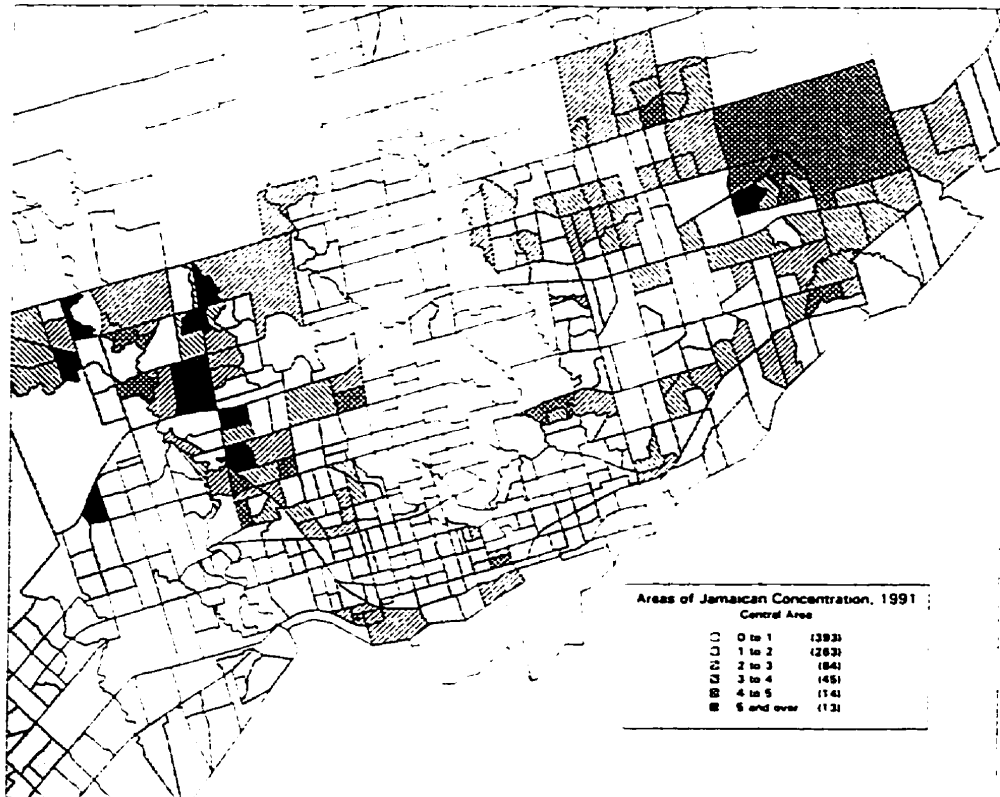
---

<sup>18</sup> The number of sponsored or nominated immigrants from the West Indies, the bulk of whom came from Jamaica, increased markedly after admission criteria revisions in 1967.

<sup>19</sup> Immigrants were drawn to the latter CMA component by a rapidly increasing compatriot population and existing Caribbean retail establishments.



Map 36. Jamaican Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 37. Jamaican Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



Rexdale, Pine Point, north of Thisletown, and near the 401-427 interchange (northeast of Eringate). Excessive group convergence in these locations is attributable to vertical concentration in apartments such as the Tuxedo Court in Malvern (Relph 1997). It is more expedient and easier for households to seek accommodation in buildings already inhabited by Caribbean or Black tenants due to housing market perceptions (Henry 1994). Indeed, a disproportionate share of West Indians dwell in large subsidized apartment complexes (Murdie 1992 and 1994). Within the outer suburbs, a new enclave has emerged in Markham among highly skilled immigrants and professional members of the second generation (Armstrong 1994). Overrepresentation in the Kensington Market significantly declined in conjunction with its port of entry function for new arrivals. Moderate and high LQ values were respectively reported in St. James Town and Regent Park South which are high-density public housing projects.<sup>20</sup> Overall, Jamaicans exhibit a primarily decentralized and dispersed (vertical) concentration pattern that is influenced by differential access to housing, financial resources, and demographic composition. The reduced suburbanization time span is also noteworthy.

An investigation of Black concentration in Toronto public housing units by Murdie (1994, 447) found that a significant number of those living in these units were low-income, single-parent households who were “particularly squeezed in [the] private-sector housing market in the 1980s when gentrification reduced affordable rental opportunities in the central city and fewer new private rental units were being constructed.” Racial discrimination, low vacancy rates (under 1%), and long waiting lists in the rental market were also contributing factors (Henry 1989). A predisposition to suburban high-rise developments along the Corridor was confirmed in by 1986 Census data (Murdie 1992 and 1994). Spatial patterns arising from overrepresentation in these developments were partially attributed to the recency of Caribbean immigration, a “disproportionate number of female-

---

<sup>20</sup> More information about these locations in the following chapter. Armstrong (1994, A6) writes that many single mothers are “obliged by economic circumstances to raise their children in subsidized housing projects.”

headed single-parent families” within this visible minority, along with the “supply, cost and discriminatory constraints within [the] rental market” (Murdie 1994, 455). Given these factors, a likely explanation for the contemporary Jamaican residential configuration is that many of those who came during the major Caribbean-born immigration wave (late-1960s and early-1970s) did not have the financial means to purchase homes or become private-sector tenants. These and subsequent arrivals established themselves in public-sector units which, at the time, were available in newly constructed suburban apartment complexes. With limited possibilities of relocating to more expensive private-sector rental accommodation as their household size increased, “many of those who entered the [public housing system] remained [in it by] moving to larger units” (Murdie 1994, 455).

### **Concentration Overlap**

While the British and Multiethnic communities were geographically dispersed, there were instances in which areas of overrepresentation associated with one ethnicity ( $LQ = 4-5$ ) coincided with that of another ( $LQ \geq 5$ ). This often involves migration or infiltration into edge portions of neighbouring enclaves. Concentration overlap occurred in the outer suburbs among established entrance groups, in the boroughs between established and visible minority groups, and in downtown districts amid visible minorities. LQ maps were compared to establish where population overflow and displacement materialized in 1981 and 1991.

Two principal areas of overlap are evident: Riverdale and northeastern North York. The first involves Greek, Chinese, and Aboriginal protrusion while the second also includes Jews and Multiethnics. Central area incursions are focused upon the zone where Gerrard Street and Pape Avenue intersect. A tract in northeastern Chinatown East contained high levels of Greek concentration in 1981 and 1991 while an exceptional degree of Chinese overrepresentation occurred in Greektown’s southeastern portion in 1981 only. During 1981, Aboriginals congregated in fragmented parts of the Hellenic enclave whilst Greeks

were noted in a nearby tract dominated by Native Canadians. Greektown's apparent erosion was discontinued in 1991 due to sustained population density levels. Within Chinatown East, south of Gerrard Street, a census tract contained equal Chinese and Aboriginal concentrations in 1981 but was solidly inhabited by the former community a decade later. Changing LQ scores in the Chinese district along with the establishment of an adjacent Aboriginal cluster produced an overflow of the latter into the former during 1991.

Suburban overlap involves Greek and Chinese concentration levels ( $LQ \geq 5$ ) surpassing those of Jewish residents ( $LQ = 4-5$ ) in the McNicoll-Woodbine area. Another set of contiguous tracts encountered eastward registered identical Jewish and Chinese and Greek and Chinese densities. Comparison with 1991 patterns indicates that Chinese and Greek inhabitants respectively prevailed. Additionally, an isolated tract in L'Amreux Park is characterized by significant Greek overrepresentation within the Chinese cluster. A peripheral portion of the Jewish eastern band contained comparatively elevated Multiethnic LQ values in 1981 only. Aboriginals shared certain residential areas with Jews and Greeks respectively in North York and Scarborough. An exceptional degree of Jewish and Chinese overrepresentation was noted in Richmond Hill during the 1991 censal year. Three dispersed localities of Jamaican convergence coincided with other groups: Jews in North York, Greeks in Scarborough, and Aboriginals in Regent Park. No ethnic overlap occurred in the CMA fringe.

## Summary

The extent of spatial concentration, according to the proportion of census tracts in which overrepresentation occurs (i.e.  $LQ \geq 2$ ), has been comparatively stable with minor reductions noted among all ethnic groups excluding Jews, Aboriginals and the Chinese. Multiethnics are prevalent throughout the CMA. Their high dispersal pattern is increasingly indistinguishable from that of the British reference population and does not coincide with geographic niches from which its members are potentially drawn. These observations are

significant in that Multiethnic residential scattering, or atterritoriality, is representative of a prevailing trend towards ethnic amalgamation (Krokti and Odynak 1990). A mosaic of identifiable neighbourhoods based on pronounced concentration levels exists among the remaining collectivities in centralized and suburban districts. It implies that community development patterns differ with ethnic origin. Excluding the British, Jewish and Multiethnic collectivities, all of the remaining ethnic groups expressed an altered or enhanced enclave distribution pattern in 1991 that was distinguished by suburban cluster dispersion and/or fragmentation. A reflection of changes in the intensity and direction of population relocation during the inter-censal period, these decentralized yet scattered clusters conform to anticipated residential distribution associated with the hypothesized dispersion model outlined in Chapter 3. In many cases, enclave scatter was evident during the model's incipient phase (i.e. 1981). Findings advanced herein provide exceedingly limited evidence for the existence of a prescribed universal geometric pattern of residential placement. Nonetheless, centralized enclaves have evolved around an intersection while households migrated outwards along one of its thoroughfares. Sectoral concentration along two parallel axes distinguishes the Jews. Locational bias among Greek and Chinese constituents corresponds to a multiple nuclei arrangement with the latter being more bipolar in character. Declining territorial integrity of their downtown clusters, products of secondary migration from former inner-city reception areas, reflects a prominent suburban shift. Dispersed suburban nucleations with overrepresentation in selected inner-city tracts is typical of the Jamaicans. Concurrent concentration in an appreciable downtown enclave and scattered CMA points differentiates the Aborigines. Overlap areas are also disparate in terms of location. They involve established communities and visible minorities in both the core and suburbs. The existence of decentralized ethnic enclaves suggests that recent admissions, including those from other source countries, are not establishing themselves in these places in accordance with the invasion and succession sequence. Thus, the following section investigates differences associated with immigration period.

## CHAPTER 8

### IMMIGRANT RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION

#### Introduction

Although it is not possible to track ethnic mobility patterns, LQ scores can be calculated and mapped for all newcomers according to immigration period which is “an analytically distinct but interrelated dimension of ethnicity” (Darroch and Marston 1969, 74). Moreover, the extent of residential separation is autonomously influenced by the relative arrival interval (Kralt 1987). Measured differences in concentration levels and areal patterns among different admission phases form the basis of deductive reasoning. Cartographic representations are employed to identify traditional, transplanted, and emerging reception areas according to immigration period and mobility status, and ethnicity.<sup>1</sup> While it could be argued that 1981 LQ tables and maps provide limited insight because of overlap with 1991 data, they are instrumental in capturing the manifestation of immigrant concentration patterns during the hypothesized dispersion model’s formative stage. They also provide a statistical reference point in the analysis of residential configurations according to admission interval and special tabulations of ethnic origin by immigration period for which only unpublished 1981 data exists.

Spatial placement among the latest entrants and their immediate predecessors are of particular interest. Comparative studies of settlement patterns among new immigrants point to an increasingly scattered distribution (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979b; Chamberlain 1980; City of Toronto Planning and Development Department 1983 and 1991). Initial residency points among foreign-born individuals admitted five years

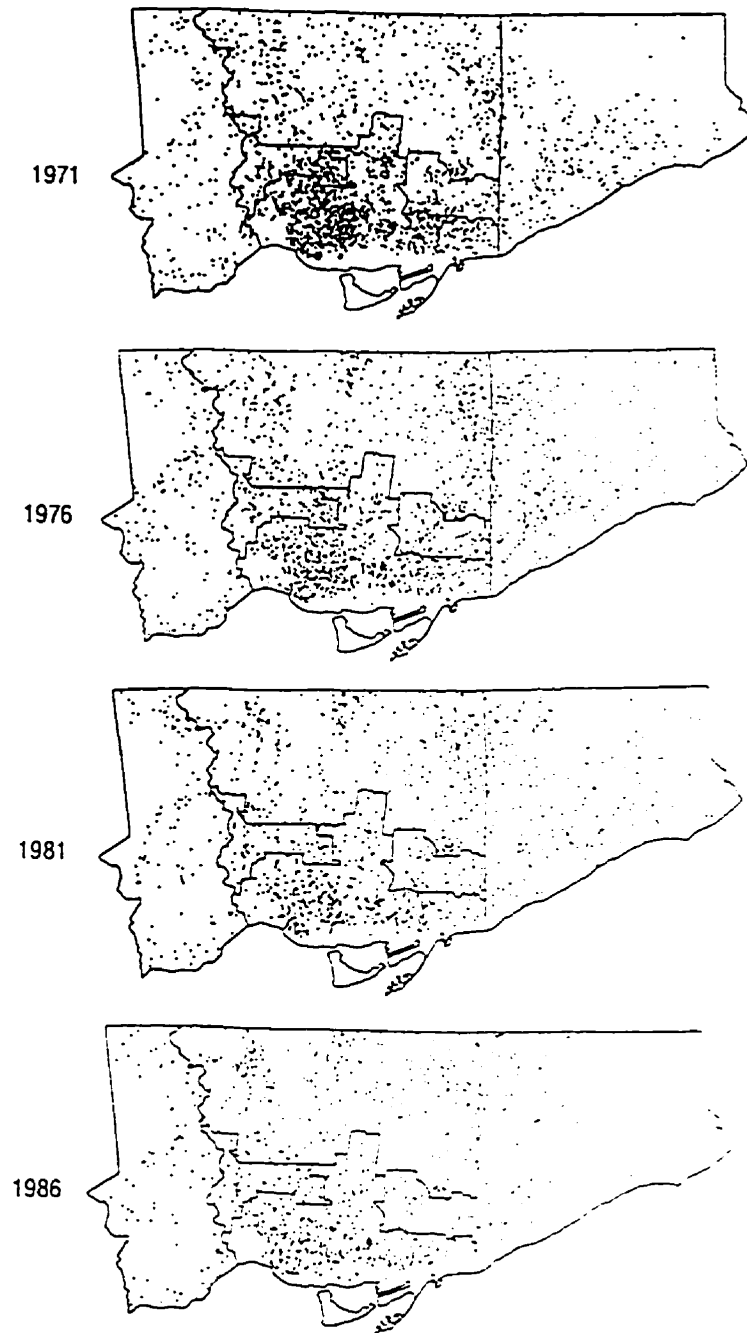
---

<sup>1</sup> Although periodization is not directly comparable between 1981 and 1991 data, the extent of concentration and destinations associated with the latest immigration period can be analyzed and weighed against each other without difficulty.

before the 1971 through 1986 censuses have shifted to a more dispersed suburban apportionment (see Map 38). Contemporary overseas migrants are no longer congregating in well defined inner-city reception areas. It is expected that while some residual centralized concentrations will be present among earlier arrivals, recent immigrant landings enumerated in 1981 and 1991 will exhibit increasingly decentralized and scattered clusters.

### **Geographic Representation by Immigration Period**

With respect to the degree of non-representation ( $LQ = 0$ ), Table 26 reveals that the most recent arrivals are relatively more concentrated than earlier entrants. However, figures also indicate that immigrants are excluded from an exceedingly limited share of census tracts. They are fairly dispersed. The actual share of tracts in which newcomers admitted during the latest immigration period are absent has increased over time. Specifically, foreign-born residents who settled during the 1978-1981 and 1988-1991 intervals (i.e. the latest arrivals in 1981 and 1991) are respectively absent from 1% and 3.11% of all spatial units. These immigrants do not share dwelling districts with 0.15% and 1.52% of the entire CMA population in 1981 and 1991. These figures, however, are significantly lower than those measured by various ethnic groups. An examination of overrepresentation ( $LQ \geq 2$ ) indicates that, excluding early arrivals, residential concentration generally decreases with length of time in Canada. Recent entrants are consistently more congregated than their forerunners during each decennial census but less so when comparing them (read upwards within the right column of Table 27). An increasing segment of recent newcomers are overrepresented in a greater number of tracts according to 1991 tabulations. A high level of concentration is also maintained by 1981-1987 migrants while the opposite applies to their pre-1970 counterparts. Comparatively low rates of absence and overrepresentation suggest that immigrants, on the whole, are not highly concentrated. Rather, they are spread throughout the CMA but with recent intakes being less thinly distributed.



Map 38. Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Metropolitan Toronto, 1971-1986

Note: Each dot represents 100 immigrants who arrived five years ago.

Source: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, City Plan '91: Language Groups and Immigration, Metropolitan Toronto - 1971-1988 (Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1991), 21.

Table 26. Immigrant Non-Representation (LQ = 0). Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year/Period	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	CMA Population Share
<u>1991</u>		
Pre-1961	1 (00.12%)	00.01%
1961-1970	1 (00.12%)	00.00%
1971-1980	2 (00.25%)	00.02%
1981-1987	9 (01.12%)	00.27%
1988-1991	25 (03.11%)	01.52%
<u>1981</u>		
Pre-1945	4 (00.66%)	00.08%
1945-1954	0 (00.00%)	00.00%
1955-1964	0 (00.00%)	00.00%
1965-1970	0 (00.00%)	00.00%
1971-1974	1 (00.17%)	00.00%
1975-1977	9 (01.49%)	00.26%
1978-1981	6 (01.00%)	00.15%

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which non-representation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of the entire CMA population reside in these tracts. The 1978-1981 and 1988-1991 intervals respectively include only the first five months of 1981 and 1991.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.



Table 27. Immigrant Overrepresentation (LQ  $\geq$  2), Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year/Period	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	Immigrant Population Share
<u>1991</u>		
Pre-1961	44 (05.47%)	11.13%
1961-1970	23 (02.86%)	06.49%
1971-1980	32 (03.98%)	09.59%
1981-1987	66 (08.21%)	22.00%
1988-1991	77 (09.58%)	28.59%
<u>1981</u>		
Pre-1945	99 (16.45%)	33.80%
1945-1954	46 (07.64%)	11.49%
1955-1964	7 (01.16%)	02.39%
1965-1970	2 (01.12%)	00.27%
1971-1974	7 (01.16%)	04.10%
1975-1977	17 (02.82%)	08.35%
1978-1981	32 (05.31%)	14.52%

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which overrepresentation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of a given immigration period in these tracts. The 1978-1981 and 1988-1991 intervals respectively include only the first five months of 1981 and 1991.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population by Selected Places of Birth and Sex, Showing Period of Immigration - 20% Sample" (Table Name: i9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

According to spatially referenced data for 1981, residential concentration and centralization are less pronounced among earlier entrants. A visual comparison of high density population clusters ( $LQ = 2-3$ ) indicates that the extent of dispersion increases with duration of residency since landing (refer to Maps 39 through 52)<sup>2</sup>. Those admitted before 1945 are an exception as they form distinct enclaves composed of contiguous tracts which coincide with the segments of British and Jewish concentration patterns.<sup>3</sup> Compact, isolated clusters situated along Bloor Street in conjunction with two outer suburban ones characterize 1945-1954 landings. Subsequent newcomers are more dispersed such that persons who established themselves during the 1955-1964 and 1965-1970 periods did not register any moderately concentrated tracts or sets thereof. They were represented in excessively reduced density levels across the urban area. While being absent in certain parts of the fringe, 1971-1974 arrivals congregated downtown in Regent Park. All successive settlers recorded intermediate LQ values in this high-density apartment complex. Two other tracts of similar concentration are evident for the 1975-1977 immigrant segment. Both are associated with high-rise multiple dwelling units yet located far apart. The centralized and suburban tracts respectively are St. James Town and Flemingdon Park. Although moderate clustering occurred in traditional reception areas, including Parkdale, Kensington Market and Riverdale, among 1978-1981 landings, the remaining isolated places of similar overrepresentation were highly scattered but often in close proximity to or abutting pre-1945 outer boroughs enclaves.<sup>4</sup> Instances of concentration overlap occur in Regent Park North for all post-1970 settlers.

---

<sup>2</sup> The number of census tracts per population range for 1981 and 1991 immigration period data are contained in Appendix D.

<sup>3</sup> The pre-1945 concentration pattern consists of a circlet around Davisville, northeastern East York and Birchmount, the Beach and Birchcliff, a fragmented cluster in Willowdale, and contiguous parts of central Etobicoke, and an isolated lakeshore tract in Oakville.

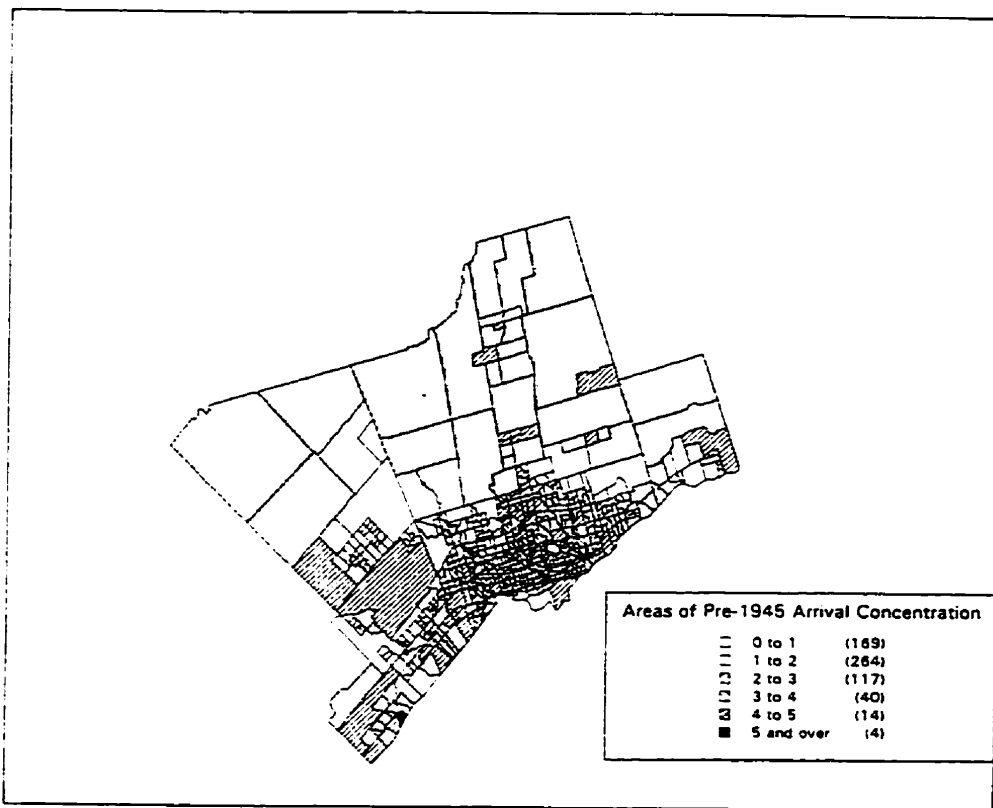
<sup>4</sup> Chamberlain (1980) confirms that the greatest number of these intakes were attracted to suburban districts and they were equally concentrated in apartment complexes in North York and Scarborough.

Concentration patterns based upon aggregated 1991 immigration period data also reveal a positive relationship between the extent of spatial dispersion and length of time in Canada (refer to Maps 53-62). This is particularly true of pre-1981 settlers. Clusters of moderate concentration ( $LQ = 3-4$ ) are decentralized among earlier entrants. Newcomers admitted during the 1981-1987 interval were expected to exhibit a somewhat more centralized distribution. Census tracts registering similar density levels were widely scattered and included suburban neighbourhoods adjacent to ones in which previous arrivals prevail. These areas cover a range of housing types from luxury estates in the Bridle Path to high-density apartment units in Regent Park North and the Jane-Finch area.<sup>5</sup> Recent arrival placement is even more dispersive and decentralized than among previous intakes notwithstanding a profound congregation in segments of Agincourt Chinatown and a solitary tract in central Scarborough. There are no significant enclaves in traditional inner-city ports of entry for 1988-1991 admissions. Reversed geographic configurations between 1981-1987 and 1988-1991 entrants supports the hypothesis that recent immigrants especially do not follow settlement patterns prescribed by traditional urban spatial models. A comparison of Maps 51 and 52 with 61 and 62 affirms that the most recent arrivals in 1981 and 1991 did not assemble in similar neighbourhoods. Localization took shape primarily south of Highway 401 among the former group and north of it among the latter.

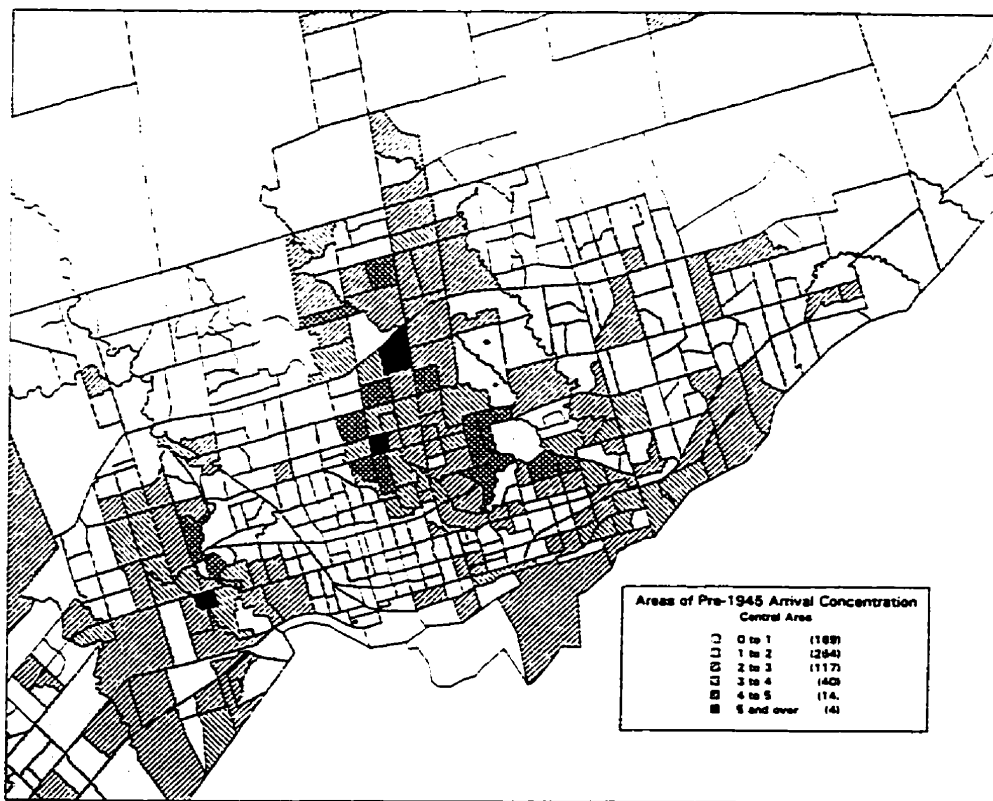
From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that early immigrants tend to follow residential patterns prescribed by the conventional ecological and assimilative models. Recent arrivals enumerated in 1981 and 1991 displayed a much more dispersed spatial articulation in an exceedingly reduced time frame. The latest admissions are overrepresented in a greater number of census tracts which are themselves increasingly scattered and decentralized throughout Metropolitan Toronto. A more precise delineation of reception areas is afforded by mobility status data which enumerates external migrants admitted five years prior to a given Census.

---

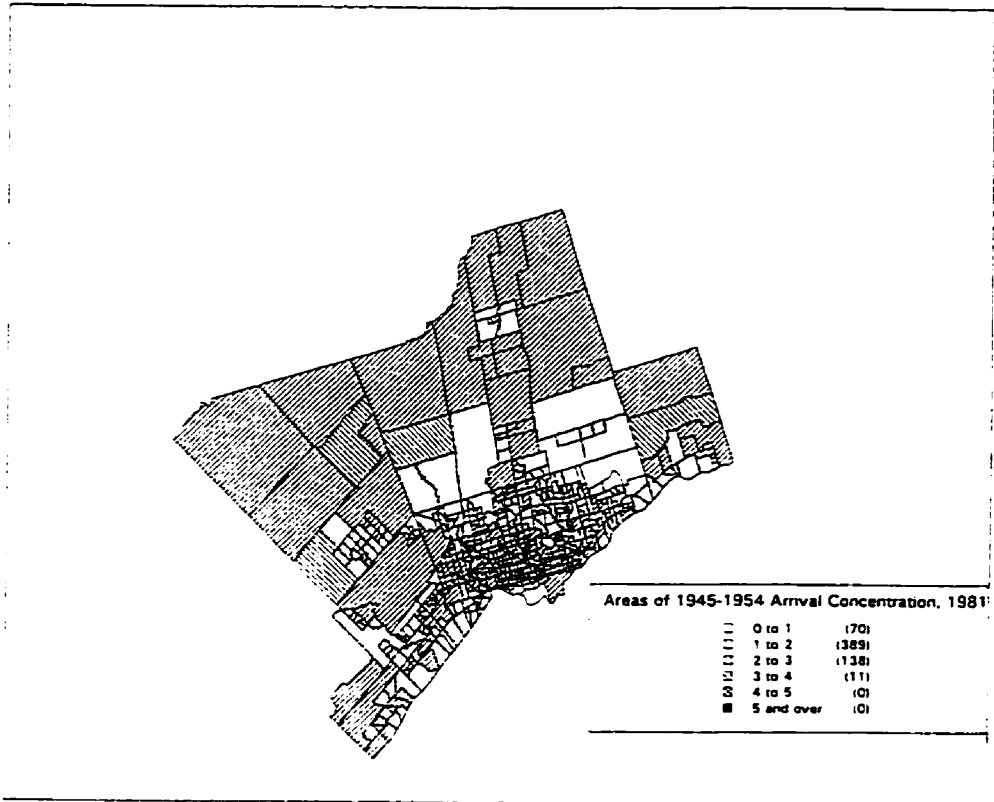
<sup>5</sup> Higher concentrations ( $LQ = 4-5$ ) materialized in Regent Park and along Jane just south of Finch.



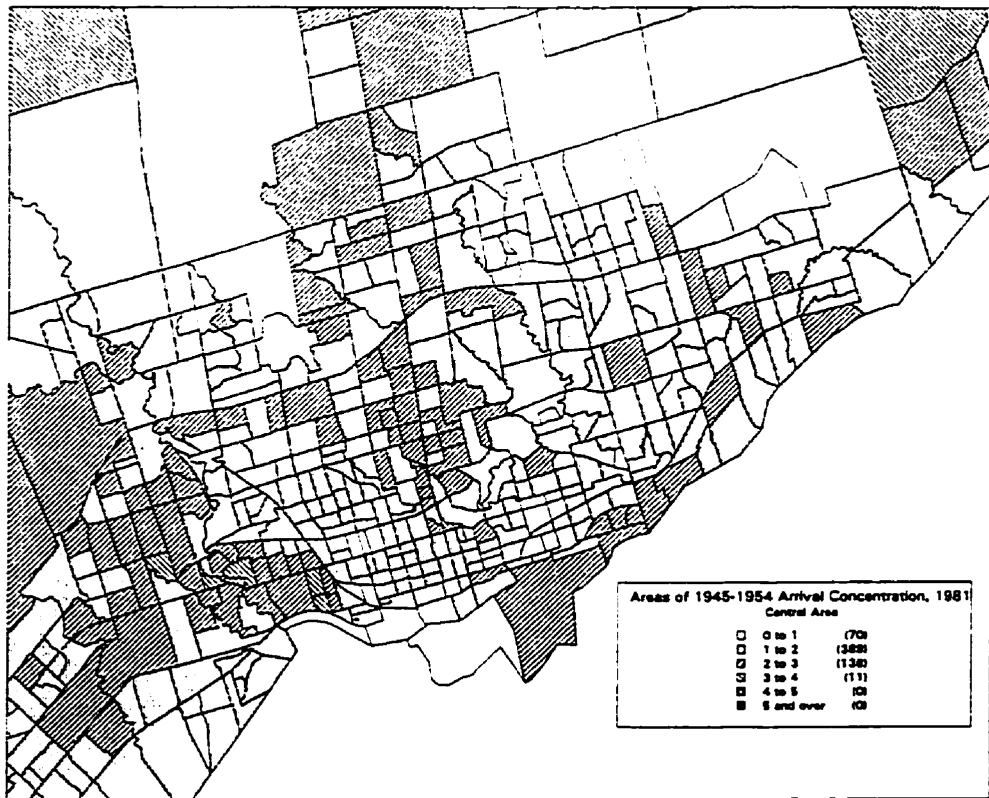
Map 39. Pre-1945 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



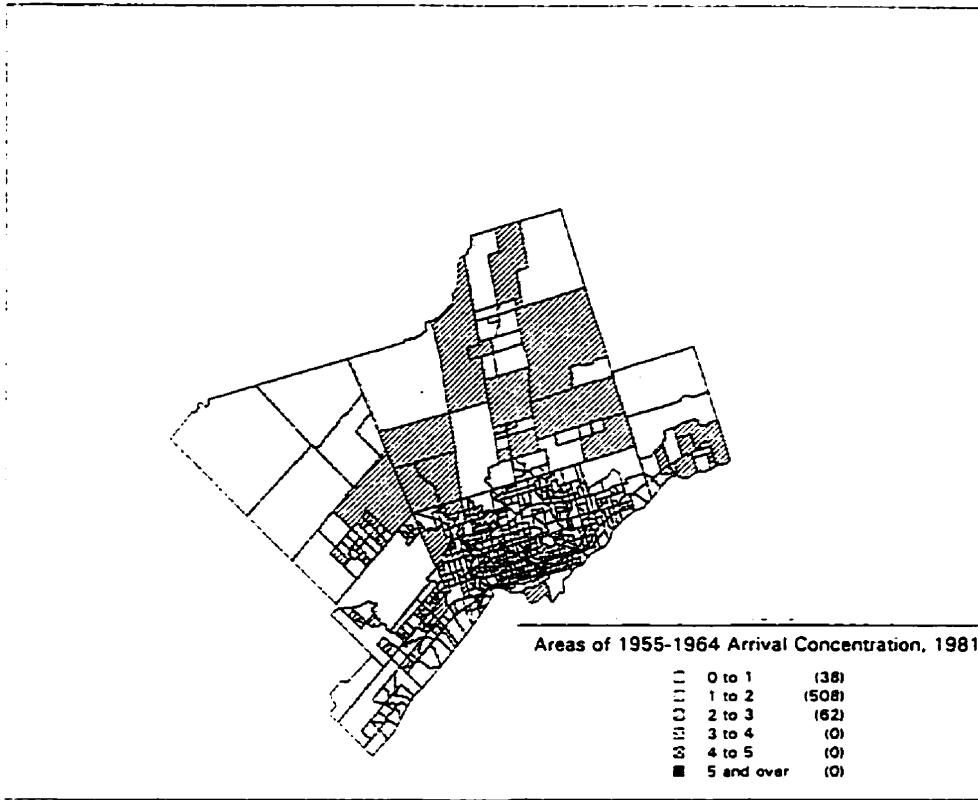
Map 40. Pre-1945 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



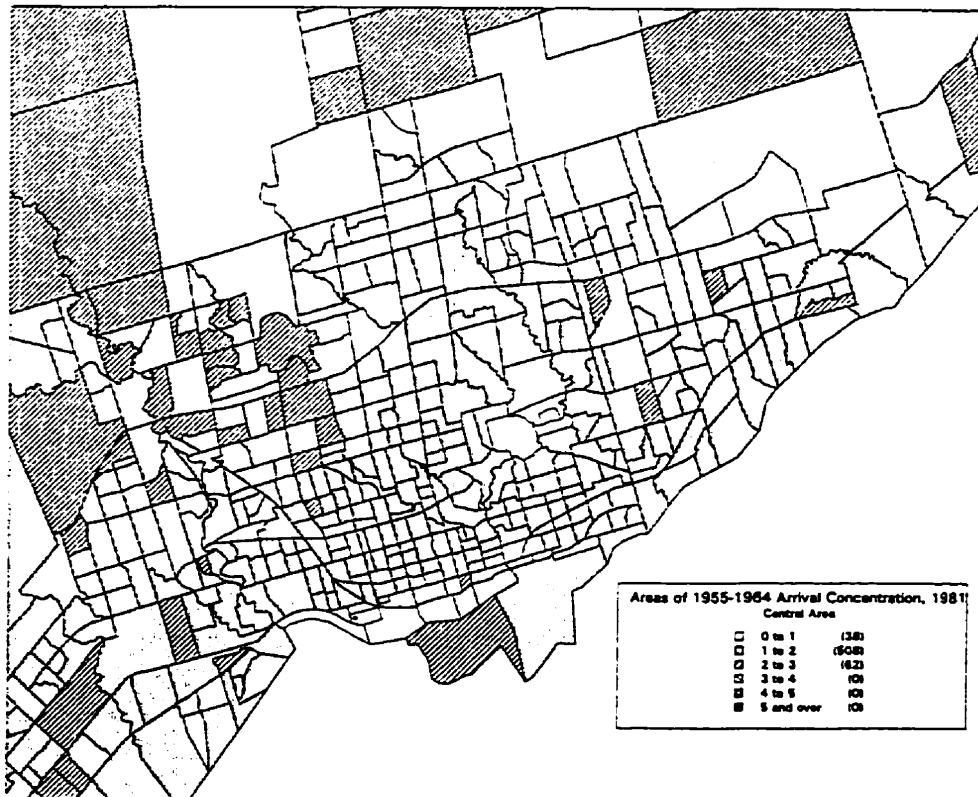
Map 41. 1945-1954 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



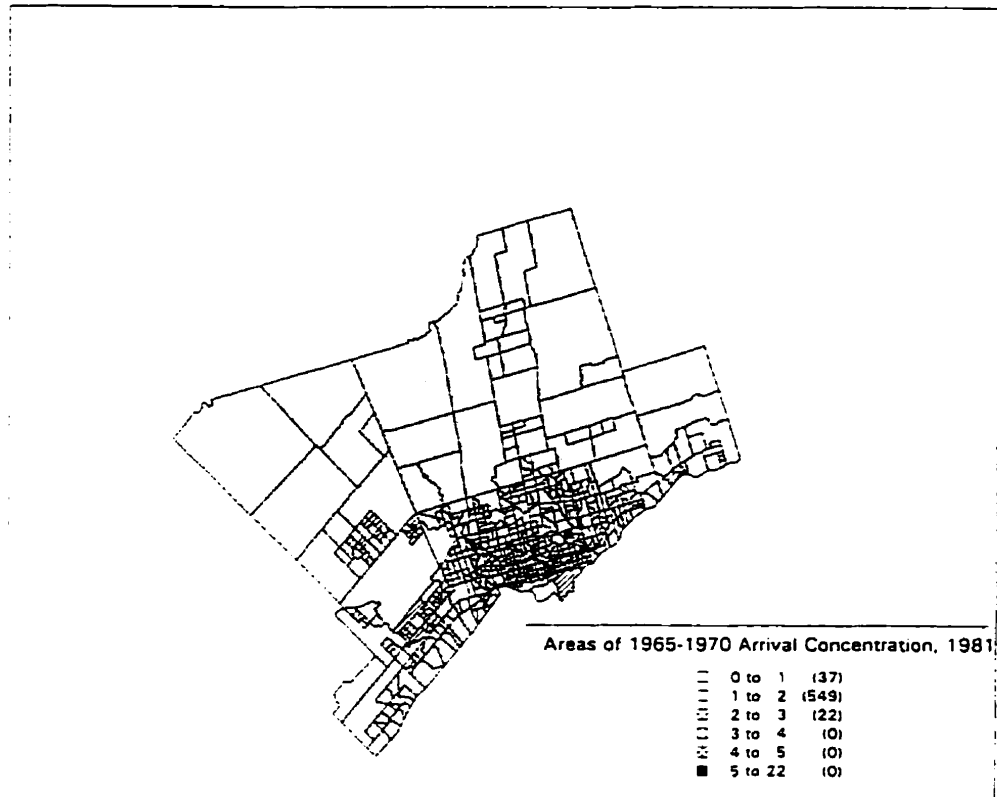
Map 42. 1945-1954 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



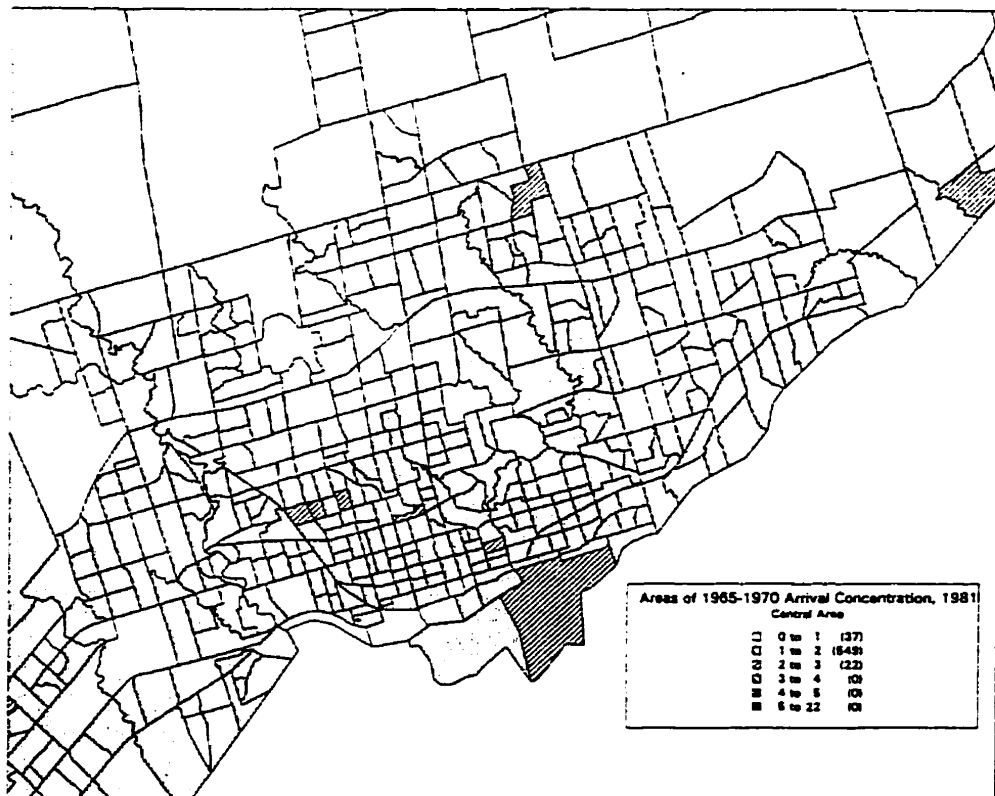
Map 43. 1955-1964 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



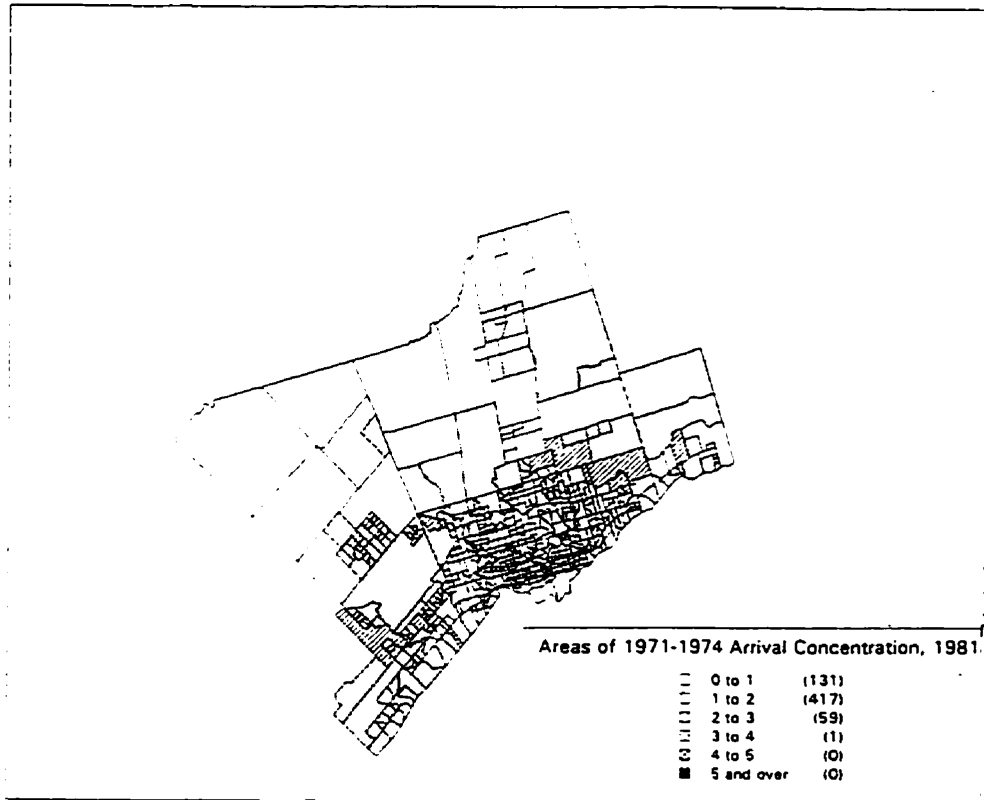
Map 44. 1955-1964 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



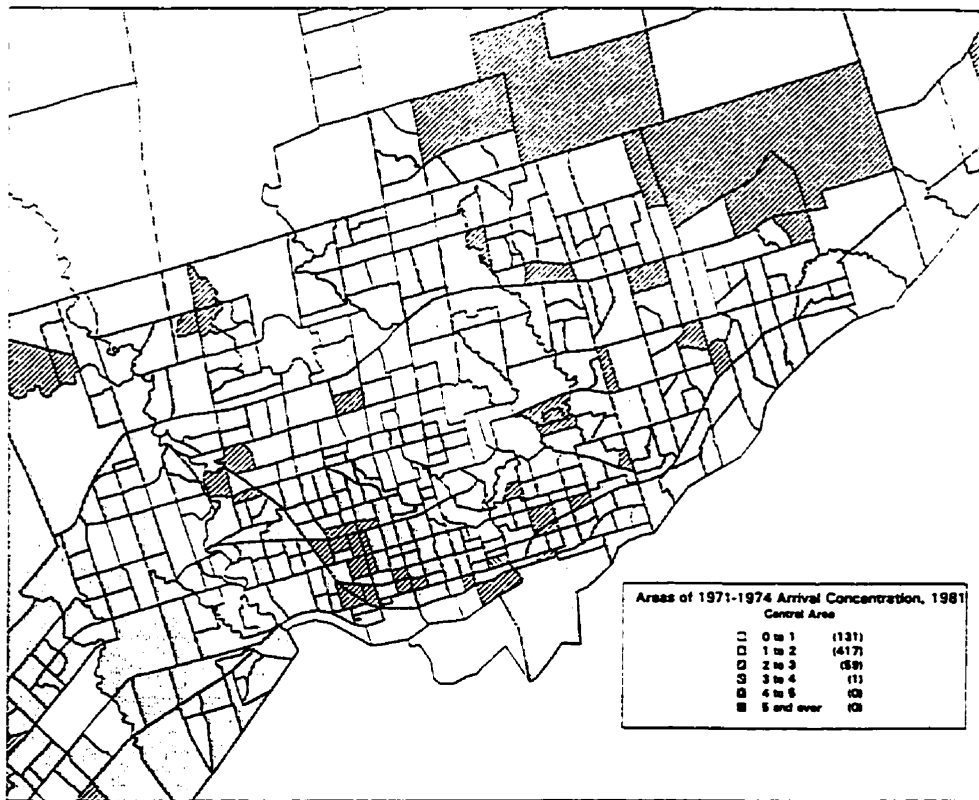
Map 45. 1965-1970 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 46. 1965-1970 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

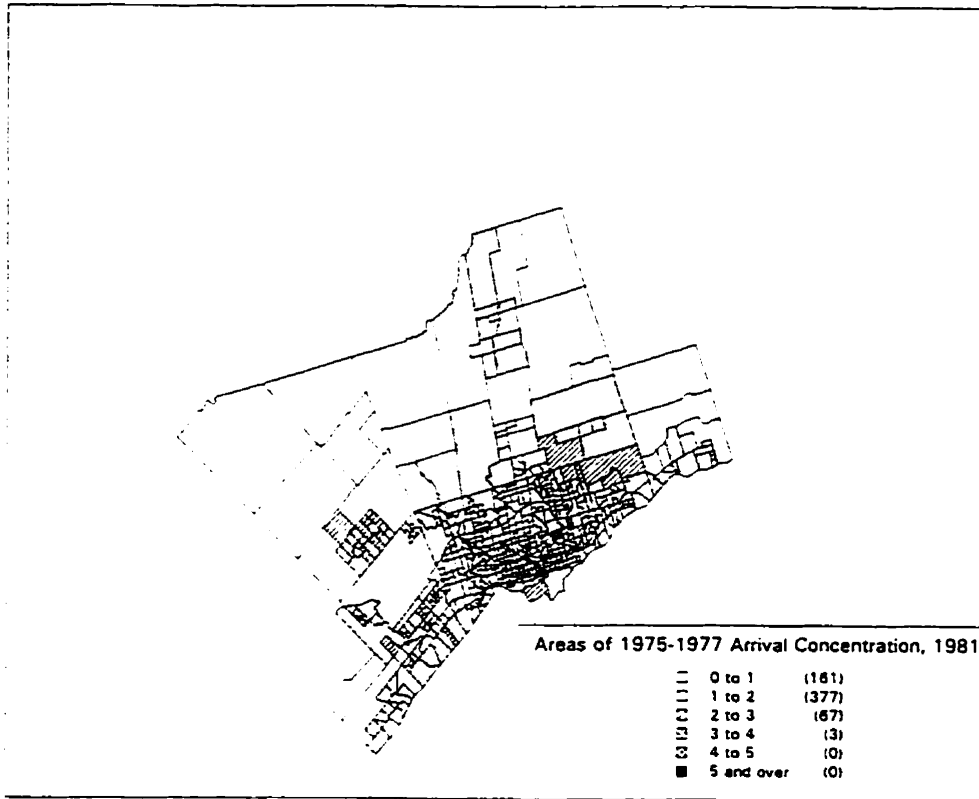


Map 47. 1971-1974 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

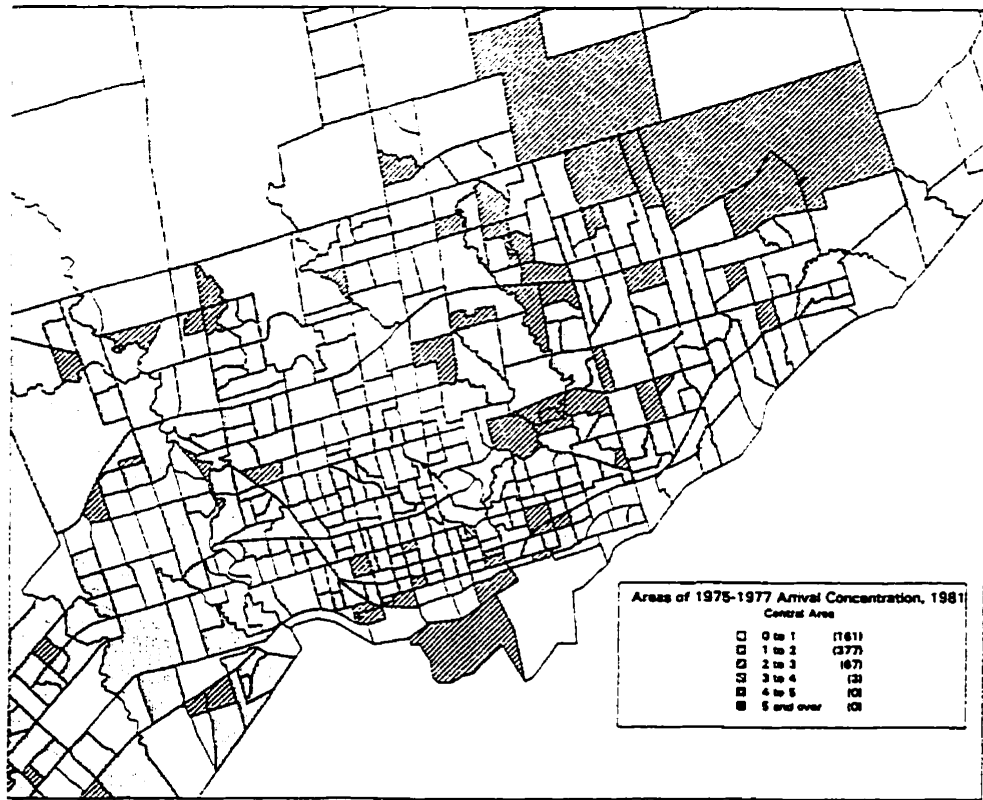


Map 48. 1971-1974 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

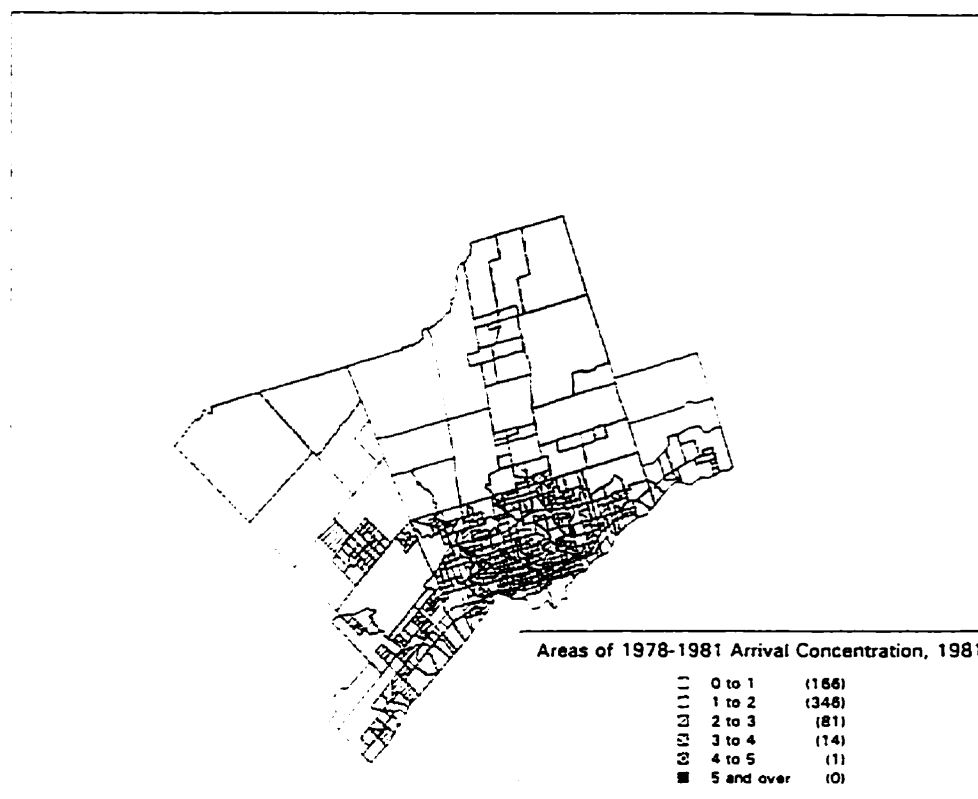




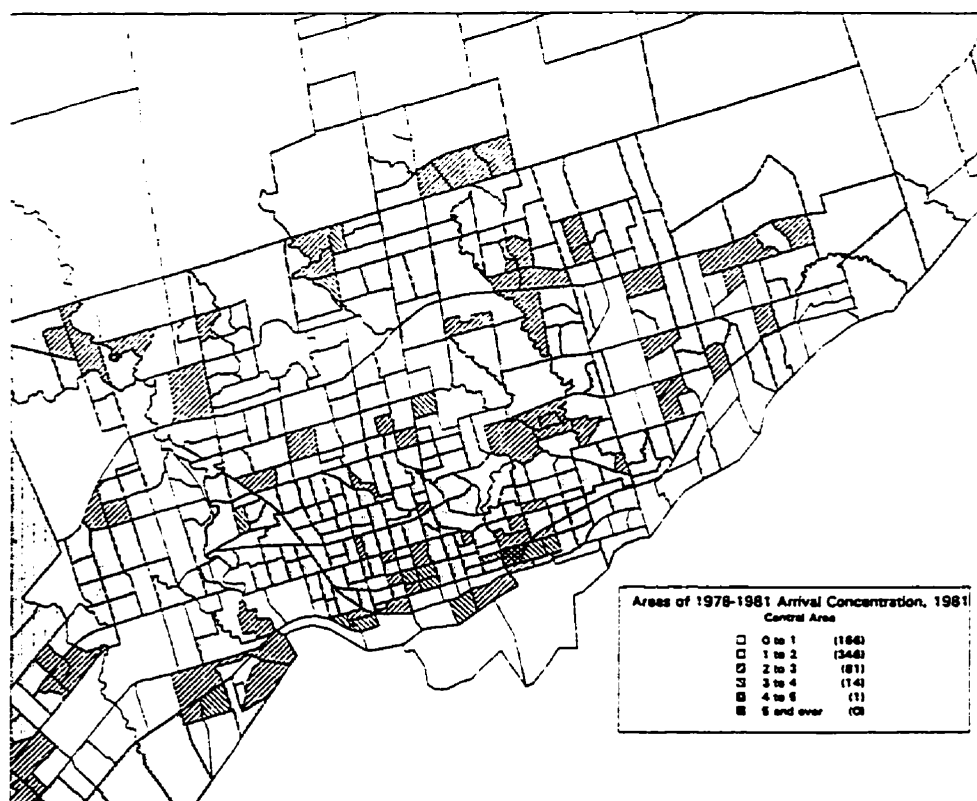
Map 49. 1975-1977 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



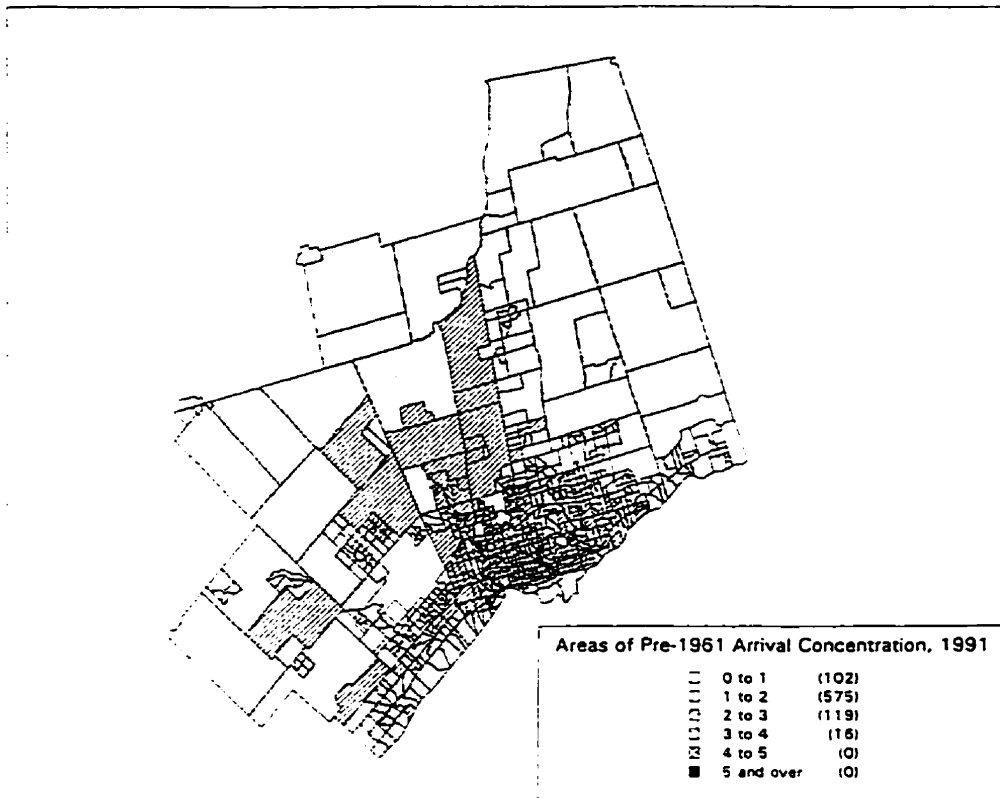
Map 50. 1975-1977 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



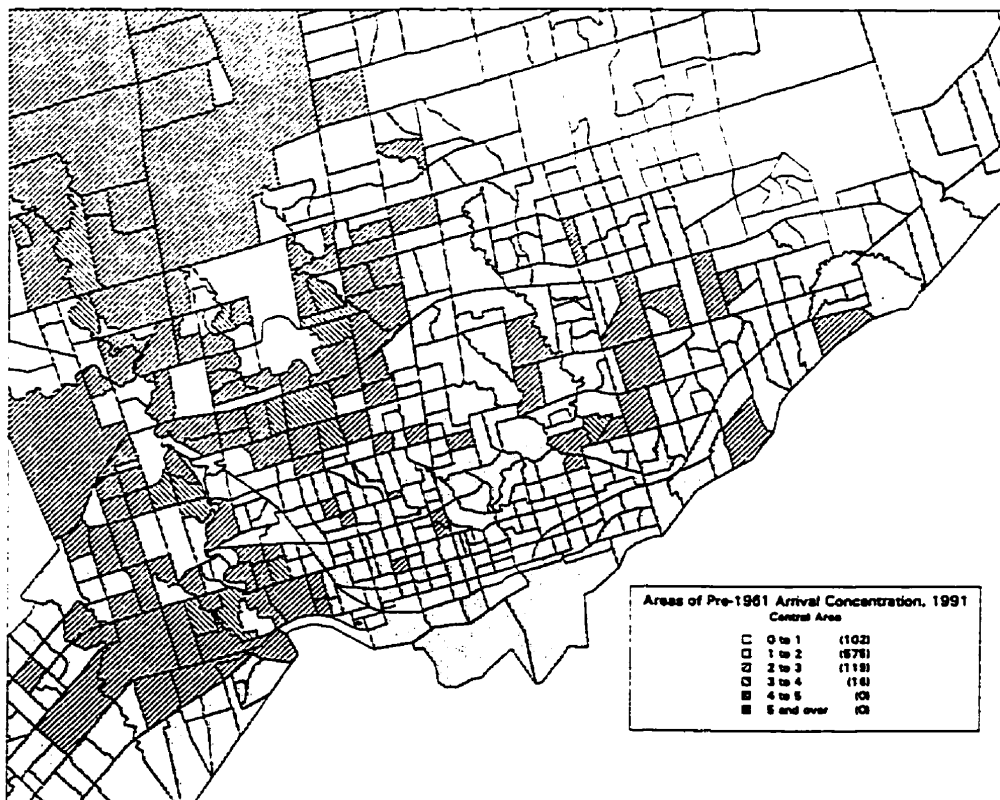
Map 51. 1978-1981 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



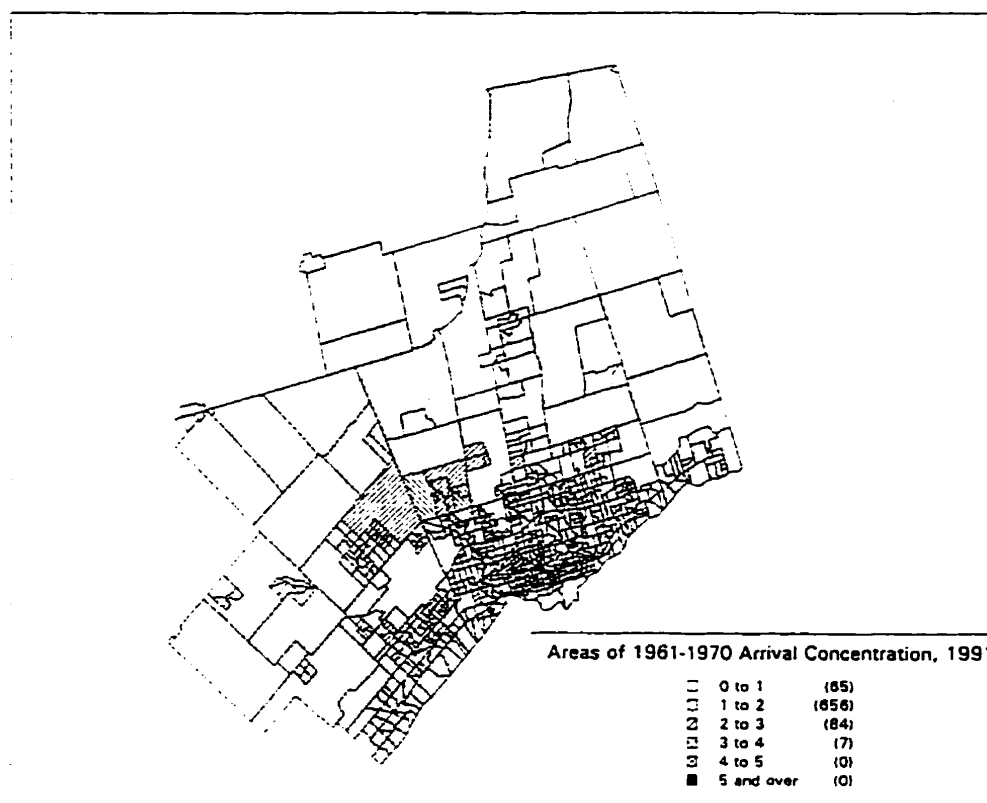
Map 52. 1978-1981 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



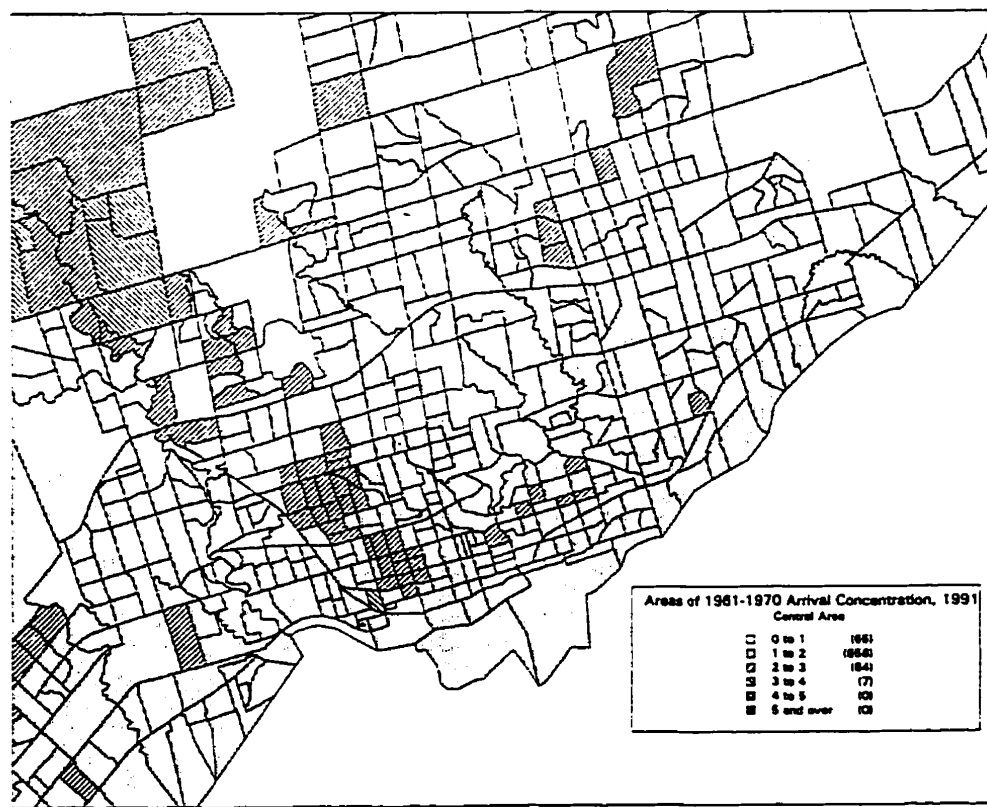
Map 53. Pre-1961 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



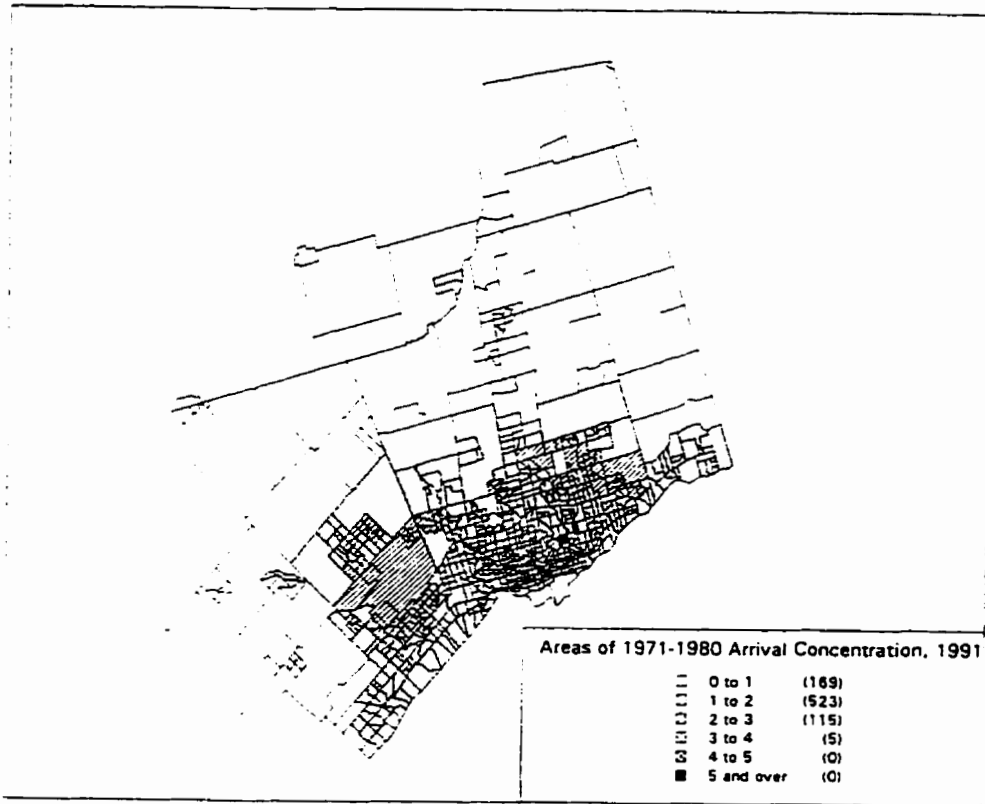
Map 54. Pre-1961 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



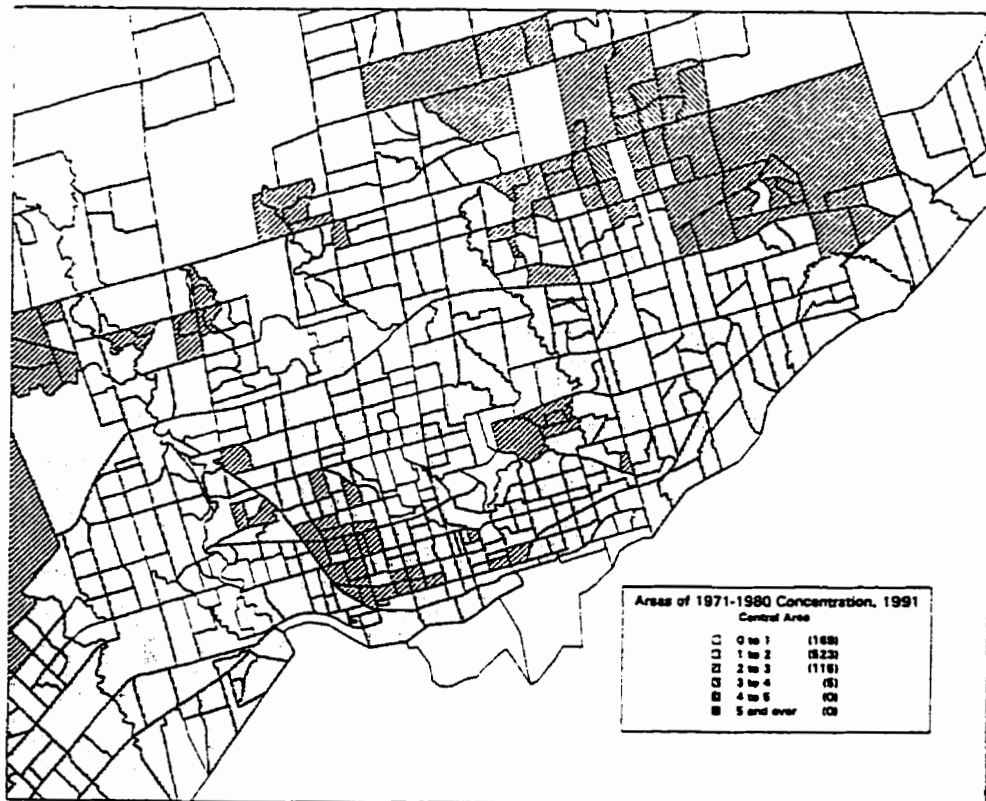
Map 55. 1961-1970 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



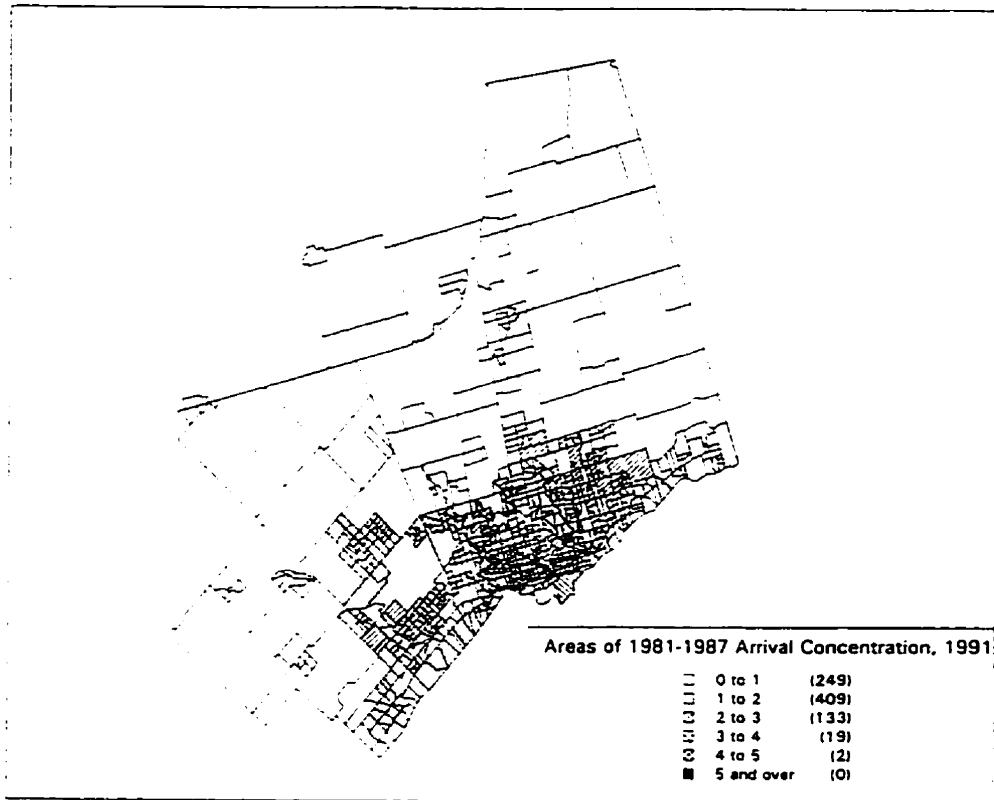
Map 56. 1961-1970 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



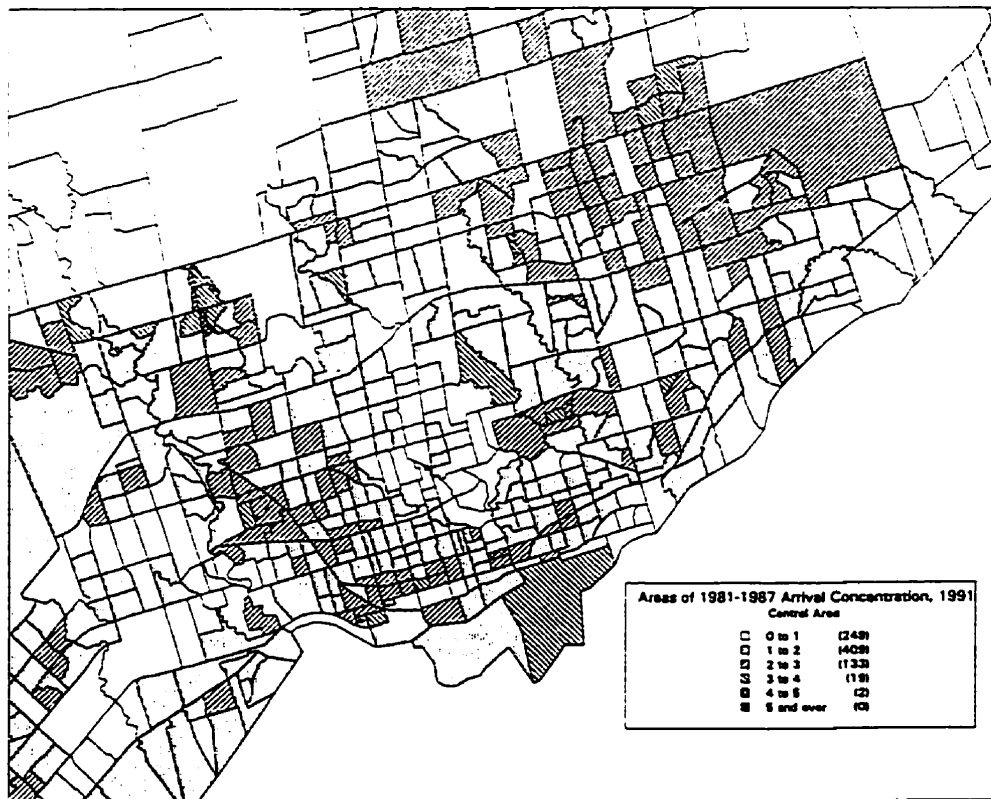
Map 57. 1971-1980 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



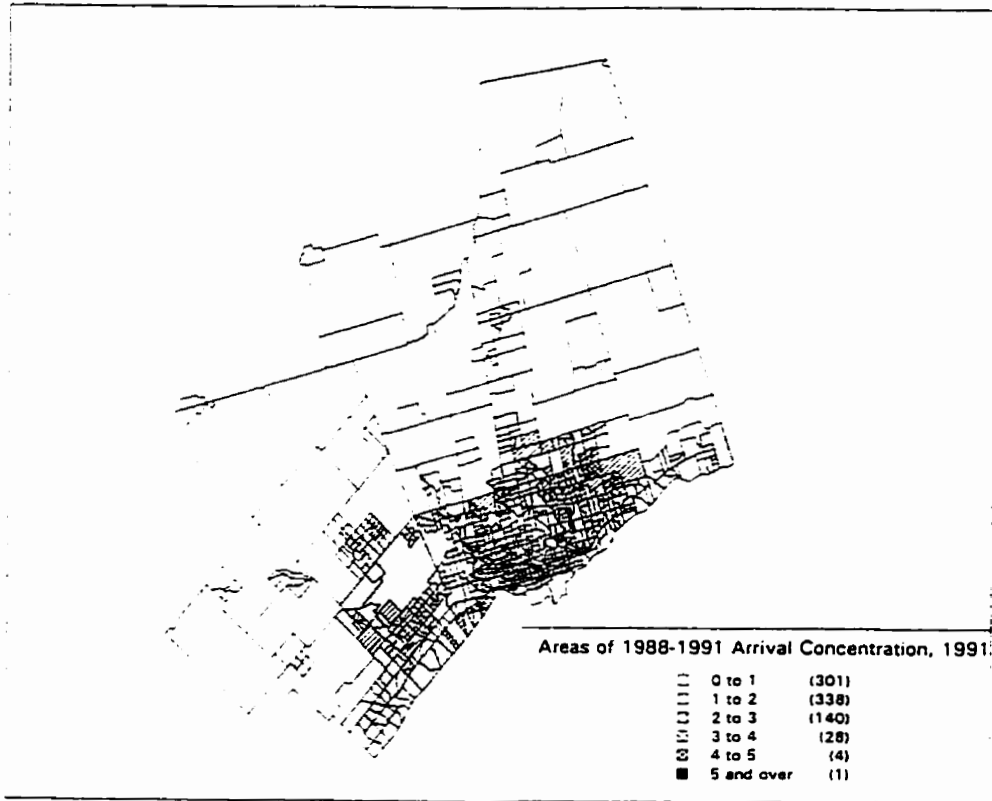
Map 58. 1971-1980 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



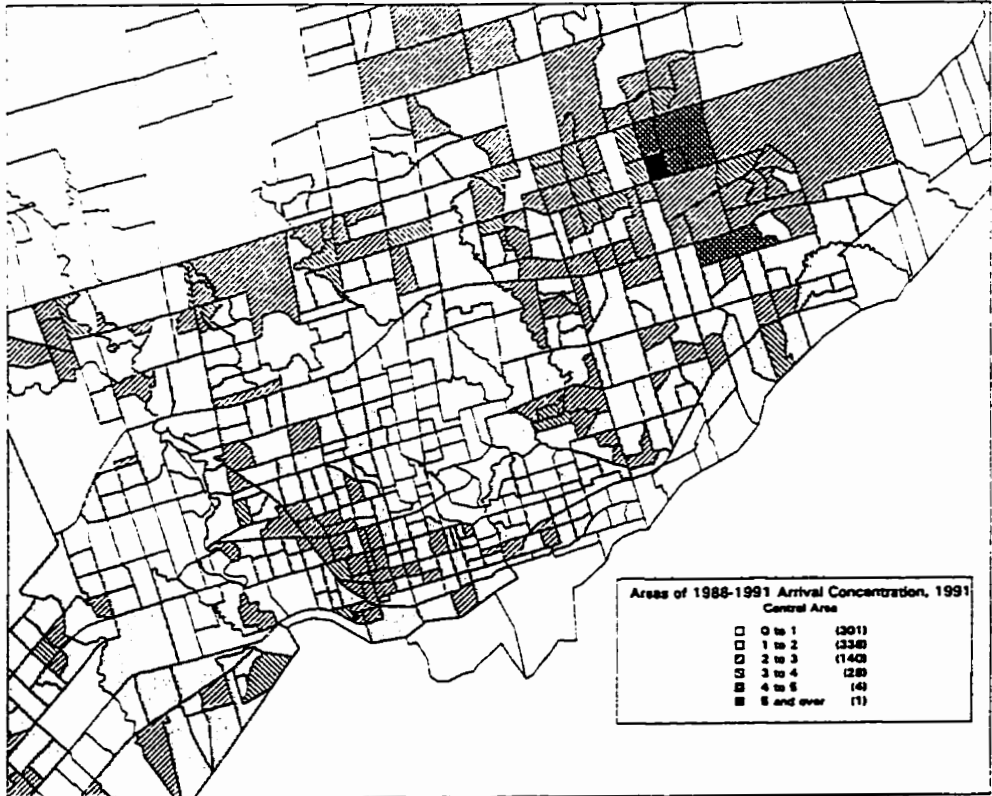
Map 59. 1981-1987 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 60. 1981-1987 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



Map 61. 1988-1991 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 62. 1988-1991 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

## External Migrant Concentration

The majority of residential movement among the CMA population involves relocation within or between its component municipalities and adjacent communities. External migrants whose last permanent residence was abroad are also included in the five and one year mobility status data sets.<sup>6</sup> Based upon and conveying the location of 1976 arrivals in 1981 and of 1986 and 1990 intakes during 1991, LQ values are calculated by dividing the percentage of external migrants per census tract by the percentage of external migrants in all tracts (relative to the CMA population). While these values attempt to expound where these settlers lived within the shortest time span following their admission, it must be acknowledged that frequent relocation during the immigrant adjustment phase occurs. Concentration patterns, as a result, do not necessarily relate initial points of entry. The best approximation of external migrant residential placement is provided by the one year mobility data for 1991 which involves fewer dwelling location shifts. This section attempts to determine whether 1990 arrivals are establishing themselves in or near areas dominated by 1986 and 1976 settlers.

The extent of exclusion and overrepresentation among individuals admitted in 1976 and 1986 has been comparatively stable. They are very similar to those noted for respondents included in the most recent arrival interval for 1976 and 1990 migrants (refer to Tables 28 and 29). Higher degrees of absence are noted among 1986 entrants, whose shares reflect those of 1981-1987 admissions rather than 1988-1991 intakes of whom they are constituents, and their 1990 counterparts. The share of tracts in which immigrants registered LQ values greater than two increases with recentness of arrival. Approximately 5% of 1990 arrivals were concentrated in 7.59% of all census tracts.

---

<sup>6</sup> Figures specifying the number of external migrants whose last permanent residents one year ago was abroad are only available for the 1991 Census.



Table 28. External Migrant Non-Representation (LQ = 0). Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year of Arrival	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	CMA Population Share
1990	248 (30.91%)	10.45%
1986	62 (07.71%)	23.90%
1976	39 (06.48%)	07.13%

Note: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which non-representation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of the entire CMA population reside in these tracts.

Sources: Statistics Canada, "Population 1 Year and Over by Age Group and Sex, Showing Mobility Status (Place of Residence 1 Year Ago) - 20% Sample" (Table Name: ontm9101). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, "Population 1 Year and Over by Age Group and Sex, Showing Mobility Status (Place of Residence 5 Years Ago) - 20% Sample" (Table Name: ontm9102). Data from: 1991 Basic Summary Tabulations (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, Census Tracts: Population, Occupied Private Dwellings, Private Households and Census and Economic Families in Private Households - Selected Social and Economic Characteristics, Toronto, Volume 3, Profile Series B, Catalogue Number 95-977, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983). Table 1. "Selected Population, Dwelling, Housing and Family Distributions, for Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample Data."

Table 29. External Migrant Overrepresentation (LQ > 2). Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Year of Arrival	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	Migrant Population Share
1990	64 (07.59%)	05.01%
1986	10 (01.24%)	00.37%
1976	4 (00.66%)	00.06%

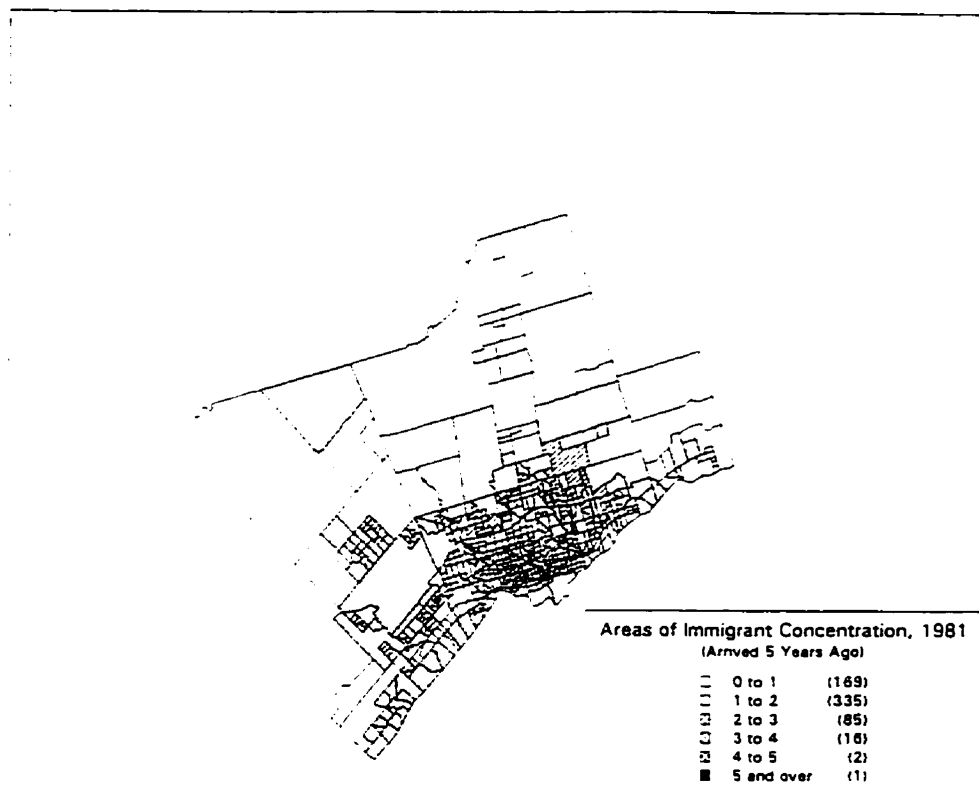
Note: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which overrepresentation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of external migrants are in these tracts.

Sources: As noted above.

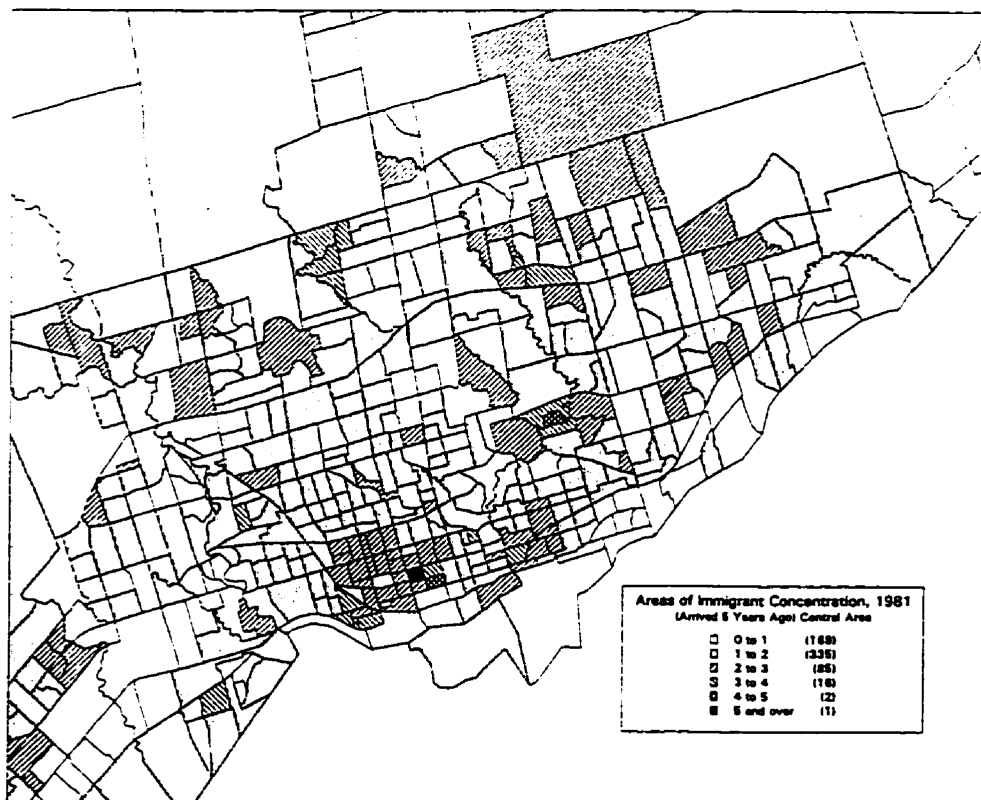
Moderate concentration levels among 1976 entrants were noted in Riverdale, Parkdale, Parkway Forest (north of York Heights), Willowdale and a section of New Toronto. Excessive overrepresentation was also noted in Flemingdon Park along with Kensington Market and Chinatown West (refer to Maps 63 and 64).<sup>7</sup> A more interesting distribution pattern is displayed by 1986 arrivals who were concentrated in identical clusters along the Finch Avenue axis as 1981-1987 and 1988-1991 settlers (refer to Maps 65 and 66). The St. James Town block and Don Mills continue to register moderate yet declining concentrations. External migrants captured during the last decennial census are concentrated in more decentralized and scattered niches. Those who came in 1990 are also found in enclaves coinciding with those identified for 1988-1991 arrivals and some have even penetrated into affluent outer suburbs (refer to Maps 67 and 68).

---

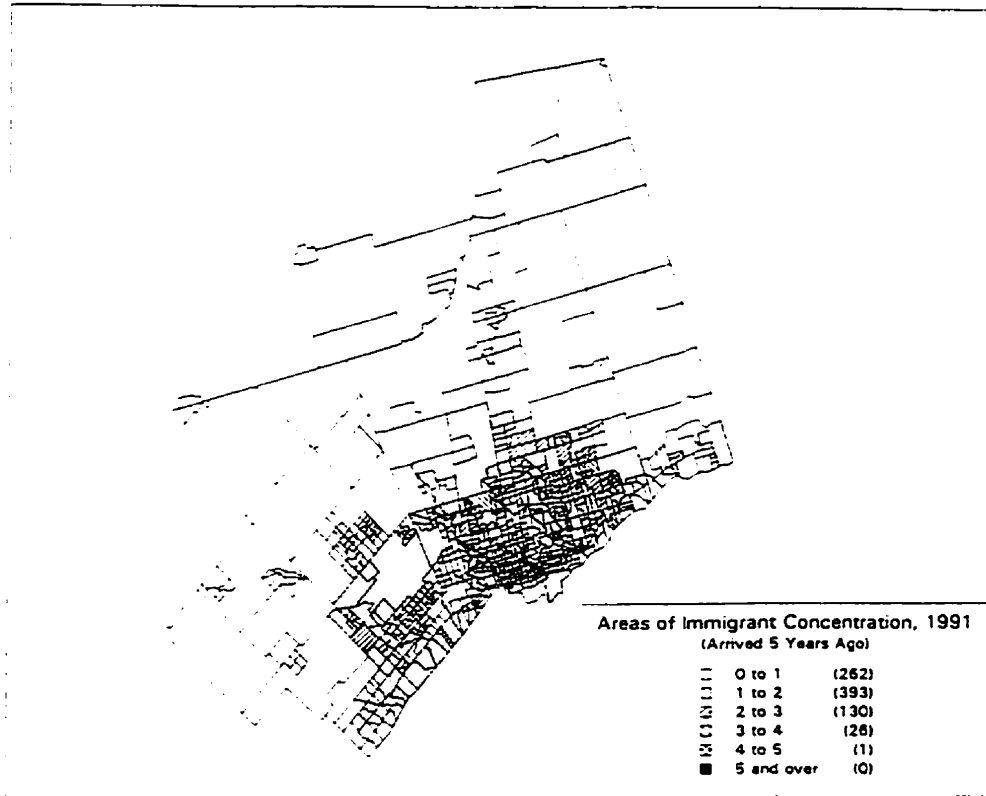
<sup>7</sup> Refer to Appendix E for the absolute number of 1976, 1986, and 1990 external migrants per census tract.



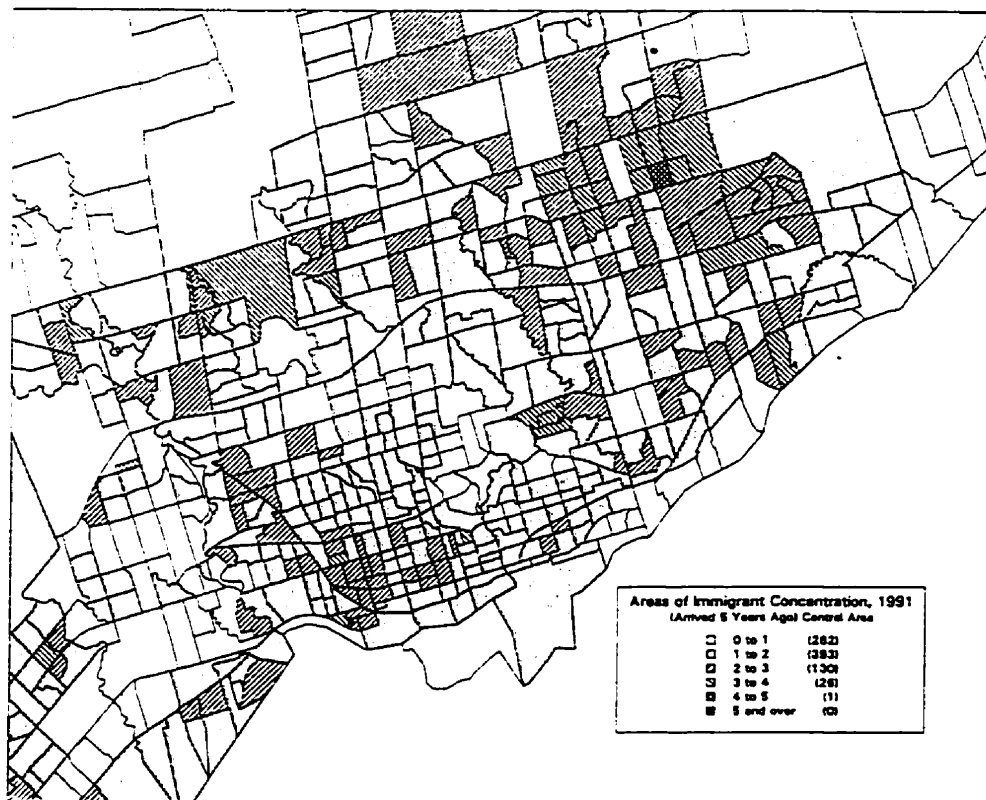
Map 63. 1976 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



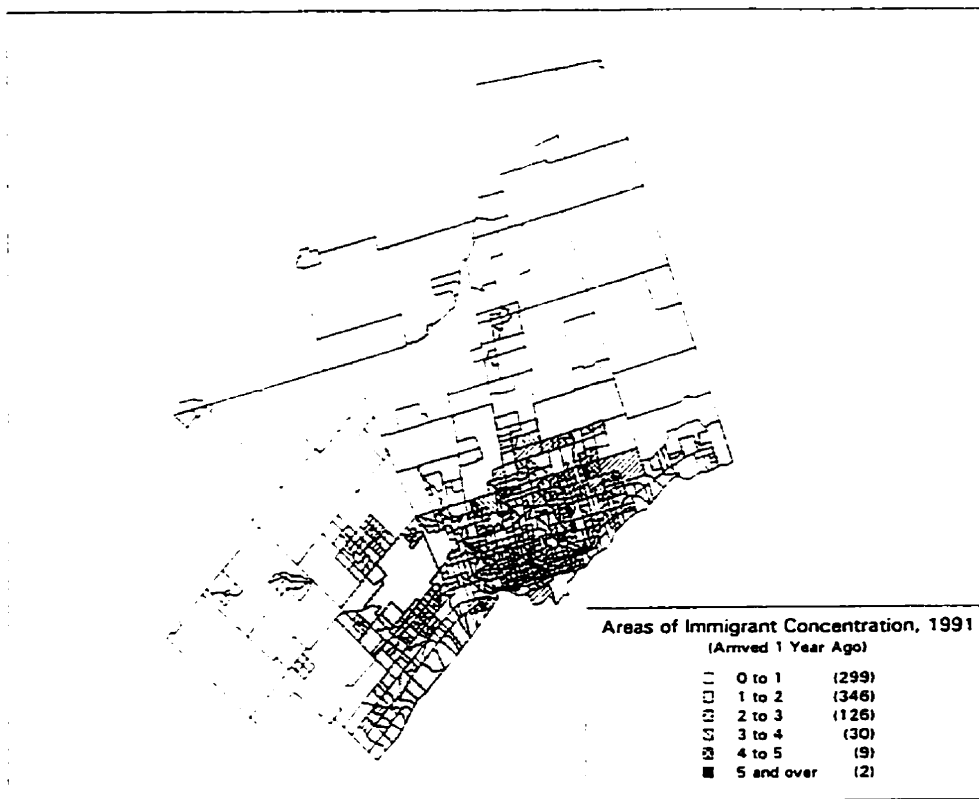
Map 64. 1976 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



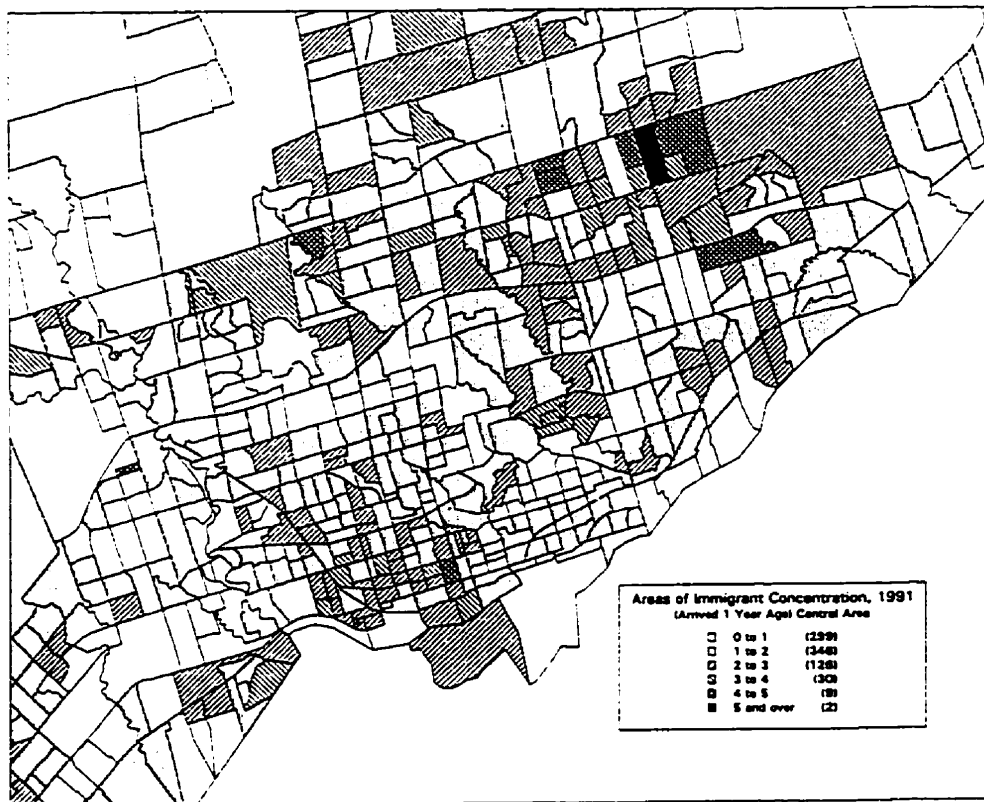
Map 65. 1986 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 66. 1986 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991



Map 67. 1990 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 68. 1990 Arrival Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

## Ethnic Concentration Configurations

Ethnic population figures according to immigration period, extracted from special 1981 tabulations, afford one with the opportunity to examine residential concentration arrangement within and between each study group's immigrant components. Figures listed in Table 30 indicate that non-representation is more frequent among the latest and earliest arrivals in all ethnic communities.<sup>8</sup> British newcomers registered the least amount of absence while the opposite was true of their Jewish, Multiethnic and Aboriginal counterparts. Excluding early settlers, the presence of foreign-born Chinese and Greek inhabitants across census tracts respectively declined and increased with length of time since their ingress. In terms of overrepresentation, Table 31 also verifies that persons admitted during the first and last intervals are highly concentrated. At least 80% of Jewish overseas migrants, indifferent of landing phase, are accounted for in no more than 12% of all tracts. Multiethnics and Aboriginals are extensively congregated no matter when they arrived.<sup>9</sup> The percentage of areal units in which Chinese and Greek non-natives are consolidated have been stable with each successive wave. LQ values were mapped for the reference and study groups according to immigration period (see Appendix D for absolute numbers). Enclaves of high and/or moderate concentration associated with every admission interval were delimited and compared to identify directional displacement trends.<sup>10</sup> Location bias among 1978-1981 entrants was employed to distinguish ethno-specific and common points of initial residency. It is presumed that recent newcomers will establish themselves in widely dispersed clusters that do not necessarily coincide with those of previous settlers. An examination of each ethnic community follows.

---

<sup>8</sup> British pre-1945 and Chinese 1978-1981 entrants are the exceptions. The lower number of census tracts in which early British arrivals are absent is also a function of fewer surviving members.

<sup>9</sup> Refer to the explanatory note in Table 13 for more about Aboriginal immigrants.

<sup>10</sup> Cartographic representations identifying densely populated urban spaces cannot be interpreted in terms of a cohort migration.

Table 30. Ethnic Non-Representation (LQ = 0) by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin/Period	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	CMA Population Share
<b>British</b>		
Pre-1945	10 (01.66%)	01.10%
1945-1954	8 (01.33%)	00.73%
1955-1964	2 (00.33%)	00.12%
1965-1970	10 (01.66%)	00.80%
1971-1974	29 (04.82%)	02.74%
1975-1977	60 (09.76%)	05.85%
1978-1981	76 (12.62%)	08.47%
<b>Greek</b>		
Pre-1945	352 (58.47%)	85.30%
1945-1954	360 (59.80%)	54.40%
1955-1964	197 (32.72%)	23.59%
1965-1970	223 (37.04%)	27.56%
1971-1974	345 (57.31%)	47.01%
1975-1977	446 (74.09%)	66.32%
1978-1981	480 (79.73%)	73.90%
<b>Jewish</b>		
Pre-1945	443 (73.59%)	68.85%
1945-1954	408 (67.77%)	61.64%
1955-1964	426 (70.76%)	65.79%
1965-1970	423 (70.26%)	65.37%
1971-1974	470 (78.04%)	75.63%
1975-1977	483 (80.23%)	77.43%
1978-1981	501 (83.22%)	80.34%
<b>Multiethnic</b>		
Pre-1945	547 (90.86%)	89.77%
1945-1954	423 (70.26%)	66.34%
1955-1964	423 (70.26%)	68.17%
1965-1970	447 (74.25%)	69.81%
1971-1974	509 (84.27%)	80.59%
1975-1977	536 (89.04%)	85.84%
1978-1981	546 (90.70%)	87.41%
<b>Aboriginal</b>		
Pre-1945	594 (98.67%)	98.87%
1945-1954	599 (99.50%)	99.91%
1955-1964	587 (97.51%)	97.00%
1965-1970	554 (92.03%)	88.88%
1971-1974	505 (83.89%)	75.83%
1975-1977	524 (87.04%)	81.71%
1978-1981	515 (85.55%)	79.87%
<b>Chinese</b>		
Pre-1945	543 (88.70%)	87.28%
1945-1954	423 (70.26%)	65.51%
1955-1964	351 (58.30%)	52.73%
1965-1970	204 (33.89%)	27.91%
1971-1974	184 (30.56%)	22.86%
1975-1977	261 (43.35%)	33.17%
1978-1981	251 (41.69%)	31.05%

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which non-representation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of the entire CMA population resides in these tracts. There were 602 census tracts for the 1981 Census. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 31. Ethnic Overrepresentation (LQ  $\geq$  2) by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin/Period	Number and Percentage of Census Tracts	Immigrant Population Share
<b>British</b>		
Pre-1945	120 (19.93%)	38.85%
1945-1954	110 (18.27%)	28.48%
1955-1964	97 (16.11%)	25.38%
1965-1970	73 (12.13%)	25.93%
1971-1974	64 (10.63%)	28.24%
1975-1977	75 (12.46%)	28.53%
1978-1981	91 (15.17%)	37.40%
<b>Greek</b>		
Pre-1945	67 (11.13%)	98.94%
1945-1954	116 (19.27%)	67.75%
1955-1964	93 (15.49%)	24.65%
1965-1970	82 (13.62%)	55.85%
1971-1974	82 (13.62%)	66.94%
1975-1977	77 (12.79%)	78.58%
1978-1981	87 (14.45%)	86.05%
<b>Jewish</b>		
Pre-1945	44 (07.31%)	86.58%
1945-1954	63 (10.46%)	86.51%
1955-1964	67 (11.13%)	83.68%
1965-1970	73 (12.13%)	81.70%
1971-1974	74 (12.29%)	87.29%
1975-1977	63 (10.46%)	88.26%
1978-1981	51 (08.47%)	89.73%
<b>Multiethnic</b>		
Pre-1945	52 (08.64%)	98.82%
1945-1954	124 (20.60%)	100.00%
1955-1964	126 (20.93%)	100.00%
1965-1970	115 (19.10%)	100.00%
1971-1974	85 (14.12%)	100.00%
1975-1977	63 (10.46%)	100.00%
1978-1981	53 (08.80%)	100.00%
<b>Aboriginal</b>		
Pre-1945	6 (01.00%)	100.00%
1945-1954	1 (00.17%)	100.00%
1955-1964	13 (02.16%)	100.00%
1965-1970	45 (07.47%)	98.63%
1971-1974	75 (12.46%)	91.63%
1975-1977	66 (10.96%)	94.95%
1978-1981	71 (11.79%)	94.24%
<b>Chinese</b>		
Pre-1945	64 (10.63%)	98.41%
1945-1954	100 (16.61%)	78.87%
1955-1964	87 (14.45%)	65.29%
1965-1970	95 (15.78%)	60.21%
1971-1974	80 (13.29%)	54.88%
1975-1977	80 (13.29%)	61.78%
1978-1981	75 (12.46%)	60.39%

Notes: The first column represents the number and proportion of census tracts in which overrepresentation occurs while the second one indicates what percentage of ethnic immigrants per arrival period resides in these tracts. There were 602 census tracts for the 1981 Census. The 1978-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, "Population by Ethnic Origin, by Period of Immigration, Canada, Provinces, Census Metropolitan Areas with Census Tracts, 1981 - 20% Sample" (Table Name: SPC81B63). Data from: 1981 User Summary Tapes and Microfiche, Special Series, Unpublished Data (Microfiche File: SPC81B60). Ottawa, 1983.



### *British*

Excluding very early and recent arrivals, British immigrants did not form any distinct concentrations. They were residentially integrated with a very small number of high density areas ( $LQ \geq 4$ ) being found among established inhabitants (refer to Maps 69-82 at the end of this section). Cluster overlap was registered by 1955-1974 arrivals in a core area block whose northwestern boundary abuts the CMA's peak land value intersection. Pre-1945 entrants display a discernible clustering pattern in four primary sites which are analogous with traditional British and aggregate pre-1945 districts: an arc composed of Bedford Park, eastern Lawrence Park (i.e. Wanless), Sherwood Park, Leaside and Bennington Heights; a fragmented enclave in East York which includes Birchmount Park, the Beach, Birchcliff, and Kingsway Park in Etobicoke.<sup>11</sup> The former Irish enclave in Cabbagetown did not register any meaningful pre-1945 concentrations. Detached tracts were also noted in Oakville, Mississauga, Weston, Willowdale, downtown (north of the St. Lawrence neighbourhood), and Westhill. Excessive 1978-1981 overrepresentation materialized in widely dispersed outer suburban and fringe locations. A new reception area seems to have developed in northern Brampton and central Ajax (see Maps 79 and 81). Metropolitan points are restricted to Moore Park and vicinity plus three solitary points, one of which also includes those admitted during the early-1970s. Pronounced absence was consistently evident in several census tracts along Dufferin Street and throughout Woodbridge which respectively concur with secondary and subsequent Italian relocation. Other locations vary with intake period. Overall, the reference population is predisposed to residential diffusion with elevated concentrations corresponding to Anglo-dominated districts.

---

<sup>11</sup> Harris (1996) explains that pre-1945 British arrivals were strongly committed to home ownership which was beyond their reach in the United Kingdom. Newcomers often purchased suburban lots and built poor quality homes which were improved over time. Owner building was pandemic in York (e.g. Earls court, Fairbank, and Silverthorn). Initial settlement in decentralized enclaves was also influenced by the demand for skilled labour in nearby factories during the pre-1945 period.

## *Greek*

Assuming a scattered residential apportionment, the Hellenic community was established during two major influxes: 1948-1952 and 1967-1973 which respectively coincide with the Greek civil war and an era of political instability.<sup>12</sup> Individuals admitted during the latter period display a concentration distribution pattern similar to that of the aggregate Greek collectivity. Contiguous and nearby tracts, in this case, coincide with the Danforth Avenue and Birchmount Road axes (see Maps 83-96). Chimbos (1980) writes that 1965-1974 intakes gravitated to the communal anchor and pre-established concentrations in East York. Previous and subsequent entrants were dispersed in isolated tracts and fragmented clusters which jointly resemble a galactic mosaic. Contemporary ingress has been directed to neighbourhoods where Greeks have been marginally represented (e.g. Thornhill, Rouge Hill, and an isolated tract north of New Market). The earliest and latest arrivals were concurrently overrepresented in St. James Town.

Greektown's continued yet diminishing function as a reception area and ethnic enclave are confirmed by Maps 83 to 96. Excluding limited residency in remote fringe areas among the latest intakes, Greek immigrants are absent or underrepresented elsewhere. Chain migration is evident in diverse parts of Scarborough, North York's southeastern corner, and around the Junction where members of various admission intervals concurrently dwell. A single tract or set thereof often forms a high-density kernel which is encompassed by neighbourhoods where ensuing newcomers congregate in a multiple nuclei pattern. Kennedy Park is a prime example to this end. Suburban reconcentration among established households was also acknowledged as a modifying agent of settlement patterns among Melbourne's Greek community (Burnley 1972a). The eastward suburban migration with

---

<sup>12</sup> A higher proportion of foreign-born Greeks (44.14%) arrived in the course of 1966-1975, a phase characterized by intense family sponsorship. Greece experienced an unprecedented scale of economic emigration from northern rural regions and island communities between 1966 and 1970 (Chimbos 1980). The greatest number settled in Canada during 1967 and 1968 among which are included ethnic Greek refugees from the Turkish-occupied section of Cyprus. Improved economic conditions throughout Greece since the late-1970s resulted in a notable reduction of external migrants (Chimbos 1980).

each successive immigration period shows signs of subsidence when recent arrivals are considered. Indeed, the persistence of widely dispersed clusters supports the notion that foreign-born Greeks were not altogether observing prescribed mobility patterns. Rapid decentralization and increasing spatial absorption of all immigration periods was the norm.

### *Jewish*

Foreign-born Jewish concentration, in essence, occurs within two narrow and parallel bands respectively running along the Bathurst and Bayview axes. The earliest entrants congregate almost exclusively along the Bathurst migration path between Steeles Avenue and Davenport Road. Subsequent admissions displayed a spatial apportionment similar to that of the whole Jewish community with no predisposition to dwelling in any particular segment of either narrow band (refer to Maps 97-110). High LQ values were also registered by 1965-1970 arrivals in the Islands, Harbourfront, Annex, Yorkville and Don Vale. Greater variation existed among those who immigrated between 1971 and 1977. They were localized within and beyond each concentration corridors' northern suburban limits while elevated population densities shifted from the Bathurst axis' southern portion to that of its Bayview counterpart. A few spatially variable and isolated tracts were also noted in fringe, outer suburban, and inner-city areas. Downtown clustering is attributable to reverse migration among established households while areas removed from the principal ribbons are associated with less observant, more assimilated, and socially mobile individuals who do not rely on geographic proximity for identity expression (Marcus and Schwartz 1993; Glickman 1996; Waksman 1996). Distribution patterns for 1971-1974 and 1975-1977 newcomers provide evidence of greater internal dispersion and decentralization with regards to the Jewish context. However, pronounced scattering at par with other group did not take shape. Members of the last intake category are overrepresented in concordant tracts along Bathurst Street and selected segments of the Bayview axis (York Mills, Bayview

Village, and the areas north of Hillcrest Village). This pattern closely resembles that of pre-1945 immigrants including a single point in Harbourfront. Otherwise, it excludes places where other ethnic group constituents admitted during the same time span initially established themselves. Residential concentration patterns exhibited by persons reporting Jewish religious affiliation are expected to coincide with those noted above.

It would appear that immigrants continue to be influenced by religious considerations. Recent arrivals are attracted to suburban locations in North York where agencies, such as Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) of Willowdale, provide comprehensive resettlement and integration programs. Newcomers are often referred to nearby Jewish operated apartment buildings containing rental units geared towards lower incomes or subsidized housing projects. These ethno-specific organizations, according to Markus and Schwartz (1993), presume that newly admitted Jews would affiliate with and eventually integrate into the existing community by, among other activities, dwelling within a Jewish district. This absorption policy reflects Israeli state practice which incorporates a geographic element designed to reinforce a settlement's ethnic composition. Commenting upon regional planning, immigration and spatial distribution, Feasey (1976, 40) observed that ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods were favoured such that "primary relations" could be established while maintaining a sufficient degree of socio-economic heterogeneity. Every settler is treated as a Jewish community member regardless of their country of origin, educational attainment, and extent of religious observance. Within the Canadian urban milieu, residential location plays a significant part in directive settlement strategies designed to strengthen areas of Jewish congregation. Critics of this implicit principle argue that it subjugates new immigrants to domiciliary separation, insulates them from mainstream cultural integration, and is partially responsive to immediate needs such as differentiated housing requirements and proximity to employment. Conversely, advocates fear that

expatriates would “easily assimilate into the broader secular community and lose whatever Jewish identity they brought with them” (Markus and Schwartz 1993, 418).<sup>13</sup>

### *Multiethnic*

The aggregate Multiethnic collectivity was extensively dispersed throughout the CMA. Remarkably, its immigrant element displays a widely scattered residential concentration configuration irrespective of landing phase. The shot gun pattern is most discernible among 1965-1974 intakes.<sup>14</sup> Some high density census tracts overlap segments of other ethnic enclaves from which this group acquired its members. For instance, early entrants are overrepresented along portions of the Bathurst stretch. There is no consistent sectoral movement typical of the Jews or a tendency towards forming multiple nuclei as per the Greeks. Comparing Maps 111 through 124, one notices an increased scattering of geographic niches within Metropolitan Toronto and outer suburban districts with recentness of admission. A significant proportion of pre-1945 settlers are highly concentrated within the city and its boroughs. Similar remarks can be advanced for subsequent intervals although isolated fringe area tracts exist. All arrival periods, excluding the latest, are overrepresented in and around Yorkville and the Annex, High Park, Willowdale, and the area between Thornhill and Hillcrest Village.

Contemporary immigrants tend to congregate in the outer boroughs, especially along Steeles Avenue. A northward shift into peripheral urbanized quarters with minimal metropolitan localization, rather than initial inner-city settlement, provides further evidence of an exceedingly complex domiciliary distribution arrangement that does not correspond

---

<sup>13</sup> Research conducted in 1991 by Glickman (1996) demonstrates that émigrés from Russia who found housing with JIAS assistance clustered within the Jewish enclave yet their organizational affiliations and personal ties were independently established.

<sup>14</sup> External migrant arrival is primarily concentrated in the 1966-1975 period. Crosstabulations of 1981 PUST and 1991 PUMF data respectively reveal that 23.35% and 29.17% of Multiethnic immigrants were admitted during the aforementioned interval.

with the reference or any other study populations. Divergent geographical placement also suggests a concurrent advancement of compound ethnic identities and development of urban form that fall short of conventional immigrant entry and residential mobility models. Declining predictability in terms of residential stratification patterns may be attributable to a more expedient response to housing availability and affordability, an inexistent territorial anchor and indiscernible reception area(s), and internal differentiation by origin combination and/or socio-economic status. In any case, the Multiethnic community is an exemplar of future trends that may be increasingly observed by other ethnic communities.

### *Aboriginal*

Although most Aboriginals are Canadian-born, a small proportion (34.80%) are immigrants who primarily originated from the United States.<sup>15</sup> Their concentration patterns seldom coincided with areas in which the aggregate Native Canadian community was overrepresented. High density tracts were scattered throughout Metropolitan Toronto and its outer western suburbs (refer to Maps 125 through 138). This observation applies to all admission intervals. However, newcomers were notably absent or underrepresented in the urban fringe, especially Oakville and Ajax, and the communal inner-city enclave. Only Pre-1945 and 1965-1970 entrants registered outstanding LQ values in parts of Caledon and eastern King Townships and an isolated lakeshore tract in Ajax. Location bias and a negligible degree of spatial integration persisted among those who arrived before 1971 as evidenced by polarized LQ figures. Clusters composed of contiguous tracts each containing members of different immigration periods were noted in neighbourhoods abutting the intersection of Jane Street with Sheppard and Lawrence Avenues, two tracts south of Lawrence Heights, and eastern Scarborough excluding Rouge Hill and most

---

<sup>15</sup> Refer to the explanatory note in Table 13 for more about Aboriginal immigrants.

lakeshore districts. Post-1964 settlers registered an increased presence in a few sectors of Brampton and central Mississauga.

The extent of concentration area dispersion and decentralization increase with recentness of arrival. There were only fifteen extremely concentrated census tracts among the entire Aboriginal collectivity while at least double that number existed for immigrants with a modest decline being noted by the latest intakes. Attracted to districts inhabited by their immediate precursors, the latest contingent of settlers did not establish themselves within or nearby extant downtown enclaves except Yorkville and Parkdale. They gravitated toward suburban destinations in Brampton (Bramalea), Etobicoke (Rexdale, Beaumont Heights, Kingsview Village, and north of New Toronto), York (Weston), North York (Humberlea, areas south of Lawrence Heights and Bayview Village, Henry Farm and Parkway Forest), and Scarborough (Clark Corners, Ellesmere, Wexford Heights, and a section of Woburn). A distinguished northward concentration shift was detected with residency in dispersed pockets along railway corridors, as observed in 1991, being considerably less pronounced among the entire Aboriginal population in general and recent landings in particular. Indeed, 1978-1981 in-migrant congregation was encountered in more divergent places than all individuals admitted during the same interval.

### *Chinese*

Residential concentration in Chinatown West and East was upheld by all immigrants regardless of when they gained entry into Canada. Distribution patterns conform to the conventional assumption of increased scattering with length of domiciliation since admission. High density census tracts and clusters are comparatively more dispersed among early arrivals (see Maps 139 to 152). They are often located in places which are not associated with the Chinese community (e.g. northwestern Oakville, Davisville, Clairlea, Maryvale, Highland Creek). Post-1970 entrants, excluding the latest intakes, congregated in

three primary locations: segments of Chinatown West, its oriental correlate, and Agincourt Chinatown. Taken together, they can be classified as being bi-polar in terms of centrality. Elevated concentrations were noted in upscale Rosedale among pre-1945 and 1955-1964 immigrants and the exclusive Bridle Path neighbourhood by their 1965-1974 counterparts. One would expect at least a portion of the latest influx to take up residence in suburban districts given an increasing Chinese presence in Agincourt and L'Amreux Park. Maps 154 and 155 show that 1978-1981 newcomers gravitated to established enclaves along with remnants of Old Chinatown and Kensington Market. Some ventured deeper into Greektown while others went directly to either Parkdale or Willowdale. Circumvention of traditional reception areas and immediate residency in suburbanized districts did not strongly materialize among these individuals for two reasons: most intakes were underprivileged refugees and the international migration of affluent entrepreneurs did not begin in earnest until after 1981 (Gray 1992). Kasher (1997) also writes that some moneyed Hong Kong Chinese moved into the inner boroughs before relocating to Scarborough.

The extent of core area and suburban cluster continuity respectively decrease and increase with recentness of arrival. Overrepresentation in Chinatown West and East steadily declined as newcomers drifted towards outlying locales. Both downtown neighbourhoods became more fragmented and compact as the admission period draws closer to the latest one. Overall, it seems as though individuals who settled before Old Chinatown's territorial extent was nearly obliterated lived in more dispersed pockets whose areal dimensions are less definable. Miller (1986) writes that many elderly Chinese residents who came during the immediate post-war era and have a minimal understanding of English are confined to centralized concentrations. Similarly, unskilled immigrants and refugees often become 'trapped' at their point of entry for extended periods until their employment and economic situations improve. Residential distribution variation among post-1970 intakes reflects the emergence and intensification of Chinatown West, development and expansion of



Chinatown East, and eventual suburban transition to Agincourt, Willowdale, and points beyond.

### **Concentration Overlap**

Concurrent overrepresentation among ethnic immigrants according to arrival period is manifested in a composite spatial pattern best described as being fairly complex. Nonetheless, certain generalizations can be advanced. Earlier entrants are predisposed towards minor cluster formation in segments of established Jewish, Chinese, and Greek enclaves. Within the core and inner-city, concentration overlap is attributable to inter-enclave spillover. In Chinatown West and vicinity, it included all groups except the Greeks. Marginal pre-1971 Greek and Chinese concentration occurred in the Gerrard-Bayview area of Chinatown East. Segments of recent Hellenic and Multiethnic intakes settled around the Danforth-Broadview intersection of Greektown. As an immigrant reception area, Kensington Market furnishes a "stratigraphic record" of Toronto's multicultural heritage. Population displacement occurs with no single ethnicity remaining dominant due to the area's spatial confinement which precludes community formation and expansion (Relph 1997). Not all new entrants took up residence in dwellings vacated by previous arrivals. Chinese overseas migrants were overrepresented along with their Multiethnic (pre-1945), Aboriginal (1965-1970) and Jewish (1975-1977) counterparts.

Suburban instances often involved pockets of Multiethnic congregation in neighbourhoods containing high population densities of other ethnic groups. For instance, 1978-1981 Jewish, Multiethnic, Greek intakes contemporaneously amassed within the Bathurst axis' northern segment (south of Concord). Multiethnics and Jews also shared residency in the Annex, Forest Hill and Lawrence Park. Concentration redundancy was also noted within the eastern Jewish band where it encompasses parts of Willowdale, York Mills, and Markham. All ethnic units and admission periods, except the last, are involved.

Overlapping tracts progressively shifted towards the outer suburbs. Multiethnics representing all but the earliest and latest periods registered high concentration levels in southwestern Markham and bordering tracts in North York. Greater variation exists in northern Willowdale where pre-1971 Jewish, Greek, Multiethnic and Aboriginal entrants are concentrated. A set of adjacent tracts around Cliffside accommodates many foreign-born Greeks, Multiethnics and Aboriginals.

### Summary

Concentration levels according to immigration period, mobility status, and ethnic origin by arrival interval diminish with increased passage of time since admission. Among recent entrants, they are consistently higher and occur in a greater number of census tracts which assume an increasingly scattered configuration. The extent of geographic congregation is least pronounced among reference group members, moderate and stable amid the Greek community, and exceptionally elevated with respect to Multiethnic and Aboriginal settlers. Jewish and Chinese foreign-born residents registered similar density measures. The proportion of tracts in which new intakes are overrepresented increased among British, Greek and Chinese immigrants, declined for their Multiethnic and Jewish counterparts, and remained relatively invariable for the Aboriginals.

Location Quotient mapping confirmed that ethnic groups display unique yet internally variable and less predictable immigrant localization patterns.<sup>16</sup> Aggregate immigrant concentrations project a more obvious cluster dispersion pattern than those of particular ethnicities. This notable diversion toward initial residency in dispersed suburban pockets and endurance of centralized enclaves differs markedly from the human ecology

---

<sup>16</sup> Examining residential dissimilarity and concentration in the Australian urban context, Grimes (1993, 109) suggests that observed patterns "point towards a variety of adjustment strategies" associated with immigration category and process, formation and existence of ethnic networks, linguistic ability, and "functioning of the housing and employment markets."

concepts of invasion, competition and succession. The focus of external migrant settlement begins to shift as a particular collectivity's penetration into core and inner-city reception areas reaches saturation following a massive influx of newcomers (Jupp 1988). 'Ethnoburbs' are often formed and maintained by a combination of secondary relocation among established entrants, limited dwelling turn-over, and reinforcement by subsequent intakes. Directional dislocations have and continue to take place among most study groups as new arrivals seek affordable accommodation in springboard communities. Thus, entry into metropolitan areas does not take place in readily definable districts (i.e. universal reception areas). Concentration overlap and divergent residency captured by the census data may be indicative of the post-arrival 'hypermobility' phase during which individuals gravitate to and frequently migrate among low-cost housing districts (Grimes 1993). From the preceding discussion, it is possible to conclude that concentration scattering has emerged as distinctive, rather than aberrant, element of immigrant settlement patterns with the Toronto CMA.

A summary matrix of all three residential differentiation dimensions for each ethnic group and immigration period is given in Table 32. Evenness, centralization and concentration levels associated with each group and period are classified as either high, medium, or low. Ethnic communities and immigrant intakes registering elevated amounts of dissimilarity, centralization, and concentration are considered extremely segregated. The extent of centralization was moderate among most ethnic units and intake intervals while a greater amount of variance exists in terms of dissimilarity and concentration. However, none of the ethnic entities nor individuals associated with a particular newcomer admission period can be characterized in terms of hyper-segregation which is evident among Black populations in large American cities. Ethnic and immigrant groups in the Toronto CMA are much more spatially integrated. The next chapter is aimed at investigating this situation by assessing ethnic groups and immigrants according to mobility, tenure, and selected socio-economic variables at various points in time.

Table 32. Residential Differentiation Levels for Ethnicity and Immigration Period, 1981-1991

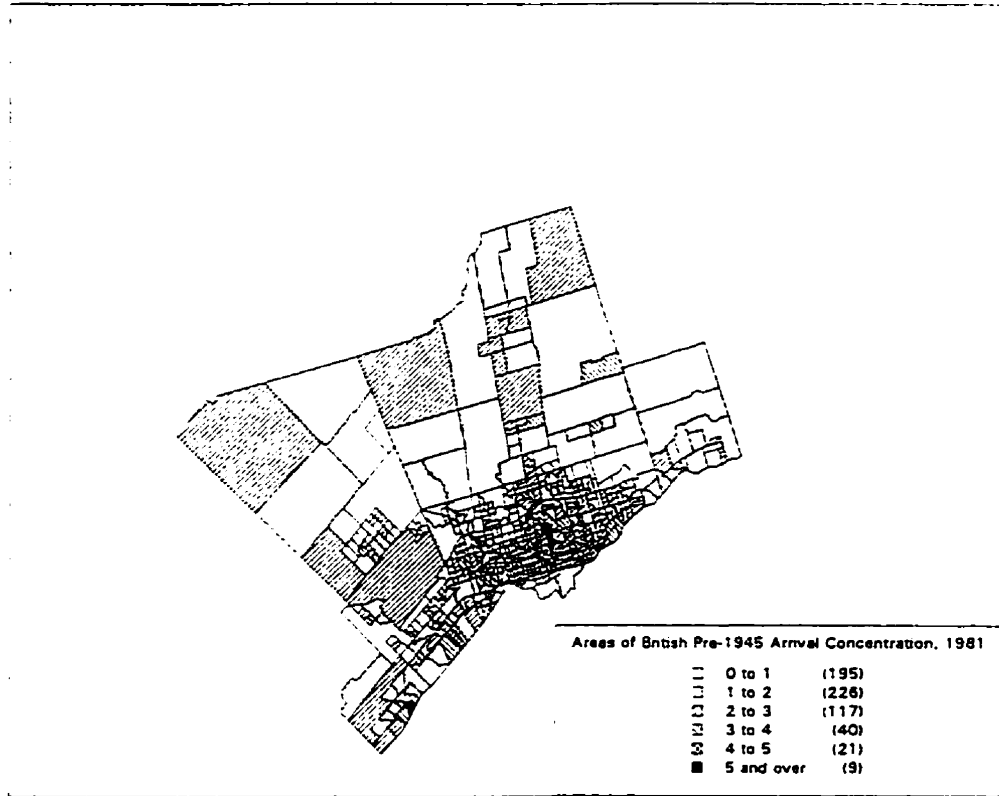
Ethnic Group/ Period of Immigration	Dissimilarity (Evenness)	Centralization	Concentration
<u>1981 and 1991</u>			
British	---	---	low
Greek	medium	medium	medium
Jewish	high	medium	high
Multiethnic	low	medium	low
Aboriginal	medium	medium	high
Chinese	medium	medium	high
Jamaican	medium	medium	high
<u>1981</u>			
Pre-1945	medium	medium	medium
1945-1954	medium	medium	low
1955-1964	medium	medium	low
1965-1970	medium	medium	low
1971-1974	medium	medium	low
1975-1977	medium	medium	low
1978-1981	medium	medium	low
<u>1991</u>			
Pre-1961	low	medium	low
1961-1970	low	medium	low
1971-1980	low	medium	low
1981-1987	medium	medium	low
1988-1991	medium	medium	low

Notes: Dissimilarity and centralization indices were not calculated for the British reference population since they would consistently equal zero. The Canadian-born population was used as the reference group for computing dissimilarity and centralization index values. Aboriginal concentration was lower in white Jamaican data unavailable for 1981.

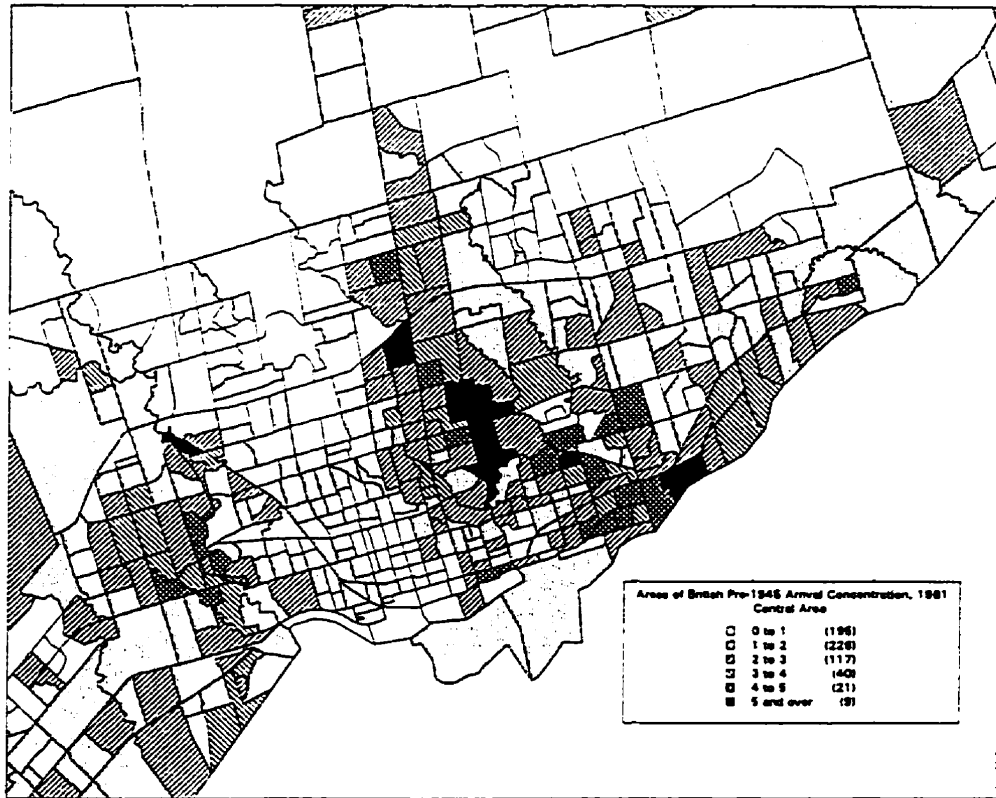
Evenness refers to the proportional distribution or uniformity of two groups across an urban area's spatial units. It is measured by the Index of Dissimilarity (ID) which represents the percentage of one population which would have to relocate in order to have the same percent distribution as the other population. ID values range from 0 to 100 which respectively indicate complete residential similarity and dissimilarity. Low, medium, and high degrees of separation are respectively indicative of the 0-30, 30-60, and 70-100 value ranges with a score of 50 representing an average amount of residential integration.

Centralization refers to the degree to which a group's members are spatially located near the urban core. It is measured by the Relative Centralization Index (RCE) which indicates the relative share of a group's members that would have to relocate in order to match the reference population's spatial zonal distribution. RCE values range from -1 (complete decentralization) to +1 (complete centralization). A value of zero indicates a distribution which is similar to that of the reference group. Low, medium, and high values are respectively represented by the -1 to -10.5, -0.5 to +0.5, and +0.5 to +1 ranges.

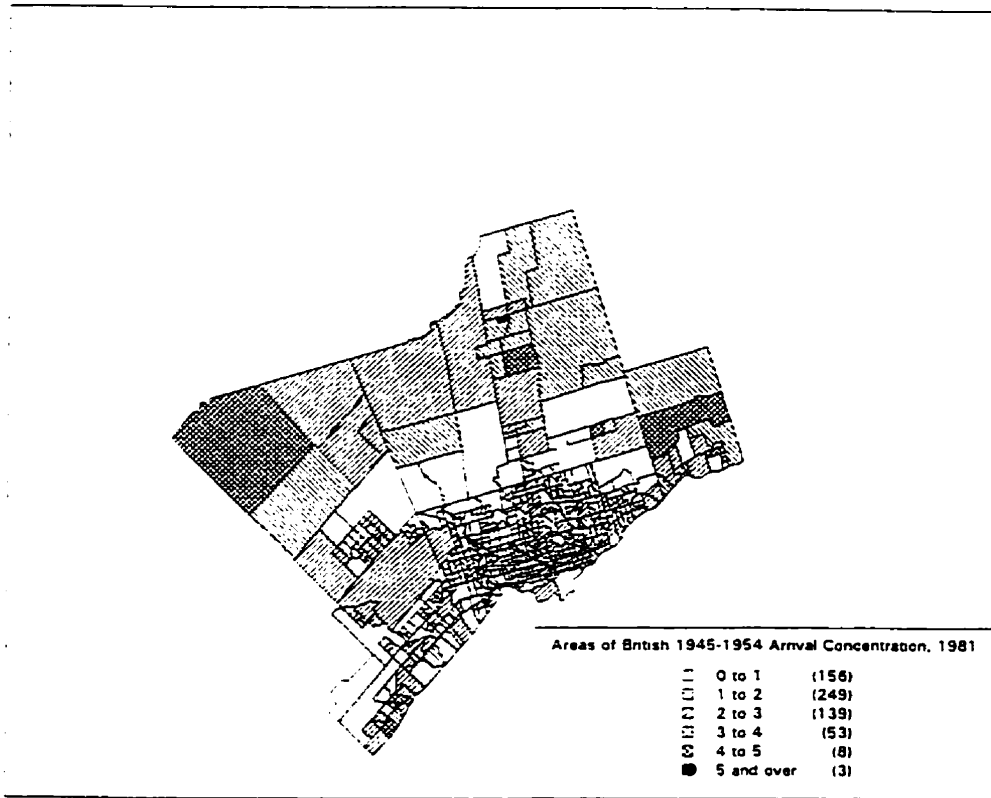
Concentration refers to a group's degree of local density or spatial agglomeration. It is measured by Location Quotient (LQ) which identifies the percentage of a population found within a specific areal unit relative to its total CMA population (i.e. all areal units). A score of 1 indicates that an areal unit has exactly the same frequency for a particular group as is found across the entire CMA. Values of zero, less than 1, and greater than 1 respectively indicate no representation (absence), underrepresentation, and overrepresentation. Low, medium, and high values, according to the six LQ ranges used in the maps, respectively are 0-2, 2-4, and 4 or greater. Most ethnic groups and immigration periods had values in the 1-2 range.



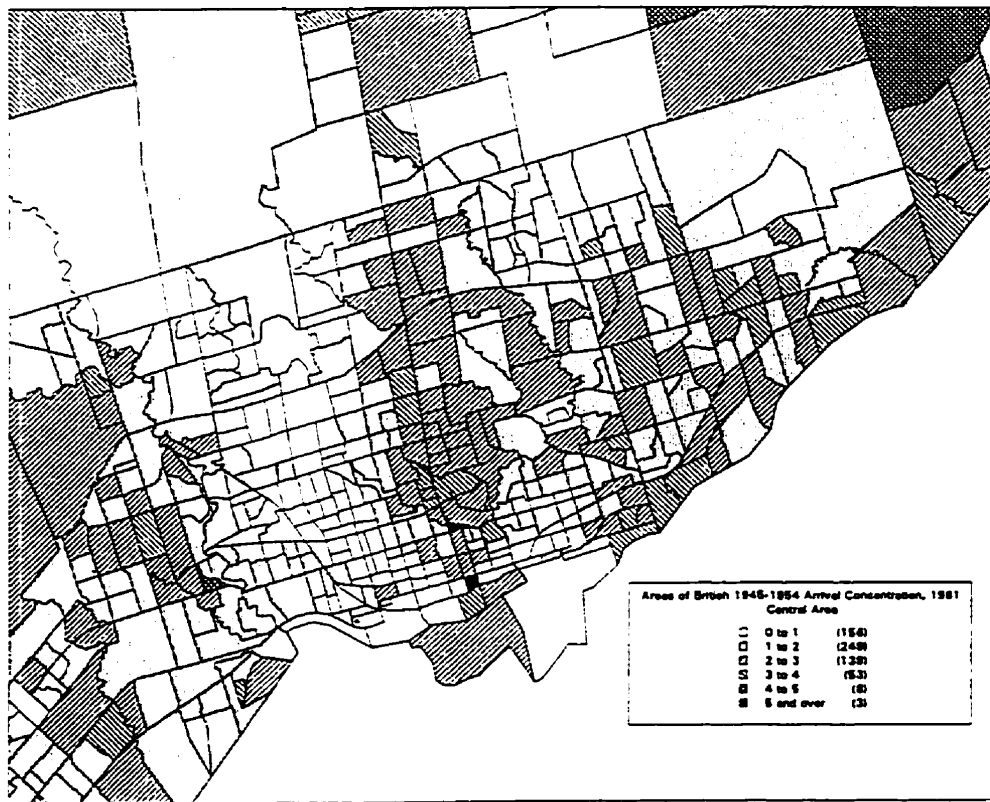
Map 69. British Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



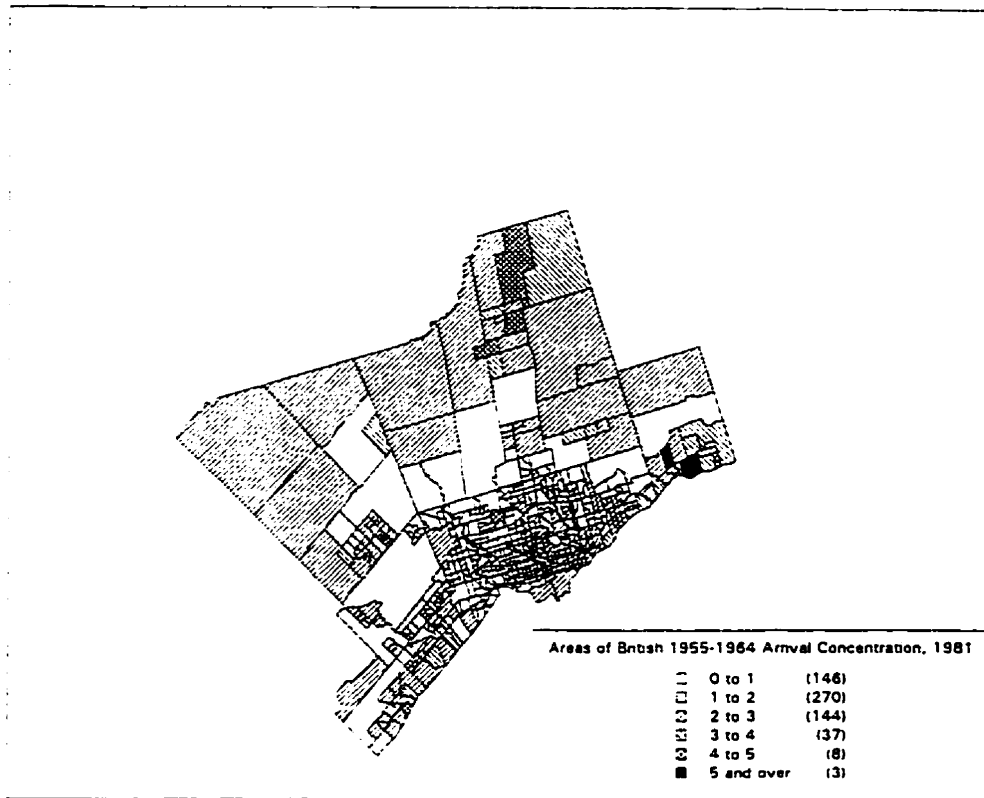
Map 70. British Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



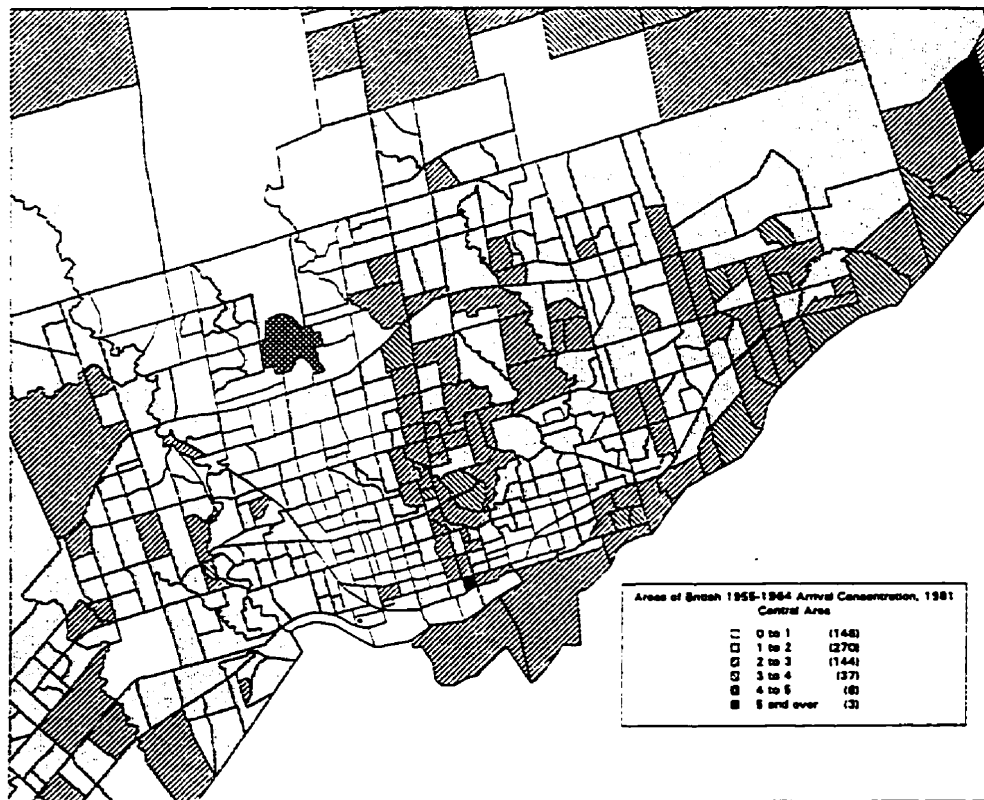
Map 71. British 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



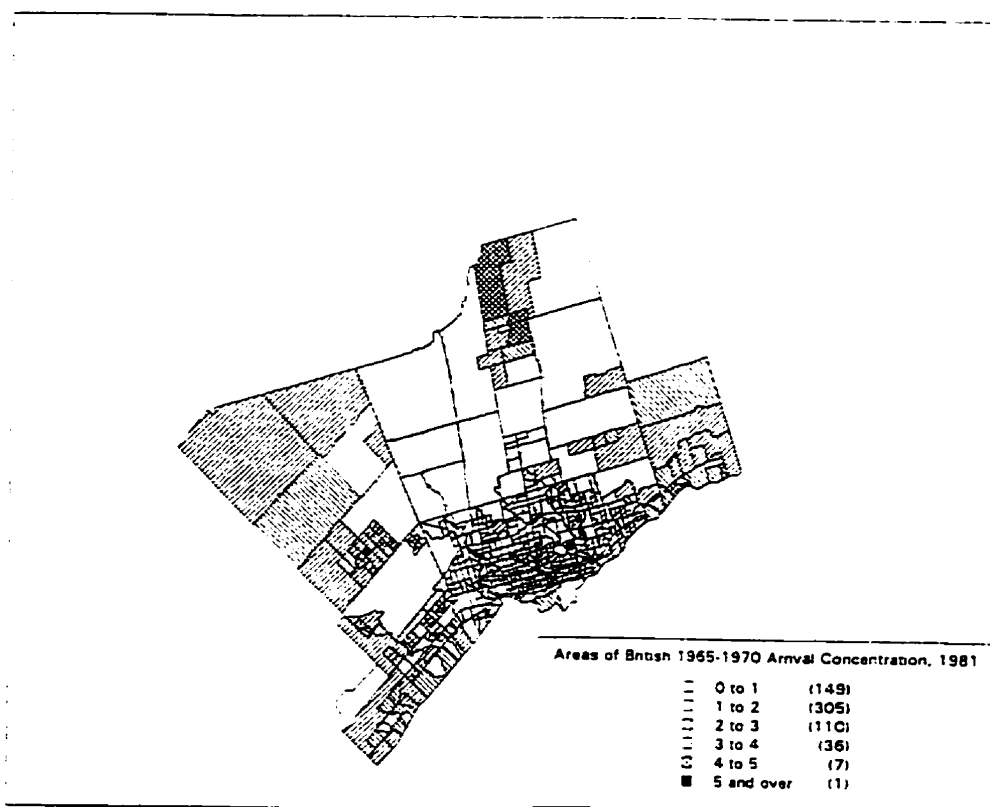
Map 72. British 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



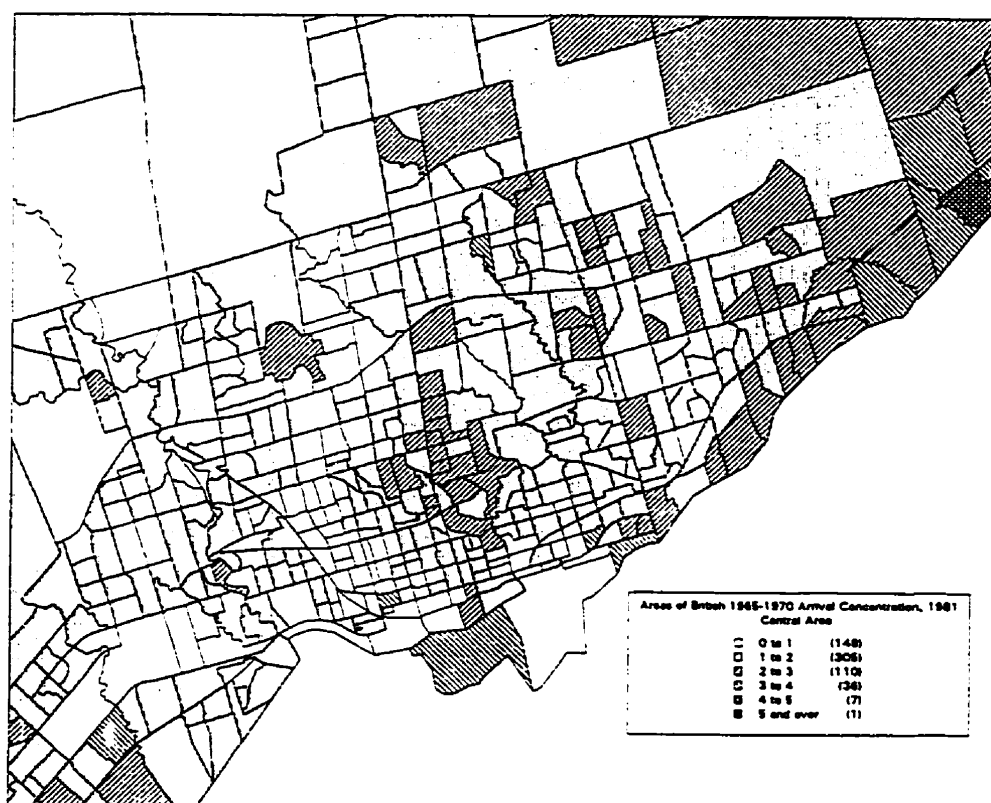
Map 73. British 1954-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 74. British 1954-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

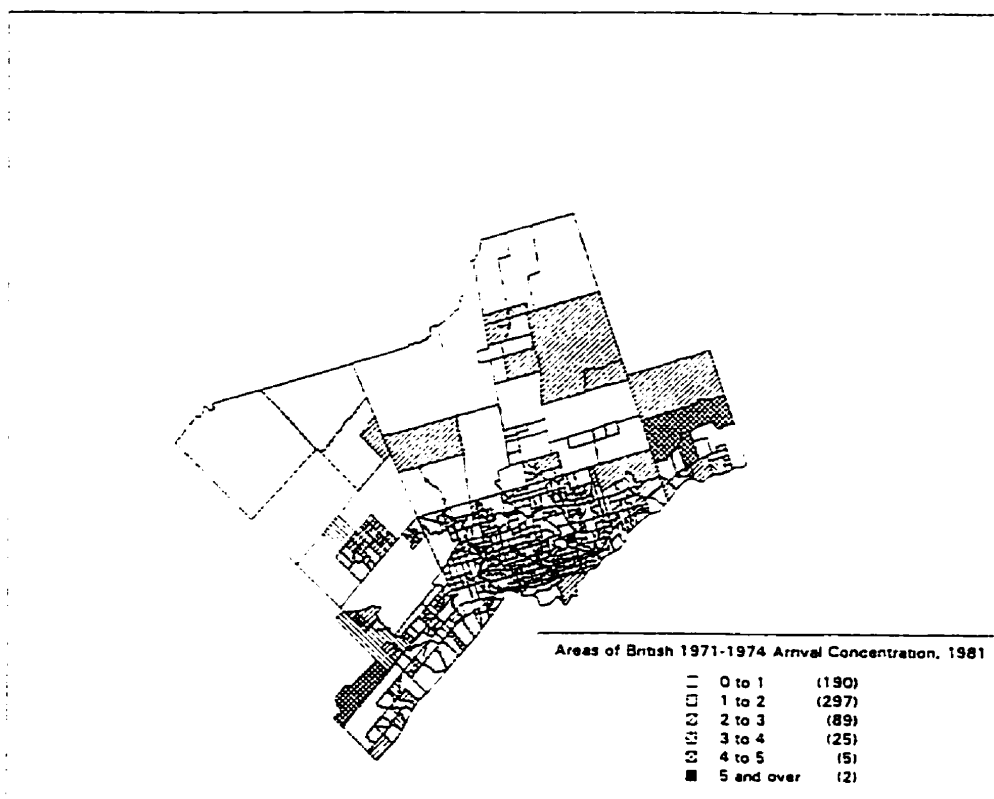


Map 75. British 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

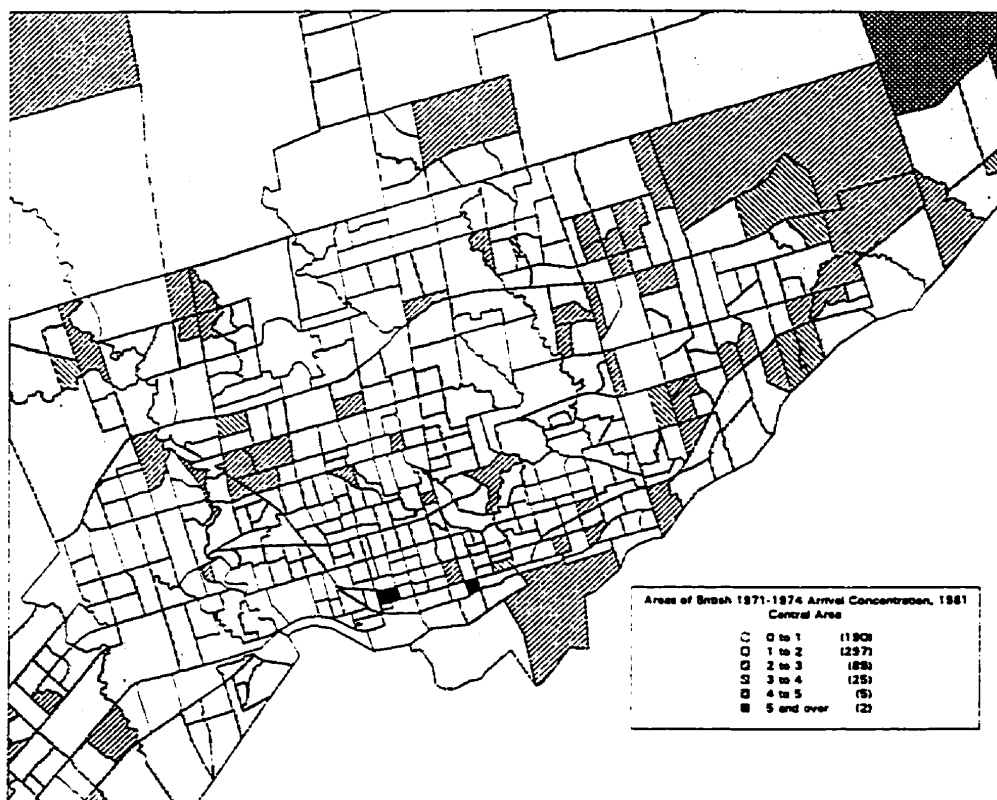


Map 76. British 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

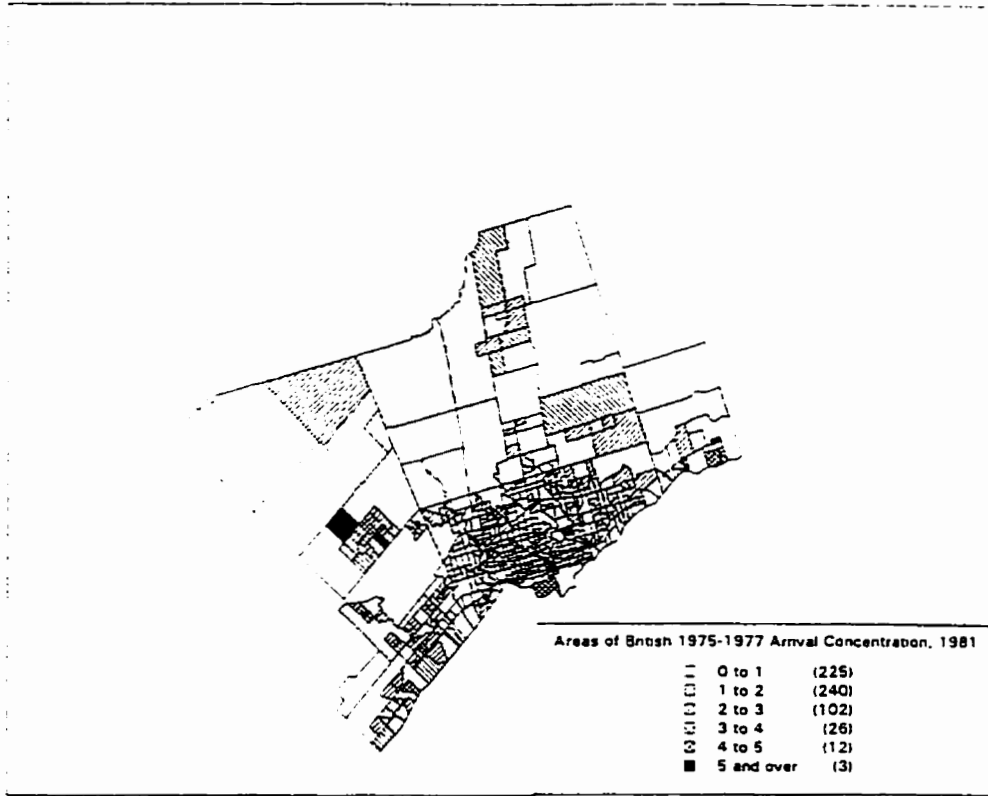




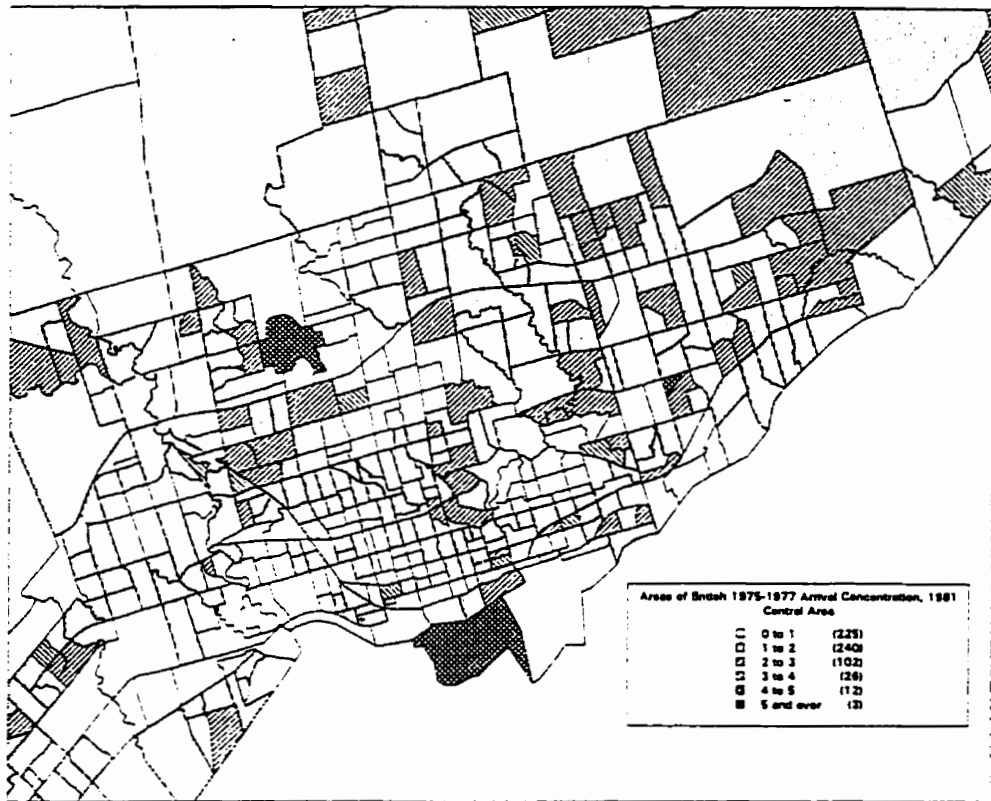
Map 77. British 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



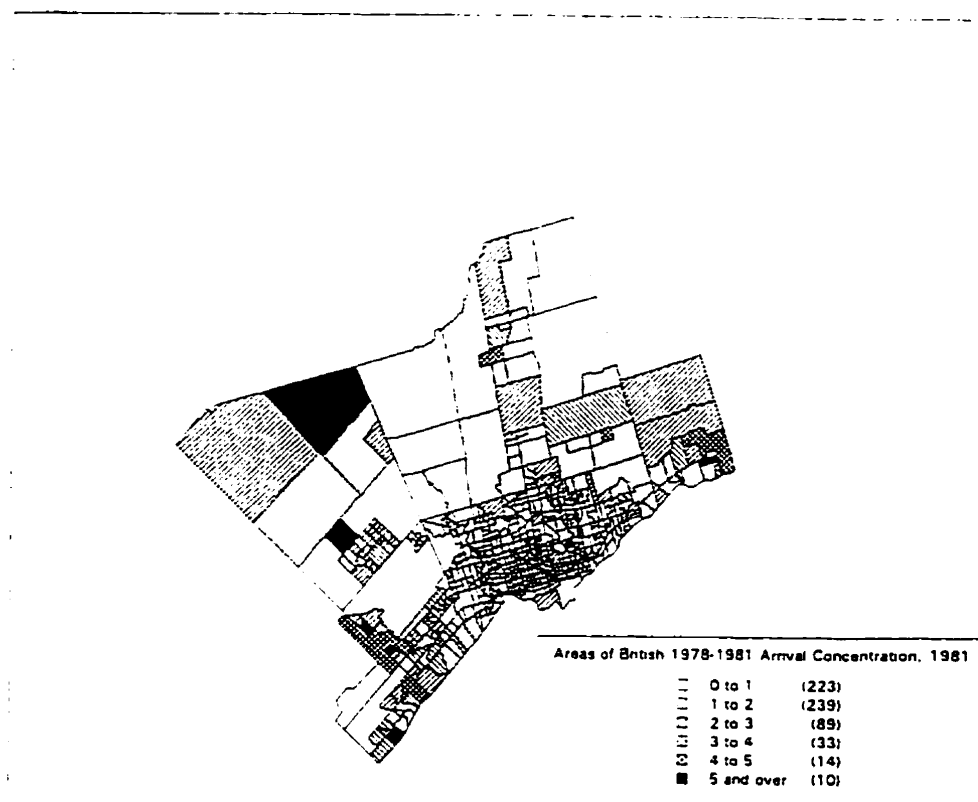
Map 78. British 1970-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



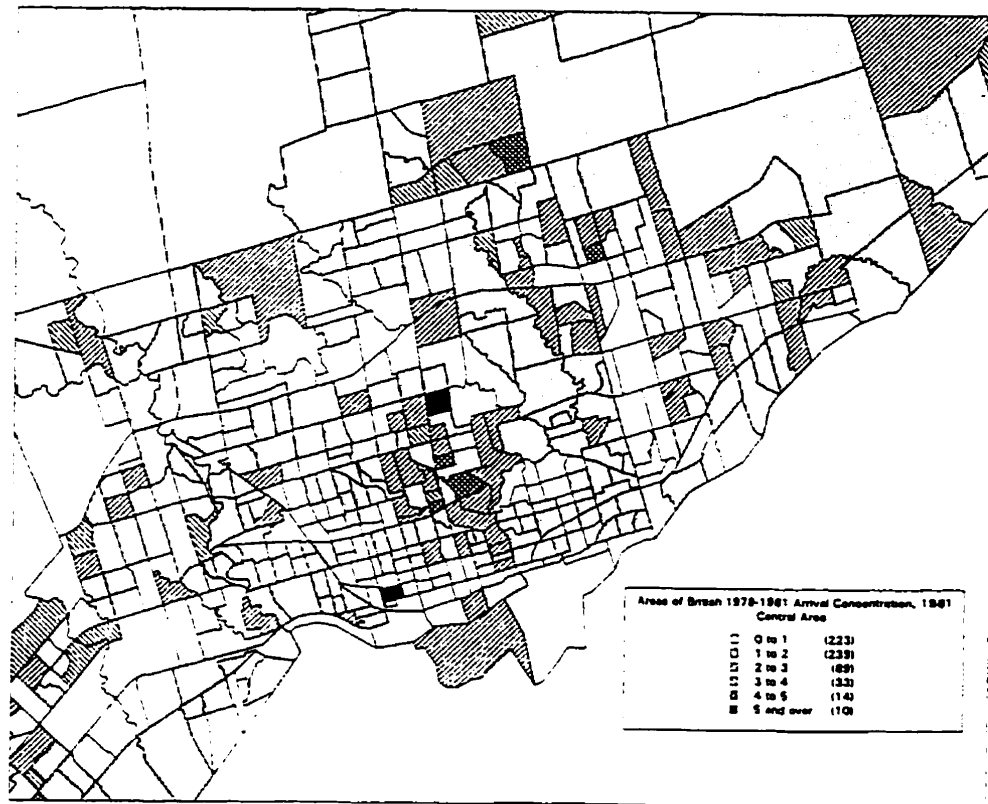
Map 79. British 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



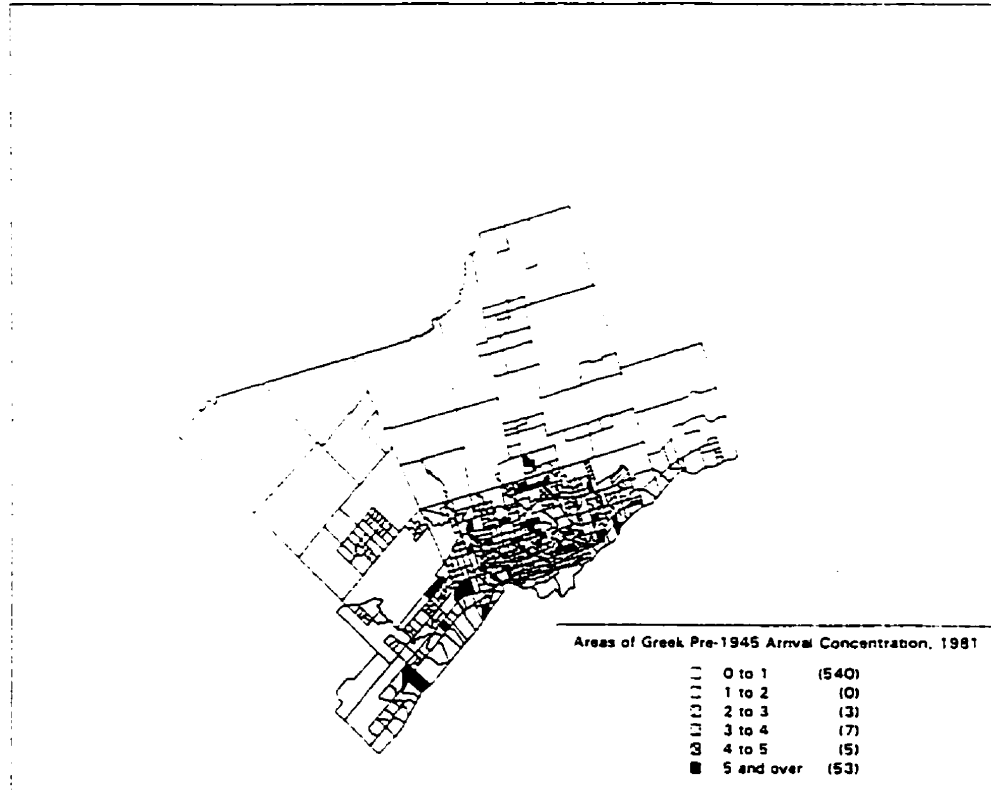
Map 80. British 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



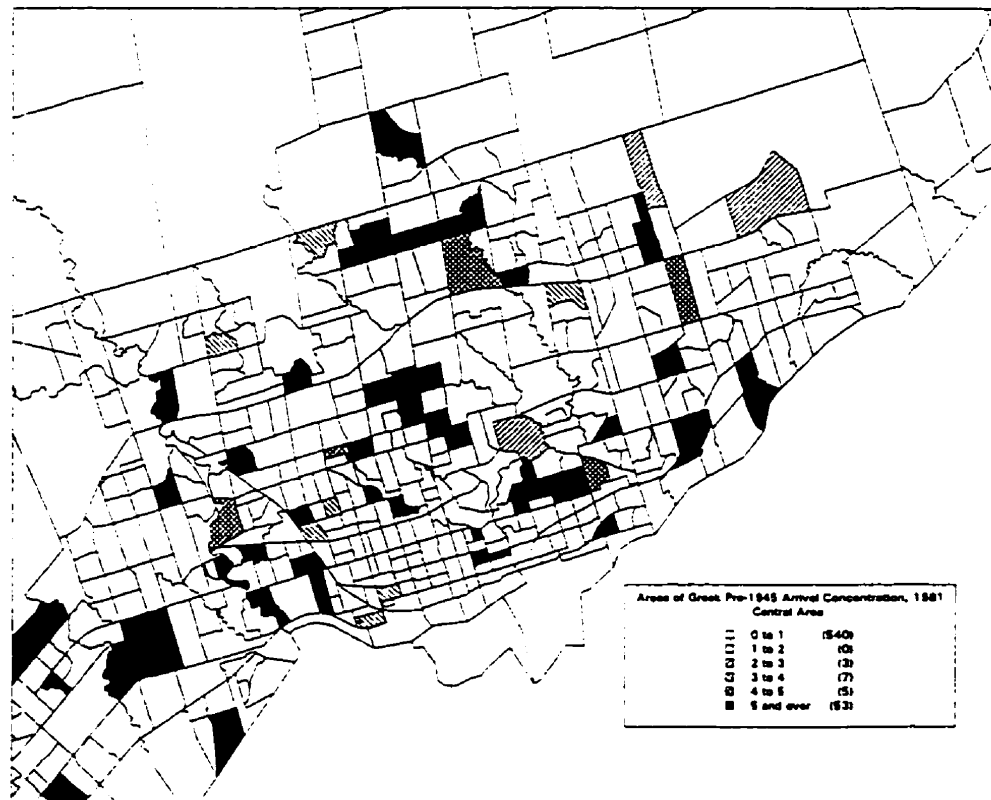
Map 81. British 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



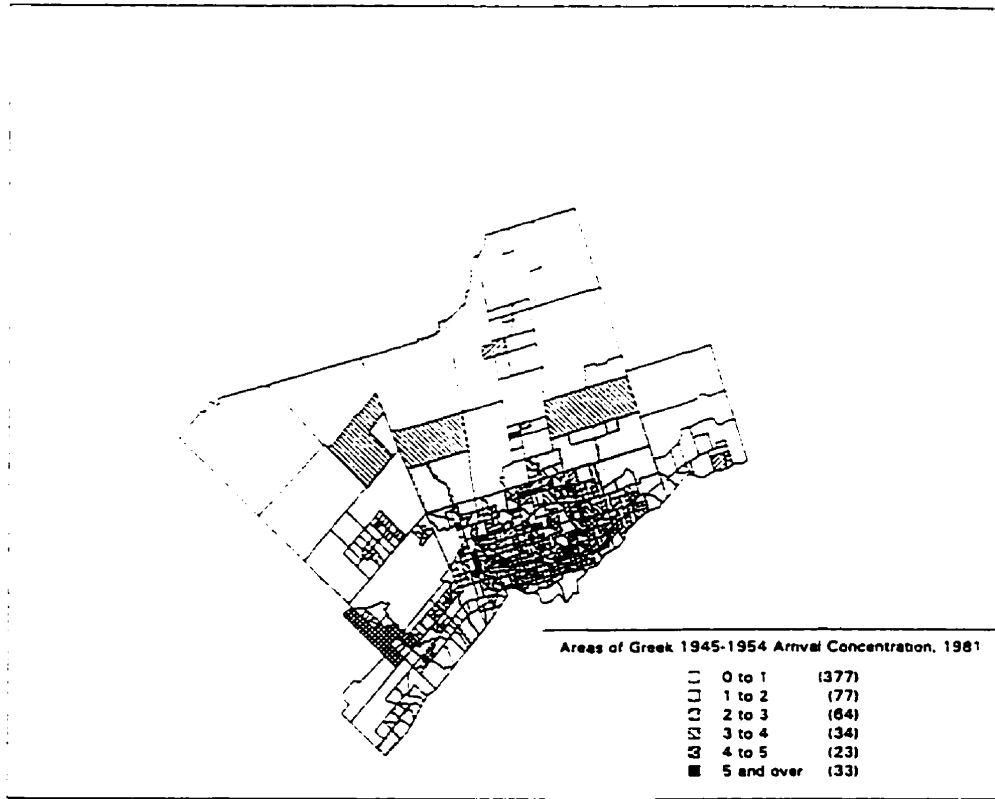
Map 82. British 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



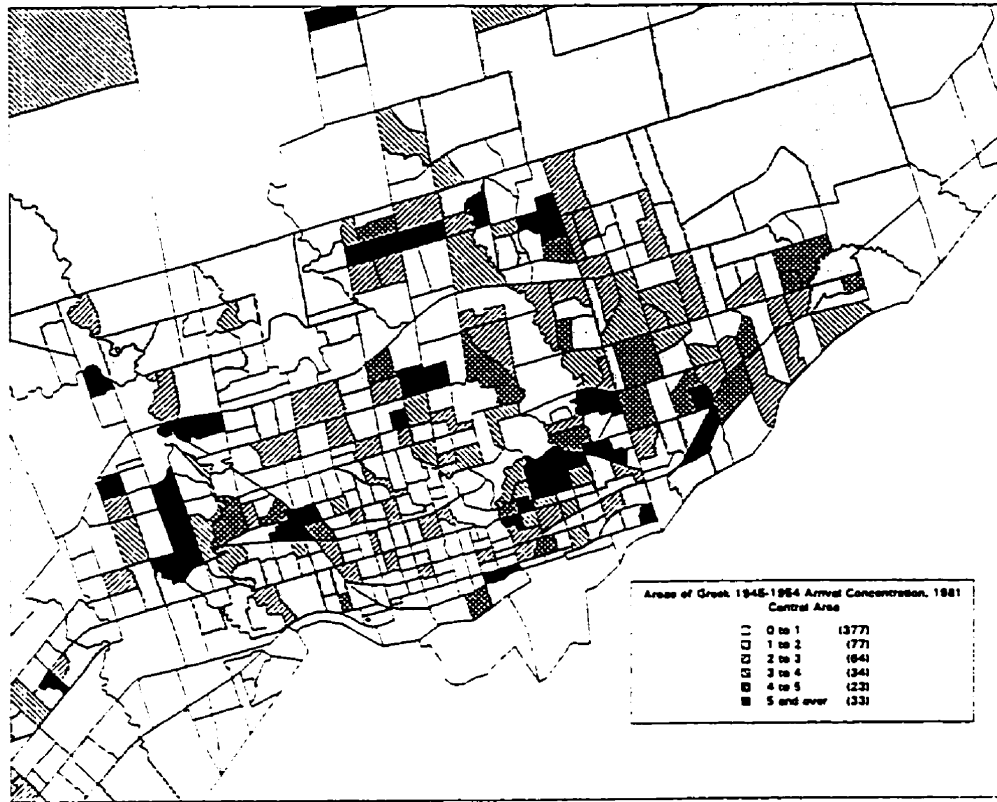
Map 83. Greek Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



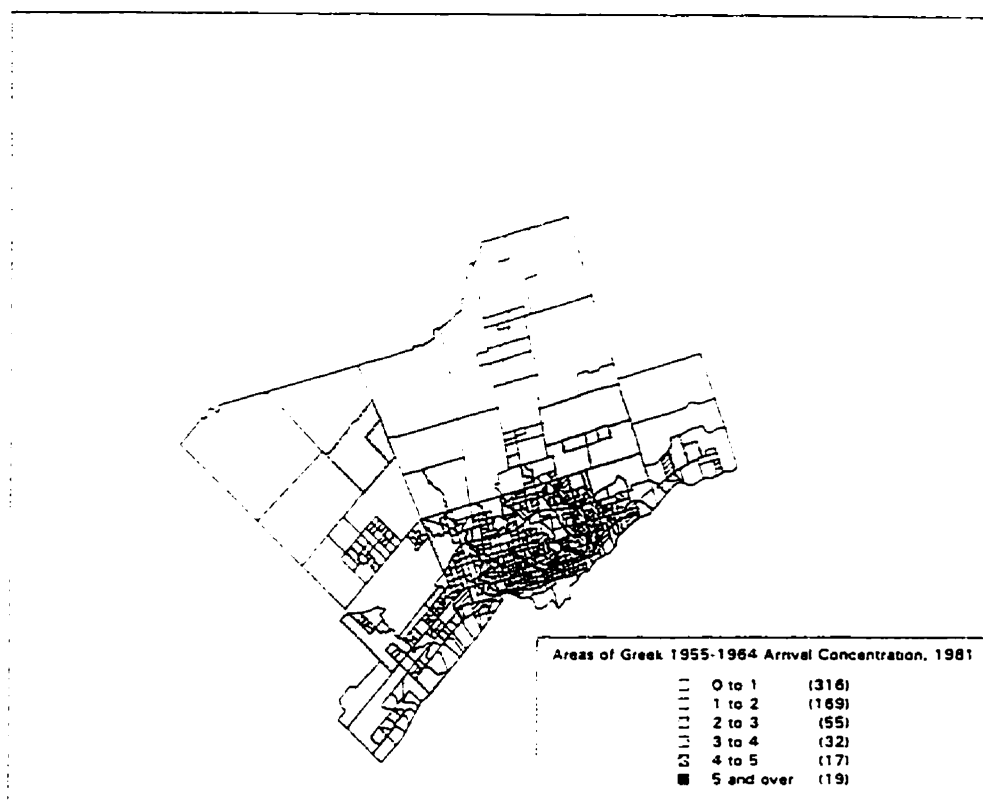
Map 84. Greek Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



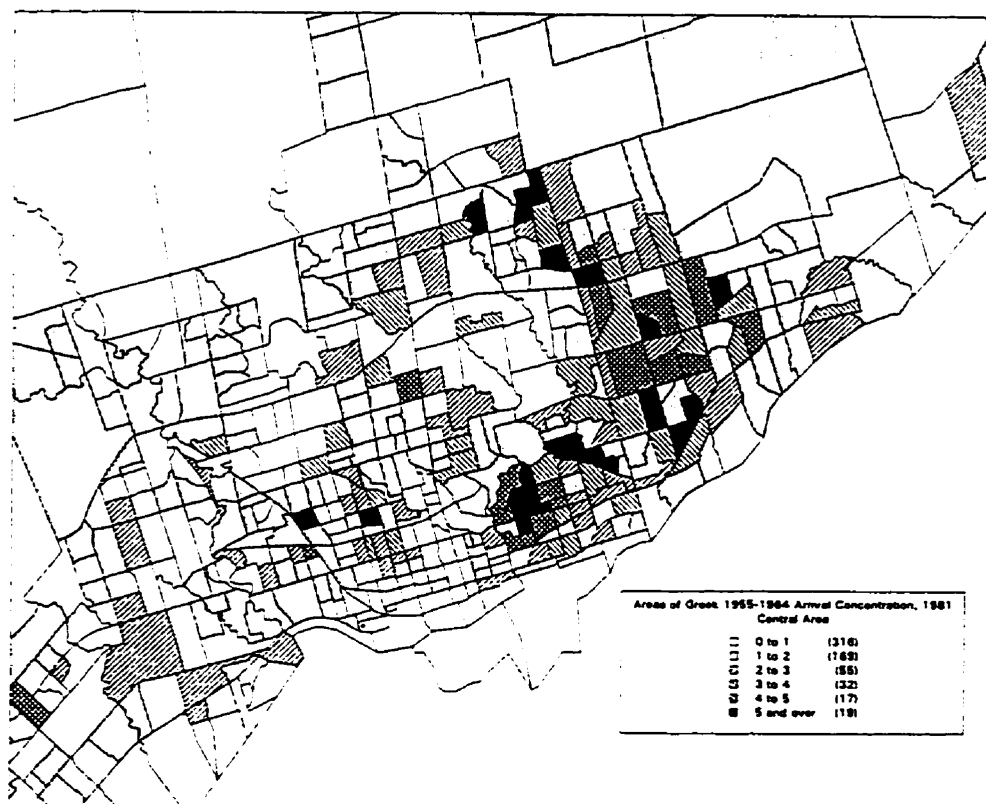
Map 85. Greek 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



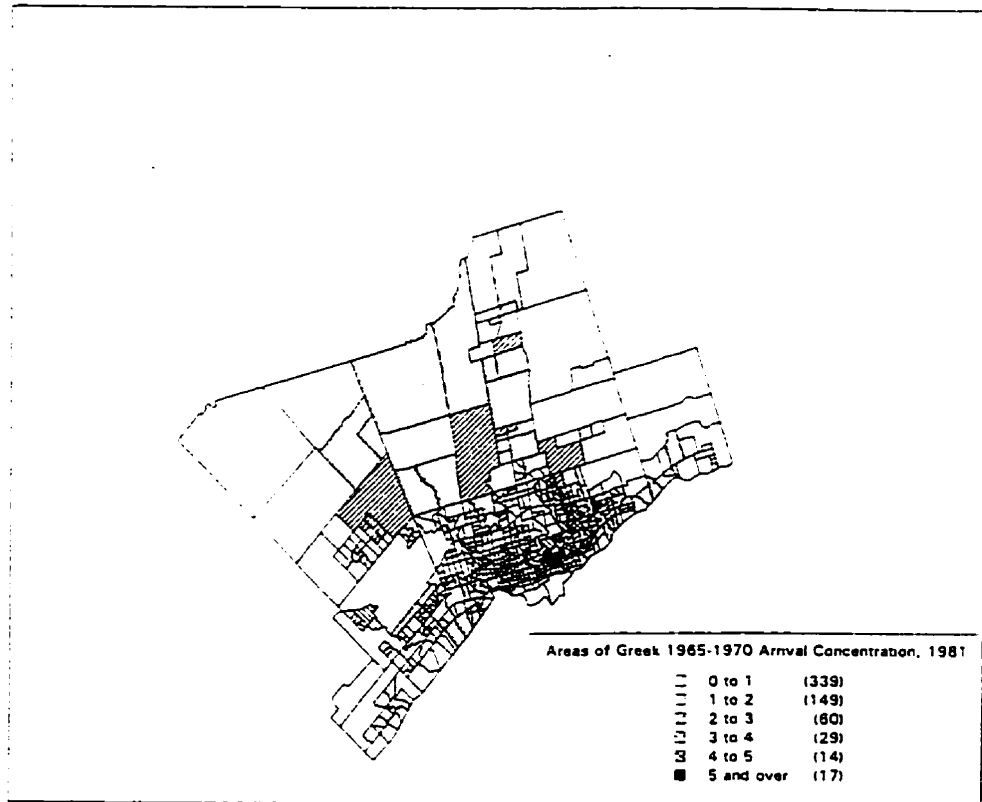
Map 86. Greek 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



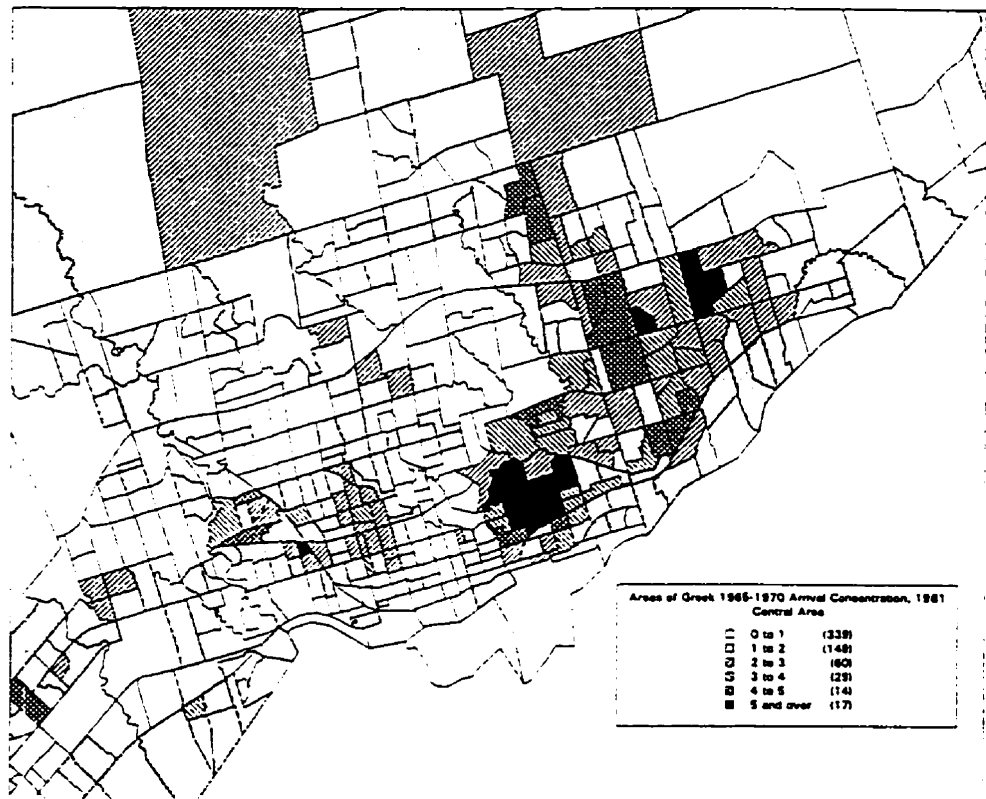
Map 87. Greek 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



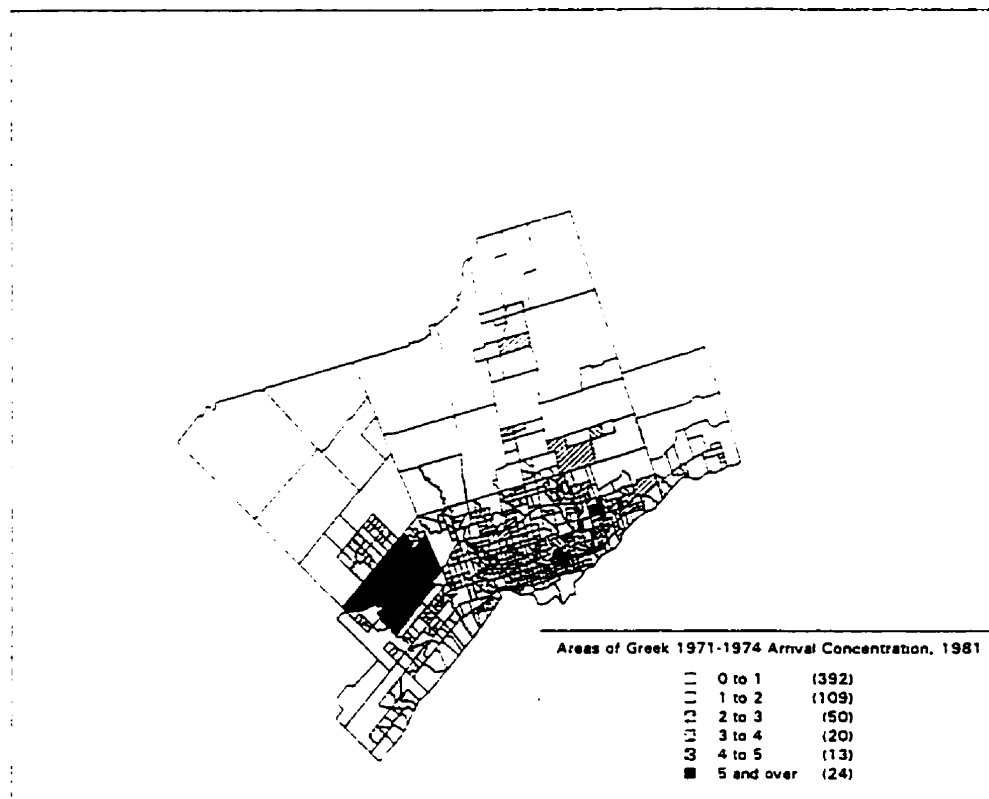
Map 88. Greek 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



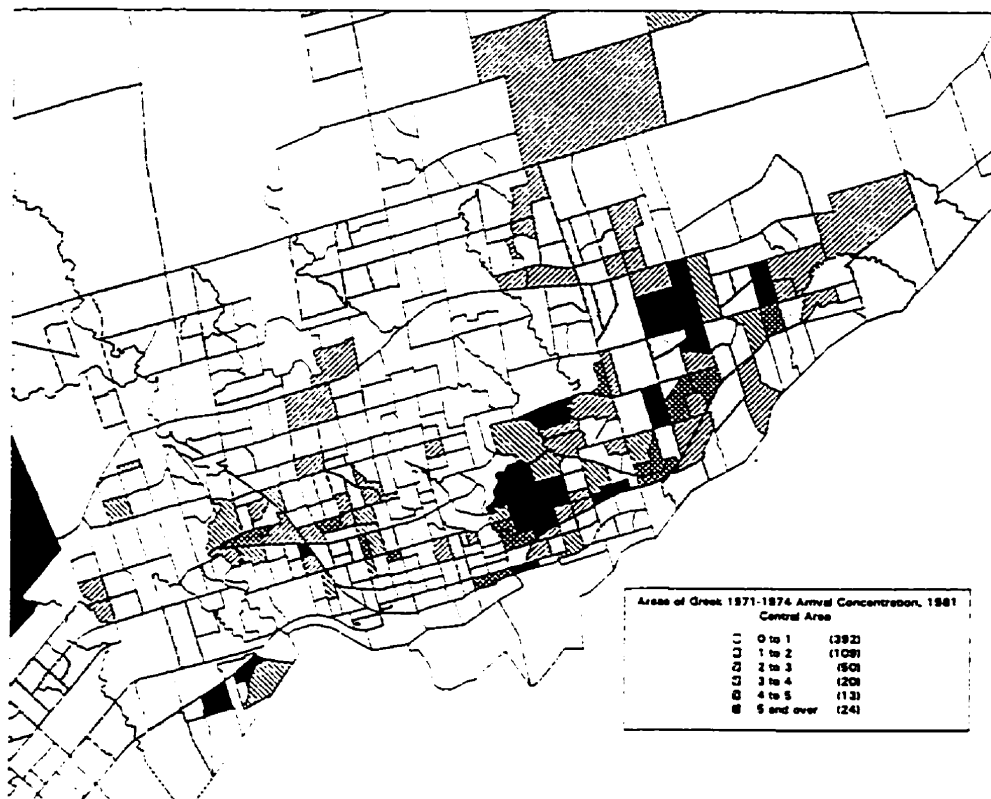
Map 89. Greek 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 90. Greek 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

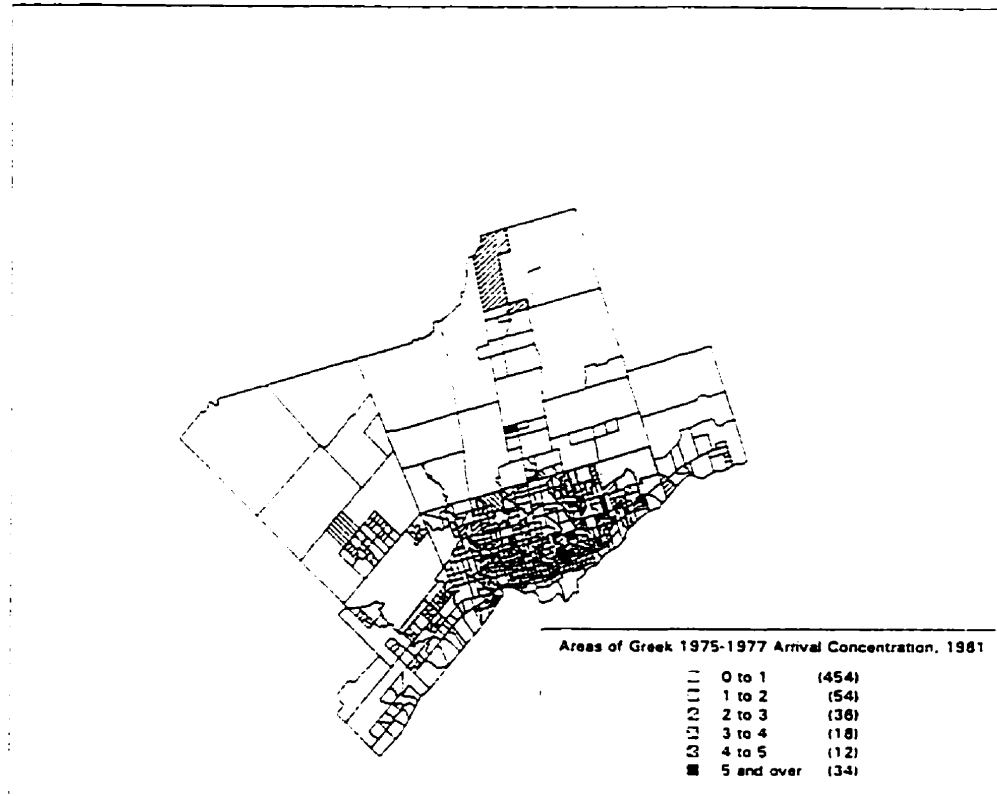


Map 91. Greek 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

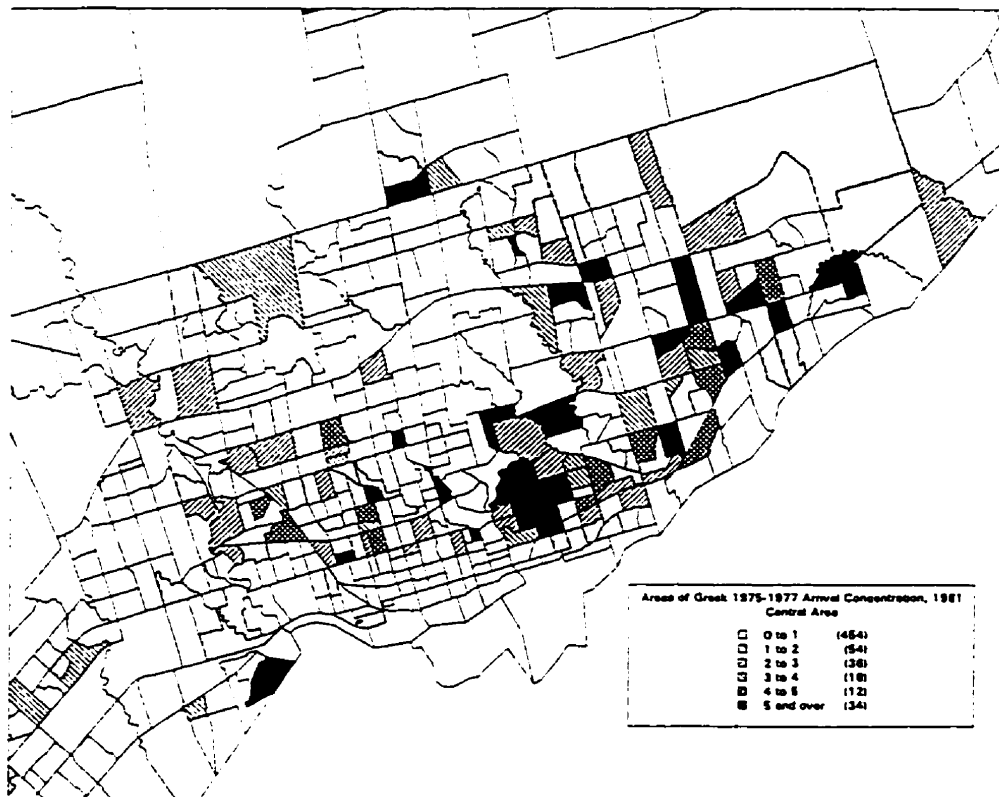


Map 92. Greek 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

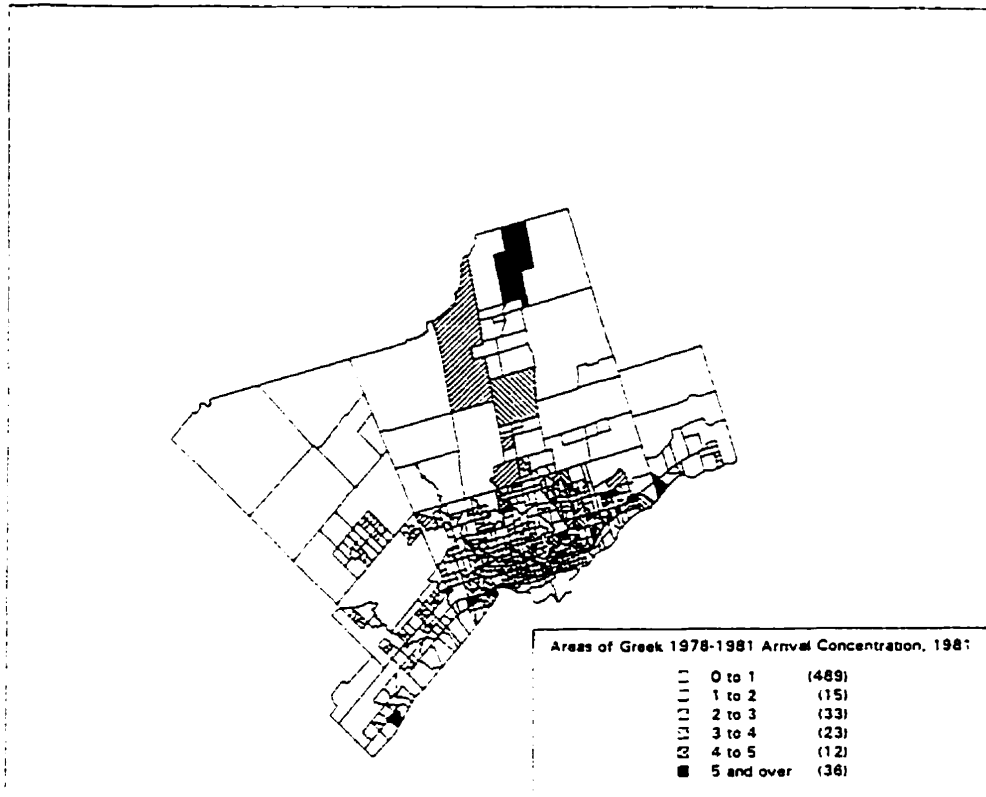




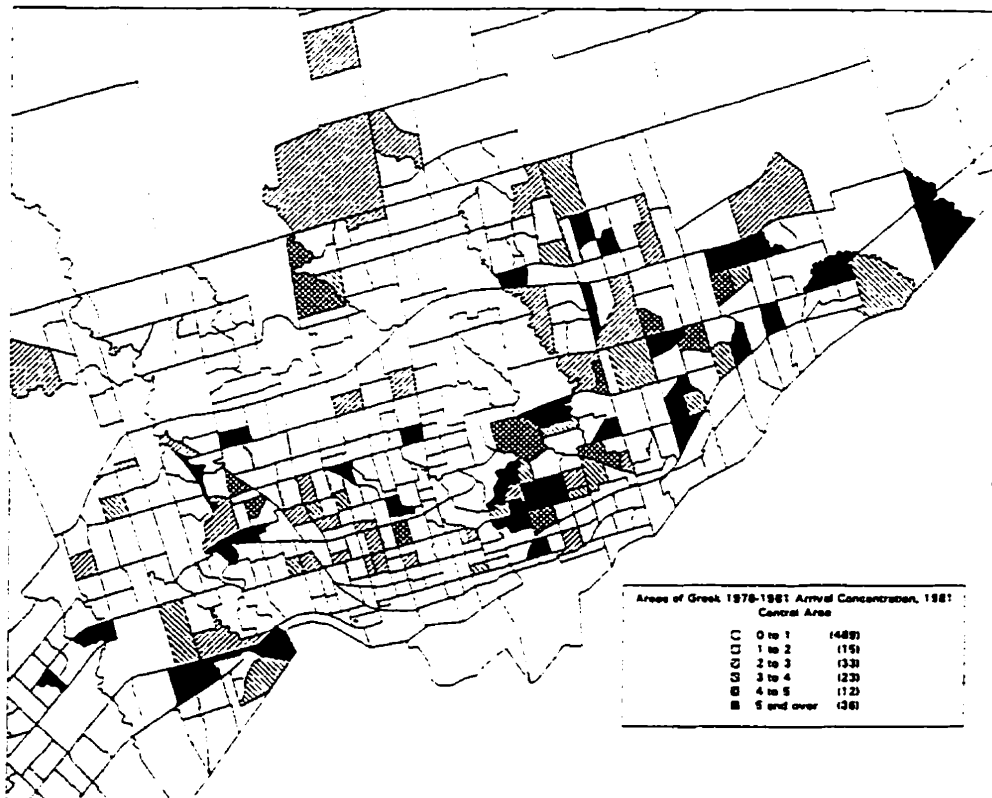
Map 93. Greek 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



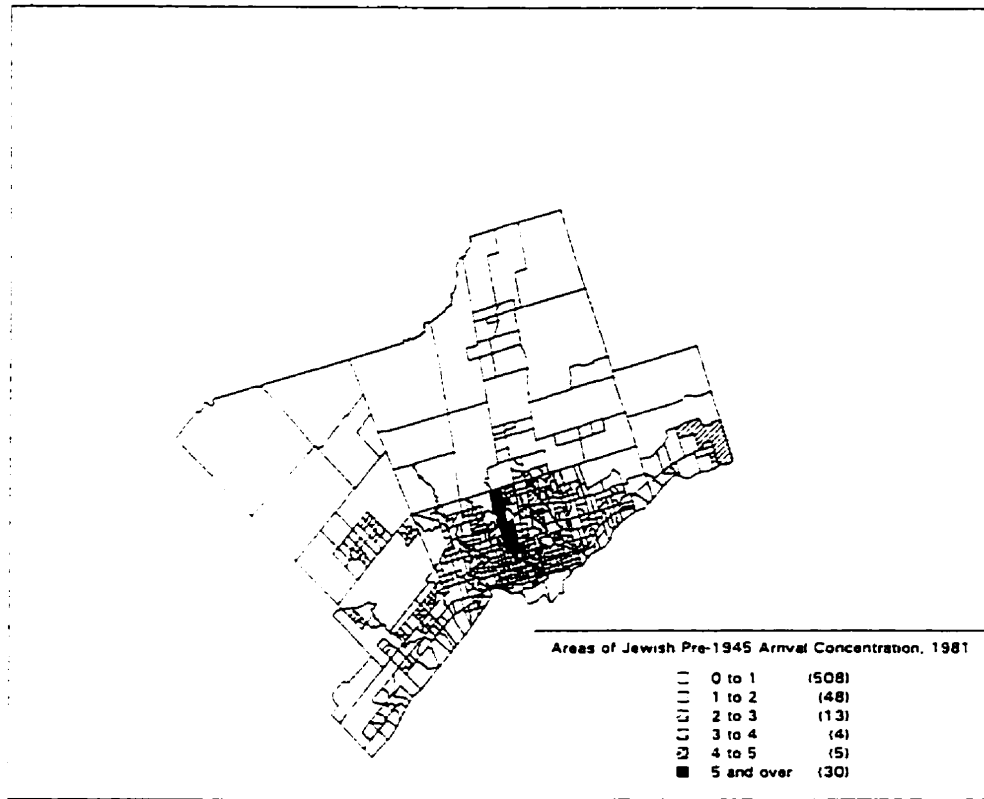
Map 94. Greek 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



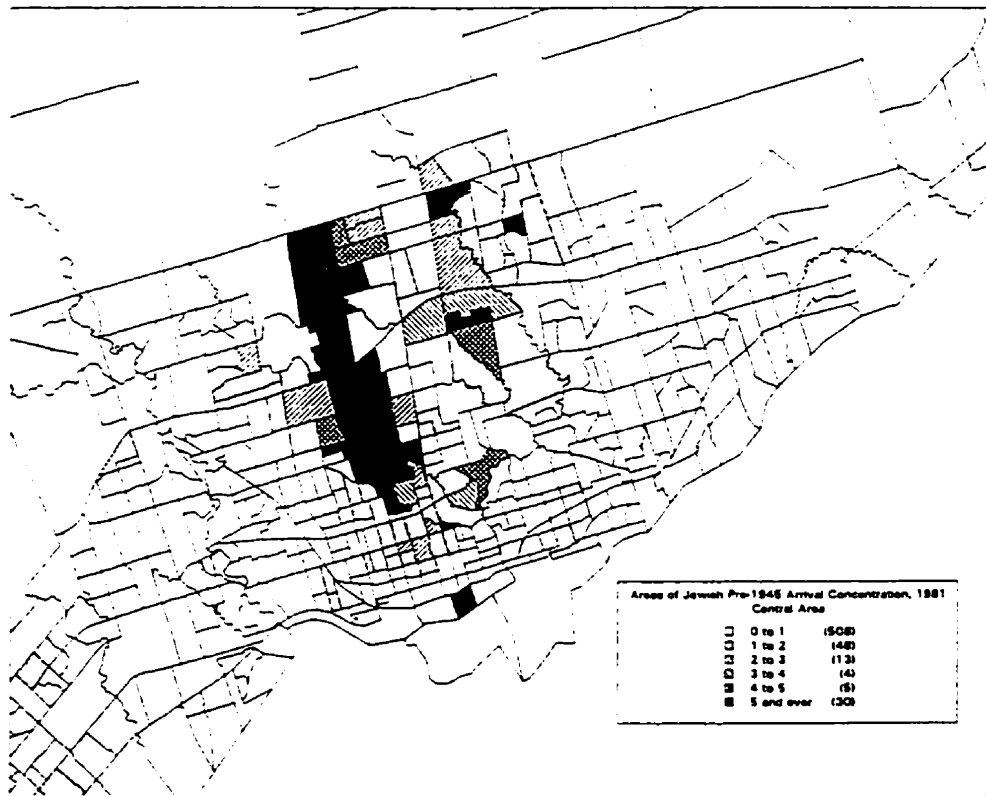
Map 95. Greek 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



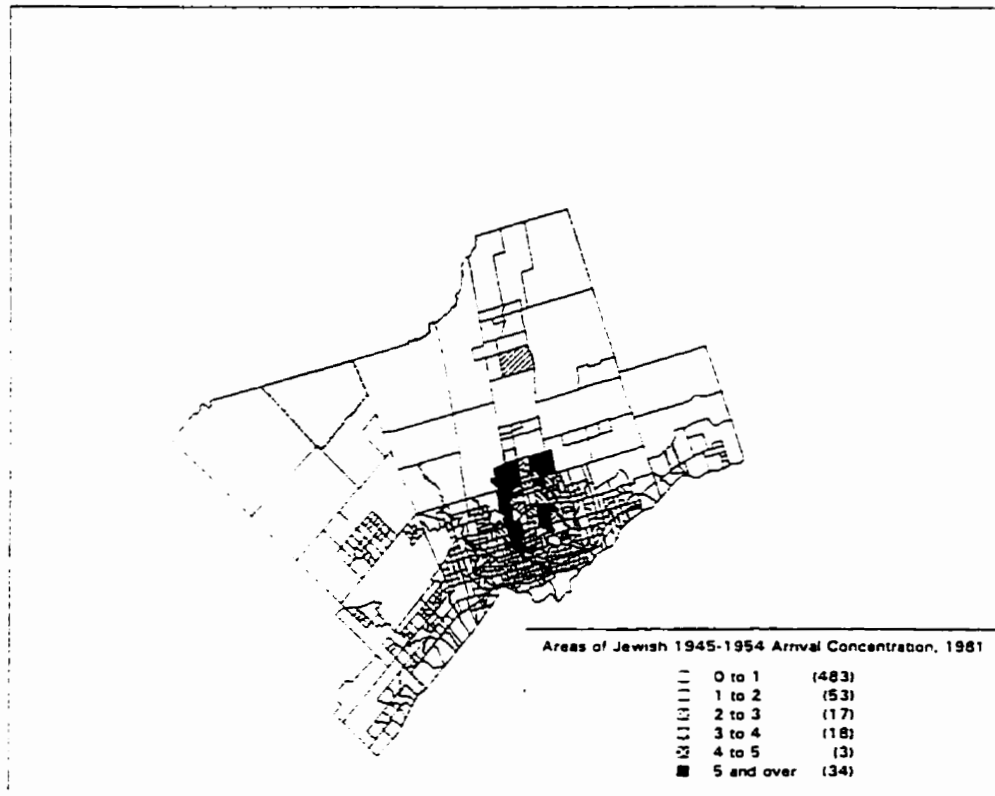
Map 96. Greek 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



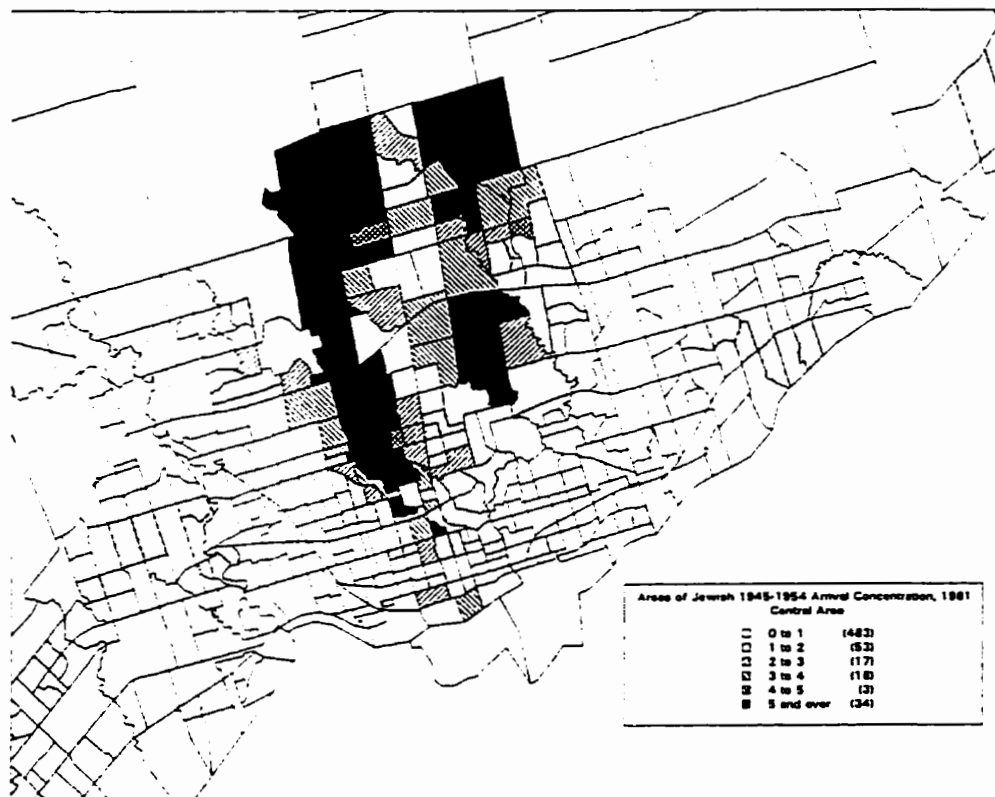
Map 97. Jewish Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



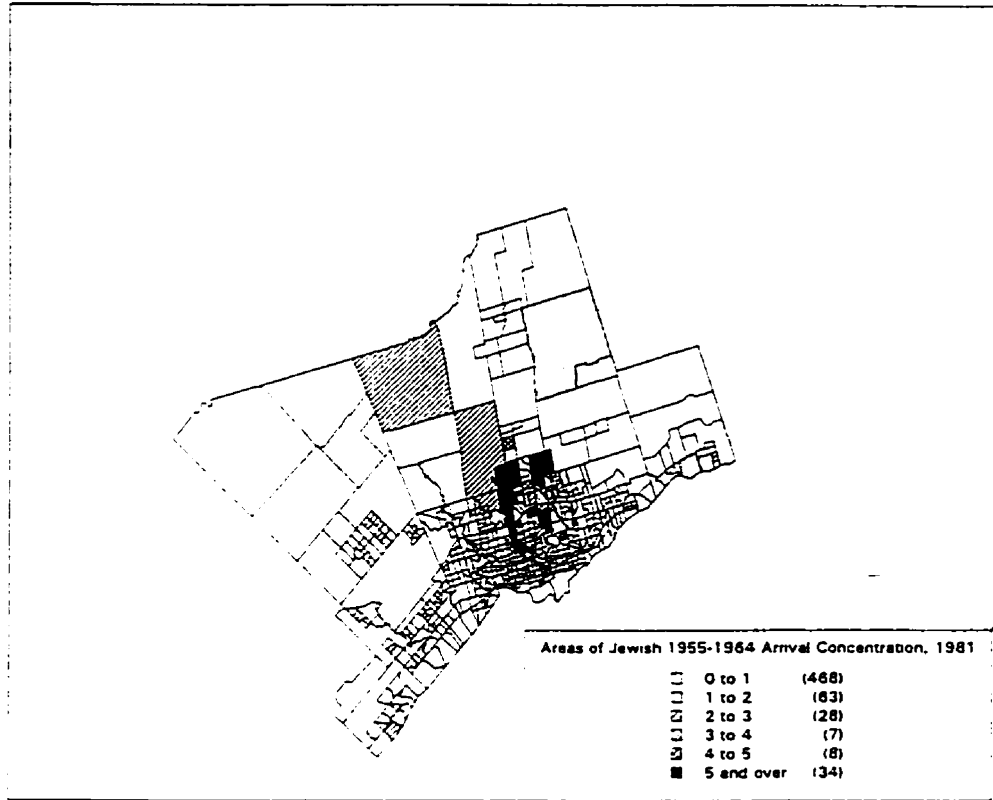
Map 98. Jewish Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



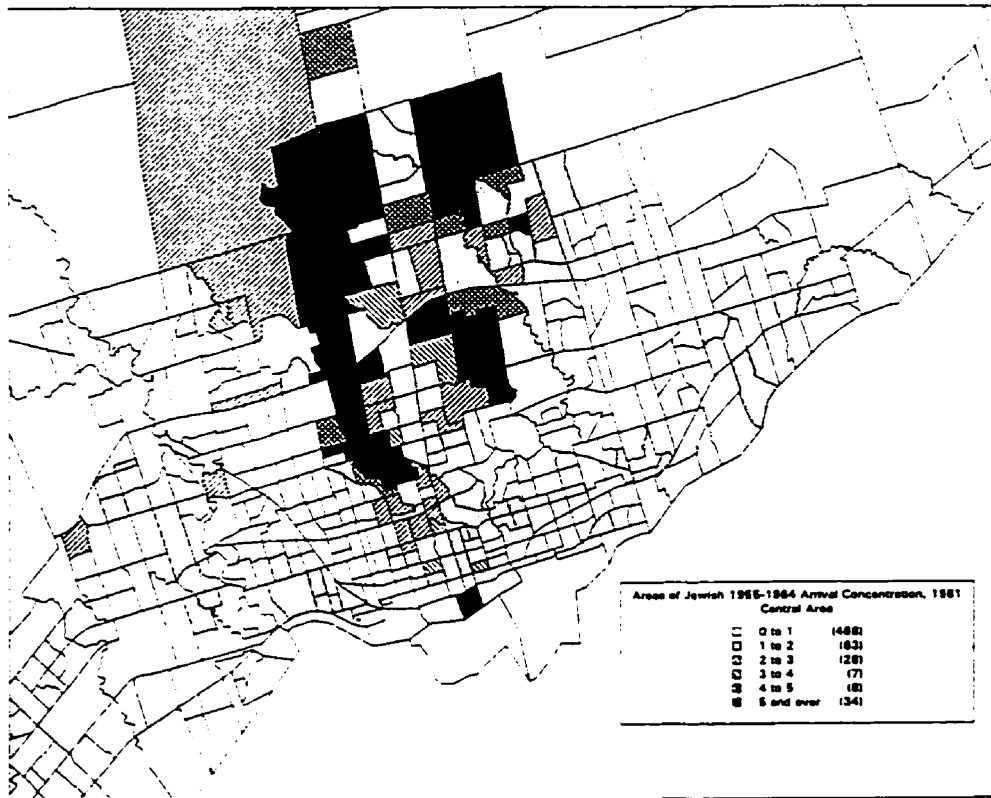
Map 99. Jewish 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



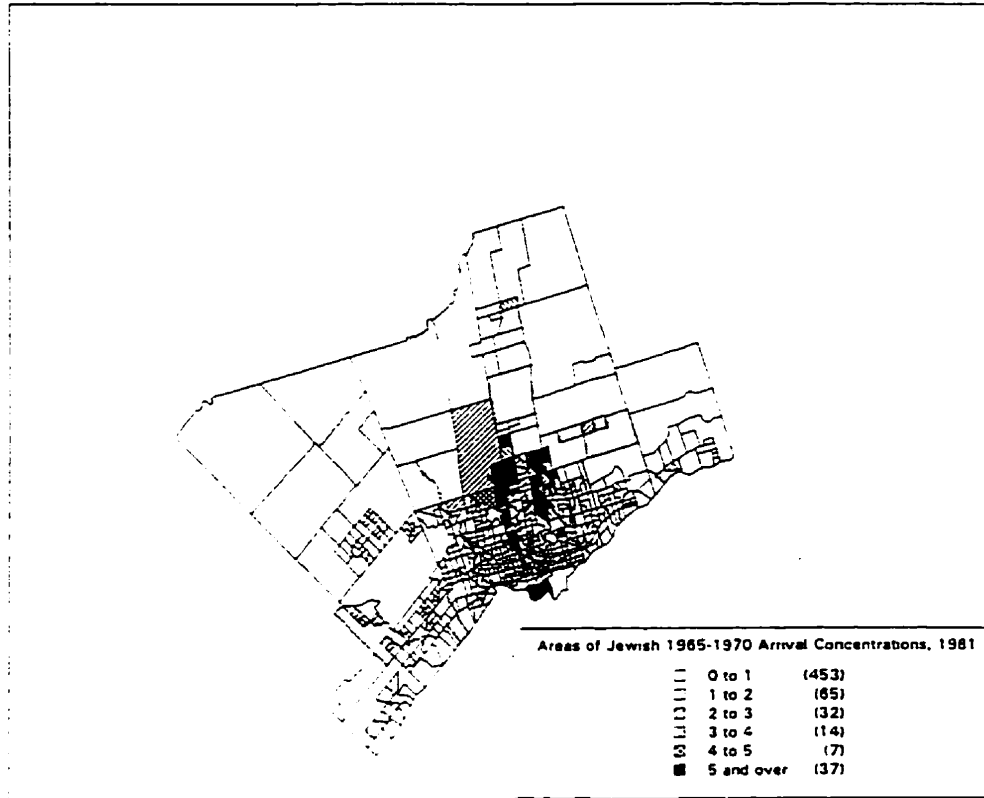
Map 100. Jewish 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



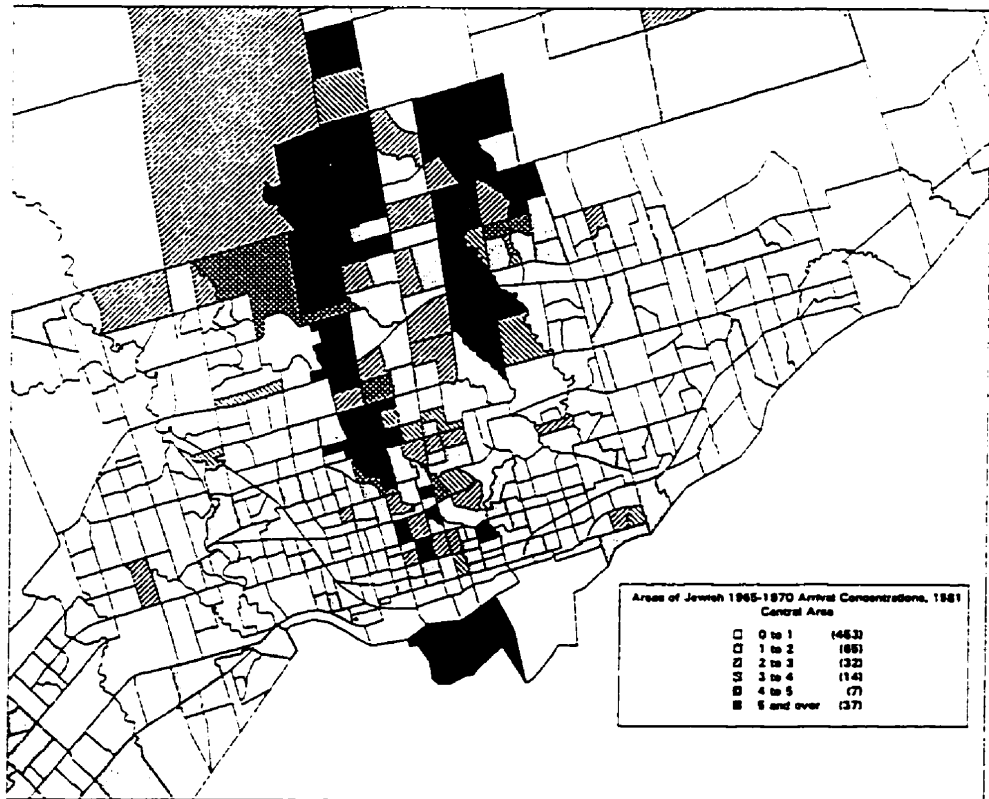
Map 101. Jewish 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



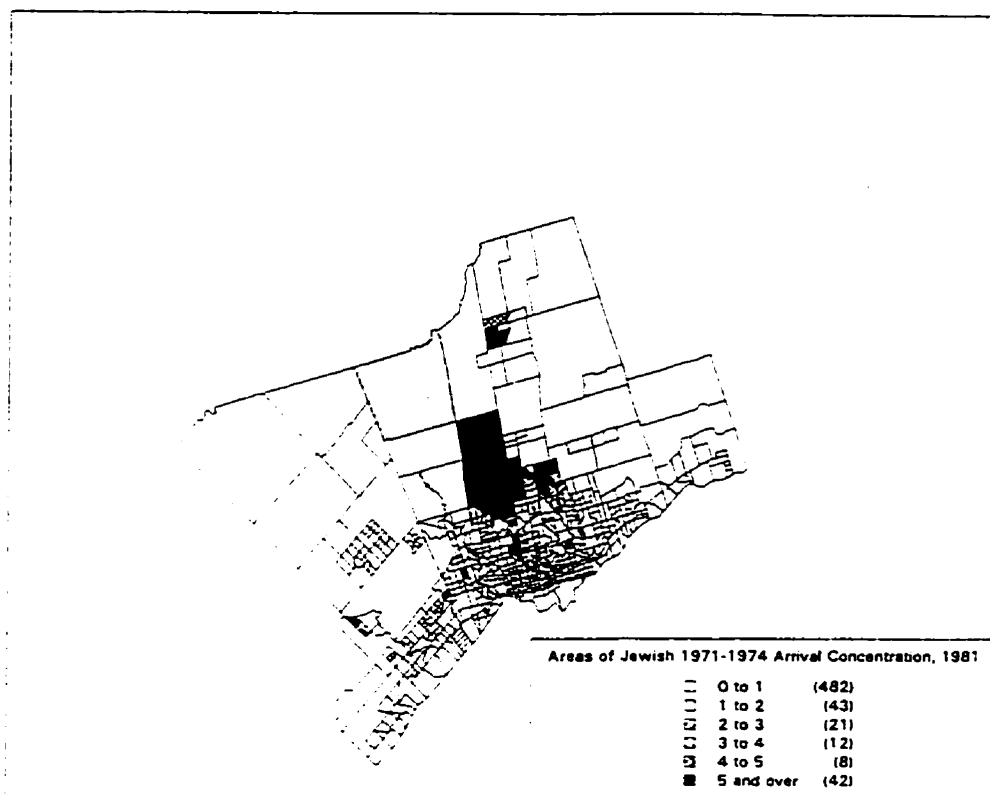
Map 102. Jewish 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



Map 103. Jewish 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



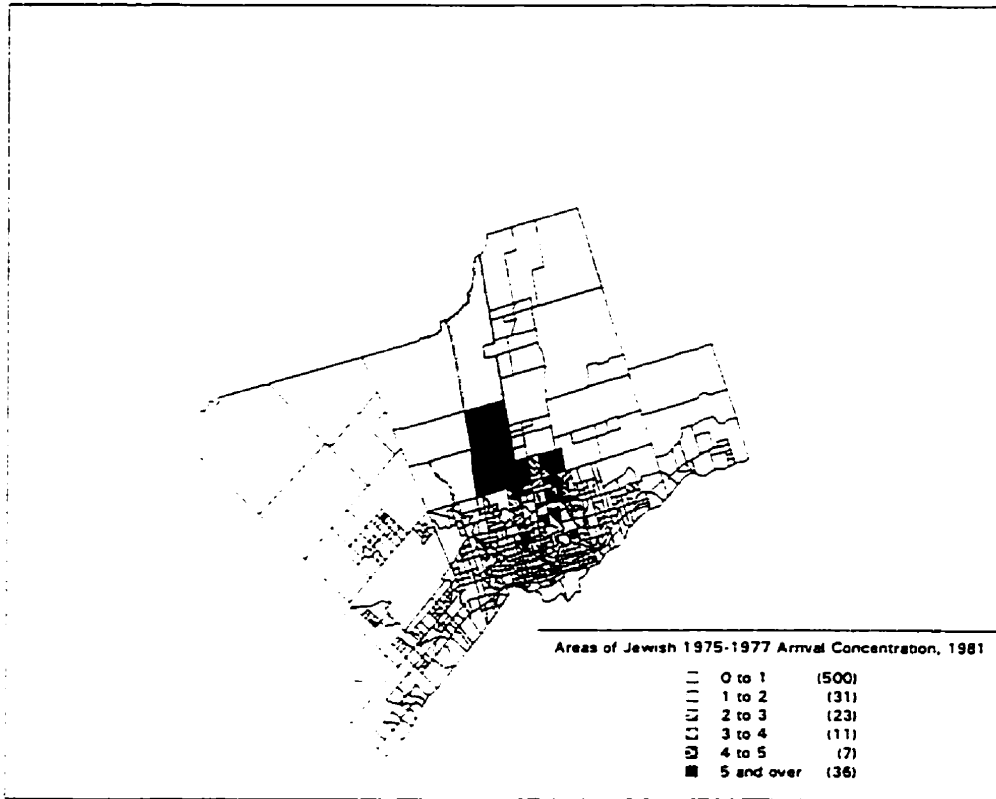
Map 104. Jewish 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



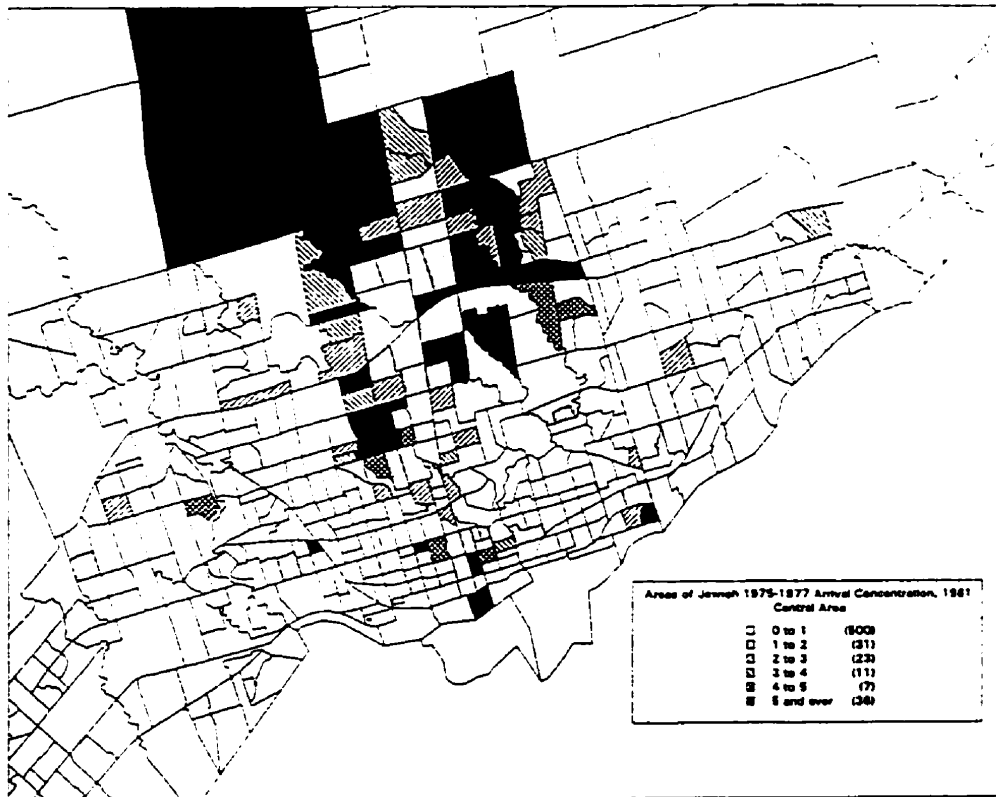
Map 105. Jewish 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 106. Jewish 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

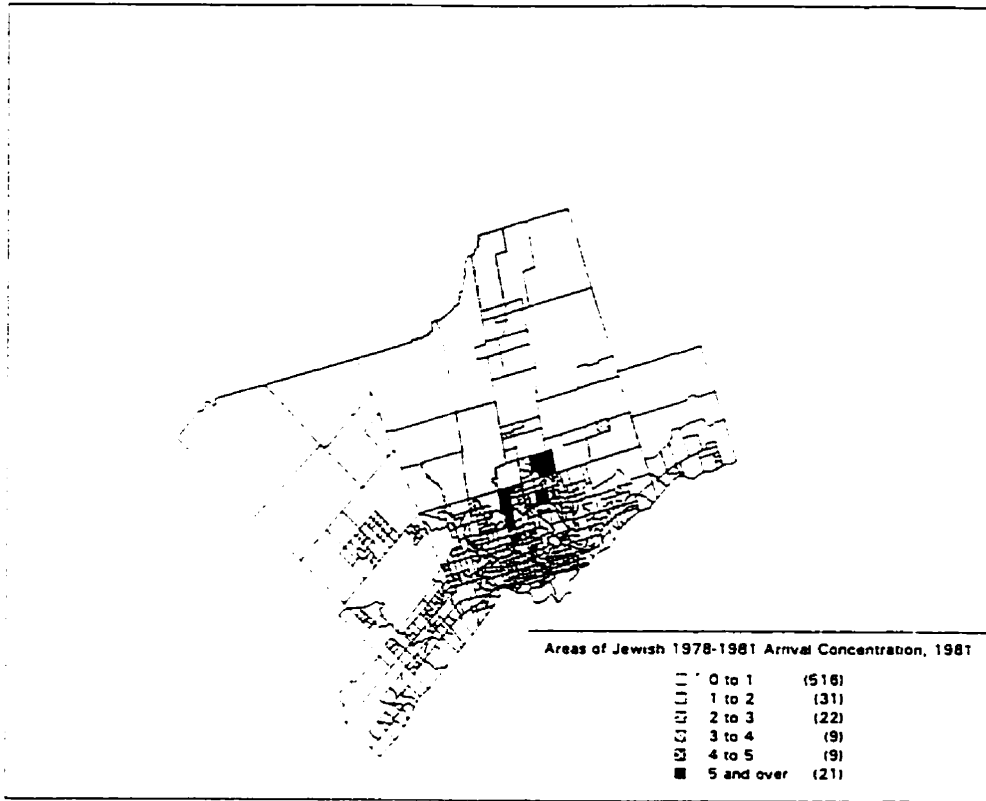


Map 107. Jewish 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

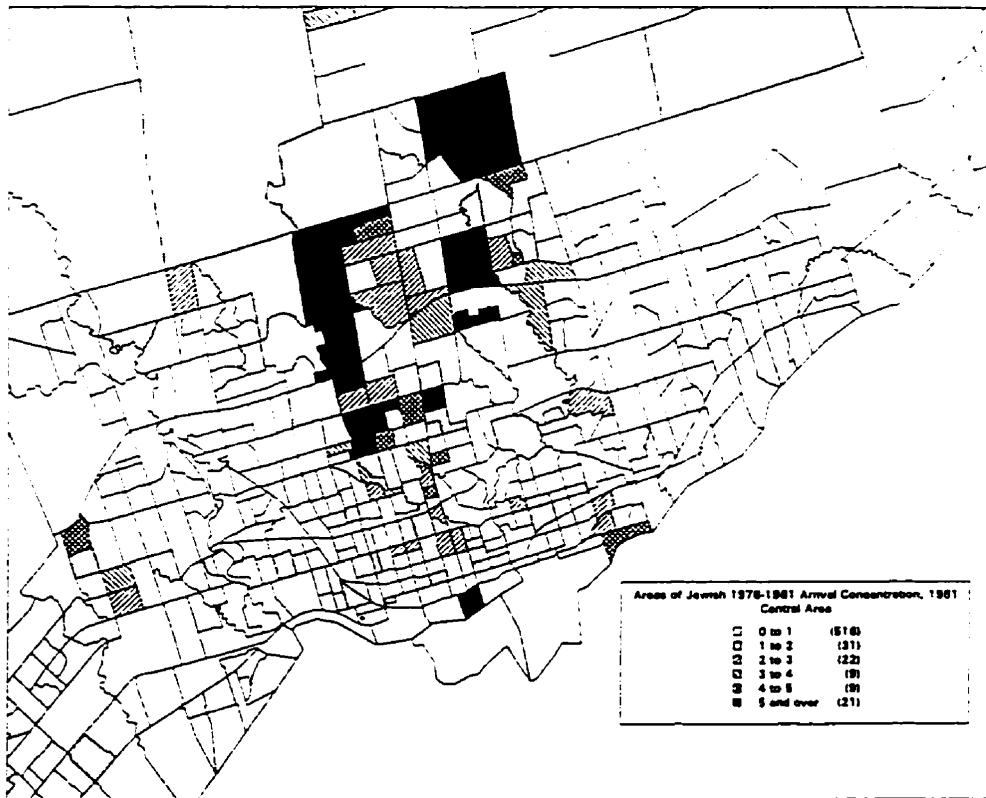


Map 108. Jewish 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

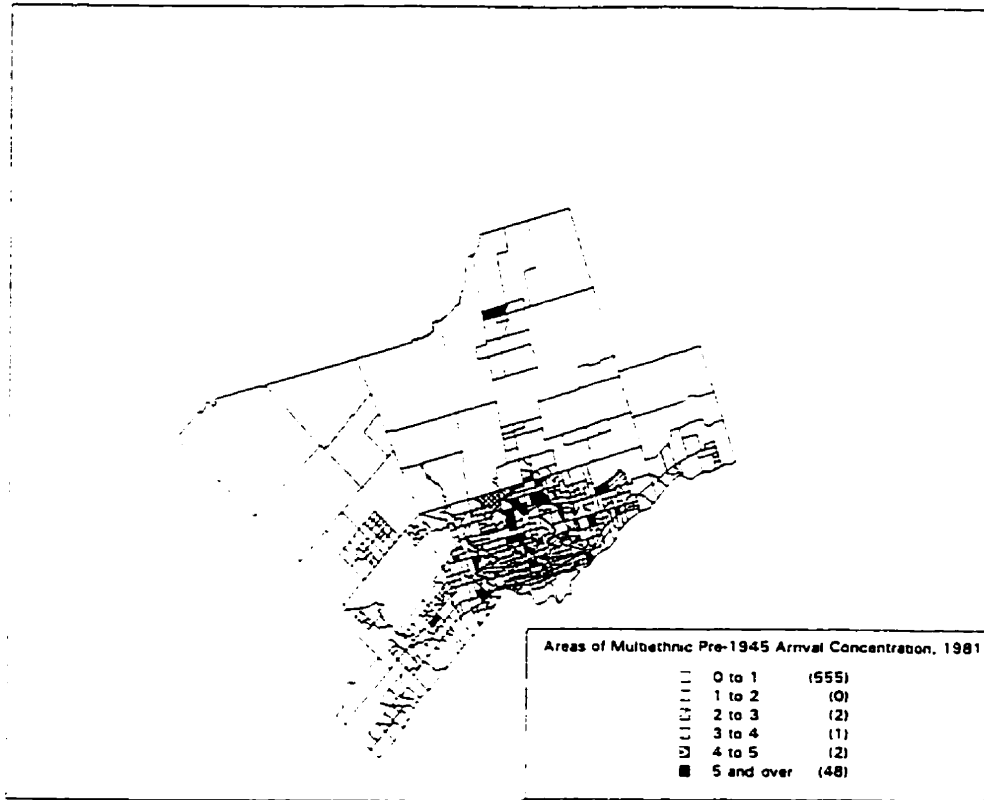




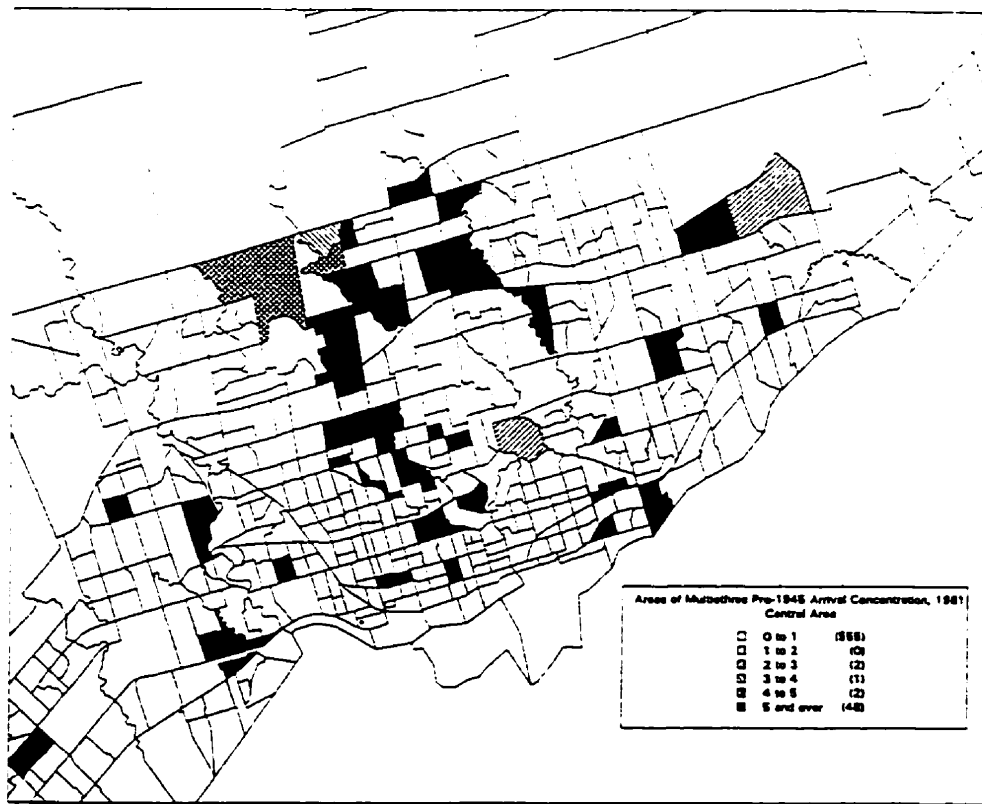
Map 109. Jewish 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



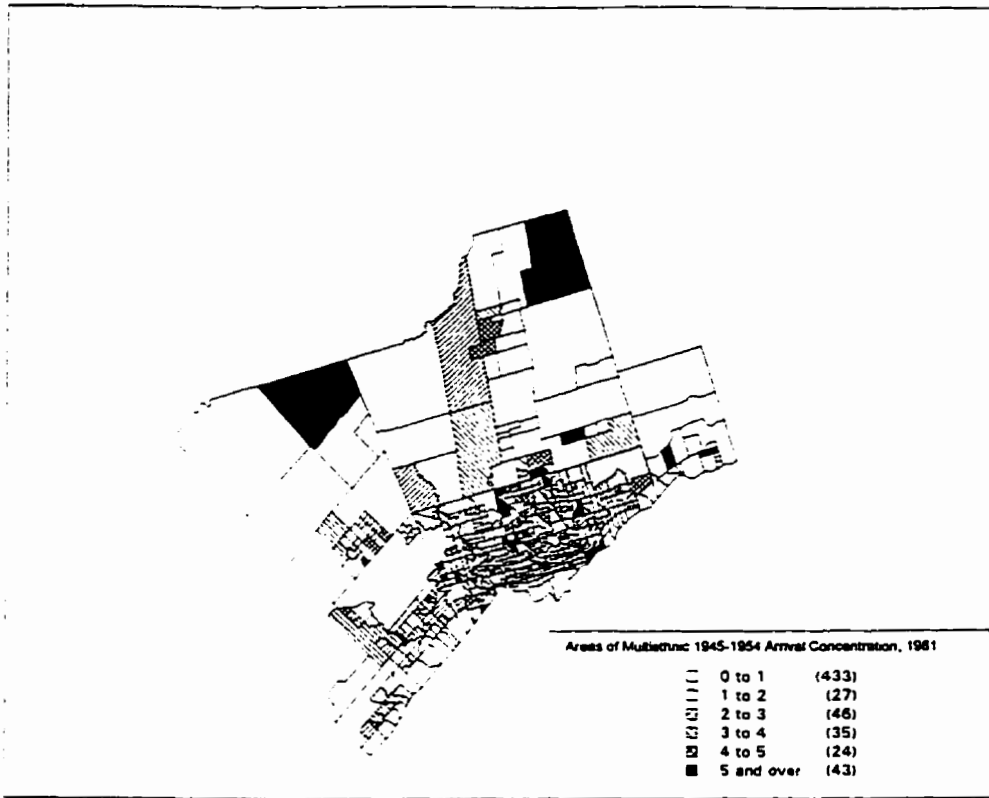
Map 110. Jewish 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



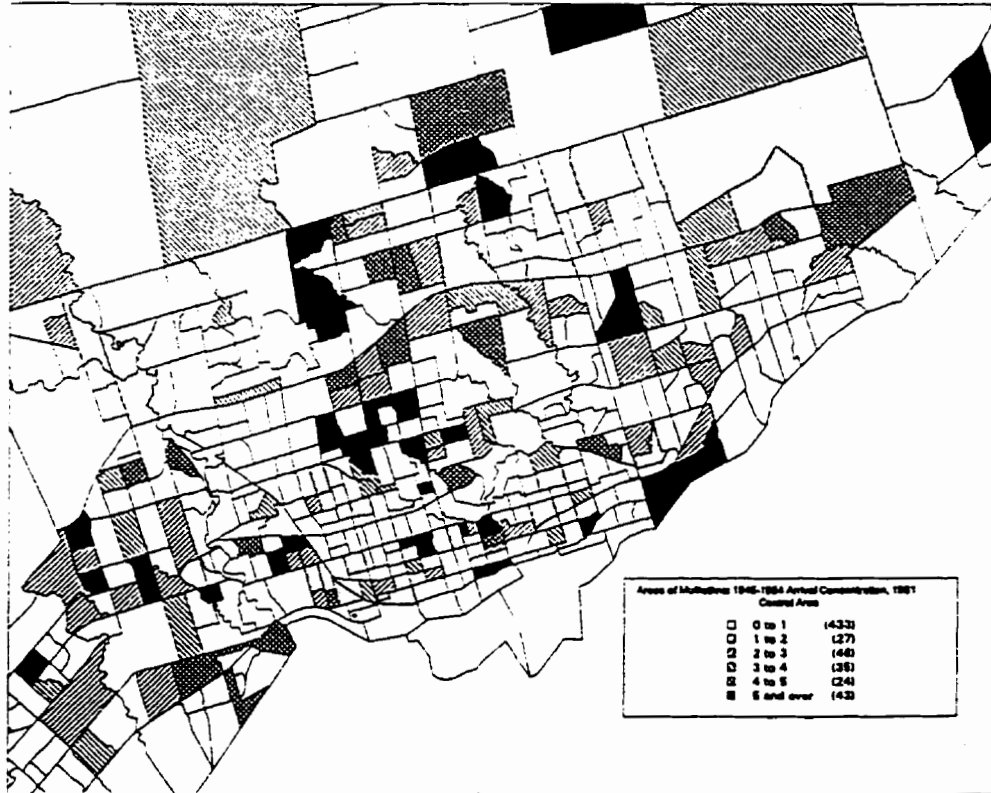
Map 111. Multiethnic Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



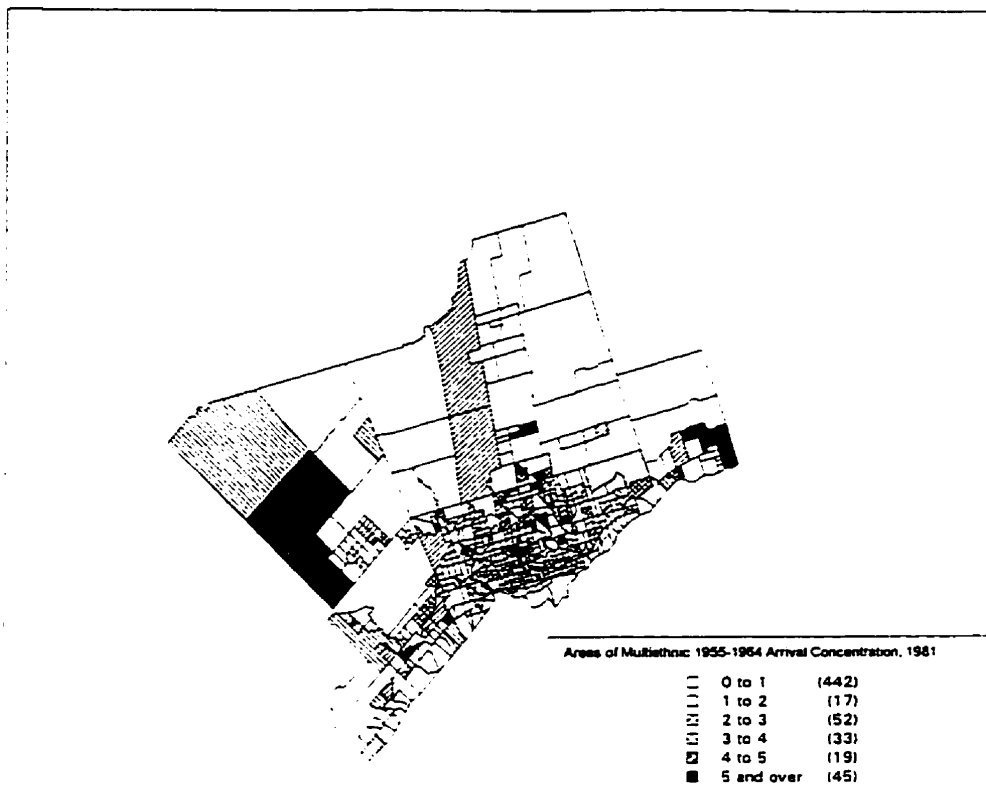
Map 112. Multiethnic Pre-1945 Concentration (LQ Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



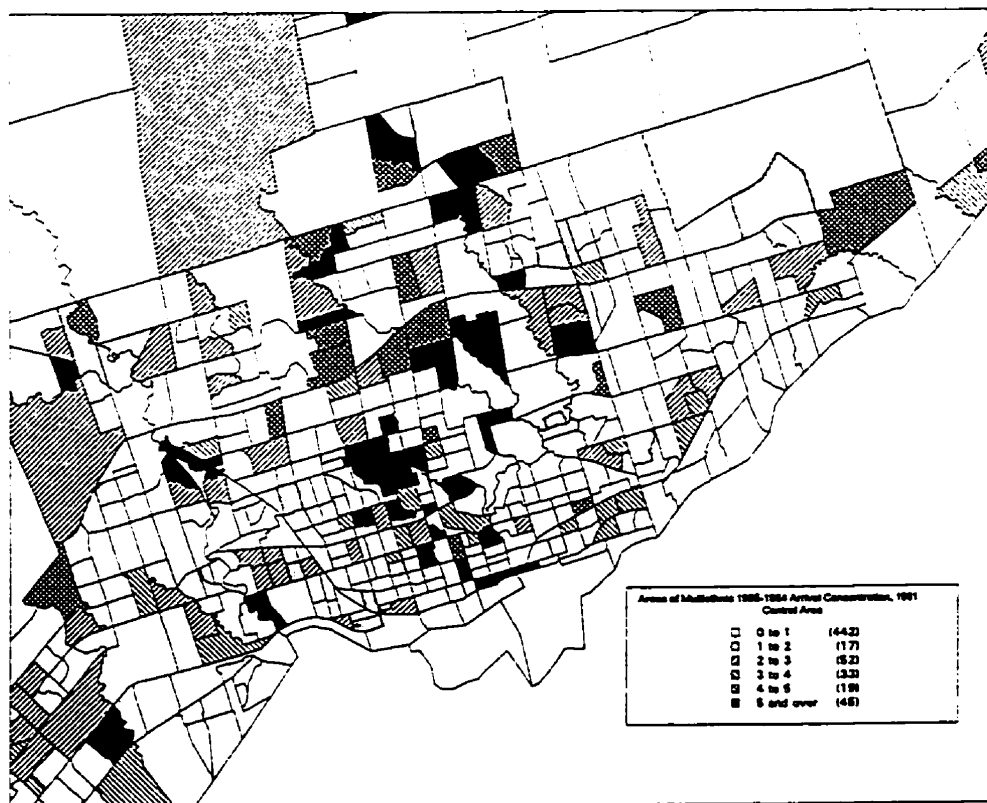
Map 113. Multiethnic 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



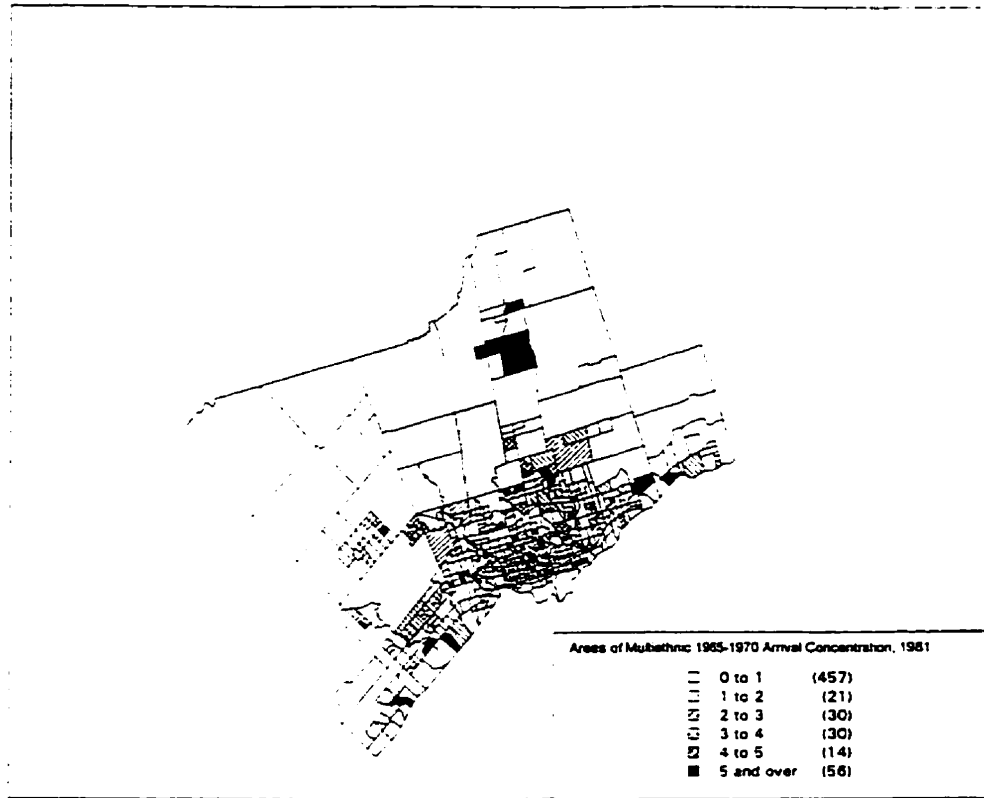
Map 114. Multiethnic 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



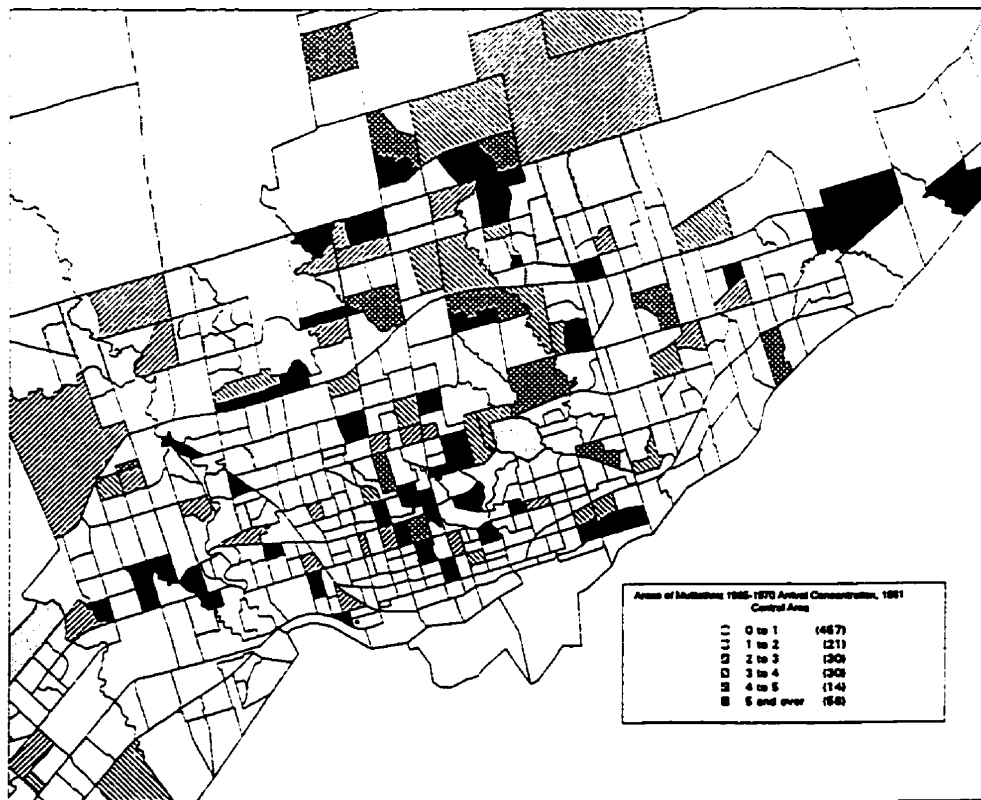
Map 115. Multiethnic 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



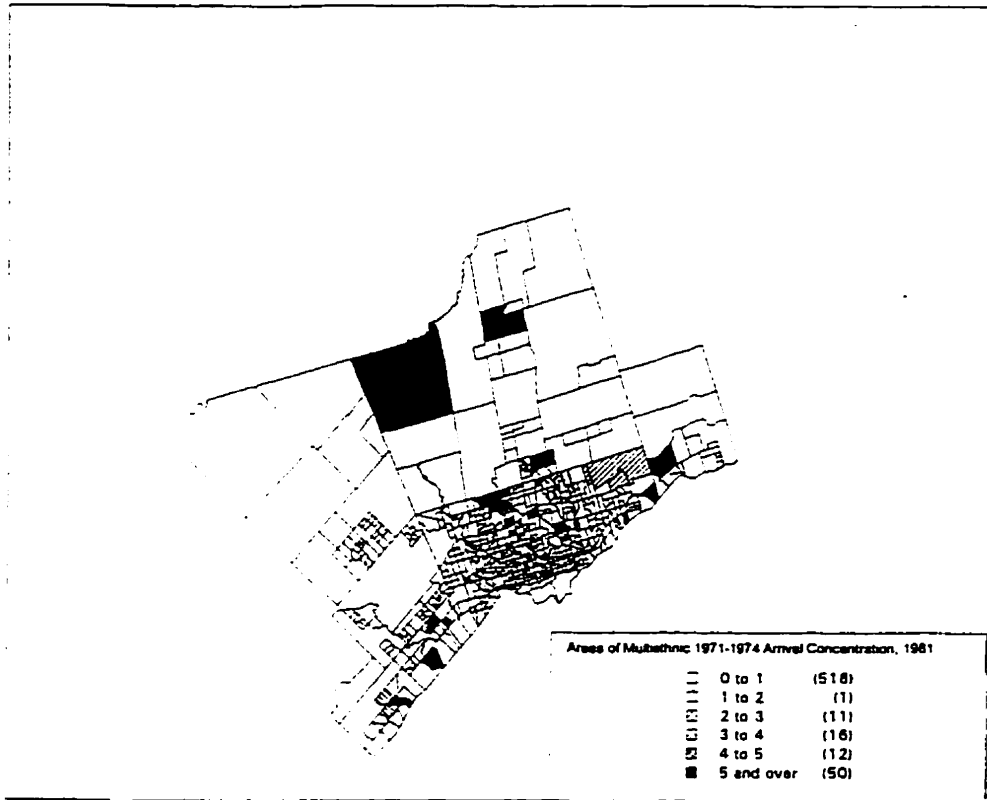
Map 116. Multiethnic 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



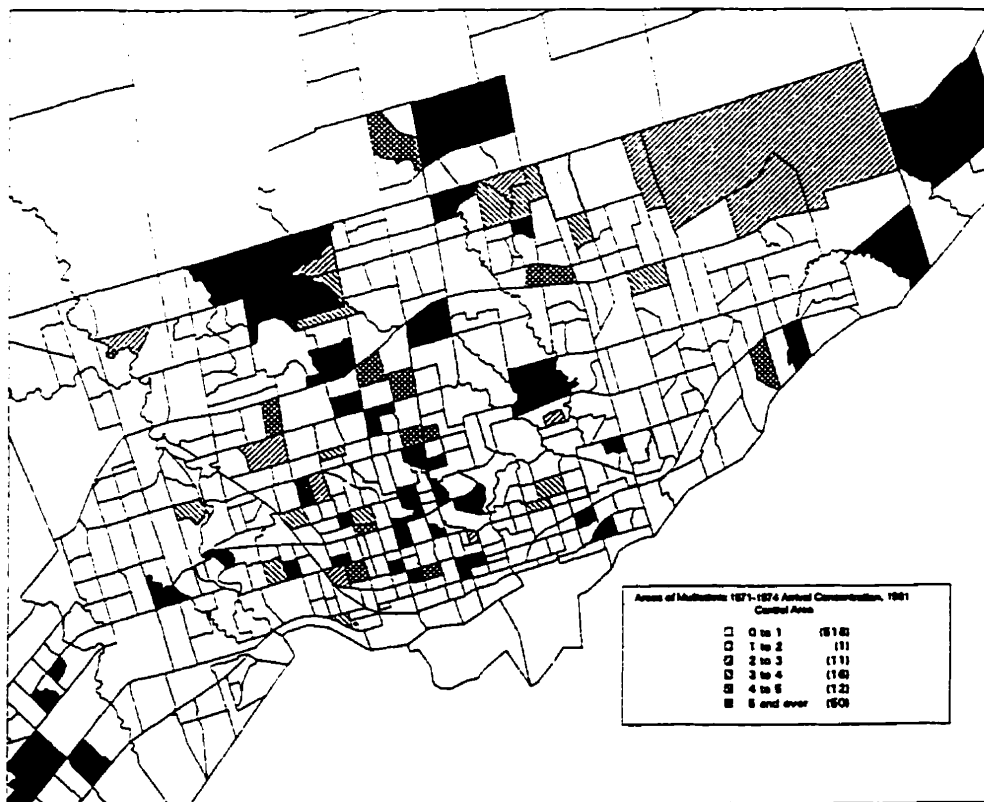
Map 117. Multiethnic 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



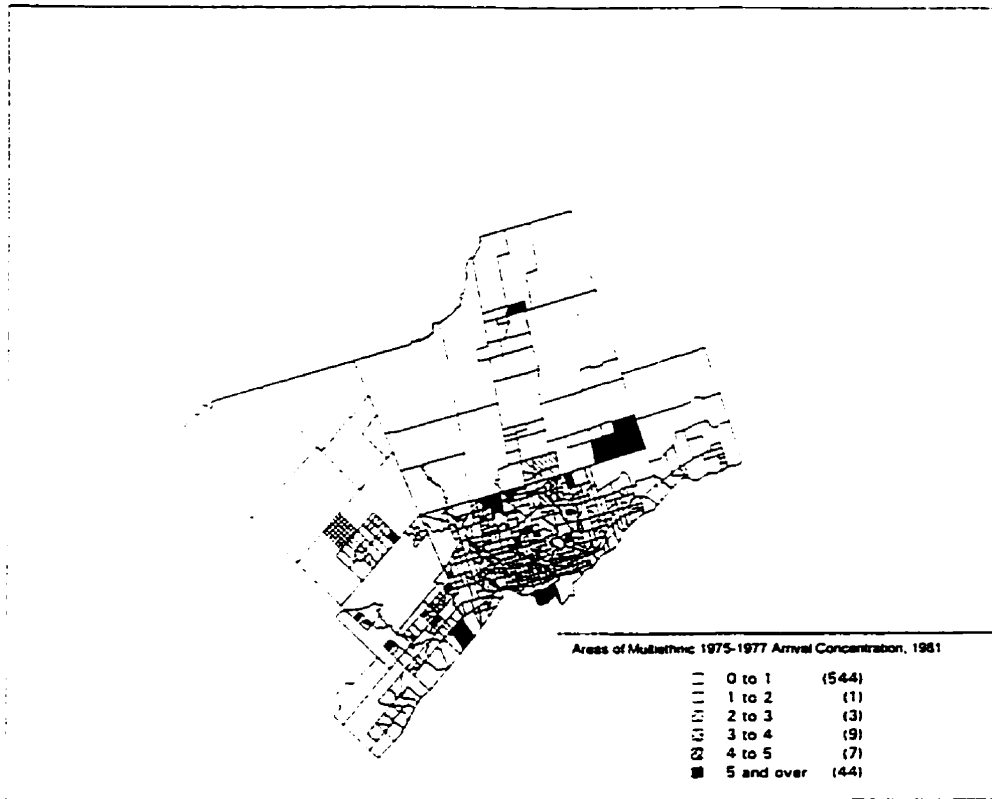
Map 118. Multiethnic 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



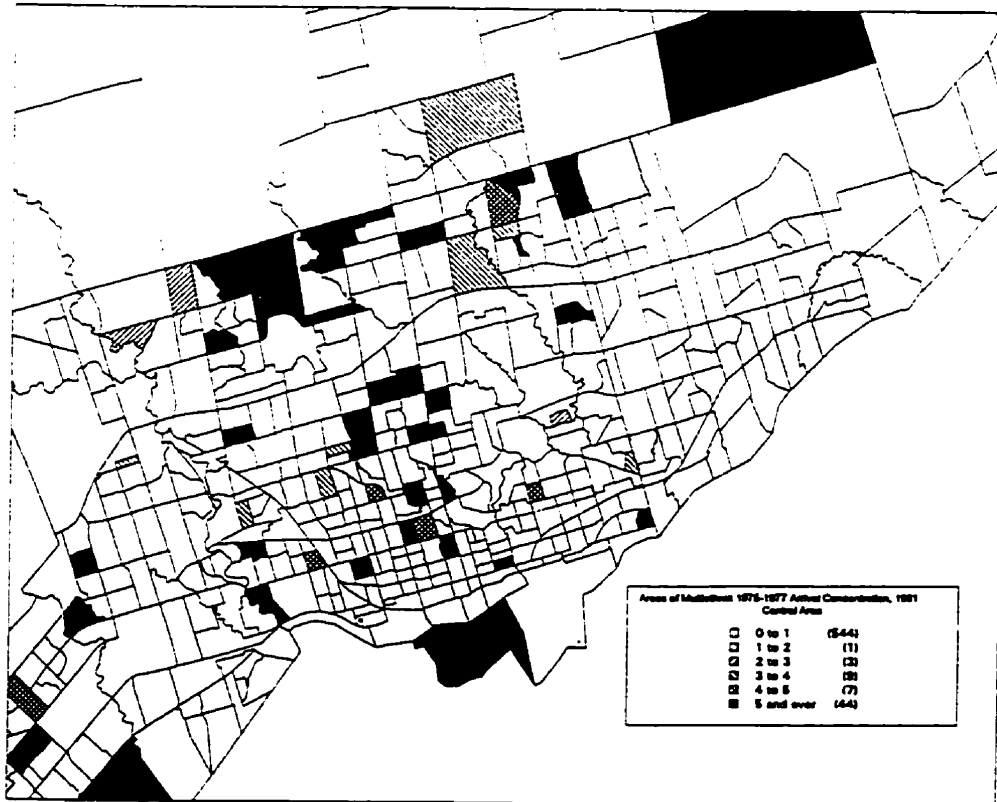
Map 119. Multiethnic 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



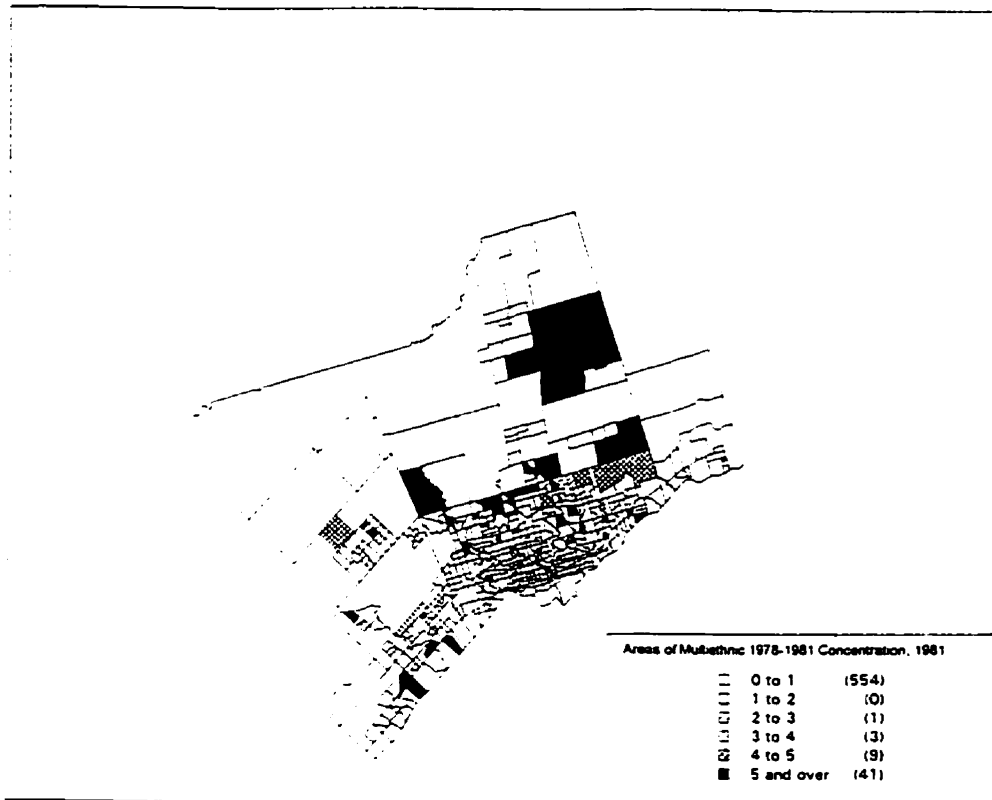
Map 120. Multiethnic 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



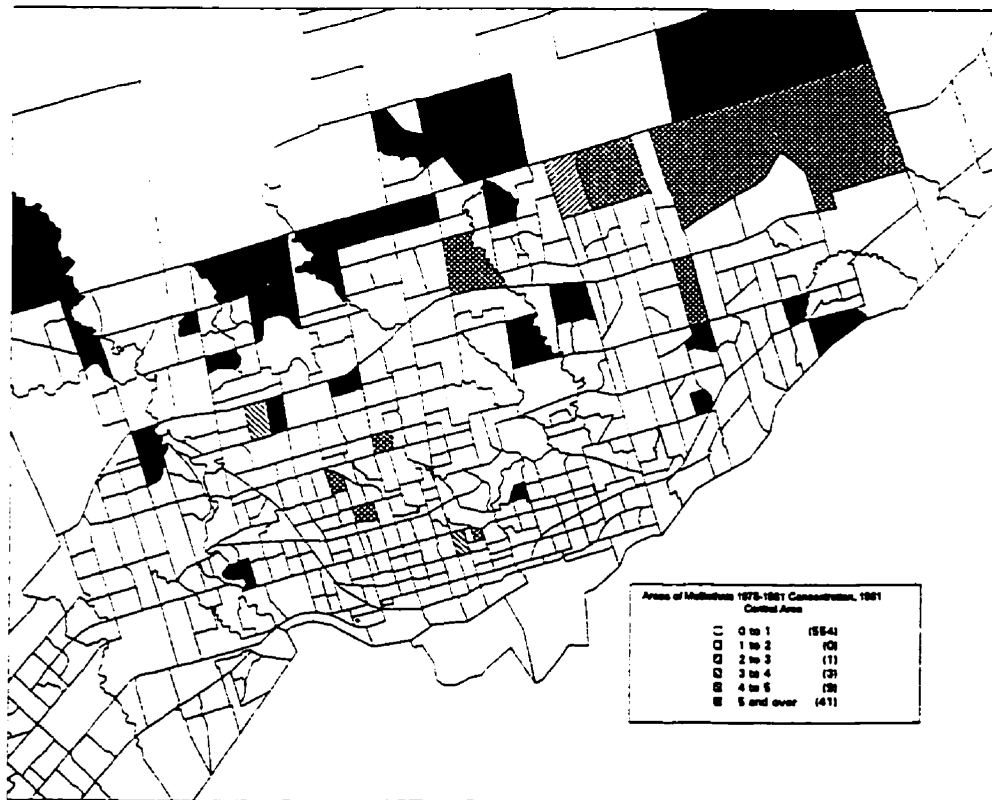
Map 121. Multiethnic 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 122. Multiethnic 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

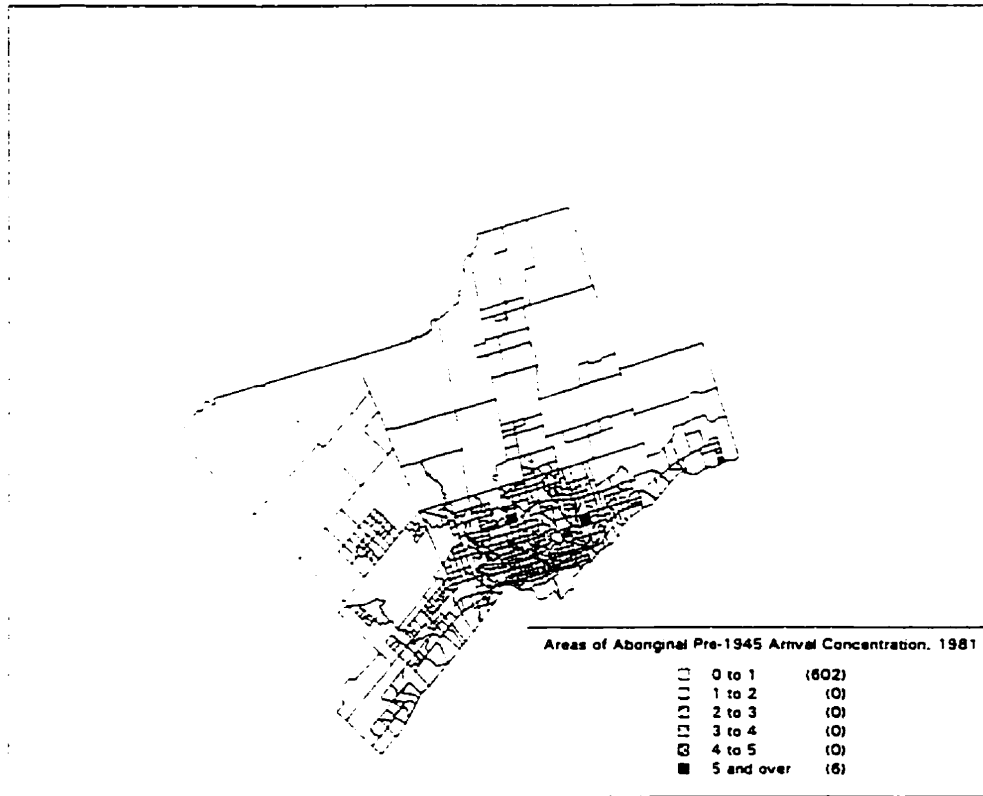


Map 123. Multiethnic 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

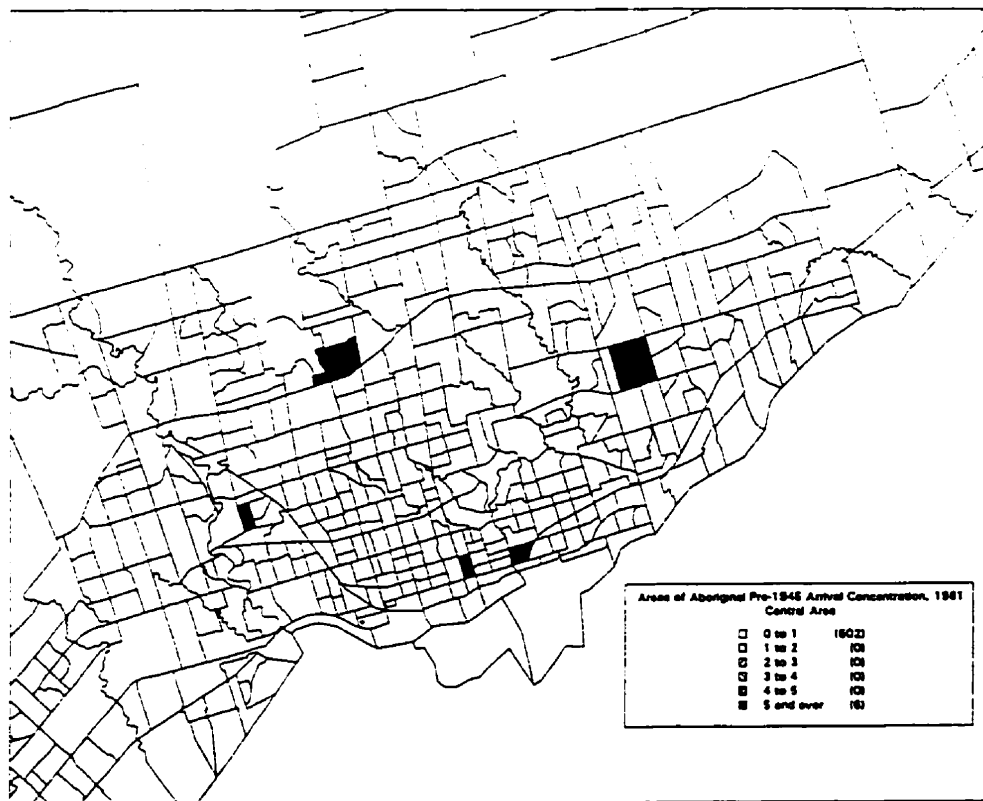


Map 124. Multiethnic 1978-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981





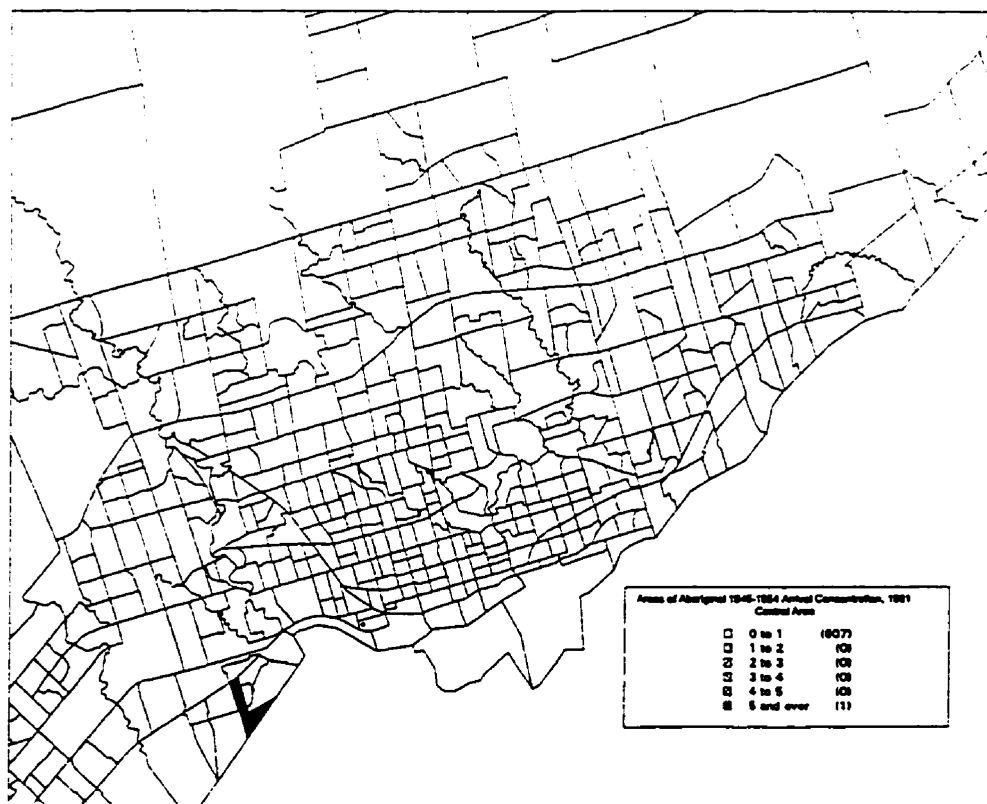
Map 125. Aboriginal Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



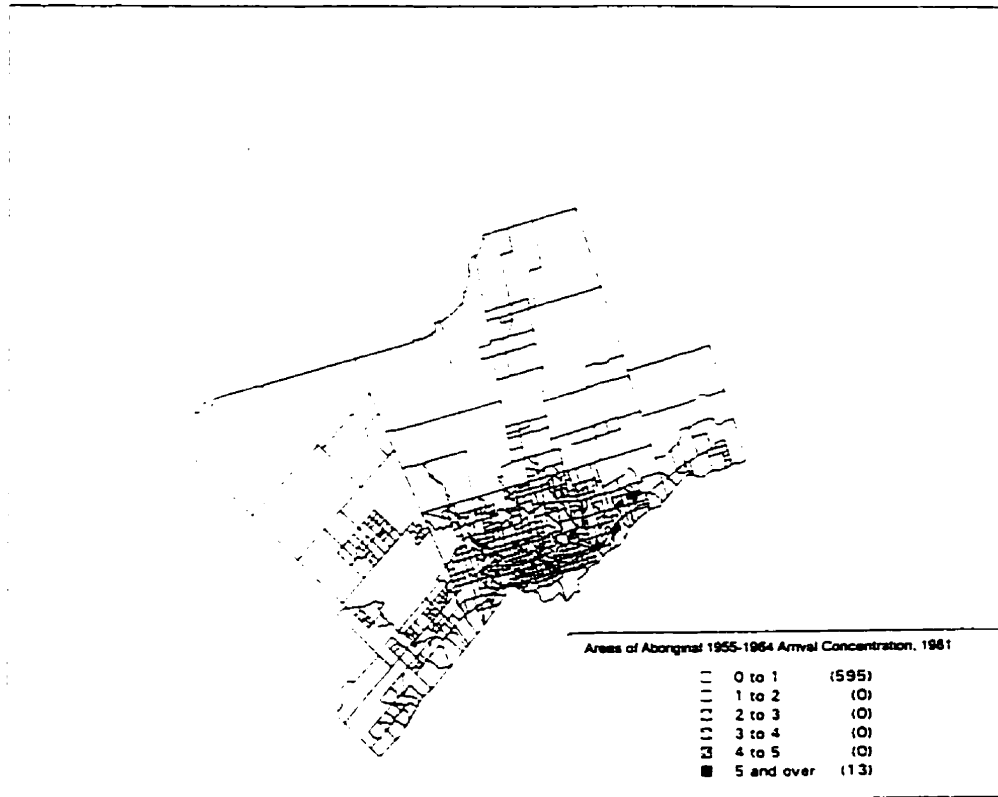
Map 126. Aboriginal Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



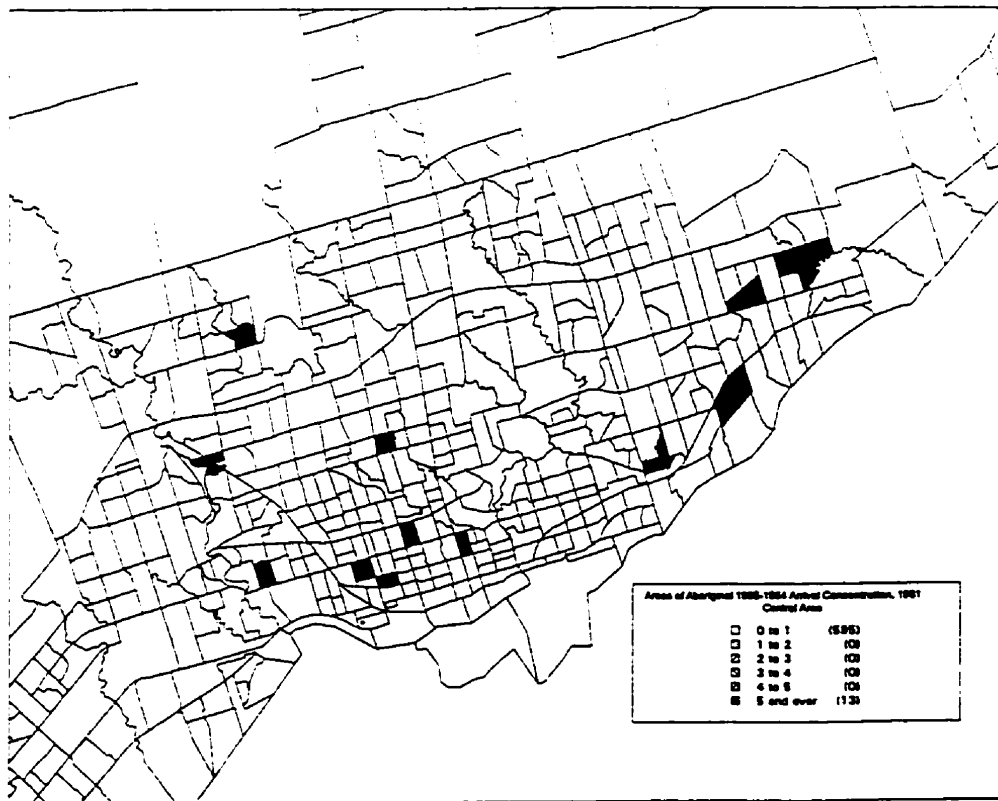
Map 127. Aboriginal 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



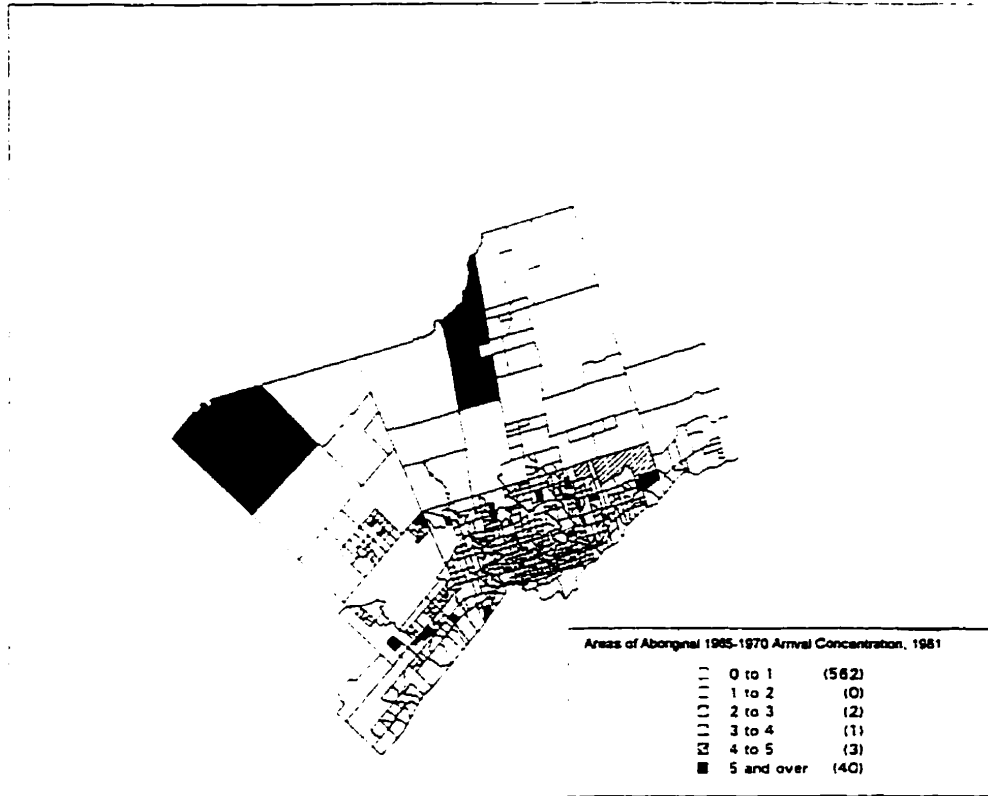
Map 128. Aboriginal 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



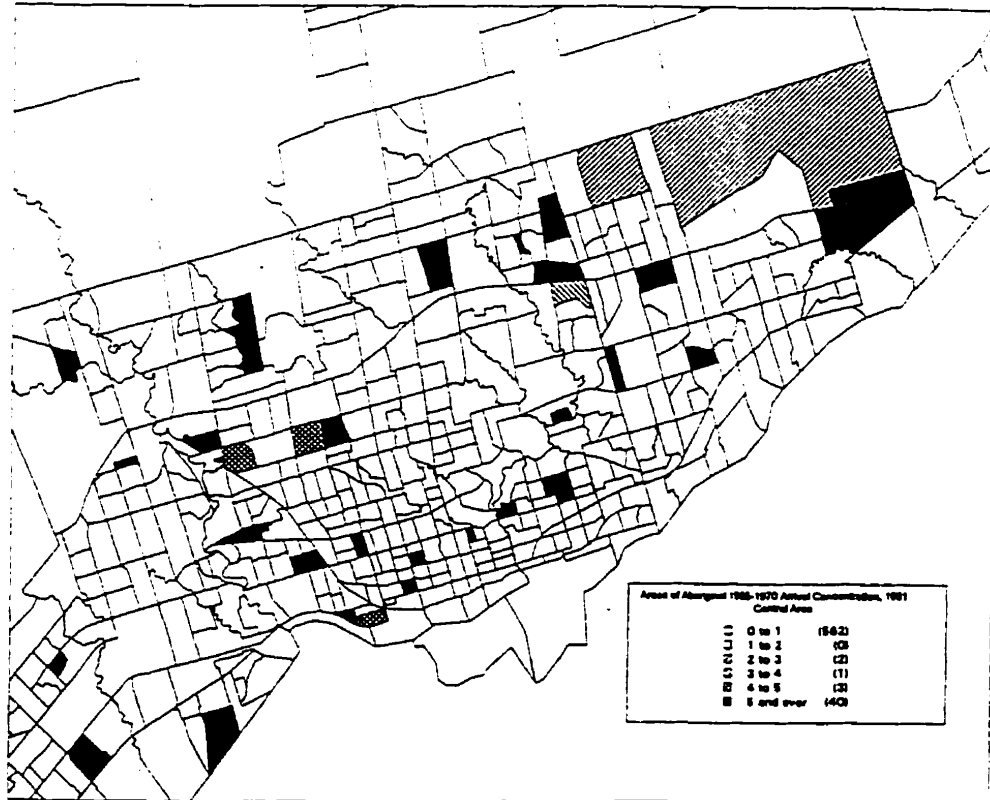
Map 129. Aboriginal 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



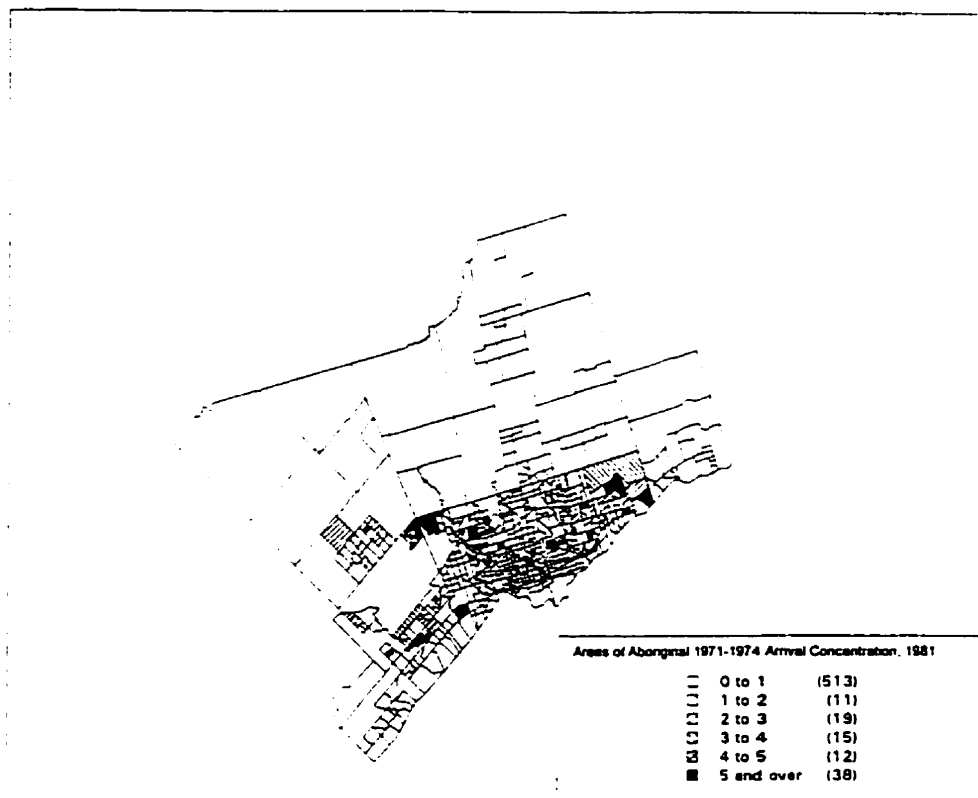
Map 130. Aboriginal 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



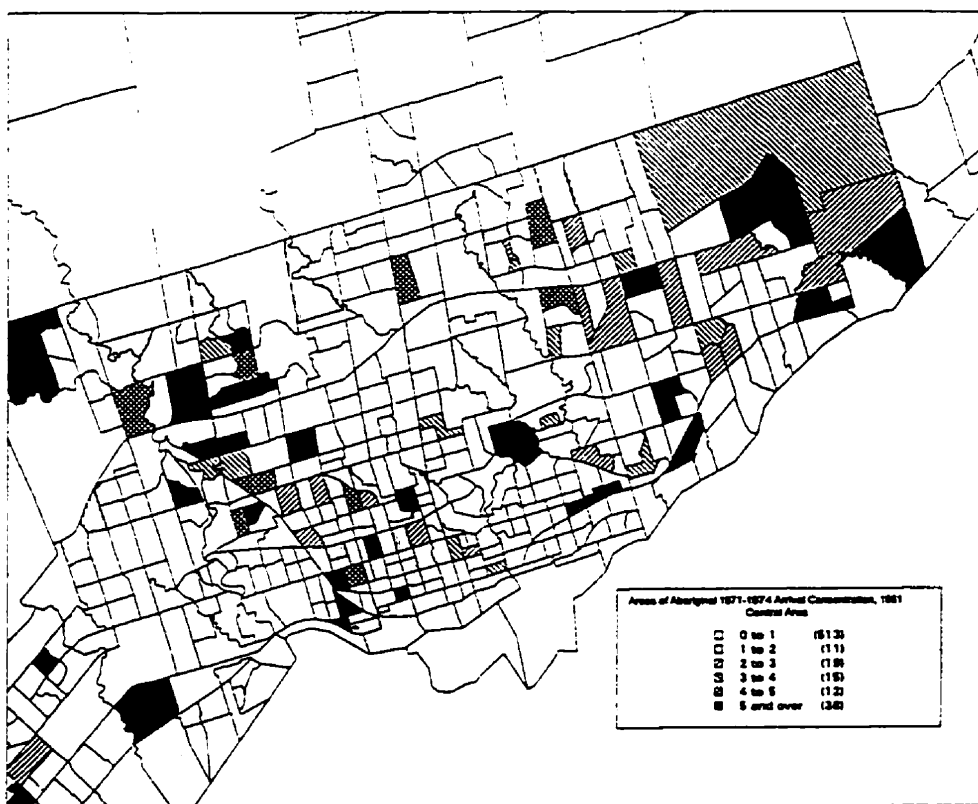
Map 131. Aboriginal 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



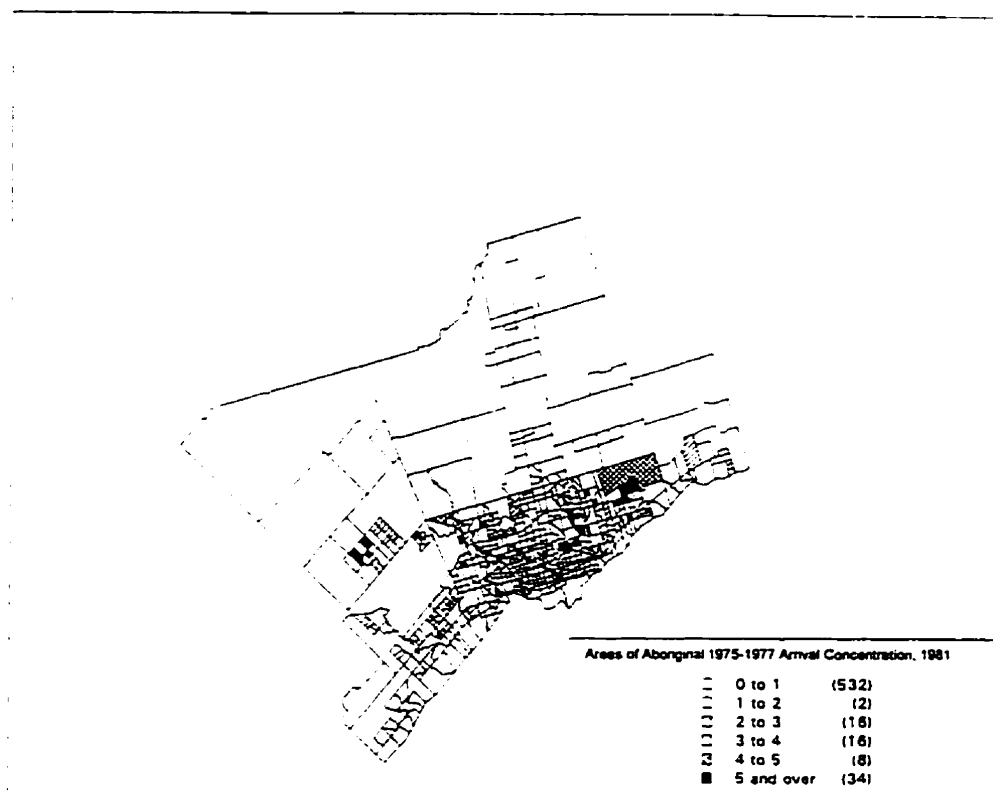
Map 132. Aboriginal 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



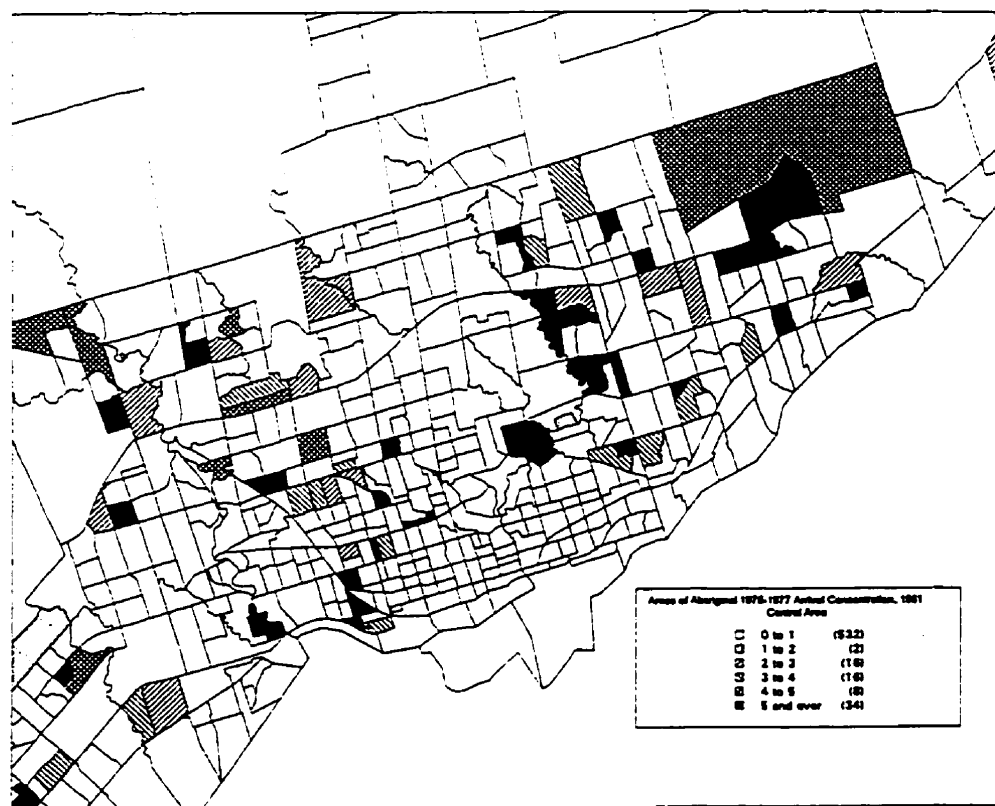
Map 133. Aboriginal 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



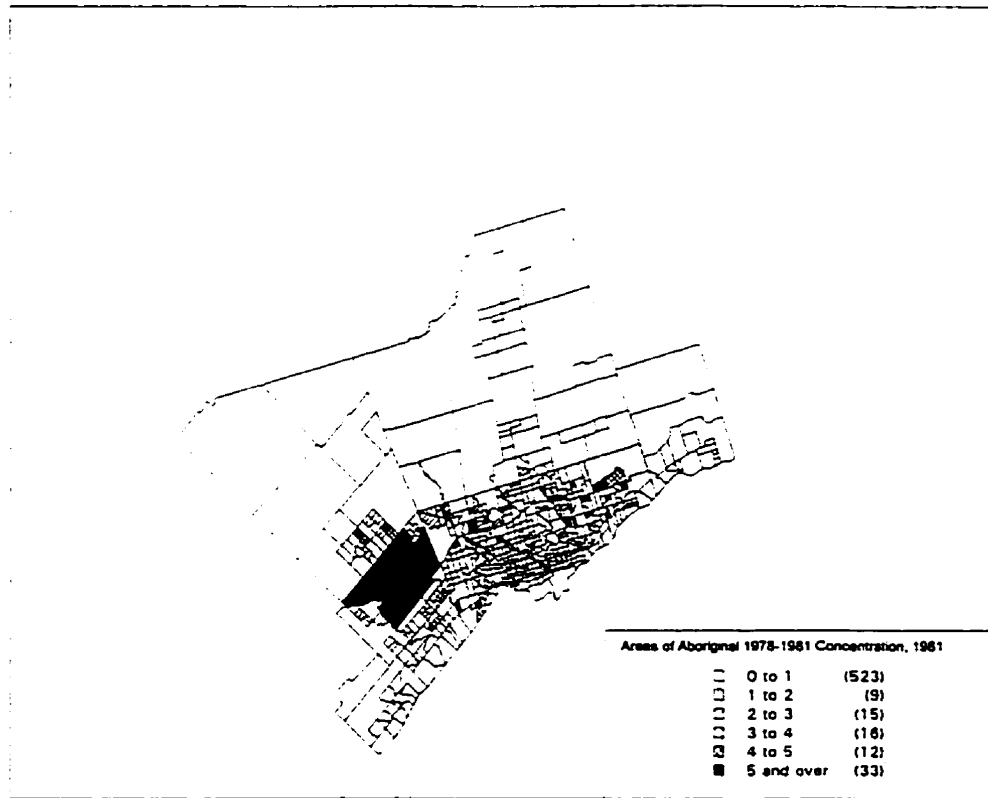
Map 134. Aboriginal 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



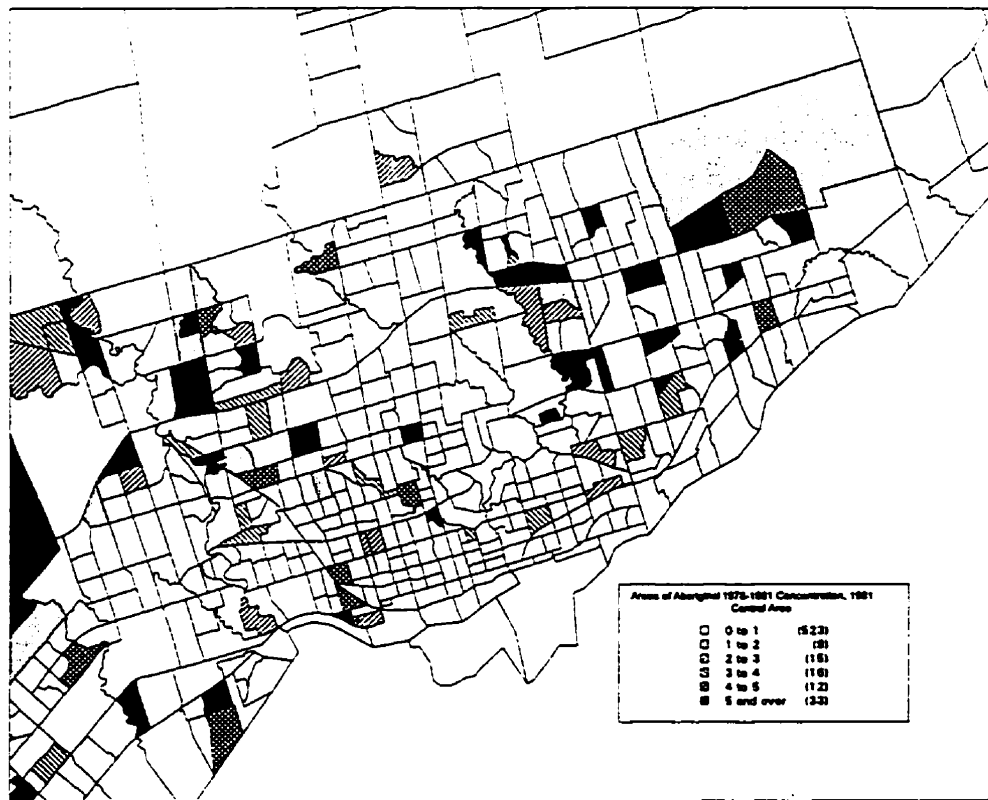
Map 135. Aboriginal 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



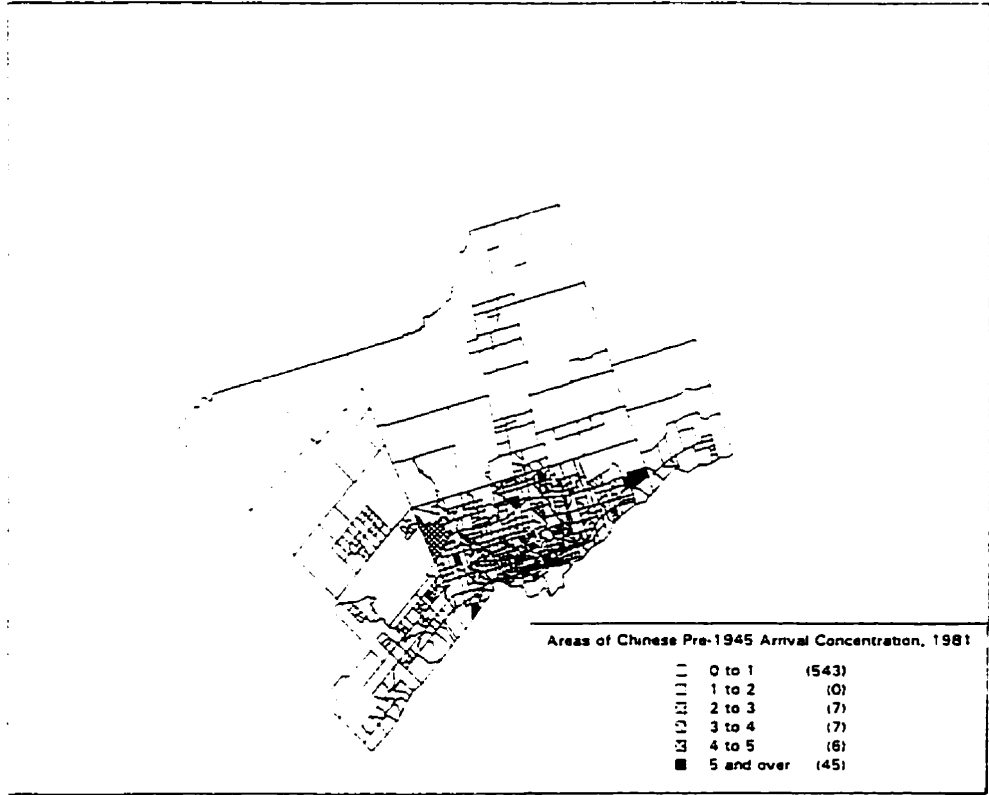
Map 136. Aboriginal 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



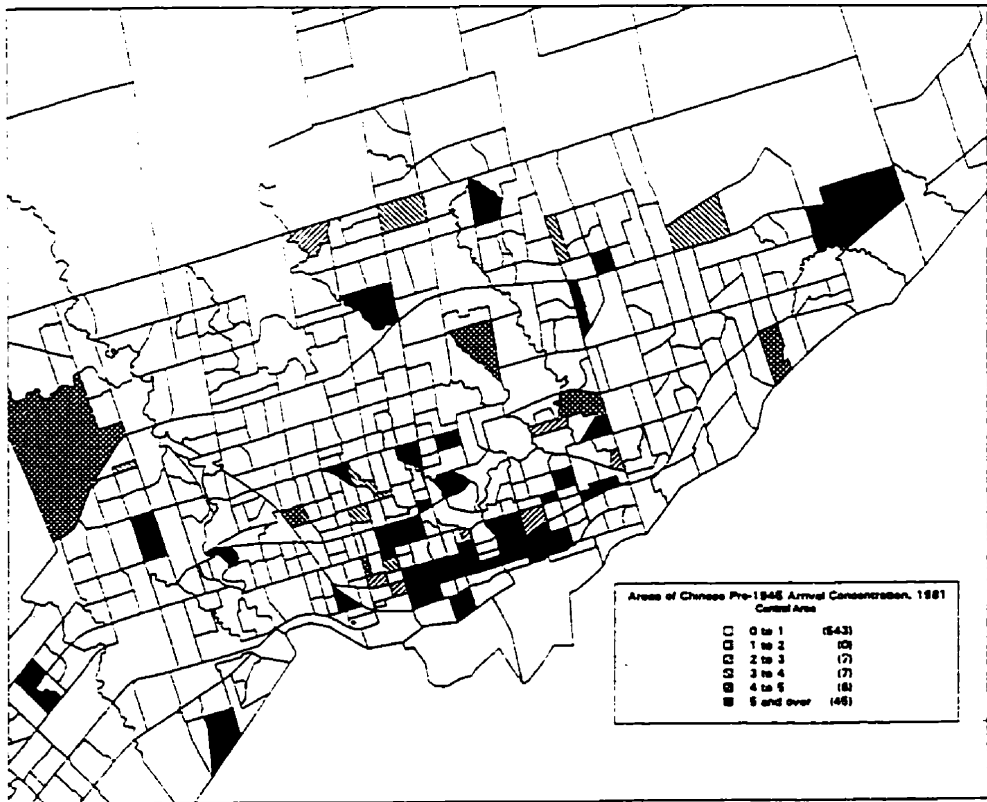
Map 137. Aboriginal 1977-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 138. Aboriginal 1977-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

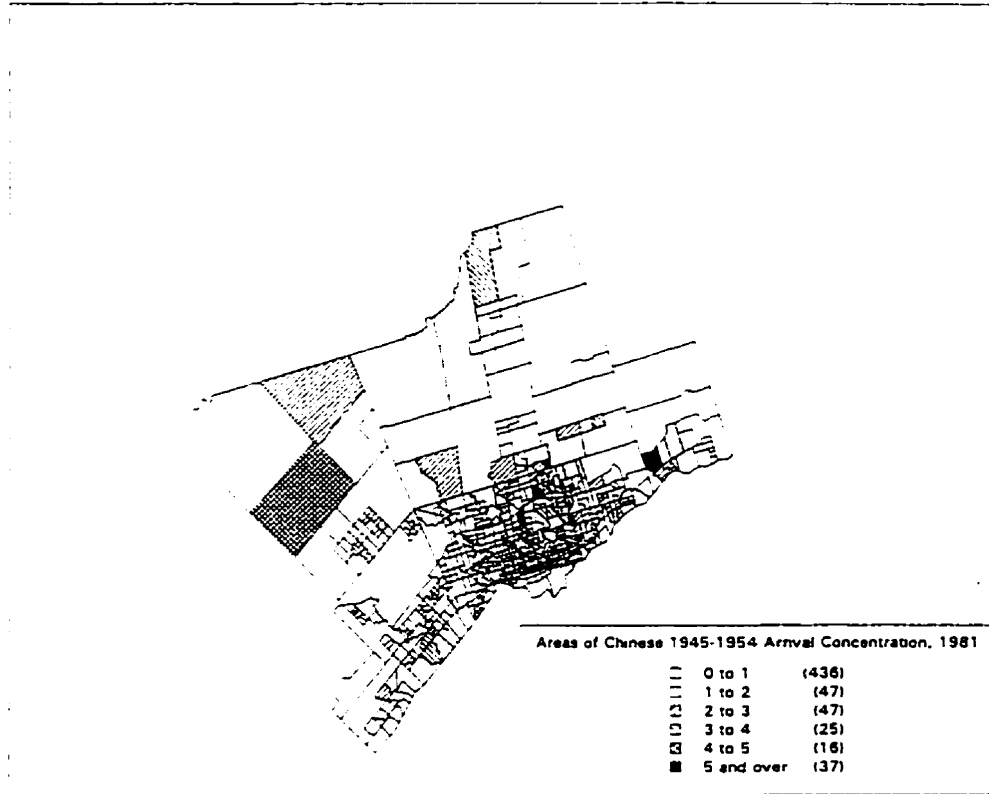


Map 139. Chinese Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981

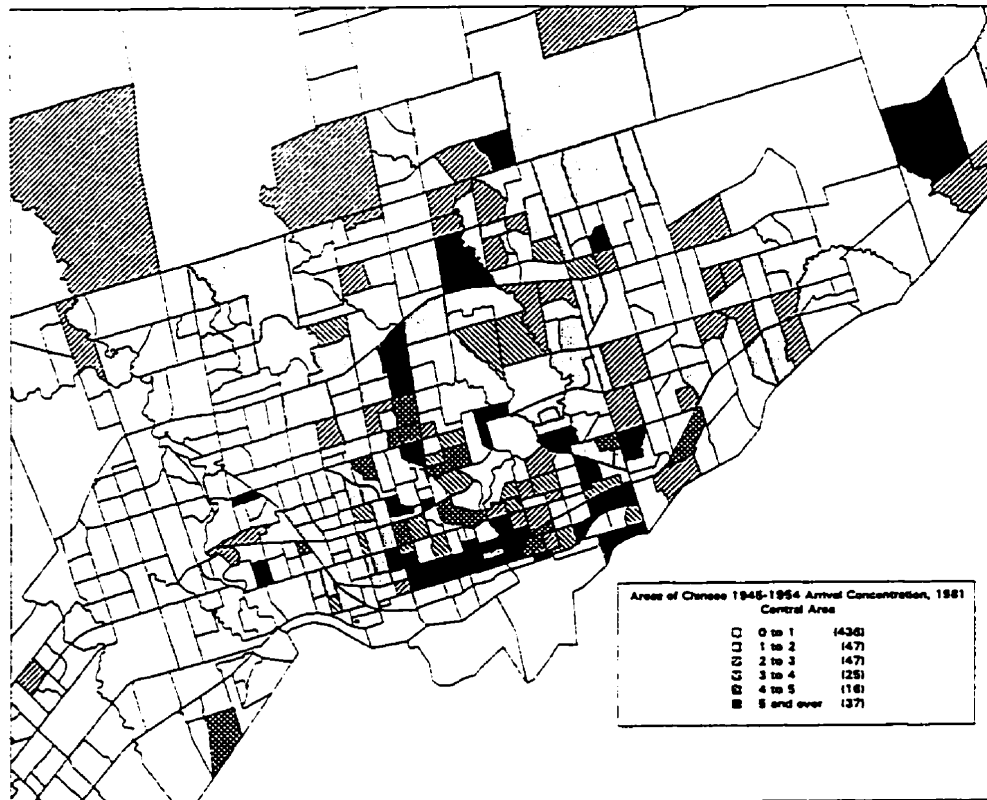


Map 140. Chinese Pre-1945 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

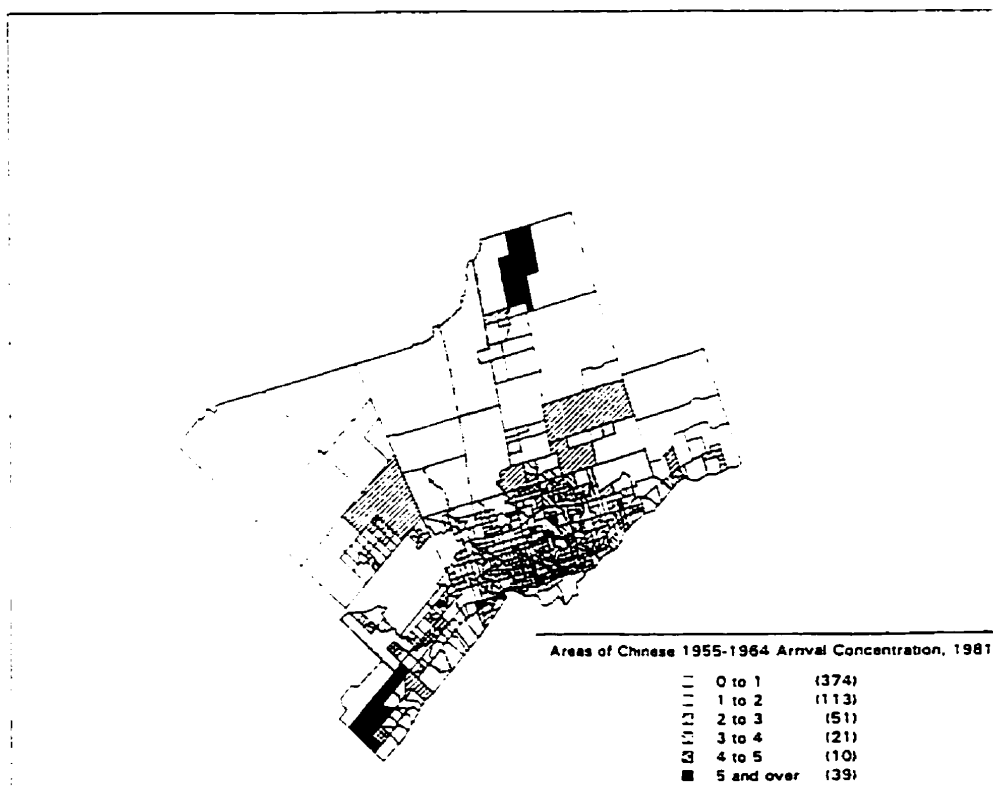




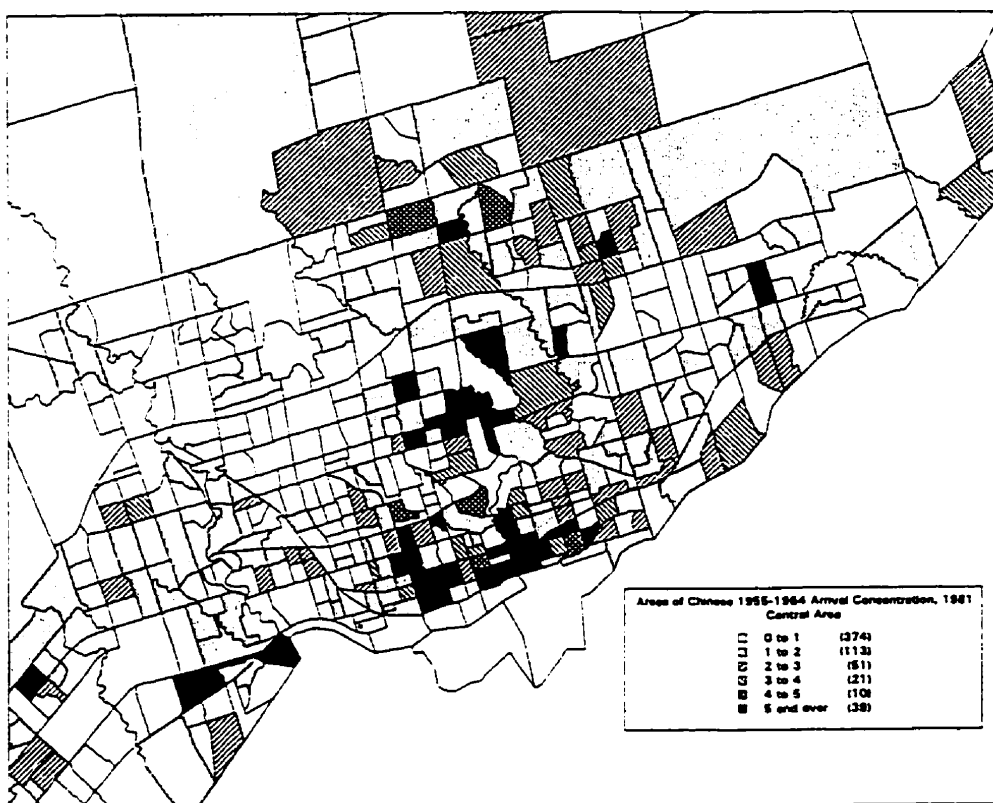
Map 141. Chinese 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



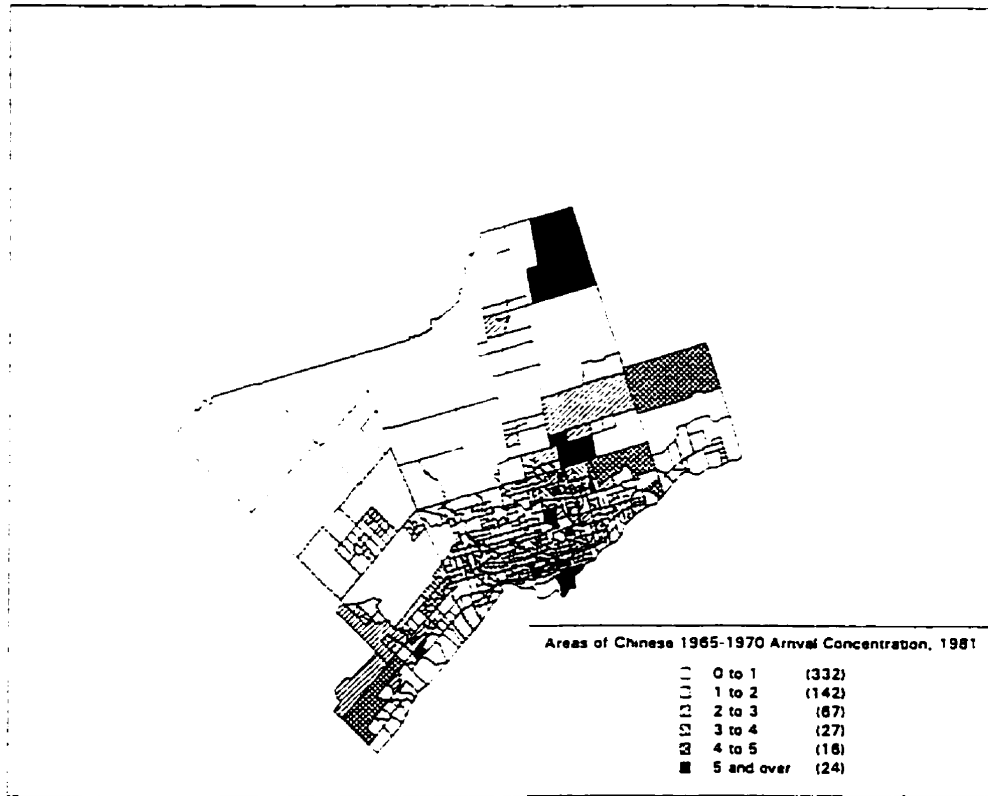
Map 142. Chinese 1945-1954 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



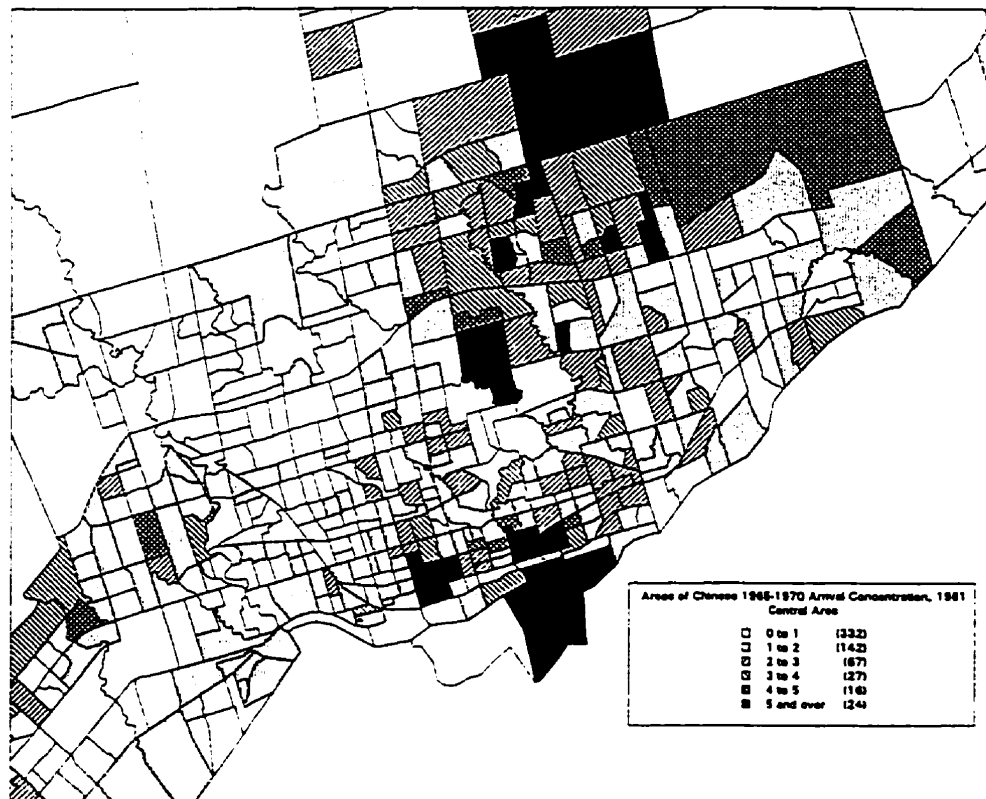
Map 143. Chinese 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



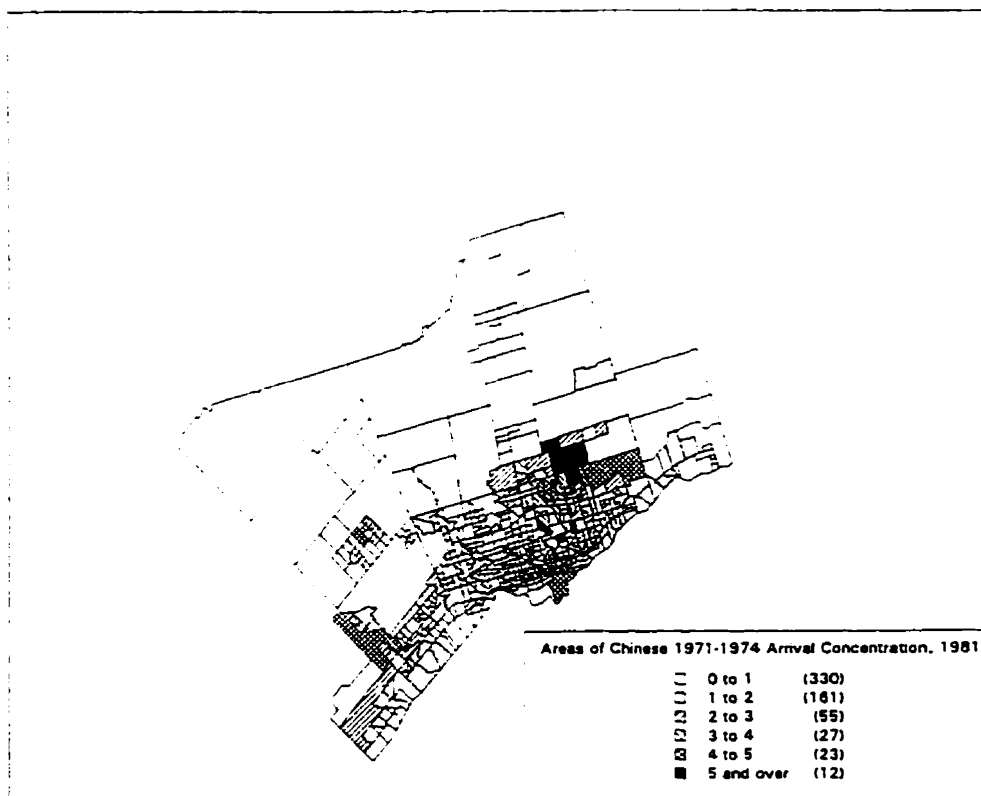
Map 144. Chinese 1955-1964 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



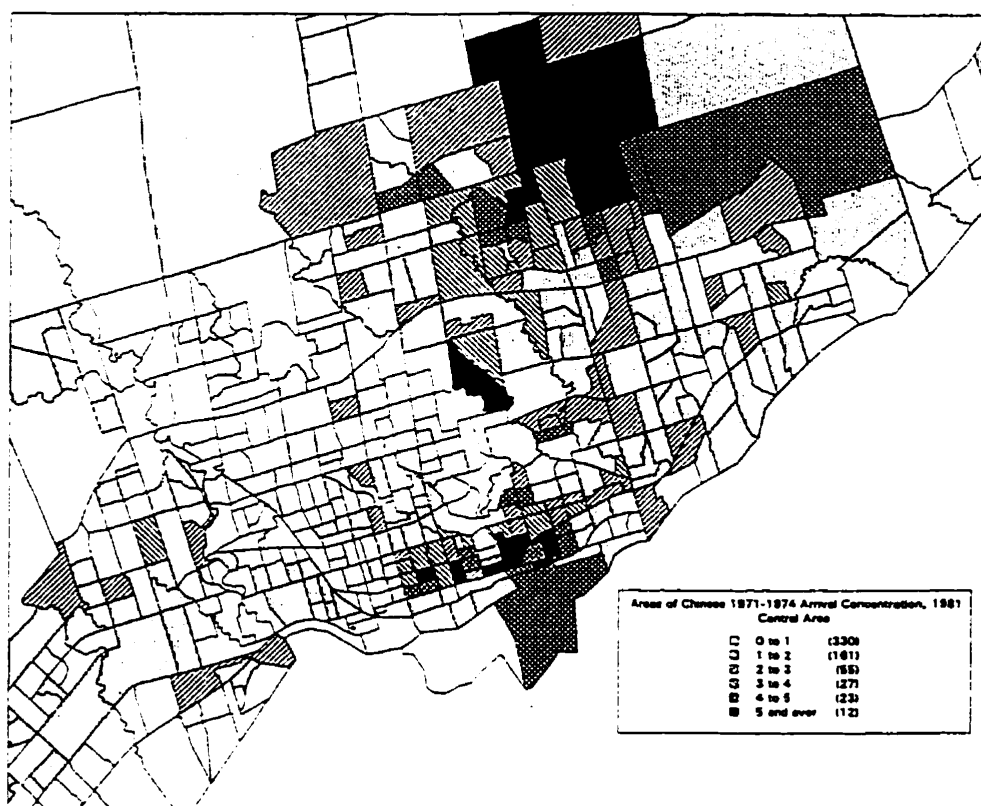
Map 145. Chinese 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



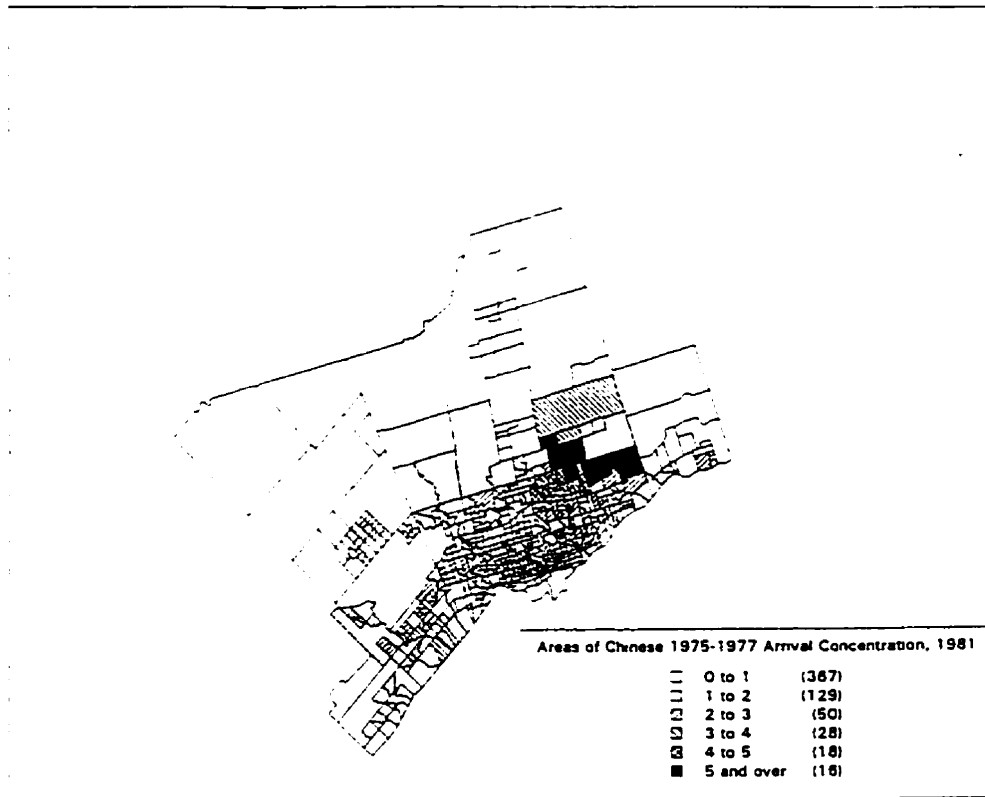
Map 146. Chinese 1965-1970 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



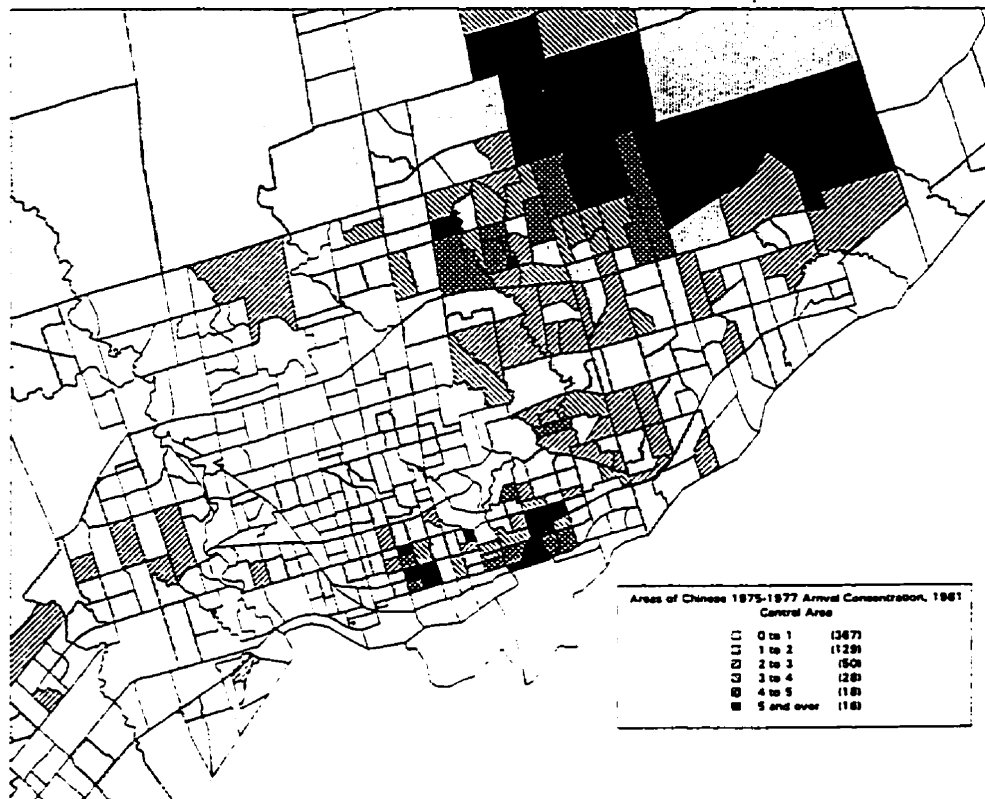
Map 147. Chinese 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



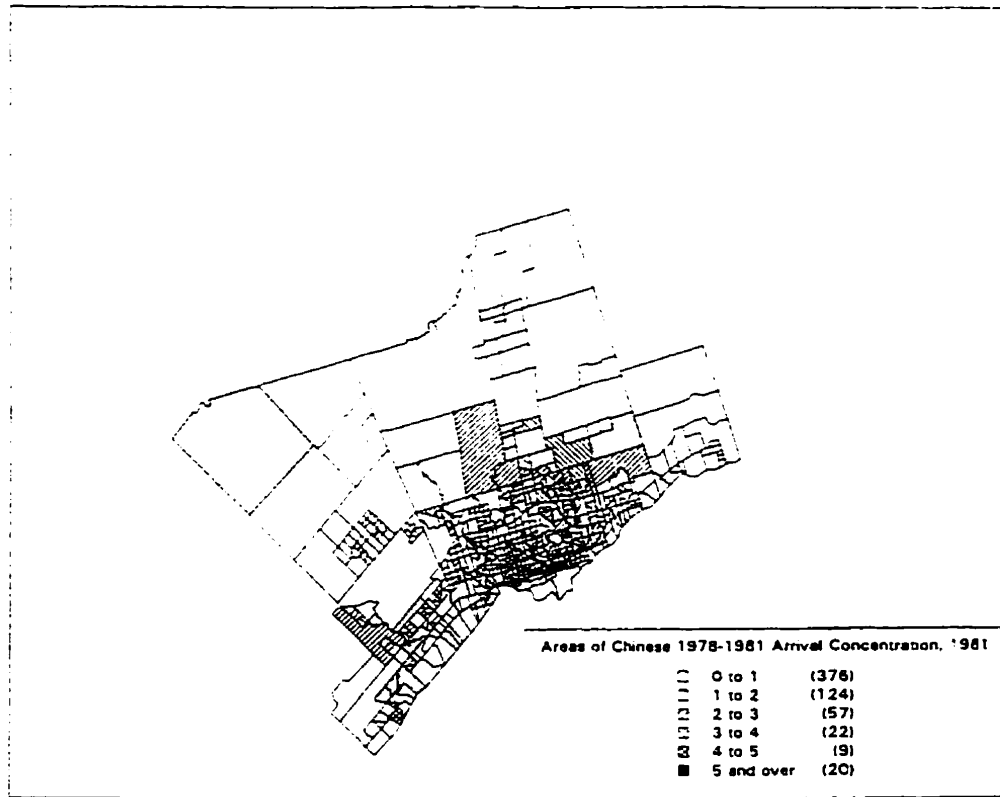
Map 148. Chinese 1971-1974 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



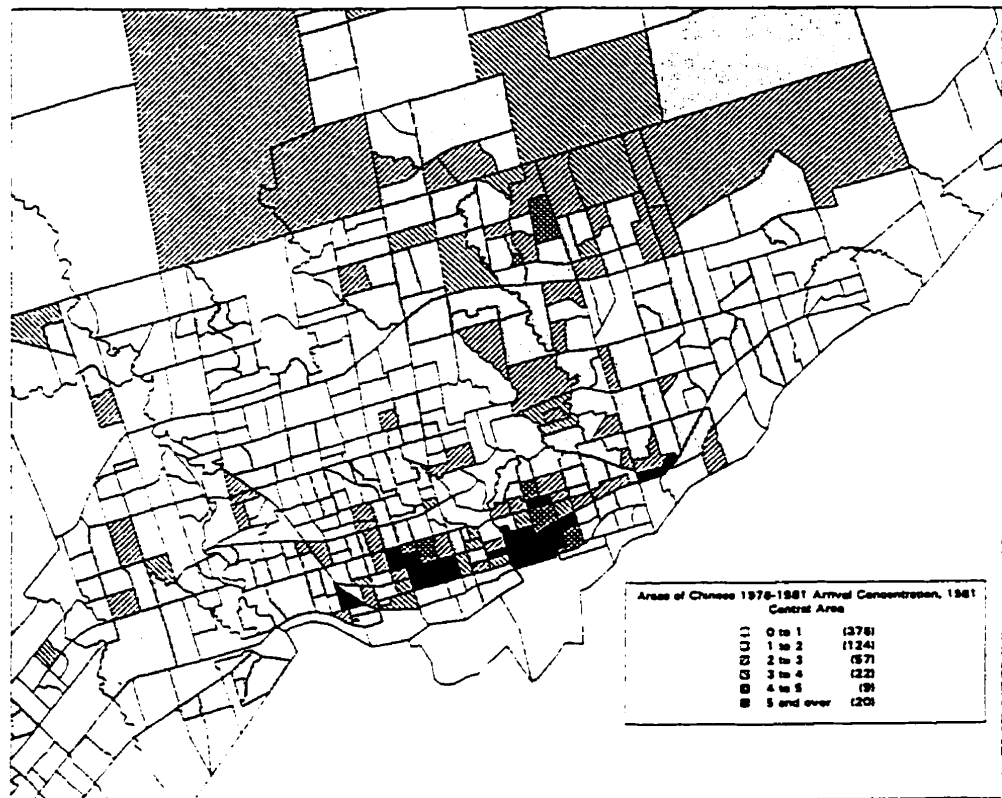
Map 149. Chinese 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 150. Chinese 1975-1977 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981



Map 151. Chinese 1977-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Toronto CMA, 1981



Map 152. Chinese 1977-1981 Concentration (LO Values), Metropolitan Toronto, 1981

## CHAPTER 9

### CROSTABULAR DATA ANALYSIS

Presenting primary empirical findings, this chapter is also aimed at developing the conceptual model which predicts a changing residential configuration characterized by increasing enclave dispersion and scattering in decentralized locations. It provides a comparative profile of selected crosstabulations based on mobility, housing, demographic, and socio-economic characteristics for each study group in addition to the aggregate CMA sample population according to a thematic approach. Temporal deviations from configurations exhibited by the reference group are assessed to determine whether a given variable's significance has diminished with respect to residential location. In the case of mobility status, deviations function to identify changes in migration distance.

#### **Comparative Crosstabulation Profiles**

Frequency crosstabulations generated from the 1991 PUMF along with the 1981 and 1971 PUST files are assessed in an effort to identify existing patterns and/or emergent trends as well as any notable and unique deviations exhibited among members of established and recent immigrant study groups. The discussion of each bi- and multivariate crosstabulation, in reverse chronological order, is preceded by a brief definition of each variable in addition to a statement regarding the reasoning behind its inclusion. Only important statistical tables are included for reference and verification. It should be noted that ethnic group and census variable coverage are more sparse in the 1971 PUST record. Moreover, 1971 and 1981 figures are used as a means of developing the conceptual model rather than as an end in and of themselves.

A comparison of print catalogue (20% sample data) with PUMF (3% sample) and PUST (2% in 1981 and 1% in 1971) ethnic origin figures confirms that each ethnic collectivity's proportion of the total Toronto CMA population is relatively similar during a given censal year (refer to the percentages in Table 33). Consequently, observations and tentative conclusions based upon the PUMF and PUST sample populations can be extended to the whole of each group with a strong degree of confidence. Nonetheless, there was a significant decline in the number of respondents declaring British ethnic origin in 1991 compared to earlier censuses. The low determination of British ancestry is partially attributed to the increased number of people who listed themselves as Canadian - the third largest group which accounted for 7% of the CMA population (Johnston 1993; McInness 1993; Thompson 1993). This surge in Canadian identity seriously skewed ethnic origin figures and generated a misleading impression of diminished British dominance. It resulted from a media campaign, mainly in Ontario, that "encouraged people to write Canadian on their census form" in reaction to the constitutional reform debate (Johnston 1993, A2). Thus, the British were hiding behind the Canadian category.

Definitional criteria inconsistencies produced some minor differences among Multiethnic and Jamaican respondents. However, they have not occasioned any significant limitations in the interpretation and comparison of results. The periodization was standardized to permit inter-censal comparability. Arrival intervals, based on the 1991 PUMF database, are as follows: pre-1946, 1946-1955, 1956-1965, 1966-1975, 1976-1985, and 1986-1991.<sup>1</sup> The last phases for the 1971 and 1981 files are respectively 1966-1971 and 1976-1981. Although a cohort effect is apparent, multivariate crosstabulations involving this variable do not necessarily cover the same assemblage of respondents over time. Thus, inferences must be surveyed with a certain degree of prudence.

---

<sup>1</sup> The 1986-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.



Table 33. Ethnic Origin Population Shares, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991

Origin	<u>CMA Population and Percentage (20% Sample)</u>			<u>PUMF/PUST Population and Percentage</u>		
	1991	1981	1971	1991	1981	1971
Br	747,250 (19.34)	1,390,005 (46.71)	1,495,300(56.89)	22,715 (19.61)	27,767 (46.29)	14,874 (56.49)
Gr	63,545 (1.64)	65,025 (2.18)	51,470 (1.99)	1,925 (1.66)	1,275 (2.12)	excluded
Je	114,730 (2.97)	109,240 (3.67)	109,910 (4.18)	3,495 (2.98)	2,175 (3.63)	1,114 (4.24)
Mu <sup>1</sup>	167,355 (4.33)	31,435 (1.06)	n.a.	5,057 (4.36)	143 (0.24)	n.a.
Ab <sup>2</sup>	6,440 (0.17)	11,380 (0.38)	6,475 (0.25)	176 (0.15)	excluded	74 (0.28)
Ch	231,820 (6.00)	89,590 (3.01)	26,285 (1.00)	6,669 (5.76)	1,716 (2.86)	269 (1.02)
Ja <sup>3</sup>	176,270 (4.50)	17,805 (0.60)	15,656 (0.59)	5,365 (4.63)	1,474 (2.46)	145 (0.55)
Σ	3,863,105 (100)	2,975,495 (100)	2,628,130 (100)	115,852 (100)	59,978 (100)	26,280 (100)

Notes: Br = British, Gr = Greek, Je = Jewish, Mu = Multiethnic, Ab = Aboriginal, Ch = Chinese, Ja = Jamaican, Σ = total CMA population, n.a. = not available.

<sup>1</sup> Based on "Other Multiple Response (not included elsewhere)" for 1981 PUST and "Canadian and Other (not included elsewhere)" for 1991 PUMF. "All Other Multiple Origins" are included in the Canadian and Other category in 1991. Published tables (20% sample data) reveal that the "European and Other" (1981) and "Canadian and Other" (1991) categories respectively include 31,435 and 20,100 individuals. An additional 147,255 people reporting "other Multiple Origins" are included in the 1991 figure (20% sample).

<sup>2</sup> Single response figures for "Native Peoples" (1981) and "Aboriginal" (1991) according to 20% sample data. The latter includes persons of North American Indian, Métis and Inuit origins.

<sup>3</sup> Derived from aggregated "Black/Caribbean" listing for 1991 PUMF. Jamaicans comprise 28.71% of the Caribbean unit and 8.25% of the Black/Caribbean unit (20% sample data). Based on the latter ratio, they would make up 0.38% of the PUMF population sample rather than 4.63%. PUST data for 1981 was taken from the "African/Caribbean/Haitian" aggregation. Specified as "West Indian," an aggregation of Caribbean and Haitian origins for 1971 (20% sample data).

Sources: Statistics Canada, Individuals File, 1991 PUMF, 1981 PUST and 1971 PUST; Statistics Canada, Ethnic Origin, Table 1B (Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex, for Census Metropolitan Areas, 1991 Census - 20% Sample Data), Catalogue No. 93-315, (Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993); Statistics Canada, Language, Ethnic Origin, Religion, Place of Birth, Schooling - Ontario, Table 2 (Population by Sex, Showing Selected Ethnic Origins, for Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations of 50,000 Population and Over With Components, 1981 - 20% Sample Data), Catalogue No. 93-930, (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984); Statistics Canada, Ethnic Groups, Table 6 (Population by Ethnic Group and Sex, for Census Metropolitan Areas, Urbanized Core and Fringe, 1971 - 20% Sample Data), Catalogue No. 92-723, (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1972).

## Mobility Status

An indicator of geographic mobility, this variable classifies residents aged five and over according to their usual place of residence five years ago: non-movers (same dwelling), intra-provincial migrants, inter-provincial migrants, and external migrants (immigrants). Intra-provincial mobility is further differentiated in conformity with relocation distance. Intra-urban migrants refers to individuals living at a different address within the same Census Subdivision (CSD), inter-urban migrants are persons whose previous residence was in a different CSD within the same Census Division (CD), and inter-regional migrants formerly lived in a different CD within the same province.<sup>2</sup> It is traditionally expected that ethnic groups, especially those of visible minority status, will migrate within their respective neighbourhood enclaves while members of the reference and Multiethnic communities tend to undertake longer distance moves. Bivariate (ethnic origin by mobility status) and multivariate crosstabulations (ethnic origin by immigration period controlling for mobility status) were generated to provide indirect spatial data thereby respectively establishing the geographic scale at which residential mobility most frequently occurs among an ethnic group's entire population (i.e. Canadian- and foreign-born) and its immigrant constituents.

With respect to the bivariate five year mobility question covering both non-immigrants and immigrants, it was observed in Tables 34 to 36 that non-movers increasingly dominated the entire sample CMA population (50.66% in 1991, 46.13% in 1981, and 42.50% in 1971) and that intra-urban migrants assumed the highest proportion of those who changed dwelling location albeit in decreasing proportions (21.95% in 1991, 25% in 1981, and 27.74% in 1971).<sup>3</sup> These observations also apply, in principle, to the reference and study groups. Non-movers were most numerous in all ethnic collectivities

---

<sup>2</sup> For 1971 crosstabulations, the 'same city, town/village' and 'different municipality, same city' (i.e. intra-metropolitan relocation) categories were combined to form the intra-urban category. Inter-urban migration, within the context of the Toronto CMA, implies relocation within the same regional municipality.

<sup>3</sup> Figures derived from the 1991 one year mobility question, which aggregates intra-provincial data, confirms the overrepresentation of non-movers. The increasing importance of inter-regional migration among the Aboriginals during 1991 may represent movement from the reserves.

Table 34. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1991

Origin	Non-Migrants	Intra-Urban	Inter-Urban	Inter-Regional	Inter-Provincial	External
British	57.90%	22.10%	3.73%	11.44%	2.75%	2.06%
Greek	63.46%	18.54%	4.65%	8.11%	1.35%	3.89%
Jewish	56.18%	23.82%	2.56%	5.76%	2.24%	9.34%
Multiethnic	46.28%	21.79%	4.68%	11.43%	2.78%	13.03%
Aboriginal	32.70%	30.13%	7.05%	18.59%	8.33%	3.20%
Chinese	31.45%	19.94%	4.09%	8.32%	2.70%	33.50%
Jamaican	38.11%	28.40%	5.22%	10.70%	1.85%	15.72%
Aggregate	50.66%	21.95%	3.83%	11.19%	2.67%	9.70%

Notes: The 'aggregate' designation refers to the entire CMA sample population. Intra-urban migrants are individuals whose relocation occurred within the same CMA municipal components as shown in Maps 2 and 3 (e.g. movement within Etobicoke) while inter-urban migrants are those who moved between municipal components but within the same regional municipality (e.g. movement from Scarborough to North York takes place within the Metropolitan Toronto Municipality)

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.

Table 35 Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin	Non-Migrants	Intra-Urban	Inter-Urban	Inter-Regional	Inter-Provincial	External
British	48.04%	25.08%	3.47%	11.15%	3.59%	2.91%
Greek	51.76%	27.69%	4.70%	4.16%	0.94%	3.69%
Jewish	51.17%	27.13%	2.07%	4.09%	4.32%	5.01%
Multiethnic	34.96%	29.37%	1.40%	8.39%	4.89%	2.80%
Aboriginal	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	26.46%	25.17%	3.73%	5.60%	2.91%	25.76%
Jamaican	28.97%	32.43%	6.38%	8.34%	1.15%	14.18%
Aggregate	46.34%	24.98%	3.47%	9.69%	3.07%	5.10%

Notes: n.a. = not available. The 'not applicable' proportions are: 5.75% (British), 7.06% (Greek), 6.21% (Jewish), 18.18% (Multiethnic) 10.37% (Chinese), 8.55% (Jamaican), and 7.35% (Aggregate). The 'aggregate' designation refers to the entire CMA sample population.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 36. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Mobility Status, Toronto CMA, 1971

Origin	Non-Migrants	Intra-Urban	Inter-Urban	Inter-Regional	Inter-Provincial	External
British	45.56%	27.47%	9.26%	---	33.30%	5.68%
Greek	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	---	n.a.	n.a.
Jewish	51.08%	28.54%	3.14%	---	2.60%	8.00%
Multiethnic	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	---	n.a.	n.a.
Aboriginal	13.51%	41.90%	17.57%	---	2.70%	9.46%
Chinese	20.82%	24.16%	3.72%	---	1.86%	40.89%
Jamaican	6.90%	16.55%	1.38%	---	0.69%	64.83%
Aggregate	42.48%	27.74%	7.67%	---	2.92%	10.05%

Notes: n.a. = not available. Inter-provincial figures include inter-regional migrants. The "not stated" and "not applicable" proportions respectively are: 1% and 7.70% (British), 0.54% and 6.10% (Jewish), 1.35% and 13.51% (Aboriginal), 0% and 8.55% (Chinese), 0.69% and 8.96% (Jamaican), and 0.92% and 8.22% (Aggregate). The 'aggregate' designation refers to the entire CMA sample population.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1973.

during 1991 except among the Chinese for whom they ranked second after external migrants.<sup>4</sup> A similar pattern is noted for 1981 with intra-urban migration occurring more frequently for those who moved. The 1971 apportionment is characterized by a greater degree of variation. Most British and Jewish respondents were non-movers followed by intra-city level migrants. The opposite applies to Aboriginal and Chinese respondents while newcomers were more numerous in the Jamaican group proceeded by intra-urban migrants. Overall, mobility generally takes place at the local or neighbourhood level since intra-urban mobility is registered the highest share of movers.<sup>5</sup> A brief discussion of trends associated with the reference and study groups (i.e. Canadian- and foreign-born persons) follows.

Reading across each row, it is apparent that non-movers consistently prevailed among the British while intra-urban migrants constituted the largest component of the movers. The former registered a steady increase while the latter declined over time. Differences between 1971 and 1981 were moderate while those for 1981 and 1991 are more noticeable. The relative share of Greek non-movers (63.43% in 1991 and 51.76% in 1981) and intra-urban migrants (18.54% in 1991 and 27.69% in 1981) in 1991 were respectively higher and lower than that of all other ethnic origins being examined. Persons who did not change their dwelling location always accounted for at least 50% of Jewish respondents while intra-urban migration represented increasingly fewer persons since 1971. Overrepresentation in the non-mover category has been attributed to "high levels of ethnic cohesion and institutional completeness" (Trovato and Halli 1990, 80). The proportion of Multiethnic non-movers has risen to but not exceed 46.27% in 1991 while intra-urban migrant shares are comparable to those of the British. Aboriginals have gone from being dominated by mobility within the Toronto CMA during 1971 to a nearly equivalent allotment of intra-urban relocation (30.13%) and non-migration (32.70%) in 1991. This

---

<sup>4</sup> Intra-urban migration was realized by Chinese individuals changing their place of residence. It assumed third rank for the Chinese collectivity for 1991 and 1981 yet it registered the greatest proportion of mobile individuals on both occasions.

<sup>5</sup> Long distance movement among the study groups, while insignificant, shifted from the inter-urban to inter-regional scale in 1981.

community consistently registered the highest percentage of intra-urban migrants. Chinese residents had a similar share of non-movers and intra-urban migrants in 1971 and 1981 with the former category's allotment always being slightly greater. Although the 1991 non-migrant share (31.45%) is relatively greater, it is the lowest of all study groups while the intra-urban share (19.94%) is among the smallest. Intra-urban migration was more frequent among Jamaicans during 1971 and 1981 yet non-movers came to prevail in 1991. The distributional patterns discussed above indicate that Greeks and Jews tend to have more non-movers than the British while the remaining ethnic categories have reduced shares. In terms of second rank (i.e. intra-urban migration), most study group apportionments are relatively similar to that of the reference population. Only Aboriginals and Jamaicans maintain higher shares.

Multivariate crosstabulations according to immigration period were produced in order to detect any noteworthy trends with respect to migration status, especially among recent (1986-1991) arrivals. A common mobility pattern emerges for both the control and research groups. A greater share of those who settled before the last enumerated period (i.e. 1986-1991 for the 1991 data set, 1976-1981 for 1981, and 1966-1971 for 1971) were external migrants with intra-urban migration registering the next highest response frequency (refer to Tables 37 through 39). The previous place of residence for those admitted during the aforementioned interval was essentially abroad. According to 1981 and 1971 statistics, intra-urban migrants were respectively more numerous among the second last immigration period (i.e. 1966-1975 and 1956-1965) in all but the Greek and Multiethnic communities. Focusing upon mobility patterns exhibited by recent intakes in Table 37, it is evident that external migrants predominate all ethnic groups when reading down the 1986-1991 column. Otherwise, apportionments by type of move were relatively stable with intra-urban relocation and non-movement registering somewhat higher shares for the reference and study populations. The latest admissions in 1981 also follow the aforementioned pattern. Intra-urban mobility was more common among 1976-1981 admissions who did move, especially

Table 37. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991

Origin/ Mobility	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1985	1986-1991
<b>British</b>						
NM	82.72%	77.34%	69.59%	56.88%	47.50%	11.02%
IAU	10.14%	11.38%	16.85%	24.59%	31.71%	15.82%
IEU	02.07%	02.02%	02.98%	04.00%	04.32%	01.69%
IR	04.84%	07.66%	09.17%	11.58%	12.82%	04.52%
IP	00.00%	01.17%	01.10%	01.56%	01.62%	01.41%
EM	00.23%	00.42%	00.31%	01.38%	02.02%	65.54%
<b>Greek</b>						
NM	100.00%	81.48%	76.45%	64.30%	51.43%	18.75%
IAU	00.00%	12.34%	09.97%	20.89%	25.71%	12.50%
IEU	00.00%	00.00%	04.15%	03.45%	10.48%	04.17%
IR	00.00%	03.70%	05.82%	09.94%	09.52%	00.00%
IP	00.00%	02.47%	01.38%	00.40%	00.95%	04.17%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	02.22%	01.01%	01.90%	60.42%
<b>Jewish</b>						
NM	84.68%	80.46%	67.29%	62.99%	50.21%	03.98%
IAU	11.71%	09.77%	20.12%	23.79%	34.47%	07.97%
IEU	00.00%	01.72%	01.26%	02.64%	04.68%	00.00%
IR	02.70%	05.75%	06.92%	07.93%	05.53%	02.90%
IP	00.90%	02.30%	03.14%	01.32%	03.40%	01.81%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	01.26%	01.32%	01.70%	83.33%
<b>Multiethnic</b>						
NM	87.50%	78.91%	68.42%	58.00%	39.72%	07.81%
IAU	02.50%	14.28%	20.47%	19.09%	29.43%	09.98%
IEU	02.50%	00.68%	02.34%	05.64%	07.66%	01.95%
IR	02.50%	04.76%	06.43%	13.09%	15.72%	03.47%
IP	05.00%	01.36%	01.75%	02.00%	03.83%	02.60%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	00.58%	02.18%	03.63%	74.19%
<b>Chinese</b>						
NM	71.43%	85.71%	71.85%	55.14%	43.65%	02.28%
IAU	28.57%	03.57%	11.72%	24.48%	31.19%	06.94%
IEU	00.00%	05.36%	03.91%	05.39%	06.26%	01.32%
IR	00.00%	05.36%	10.16%	10.77%	11.54%	02.79%
IP	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	02.06%	04.88%	01.16%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	02.34%	02.15%	02.47%	85.50%
<b>Jamaican</b>						
NM	75.00%	60.00%	63.36%	51.88%	39.70%	12.89%
IAU	00.00%	40.00%	22.14%	31.73%	36.45%	17.89%
IEU	00.00%	00.00%	02.29%	00.22%	07.19%	05.11%
IR	25.00%	00.00%	10.69%	13.68%	12.22%	04.44%
IP	00.00%	00.00%	01.53%	01.50%	02.27%	01.67%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	00.98%	02.17%	58.00%

Notes: NM = Non-Movers, IAU = Intra-Urban, IEU = Inter-Urban, IR = Inter-Regional, IP = Inter-Provincial, EM = External Migrant. Only 1 Aboriginal NM for 1966-1975. Only the first five months of 1991 are included. Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.



Table 38. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin/ Mobility	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1981
<b>British</b>					
NM	75.39%	66.89%	54.32%	36.20%	02.99%
IAU	14.48%	20.08%	27.32%	39.46%	13.94%
IEU	02.12%	02.35%	03.31%	06.26%	01.28%
IR	05.60%	06.76%	10.67%	12.07%	02.99%
IP	01.64%	02.45%	03.48%	03.50%	00.00%
EM	00.77%	01.47%	00.89%	02.50%	78.80%
<b>Greek</b>					
NM	81.82%	71.83%	64.28%	45.22%	06.82%
IAU	09.09%	23.94%	26.07%	39.53%	15.91%
IEU	09.09%	02.82%	03.21%	08.53%	04.54%
IR	00.00%	00.00%	04.64%	04.13%	04.54%
IP	00.00%	01.41%	00.71%	00.77%	00.00%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	01.07%	01.81%	68.18%
<b>Jewish</b>					
NM	80.22%	69.68%	61.43%	36.81%	03.67%
IAU	15.82%	21.81%	28.57%	44.78%	04.59%
IEU	01.69%	01.59%	02.14%	04.29%	00.00%
IR	00.56%	02.13%	03.57%	06.75%	01.83%
IP	01.13%	03.72%	04.28%	04.29%	05.50%
EM	00.56%	01.06%	00.00%	03.07%	84.40%
<b>Multiethnic</b>					
NM	75.00%	62.50%	30.00%	53.33%	00.00%
IAU	25.00%	25.00%	40.00%	33.33%	33.33%
IEU	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	06.67%	00.00%
IR	00.00%	12.50%	20.00%	00.00%	00.00%
IP	00.00%	00.00%	10.00%	06.67%	00.00%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	66.67%
<b>Chinese</b>					
NM	69.23%	78.38%	57.89%	33.28%	03.85%
IAU	30.77%	13.51%	23.16%	44.03%	08.10%
IEU	00.00%	02.70%	05.26%	05.37%	01.01%
IR	00.00%	02.70%	06.31%	09.85%	01.82%
IP	00.00%	02.70%	04.21%	04.33%	00.40%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	03.16%	02.98%	84.82%
<b>Jamaican</b>					
NM	00.00%	62.50%	59.14%	36.60%	05.95%
IAU	50.00%	25.00%	29.03%	45.44%	18.65%
IEU	50.00%	12.50%	04.30%	00.68%	00.79%
IR	00.00%	00.00%	04.30%	11.97%	04.36%
IP	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	01.90%	00.79%
EM	00.00%	00.00%	03.22%	03.40%	69.44%

Notes: NM = Non-Movers, IAU = Intra-Urban, IEU = Inter-Urban, IR = Inter-Regional, IP = Inter-Provincial, EM = External Migrant (Immigrant). Data unavailable for Aborigines. Only the first five months of 1981 are included.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 39. Mobility of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971

Origin/ Mobility	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1971
<b>British</b>				
NM	66.94%	51.46%	37.71%	00.00%
IAU	25.79%	31.18%	43.49%	01.03%
IEU	05.22%	13.21%	12.48%	00.15%
IR	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
IP	01.02%	01.84%	03.15%	00.00%
EM	01.02%	02.30%	03.15%	98.83%
<b>Jewish</b>				
NM	74.83%	55.66%	37.08%	00.00%
IAU	23.18%	37.73%	50.56%	00.00%
IEU	00.00%	03.77%	03.37%	00.00%
IR	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
IP	00.00%	01.89%	05.62%	00.00%
EM	01.99%	00.94%	03.37%	100.00%
<b>Chinese</b>				
NM	45.45%	51.72%	29.17%	00.00%
IAU	45.45%	34.48%	47.92%	00.94%
IEU	09.09%	06.90%	06.25%	00.00%
IR	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
IP	00.00%	03.45%	08.33%	00.00%
EM	00.00%	03.45%	08.33%	99.06%
<b>Jamaican</b>				
NM	66.67%	50.00%	08.33%	00.00%
IAU	00.00%	00.00%	75.00%	01.10%
IEU	00.00%	00.00%	08.33%	00.00%
IR	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
IP	00.00%	00.00%	04.17%	00.00%
EM	33.33%	50.00%	04.17%	98.90%

Notes: n.a. = not available. NM = Non-Movers, IAU = Intra-Urban, IEU = Inter-Urban, IR = Inter-Regional, IP = Inter-Provincial, EM = External Migrant (Immigrant). IP and IR information combined under the former. Data unavailable for Greeks and Multiethnics and statistically insignificant for Aborigines. Only the first five months of 1971 are included. "Not Stated" and "Not Applicable" (non-immigrant) figures are excluded.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1973.

Multiethnics (33.33%). Table 39 also demonstrates that 1966-1971 entrants were almost exclusively overseas migrants. Thus, the 1991 mobility pattern was evident during 1981 which itself corresponds with the dispersion model's incipient phase.

Annual figures for the 1980-1991 period indicate that persons arriving until 1986, or 1987 in some cases, tend to be non-movers while post-1986 entrants previously resided abroad. Those who relocated did so within the same urban area.<sup>6</sup> Non-movers were more numerous, but not an absolute majority, among British persons who settled between 1980 and 1985 while external migrants are dominant after 1986. Intra-urban migration predominated 1986 arrivals and was typical of those who changed their place of residence between 1980 and 1991. Excluding minor diversions, it can be said that most recent entrants had residential mobility distribution rankings similar to those of the British.<sup>7</sup> Only the Jamaicans are inclined towards more intra-urban relocation among pre-1986 entrants. This observation may be partially attributed to the continual search for more affordable rental accommodation among households composed of non-family persons (i.e. individuals residing alone). Non-movers also formed an absolute majority in all ethnic groups regardless of immigration year or period according to crosstabulations of the 1991 one year mobility variable. Intra-provincial relocation was most common for migrants. Aside from the mainly non-migrant Greeks, 1990 and/or 1991 entrants among the other ethnic groups were primarily external migrants followed by non-movers and intra-provincial migrants.

---

<sup>6</sup> Inter-regional migration, while not important, was more pronounced among 1980-1986 British, Multiethnic and Chinese arrivals.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek, Jewish, Multiethnic and Chinese distribution rankings resemble that of the reference group but in different proportions. Intra-urban relocation was predominant among 1984-1985 Jewish and Multiethnic, instead of 1986, arrivals. An equal proportion of external and intra-urban migrants (27.78%) is registered for 1986 Multiethnic arrivals. A greater frequency of intra-city movers was noted among 1983-1984 Chinese settlers and external migrants among individuals arriving thereafter. Although Jewish external migrants were predominant among 1976-1981 arrivals, inter-provincial migrants were more numerous than intra-urban movers.

## Tenure

This variable indicates whether the household owns or rents the dwelling in which they reside. It does not provide any information about dwelling type. Combined figures for each ethnic group's immigrant and Canadian-born components indicate that ownership rates have increased somewhat while rental rates partially declined over time. Ownership accounted for about 66% of the entire CMA sample population in 1991.<sup>8</sup> This observation substantiates the opinion that “[m]ost immigrant groups display a strong propensity to live in owner-occupied housing” (Ray and Moore 1991, 8). Indeed, tenure among the British and Multiethnic units resembled that of the CMA population in 1981 and 1991. The allotment of owners (64%) and renters (36%) among the forenamed groups is relatively stable. Ownership shares increased modestly while the rental ratio declined among British people. The opposite was registered by Multiethnic inhabitants. Ownership characterizes at least 70% of the Greek, Jewish and Chinese communities while rental is more indicative of well over half of all Jamaicans (refer to Table 40).<sup>9</sup>

The disposition to reside in owner-occupied accommodation appears to be affected by the period of immigration (Ray and Moore 1991).<sup>10</sup> It is traditionally assumed that newcomers will rent during the first five years following settlement in Canada. Relatively reduced household incomes were ascertained as dominant determinants underlying lower

---

<sup>8</sup> The majority of these owner-occupied private dwellings are not part of a registered condominium (89.90% in 1991 and 59.52% and 1981).

<sup>9</sup> Increased Chinese ownership is partially attributed to the growing number investors and entrepreneurs who buy homes upon arrival (CMHC 1996). Jamaican apportionments are ascribed to a higher share of lone occupant and single-parent households (Ray 1994; CMHC 1996). Crosstabulations of ethnicity by structure type, only available for 1981, show that residence in a single-detached dwelling was predominant among the British (48.46%), Greeks (44.08%), Jews (54.43%), and Multiethnics (43.36%). Chinese (43.06%) and Jamaican (40.36%) inhabitants generally lived in ‘other multiple units’ of less than five stories. Jamaicans also had a higher propensity for residence in apartment buildings of five or more floors, especially the high-rise variant.

<sup>10</sup> Age-specific tendencies have been confirmed with respect to tenure. Propensities for dwelling ownership along with preferences for single-detached units are “low in the younger age groups, rise through the middle years, then fall off again in later years” (CMHC 1994, 8). Those who immigrated at a younger age have been accorded the opportunity to integrate over a greater time span and thus find a place where they are “residentially satisfied” (Felka 1991).

Table 40. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Tenure, Toronto CMA, 1981 and 1991

Tenure/ Origin	Dwelling Ownership		Dwelling Rental	
	1991	1981	1991	1981
British	65.32%	62.57%	34.68%	36.65%
Greek	80.92%	77.96%	19.07%	21.80%
Jewish	74.28%	70.07%	25.72%	29.93%
Multiethnic	63.19%	65.03%	36.81%	34.26%
Aboriginal	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	77.79%	70.74%	22.21%	29.26%
Jamaican	41.58%	45.18%	58.42%	54.41%
Aggregate	66.36%	65.82%	33.64%	34.18%

Notes: n.a. = not available. The 'aggregate' designation refers to the entire CMA sample population.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

ownership propensities among recent immigrants (CMHC 1994 and 1996). Thus, newly arrived individuals are expected to register a higher rental rate while earlier entrants are presumed to have increased ownership levels. Multivariate crosstabulations involving ethnicity, immigration period and tenure for the 1981 data set confirm this hypothesis (refer to Table 41). Only the Greek community had a marginally greater number of owners among its latest arrivals (i.e. 1976-1981).<sup>11</sup> For the other ethnic groups, these newcomers are listed as owners in the 1991 file. Higher ownership rates among earlier entrants confirm that dwelling proprietorship rates generally increase with duration of residency in Canada and concurrent capital accumulation. Increasing complexity is exhibited by the 1991 figures which also confirm that dwelling ownership prevailed among earlier entrants (refer to Table 42). Not all individuals settling between 1986 and 1991, the most recent period, rent their accommodations. British (51.68%), Greek (60%), and Chinese (73.77%) newcomers are primarily owners. Apartment condominiums provide an optional proprietary arrangement in the first case (CMHC 1996). A greater portion of the Jewish (58.24%), Multiethnic (70.93%), and Jamaican (75.43%) communities rent.<sup>12</sup> The Chinese went from an almost even split of owners and renters among the latest entrants in 1981 to a majority of owners in 1991.

---

<sup>11</sup> There is a strong predisposition for recent immigrant arrivals (i.e. 1976-1981) to take up residence in dwelling structures other than single-detached homes. Apartment buildings are more representative of the Jews (60.87%), Multiethnics (66.67%), and Jamaicans (49.25%) while other types of multiple housing units, primarily semi-detached and row housing, are reported by the British (40.13%), Greeks (40%), and Chinese (47.75%). CHMC's (1996) analysis of immigrant housing choices indicates that 60% of 1986-1991 entrants lived in apartments, 18% in other multiple dwellings, and only 9% in single-detached homes.

<sup>12</sup> Some earlier Greek (1965-1975) and Jamaican (1976-1985) immigrants also rent their apartments or homes. A closer examination by year of immigration for the 1980-1991 period, however, indicates that more British persons rented between 1987 and 1991.

Table 41. Tenure of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin/ Tenure	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1981
<b>British</b>					
Owned	60.19%	70.93%	69.38%	57.45%	45.41%
Rented	39.80%	29.06%	30.62%	42.55%	54.59%
<b>Greek</b>					
Owned	81.82%	91.55%	86.33%	70.23%	53.33%
Rented	18.18%	08.45%	13.67%	29.76%	46.67%
<b>Jewish</b>					
Owned	52.87%	82.98%	69.56%	66.05%	26.96%
Rented	47.13%	17.02%	30.43%	33.95%	73.04%
<b>Multiethnic</b>					
Owned	16.67%	75.00%	60.00%	80.00%	16.67%
Rented	83.33%	25.00%	40.00%	20.00%	83.33%
<b>Chinese</b>					
Owned	53.85%	86.49%	91.58%	74.14%	49.51%
Rented	45.15%	13.51%	08.42%	25.86%	50.49%
<b>Jamaican</b>					
Owned	100.00%	71.43%	70.00%	45.99%	28.57%
Rented	00.00%	28.57%	30.00%	54.01%	71.43%

Notes: Aboriginal data not available. The 1976-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 42. Tenure of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991

Origin/ Tenure	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1985	1986-1991
<b><u>British</u></b>						
Owned	58.29%	72.79%	71.63%	68.58%	66.67%	51.25%
Rented	41.71%	27.21%	28.37%	31.42%	33.33%	48.75%
<b><u>Greek</u></b>						
Owned	87.50%	82.72%	83.38%	33.33%	68.57%	60.00%
Rented	12.50%	17.28%	16.62%	66.67%	31.43%	40.00%
<b><u>Jewish</u></b>						
Owned	56.76%	81.61%	82.47%	78.85%	61.70%	41.75%
Rented	43.24%	18.39%	17.53%	21.15%	38.30%	58.25%
<b><u>Multiethnic</u></b>						
Owned	70.00%	83.67%	73.10%	68.36%	53.02%	29.07%
Rented	30.00%	16.33%	26.90%	31.64%	46.98%	70.93%
<b><u>Chinese</u></b>						
Owned	42.86%	89.29%	92.19%	86.78%	72.24%	73.77%
Rented	57.14%	10.71%	07.81%	13.22%	27.76%	26.23%
<b><u>Jamaican</u></b>						
Owned	50.00%	66.41%	66.41%	53.85%	39.70%	24.57%
Rented	50.00%	33.59%	33.59%	46.15%	60.30%	75.43%

Notes: There is an insufficient number of Aboriginal immigrants to generate meaningful tenure statistics. The 1986-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.



## Census Family Status

Restricted to individuals in private households, this variable relates a respondent's living arrangement in terms of census family membership. Of interest to this research is the proportion of non-census family persons (i.e. those residing with relatives) which provides an indirect estimate of the importance assumed by chain migration. Sponsored and nominated immigrants tend to initially lodge with relatives who rent out a part of their dwelling as a means of achieving home ownership. Of the total CMA sample population, less than 5% of household members are non-census family persons (4.3% in 1991 and 3.62% in 1981). CMHC (1996) research indicates that 9% of non-family persons arriving in the Toronto CMA between 1986 and 1991 resided with a relative, 6% with a non-relative, and 4% alone. Thus, newcomers are likely to live in extended families or share accommodation with non-relatives. Sponsored and independent immigrants are respectively associated with the former and latter living arrangements (CMHC 1986). Percentage distributions calculated for each ethnic group's native- and foreign-born components suggest that chain migration, as measured by this variable, tends to be more common among the visible minorities (see Tables 43 and 44). The British and Multiethnic groups' share are identical and stable (3.53% in 1991 and 3.42% in 1981) yet less than that of the total CMA population. Greek distribution levels paralleled those of the British and are characterized by a modest reduction (3.23% in 1991 and 3.76% in 1981). A reduced but increasing apportionment of non-census family persons exists among the Jews (2.78% in 1991 versus 2.34% in 1981). An exceptionally high segment of Aboriginals (7.60% in 1991) is classified under this living arrangement.<sup>13</sup> Consistently stable and higher percentages than either the control group or entire CMA population are indicative of the Chinese (6.71 % in 1991 and 6.70% in 1981). The proportion of non-census family persons increased from 6.10% in 1981 to 7.38% in 1991 such that it is most pronounced among the Jamaicans.

---

<sup>13</sup> Crosstabulations by immigration period confirm that all individuals included in the aforementioned percentage were born in Canada. Data for 1981 is unavailable.

Table 43. Non-Census Family Persons Living with Relatives by Ethnicity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991

Origin	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1985	1986-1991
British	12.44%	03.61%	03.44%	02.12%	03.64%	03.89%
Greek	00.00%	03.70%	03.60%	03.85%	06.67%	14.00%
Jewish	04.50%	02.87%	03.09%	00.88%	05.53%	05.23%
Multiethnic	07.50%	02.72%	02.92%	02.71%	05.62%	08.42%
Aboriginal	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	00.00%	00.00%	07.03%	06.64%	07.23%	06.62%
Jamaican	25.00%	10.00%	05.30%	05.39%	08.85%	10.71%

Notes: n.a. = not applicable. Percentages calculated for each ethnic group equals the number of non-census family persons per immigration period divided by the total number of arrivals per same immigration period. Only one Aboriginal immigrant (1966-1975 arrival from the United States) lived with relatives. The 1986-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.

**Table 44. Non-Census Family Persons Living with Relatives by Ethnicity by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981**

<u>Origin/ Tenure</u>	<u>Pre-1946</u>	<u>1946-1955</u>	<u>1956-1965</u>	<u>1966-1975</u>	<u>1976-1981</u>
British	09.07%	02.54%	02.44%	01.83%	06.17%
Greek	09.10%	05.63%	04.69%	06.27%	02.22%
Jewish	07.91%	00.53%	01.43%	01.84%	03.48%
Multiethnic	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	33.33%
Aboriginal	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Chinese	15.38%	05.40%	09.47%	05.45%	11.87%
Jamaican	100.00%	00.00%	04.44%	05.36%	10.49%

Notes: n.a. = not available. Percentages calculated for each ethnic group equals the number of non-census family persons per immigration period divided by the total number of arrivals per same immigration period. The 1976-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

The number of non-census family persons among the aggregate CMA immigrant population is highest for recent arrivals. This was also true of all ethnic groups except the British who have more pre-1946 immigrants residing with relatives in 1991 (refer to Table 43). Higher shares of recently admitted Greeks (14%), Jamaicans (10.71%) and Multiethnics (8.42%) reside with relatives. Excluding pre-1946 arrivals, 1976-1981 arrivals among all ethnic units, except the Greeks, registered a greater portion individuals lodging with kinfolk during 1981 (refer to Table 44). Although most ethnic communities, excluding the British, recorded an increased number of non-census family persons per immigration period for the 1991 census, the actual proportion of immigrants classified as such has decreased among all groups since 1981. Distribution values associated with this living arrangement for both censuses are fairly stable yet gradually decline with length of residency in Canada, except among very early admissions, such that they rarely account for more than 10% of all newcomers regardless of ethnicity. This accommodation sharing configuration is more common amidst Chinese, Jamaican and, to a lesser extent, Greek immigrants.<sup>14</sup> Overall, shares noted in Tables 43 and 44 fall within the range of those established for each ethnic group's native- and foreign-born components.

### **Educational Attainment**

While other socio-economic variables, such as linguistic assimilation (i.e. home language), have been found to explain an increasingly limited amount of observed divergence in ethnic residential segregation, educational attainment in conjunction with income level have been identified as variables which continue to influence a person's access to housing choices as well as the probability and distance of residential mobility (Trovato

---

<sup>14</sup> Annual figures indicate a higher number Chinese and Jamaicans arrivals since 1989. While it is not possible to determine where recent arrivals are moving, most sponsored Greeks settled in outlying residential districts where their relatives lived (Chimbos 1980; Burnley and Kalbach 1984).

and Halli 1990). It also impacts very much upon employment opportunities. Scholastic achievement for respondents aged fifteen and over was measured according to highest level of learning.<sup>15</sup> Bivariate crosstabulations indicate that the majority of all ethnic communities attended and/or completed secondary school education in 1971 and 1981 (refer to Table 45). Notwithstanding the greater number of university educated members among the Jewish, Multiethnic and Chinese collectivities in 1991, the remaining ethnic groups continued to be distinguished by a greater number of individuals with secondary school training. The proportion of people with an elementary education remained fairly stable. Secondary school figures increased somewhat over time as did those associated with the post-secondary categories. The reference group is chiefly composed of those who attended and/or completed secondary school. Their relative share is fairly stable at approximately 50% with an appreciable decline noted in 1981. Jamaicans are similar to the British in terms of schooling level and partly with respect to proportionality. There has been a progression from a greater share of Greeks with elementary instruction in 1981 to those with a high school education in 1991. An appreciable increase in the proportion of Greeks with post-secondary education also occurred. A larger share of university educated constituents are noted among Jewish and Multiethnic residents while Chinese Canadians registered a shift from high school educated members in 1971 and 1981 to those with post-secondary intellectual acquirement in 1991. Increasing allotments of Aboriginals with secondary schooling are noted (57.64% in 1991 and 50% in 1971).<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Variable contents were aggregated to form the following categories: elementary education (grade 8 and less), secondary schooling (grades 9-13 or any level thereof), college (with or without certificate) and university (with or without degree). Students who attended but did not graduate from high school were counted in the secondary school classification. Individuals with no formal education were enumerated separately in 1971 but included in the "less than grade 5" category thereafter.

<sup>16</sup> Persistent underrepresentation in post-secondary scholastic attainment or "educational stagnation" is reasonably attributed to "historical isolation on reserves with poor educational facilities" (Hecht, Sharpe and Wong 1983, 132).

Table 45. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Highest Level of Educational Attainment,  
Toronto CMA, 1971-1991

Origin	Elementary	Secondary	College	University
<b><u>British</u></b>				
1971	38.94%	51.05%	10.16%	10.00%
1981	08.28%	39.42%	17.03%	16.81%
1991	07.39%	47.00%	22.12%	23.49%
<b><u>Greek</u></b>				
1971	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1981	29.88%	27.37%	09.06%	05.25%
1991	29.47%	39.39%	15.06%	15.79%
<b><u>Jewish</u></b>				
1971	38.68%	42.44%	07.99%	18.40%
1981	10.21%	28.04%	11.45%	31.77%
1991	06.56%	31.17%	14.17%	49.19%
<b><u>Multiethnic</u></b>				
1971	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1981	07.69%	19.58%	13.99%	23.08%
1991	06.47%	32.16%	24.62%	36.74%
<b><u>Aboriginal</u></b>				
1971	48.65%	50.00%	10.81%	01.35%
1981	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1991	07.64%	57.64%	20.83%	13.89%
<b><u>Chinese</u></b>				
1971	46.46%	34.94%	07.06%	18.59%
1981	13.52%	24.65%	13.99%	24.12%
1991	14.72%	32.99%	16.73%	35.55%
<b><u>Jamaican</u></b>				
1971	36.55%	26.90%	50.34%	18.62%
1981	09.95%	38.06%	23.13%	11.00%
1991	06.80%	46.89%	31.44%	14.85%

Notes: n.a. = not available. Persons with no formal education are included in the "elementary" category.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983; 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample). Ottawa, 1973.

Multivariate crosstabulations indicate that early arrivals have either elementary or secondary instruction while academic accomplishment for most recent entrants (1986-1991) is at either the secondary (British, Greek, Multiethnic and Jamaican) or university level (Jewish and Chinese). A relative degree of stability was maintained between 1971 and 1981 (refer to tables 46 to 48). The increased distribution variance among new entrants enumerated during each of the three latest decennial censuses suggests that greater educational attainment among 1986-1991 intakes reflects better employment opportunities and income levels which afford these newcomers a greater choice of housing options and locations. Moreover, these changes echo immigration policy shifts. Some ethnic groups are distinguished by a significant number of constituents who have continued and advanced their education since arrival thus registering greater shares in post-secondary categories during successive censuses.<sup>17</sup> Regardless of immigration period and statistical data file, the majority of British respondents have secondary schooling. Greeks with elementary education prevail in all immigration intervals. Chimbos (1980) explains that a large contingent of minimally educated and unskilled persons applied for landed immigrant status after entering as tourists during the early 1960s. Others were sponsored by well established relatives when educational qualification was not an important component of pre-1967 immigration policy. A slightly greater number of those with secondary instruction are noted among 1986-1991 arrivals which is a reflection of the current immigration strategy. University trained Jews are more prevalent among post-1965 newcomers and constitute a higher share of immigrants than most other ethnic groups while those with elementary and secondary schooling are typical of earlier settlers. A higher segment of elementary educated persons among 1976-1981 arrivals (see Table 47) and of university graduates amid 1976-1985 immigrant landings (consult Table 48) suggests that either more people possessing

---

<sup>17</sup> Higher levels of educational attainment noted among some ethnic communities is explained to some extent by post-1967 immigration policy which accentuates the schooling and occupational qualifications of selected applicants. The strong representation of those with elementary and secondary education is elucidated by the fact that many of these people "completed their formal schooling at a time when educational opportunities and expectations were quite different from today" (Badets and Chui 1994, 41).

Table 46. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1991

Origin/ Education	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1985	1986-1991
<b>British</b>						
Elementary	31.80%	09.03%	04.77%	02.31%	02.87%	06.73%
Secondary	46.31%	51.54%	47.81%	44.63%	44.40%	38.14%
College	14.98%	19.98%	25.27%	29.84%	31.32%	35.26%
University	06.91%	19.45%	22.14%	23.22%	21.41%	19.87%
<b>Greek</b>						
Elementary	62.50%	58.02%	45.15%	40.57%	39.80%	26.83%
Secondary	25.00%	30.86%	33.24%	35.90%	37.86%	36.59%
College	00.00%	03.70%	11.36%	14.40%	10.68%	19.51%
University	12.50%	07.41%	10.25%	09.13%	11.65%	17.07%
<b>Jewish</b>						
Elementary	31.31%	39.28%	07.84%	05.73%	05.02%	04.90%
Secondary	46.46%	28.57%	37.25%	26.87%	29.22%	32.35%
College	11.11%	09.69%	15.69%	15.42%	14.61%	21.08%
University	11.11%	22.45%	39.22%	51.98%	51.14%	41.67%
<b>Multiethnic</b>						
Elementary	33.33%	18.37%	11.11%	06.87%	08.26%	07.23%
Secondary	45.45%	26.53%	29.82%	24.77%	31.30%	42.89%
College	06.06%	24.49%	25.73%	30.38%	28.26%	22.41%
University	15.16%	30.61%	33.33%	37.97%	32.17%	27.47%
<b>Chinese</b>						
Elementary	71.44%	37.50%	31.25%	10.64%	20.60%	14.03%
Secondary	14.28%	39.29%	25.78%	24.41%	37.60%	34.06%
College	14.28%	08.93%	08.59%	17.97%	15.37%	15.97%
University	00.00%	14.28%	34.38%	46.97%	26.43%	35.94%
<b>Jamaican</b>						
Elementary	40.00%	33.33%	04.55%	05.71%	07.60%	09.93%
Secondary	60.00%	53.33%	30.30%	39.97%	45.80%	50.87%
College	00.00%	06.67%	40.15%	35.55%	32.30%	28.59%
University	00.00%	06.67%	25.00%	18.77%	14.30%	10.60%

Notes: Persons with no formal education are included in the "elementary" category. Only one college-educated Aboriginal immigrant arrived between 1968 and 1970. The 1986-1991 interval includes only the first five months of 1991.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.



Table 47. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1981

Origin/ Education	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1975	1976-1981
<b>British</b>					
Elementary	36.20%	08.62%	04.47%	14.87%	32.71%
Secondary	42.08%	49.56%	49.39%	42.96%	32.44%
College	11.78%	23.70%	26.81%	27.09%	21.31%
University	09.94%	18.12%	19.33%	15.07%	13.54%
<b>Greek</b>					
Elementary	72.73%	54.93%	52.13%	49.48%	53.33%
Secondary	09.09%	29.58%	26.95%	30.99%	31.11%
College	09.09%	11.27%	12.41%	13.02%	13.33%
University	09.09%	04.22%	08.51%	06.51%	02.22%
<b>Jewish</b>					
Elementary	44.07%	28.72%	17.14%	14.11%	31.30%
Secondary	35.03%	31.91%	30.00%	28.22%	24.35%
College	11.86%	17.02%	14.29%	16.56%	17.39%
University	09.04%	22.34%	38.57%	41.10%	26.96%
<b>Multiethnic</b>					
Elementary	50.00%	50.00%	10.00%	20.00%	16.67%
Secondary	25.00%	00.00%	00.00%	33.33%	16.67%
College	00.00%	37.50%	40.00%	26.67%	50.00%
University	25.00%	12.50%	50.00%	20.00%	16.67%
<b>Chinese</b>					
Elementary	84.61%	29.73%	21.05%	21.43%	38.13%
Secondary	07.69%	35.13%	30.53%	13.94%	31.52%
College	00.00%	24.32%	17.89%	22.62%	12.65%
University	07.69%	10.82%	30.53%	42.01%	17.70%
<b>Jamaican</b>					
Elementary	00.00%	12.50%	08.89%	19.37%	31.83%
Secondary	00.00%	25.00%	27.78%	36.25%	41.95%
College	00.00%	50.00%	42.22%	30.12%	17.23%
University	100.00%	12.50%	21.11%	14.25%	08.99%

Notes: Persons with no formal education are included in the "elementary" category. The 1976-1981 interval includes only the first five months of 1981.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 48. Highest Level of Educational Attainment of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971

Origin/ Education	Pre-1946	1946-1955	1956-1965	1966-1971
<b>British</b>				
Elementary	38.71%	10.26%	14.52%	24.65%
Secondary	42.81%	57.17%	57.66%	47.41%
College	12.16%	18.10%	15.75%	15.52%
University	06.32%	14.46%	12.07%	12.42%
<b>Jewish</b>				
Elementary	52.83%	35.52%	25.21%	41.01%
Secondary	32.70%	27.03%	39.08%	26.40%
College	06.60%	10.81%	13.02%	14.04%
University	07.86%	26.64%	22.69%	18.54%
<b>Aboriginal</b>				
Elementary	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	22.22%
Secondary	66.67%	100.00%	100.00%	55.55%
College	33.33%	00.00%	00.00%	11.11%
University	00.00%	00.00%	00.00%	11.11%
<b>Chinese</b>				
Elementary	93.75%	51.11%	33.33%	26.97%
Secondary	06.25%	22.22%	34.92%	39.47%
College	00.00%	11.11%	06.35%	09.21%
University	00.00%	15.55%	25.40%	24.34%
<b>Jamaican</b>				
Elementary	33.33%	50.00%	17.95%	30.26%
Secondary	33.33%	50.00%	46.15%	42.76%
College	16.67%	00.00%	28.20%	13.82%
University	16.67%	00.00%	07.69%	13.16%

Notes: Persons with no formal education are included in the "elementary" category. College data based on "training" figures. Greek data unavailable. The 1966-1971 interval includes only the first five months of 1971.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1973.

degrees settled since 1981 or a notable part of pre-1981 migrants continued their education in Canada. Multiethnic immigrants are primarily composed of university educated individuals except for very early and recent arrivals who tend to have a secondary school education. A comparison of 1981 results indicates that similar remarks about post-arrival educational upgrading can also be advanced for this community's post-1986 immigrants. There also exists the possibility of capturing different segments of the Multiethnic group in 1991 and 1981. Meaningful observations about educational attainment among Aboriginal immigrants cannot be made due to a statistically insignificant number of cases for 1971 and an absence of 1981 and 1991 data. The Chinese group's varied distribution represents different types and sources of immigrants. Most of the pre-1946 pioneers have an elementary education while secondary schooling is typical of members settling during the 1946-1955 and 1976-1985 intervals. Newcomers with a university degree are more frequently encountered among 1956-1975 and 1986-1991 entrants.<sup>18</sup> Many of these entrants have taken advantage of educational opportunities since their arrival. Jamaicans tend to register a greater share of newcomers with secondary education in all periods. This trend is explained in part by the Canadian West Indian Female Domestic Scheme (1955-1967) which sanctioned women aged 21-35 to gain entry as landed immigrants after having working as chambermaids for a year. Some of these women had high education levels prior to admission while many more obtained trades qualifications following the completion of employment obligations (Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation 1981). Data extracted from the 1971 file indicate that a greater number of newcomers, irrespective of ethnicity, acquired a high school or vocational education indifferent of arrival phase.

---

<sup>18</sup> Annual figures for the latest period indicate an initial concentration of university educated immigrants (1986-1988) followed by a shift to those with only secondary schooling (1989-1991).

## Household Income

It has been reported that income continues to influence residential (re)location and dispersion. Financial resources often determine whether newcomers are able to circumvent the rental stage and purchase suburban properties (Cheri 1981). The dwelling district and available housing choice are expanded by increasing income levels. Lower earning brackets often reinforce and accentuate residential differentiation tendencies (Burnley 1972). Household income is employed in this analysis to determine the sum of all earnings reported by each member aged fifteen and over. In a few instances, this domestic arrangement may consist of a person or group of people occupying the same dwelling who are not necessarily related (e.g. two or more families). Census family figures were used for the 1971 file because household income information is unavailable. Some 1981 and 1991 income categories have been aggregated to permit comparisons.

Household income ranges increased with time as did each ethnic community's ranking and representative apportionments of them. The British reported a greater share of constituents in the \$10,000-\$14,000 bracket during 1971, the \$30,000-\$39,999 interval in 1981, and the \$50,000-\$74,999 order for 1991. Similar distributions were maintained for first rank by nearly all of the study groups for all three decennial censuses (refer to Tables 49 to 51). Notable deviations include an equal apportionment of both Aboriginals and Jamaicans in the \$2,000-\$4,999 and \$5,000-\$7,999 income brackets respectively. Jewish households improved their financial situation such that a greater ratio of them were declaring an annual income between \$100,000 and \$149,000 by 1991 than all other ethnic groups. This level may be attributable to a strong Jewish representation in "higher prestige occupations" (Driedger 1986, 283). On the other hand, about 17% of Native Canadian household units registered earnings restricted to the \$30,000-\$39,000 limit. This group's relatively higher share of households without income reflects the degree of unemployment among its constituents (2.34% in 1991 and 1.35% in 1971).

Table 49. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Household Income, Toronto CMA, 1991

Income	Br	Gr	Je	Mu	Ab	Ch	Ja
Income Loss	00.03%	00.00%	00.38%	00.14%	00.00%	00.24%	00.09%
No Income	00.21%	00.05%	00.75%	00.53%	02.34%	01.74%	00.58%
\$1-\$1,999	00.59%	00.83%	00.66%	00.55%	00.00%	01.07%	01.16%
\$2,000-\$4,999	00.94%	00.78%	00.95%	01.21%	01.17%	01.64%	02.93%
\$5,000-\$7,999	00.80%	00.78%	00.69%	01.11%	02.92%	01.37%	02.00%
\$8,000-\$9,999	00.69%	00.41%	00.38%	01.01%	02.92%	00.69%	01.33%
\$10,000-\$14,999	04.26%	02.81%	03.50%	02.96%	02.92%	03.44%	06.17%
\$15,000-\$19,999	03.67%	03.69%	03.27%	03.39%	08.77%	03.92%	06.15%
\$20,000-\$24,999	04.29%	05.92%	03.41%	03.55%	07.02%	03.10%	06.04%
\$25,000-\$29,999	03.95%	04.26%	03.35%	03.15%	08.77%	04.29%	06.97%
\$30,000-\$39,999	09.75%	12.11%	08.16%	09.20%	17.54%	09.94%	12.01%
\$40,000-\$49,999	10.16%	13.35%	07.58%	11.97%	12.31%	11.60%	12.31%
\$50,000-\$74,999	26.14%	27.58%	20.75%	26.87%	15.72%	25.63%	23.46%
\$75,000-\$99,999	16.90%	15.28%	14.81%	16.53%	11.15%	15.50%	11.68%
\$100,000-\$149,999	14.94%	11.28%	23.54%	14.98%	06.45%	13.83%	06.63%
\$150,000+	02.78%	00.87%	07.82%	03.05%	00.00%	02.00%	0.49%

Notes: Br = British, Gr = Greek, Je = Jewish, Mu = Multiethnic, Ab = Aboriginal, Ch = Chinese, Ja = Jamaican. Data based upon current (1990), rather than constant or adjusted, dollar values.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993.

Table 50. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Household Income, Toronto CMA, 1981

Income	Br	Gr	Je	Mu	Ab	Ch	Ja
Income Loss	00.10%	00.31%	00.37%	00.00%	n.a.	00.29%	00.07%
No Income	00.21%	00.16%	00.60%	00.70%	n.a.	02.33%	00.27%
\$1-\$1,999	01.47%	01.72%	01.06%	00.70%	n.a.	02.33%	02.71%
\$2,000-\$4,999	01.98%	01.49%	01.84%	02.10%	n.a.	02.33%	03.93%
\$5,000-\$7,999	04.13%	02.59%	03.31%	04.19%	n.a.	03.50%	04.41%
\$8,000-\$9,999	02.76%	02.74%	02.71%	02.80%	n.a.	02.04%	05.36%
\$10,000-\$14,999	07.96%	12.78%	06.71%	08.39%	n.a.	07.75%	11.26%
\$15,000-\$19,999	08.96%	13.49%	07.59%	03.39%	n.a.	09.26%	11.46%
\$20,000-\$24,999	11.10%	14.82%	08.32%	15.38%	n.a.	10.02%	14.45%
\$25,000-\$29,999	11.76%	14.82%	08.69%	09.79%	n.a.	13.46%	11.46%
\$30,000-\$39,999	20.48%	18.12%	16.60%	23.78%	n.a.	21.97%	21.09%
\$40,000-\$49,999	12.41%	08.39%	12.14%	09.97%	n.a.	11.25%	08.28%
\$50,000-\$74,999	11.88%	07.06%	15.68%	09.09%	n.a.	10.61%	03.73%
\$75,000-\$99,999	02.32%	00.70%	06.11%	02.80%	n.a.	01.57%	00.54%
\$100,000-\$149,999	01.20%	00.47%	05.10%	01.40%	n.a.	00.58%	06.47%
\$150,000+	00.52%	00.08%	02.71%	00.00%	n.a.	00.12%	00.07%
Not Applicable	00.78%	00.23%	00.46%	00.70%	n.a.	00.58%	00.41%

Notes: n.a. = not available, Br = British, Gr = Greek, Je = Jewish, Mu = Multiethnic, Ab = Aboriginal, Ch = Chinese, Ja = Jamaican. Data based on current (1980), rather than constant or adjusted, dollar values.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983.

Table 51. Ethnic Origin Distribution by Census Family Income, Toronto CMA, 1971

Income	Br	Gr	Je	Mu	Ab	Ch	Ja
Income Loss	00.08%	n.a.	00.45%	n.a.	00.00%	00.37%	00.00%
No Income	00.20%	n.a.	00.36%	n.a.	01.35%	01.11%	00.69%
\$1-\$1,999	01.90%	n.a.	02.06%	n.a.	05.40%	05.95%	04.14%
\$2,000-\$4,999	06.34%	n.a.	05.47%	n.a.	16.22%	15.61%	11.03%
\$5,000-\$7,999	11.38%	n.a.	11.13%	n.a.	08.11%	18.21%	18.62%
\$8,000-\$9,999	12.28%	n.a.	09.87%	n.a.	09.46%	13.75%	08.27%
\$10,000-\$14,999	28.84%	n.a.	20.20%	n.a.	16.22%	15.24%	18.62%
\$15,000-\$19,999	13.69%	n.a.	13.37%	n.a.	00.00%	05.20%	06.21%
\$20,000-\$24,999	04.86%	n.a.	06.91%	n.a.	01.35%	01.11%	00.69%
\$25,000-\$34,999	03.12%	n.a.	08.62%	n.a.	01.35%	02.23%	00.00%
\$35,000-\$49,999	01.37%	n.a.	04.49%	n.a.	00.00%	00.74%	00.00%
\$50,000+	00.75%	n.a.	03.95%	n.a.	00.00%	00.00%	00.69%
Not Applicable	15.19%	n.a.	12.66%	n.a.	37.84%	20.00%	31.03%

Notes: n.a. = not available. Br = British. Gr = Greek. Je = Jewish. Mu = Multiethnic. Ab = Aboriginal. Ch = Chinese. Ja = Jamaican. Data based upon current (1970), rather than constant or adjusted, dollar values.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1973.

Rather than specifying the precise and unrounded dollar values, public use data files aggregate income units into size distributions. This practice lends itself to examining the share and rank of households per income bracket. The physical dimensions of a multivariate crosstabulation involving ethnic origin, admission phase, and income category prevent its inclusion while a summary table identifying income levels which register the highest percentage of newcomers per arrival interval would be unnecessarily complex and difficult to interpret. With respect to quartile or decile distribution analysis, it is difficult to establish whether respondents within a given earning category are evenly distributed or skewed towards its upper or lower end, especially in higher order ones which have a wider range. Average household incomes for ethnic groups by immigration period were derived by dividing the total income per period by the total number of households associated with the same period.<sup>19</sup>

Multivariate crosstabulations indicate that household income level varies directly with length of residency in Canada. Recent arrivals in all ethnic groups and census years registered relatively lower average household incomes than their more established counterparts. British (\$61,343), Jewish (\$53,463), and Chinese (\$51,604) households that settled between 1986 and 1991 have income levels that are moderately higher than those reported by the Greek (\$49,329), Multiethnic (\$46,880), and Jamaican (\$43,137) communities (refer to Table 52).<sup>20</sup> Information derived from the 1981 and 1971 data bases also reveal overall income reductions which were continually accounted for by households

---

<sup>19</sup> The following steps were taken to compute mean incomes: (1) median dollar values were calculated for each income category, (2) corresponding median values were multiplied by the number of households for each ethnic group by immigration period, (3) the products of step 2 were summed and divided by the total number of households for each ethnic group by immigration period. Households with no income and income loss are excluded. Statistics Canada (1994) notes that while the prevalence of such cases is statistically insignificant, nearly all households reporting zero incomes are recent immigrant intakes who were instructed not to specify income(s) from foreign sources.

<sup>20</sup> Pronounced income level reductions registered by 1986-1991 and 1976-1981 Multiethnic intakes are noteworthy in that the combined native- and foreign-born Multiethnic income distribution approximates that of the British in Tables 49 to 52.



Table 52. Average Income Level of Ethnic Groups by Immigration Period, Toronto CMA, 1971-1991

Origin/Period	1991	1981	1971
<b>British</b>			
Pre-1946	\$41,677	\$24,437	\$11,236
1946-1955	\$62,148	\$35,634	\$14,617
1956-1965	\$69,580	\$35,590	\$13,128
1966-1975	\$72,911	\$32,080	\$11,152
1976-1985	\$69,743	\$28,045	
1986-1991	\$61,342		
<b>Greek</b>			
Pre-1946	\$32,100	\$21,364	n.a.
1946-1955	\$58,719	\$32,303	n.a.
1956-1965	\$62,218	\$29,429	n.a.
1966-1975	\$57,546	\$28,190	n.a.
1976-1985	\$53,150	\$26,898	
1986-1991	\$49,329		
<b>Jewish</b>			
Pre-1946	\$46,531	\$34,234	\$14,544
1946-1955	\$71,204	\$47,612	\$15,965
1956-1965	\$79,445	\$34,670	\$13,428
1966-1975	\$80,855	\$35,126	\$12,726
1976-1985	\$63,479	\$26,707	
1986-1991	\$53,463		
<b>Multiethnic</b>			
Pre-1946	\$50,962	\$12,750	n.a.
1946-1955	\$63,507	\$48,500	n.a.
1956-1965	\$69,465	\$30,800	n.a.
1966-1975	\$69,496	\$28,633	n.a.
1976-1985	\$61,022	\$15,600	
1986-1991	\$46,880		
<b>Chinese</b>			
Pre-1946	\$53,214	\$27,000	\$04,250
1946-1955	\$72,303	\$27,500	\$08,981
1956-1965	\$76,299	\$38,670	\$09,525
1966-1975	\$75,960	\$35,019	\$07,594
1976-1985	\$64,225	\$24,346	
1986-1991	\$51,604		
<b>Jamaican</b>			
Pre-1946	\$26,250	\$87,500	\$07,625
1946-1955	\$45,167	\$34,428	\$06,250
1956-1965	\$65,004	\$30,405	\$10,776
1966-1975	\$56,029	\$26,437	\$09,324
1976-1985	\$49,688	\$22,045	
1986-1991	\$43,137		

Notes: n.a. = not available. All dollar values are rounded. Aboriginals data is excluded due to an insufficient number of cases. There was only one pre-1946 Jamaican immigrant household which registered an income in the \$75,000-\$99,999 range. The 1986-1991, 1976-1981 and 1966-1971 intervals include only the first five months of 1991, 1981, and 1971.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1991 PUMF: Individuals File (3% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1993; Statistics Canada, 1981 PUST: Individuals File (2% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1983. Statistics Canada, 1971 PUST: Individuals File (1% sample), (Magnetic Tape). Ottawa, 1973.

in all ethnic groups indifferent of immigration period.<sup>21</sup> The extent of income dissimilarity was less pronounced among 1978-1981 immigrants with British, Greek, and Jewish admissions registering comparable values within the \$27,000-\$28,000 range. Chinese and Multiethnic newcomers had slightly lower average incomes (\$24,346 and \$22,045 respectively) while that of their Jamaican counterparts (\$15,600) was significantly reduced. All ethnic groups displayed declining household earning levels with recency of arrival according to 1971 data compilation. Income differences between the latest and previous entrants were minor. British and Jewish figures were higher than those of the Chinese and Jamaicans.

### **Profile Summary**

The preceding analysis and discussion of selected variables identified certain trends related to the CMA's ethnic and immigrant populations over the past ten to twenty years. Interpretations of continued and emerging distributional patterns are made within the context of a dynamic urban form. In terms of residential mobility, non-movers prevailed among all ethnic collectivities with intra-urban relocation being typical of individuals, especially Aborigines and Jamaicans, who changed their place of residence. Similar remarks are in order for recent arrivals enumerated during the last three decennial censuses. Home ownership is pandemic amongst members of all ethnic groups, excluding Aboriginal and Jamaican inhabitants who are inclined to rental arrangements. Figures indicate that new immigrants rent their accommodation and that dwelling proprietorship is positively related to length of residency in Canada. An approximation of the extent to which chain migration is prevalent among ethnic communities and their immigrant constituents was achieved by

---

<sup>21</sup> The apparent inter-censal decline is attributable to the use of 1990, 1980, and 1970 dollar values instead of adjusted figures.

examining the proportion of individuals living with relatives. While this accommodation sharing arrangement accounts for a marginal segment of most ethnic entities, it is somewhat more common among visible minority and, to a lesser extent, Greek residents.

Two socio-economic variables, educational attainment and household income, were examined closely. It was evident that a greater share of constituents in most ethnic categories have a secondary school education. University graduates are more dominant among the Jewish, Multiethnic and Chinese communities as well as their foreign-born components. Patterns exhibited by recent immigrants conform with the aforementioned observations. Higher household income levels were consistently registered by British, Jewish and Multiethnic households, lower ones by Aboriginals and Jamaicans, and average yet progressively improving ones by the Greeks and Chinese. Average household income levels among immigrants varies with length of time in Canada. Recent Jamaican arrivals, are characterized by comparatively lower earning brackets than earlier admissions. Given that it takes ten to fifteen years for immigrant households to achieve median incomes approaching those of their Canadian-born counterparts, capital accumulation for home ownership will likely occur over a greater time interval for Jamaican settlers in particular and visible minorities in general (CMHC 1996, 41).

## CHAPTER 10

### SYNTHESIS: CONTEXTUALIZING CONFIGURATIONS

#### Introduction

Instead of explaining measured spatial and variable distribution differentials in terms of temporal deviations from established explicative models, researchers should reconsider them as indicators of emerging and increasingly complex configurations. Empirical findings discussed in the previous sections allude to an alternative contextual environment in which population placement should be examined - that of a dynamic urban form and residential structure. In doing so, this chapter interprets ethnic and immigrant residential arrangements within the context of urban form development and advances a revised conceptual model based on this association.

#### Urban Form and Ethnic Localization: Establishing Linkages

A product of overseas immigration flows and subsequent intra-urban population redistribution, ethnically differentiated spatial structure among recent admissions represents a significant digression from traditional (ecological) assumptions of initial settlement patterns. Increasingly similar, decentralized, and dispersed domiciliary patterns have also taken shape among the reference and study groups in terms of evenness, centralization, and concentration. Significant locational shifts have taken place since 1961 with respect to where newly admitted settlers initially establish themselves (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979b). Ethnic suburbanization, however, is not exclusively a result of outward movement from centralized enclaves by (partially) integrated and assimilated individuals. The formation and endurance of “locationally discrete clusters” spread

throughout the metropolitan region demand that one progress past aspatial explanations (Bunting and Filion 1996, 9). Previous research either described or explained residential differentiation and mobility without according attention to urban form and its development. This assertion applies to most investigations of demographic and socio-economic variables, institutional completeness and internal cleavages, along with immigration policy and structure. Implicitly assuming a fixed municipal configuration, earlier urban social geography models are valid insofar as they interpret past distributional dispositions among ethnic constituents. As set forth by Lee (1970, 60), residence beyond the city center requires “qualification of the view that international migrants, upon arrival, tend to concentrate almost exclusively in inner suburban areas.” Contemporary and emerging residential allocation are better understood in the context of interconnected metropolitan social and physical realms. In other words, immigrant inflows and urban structure’s dynamic properties are concurrently related. It has been frequently acknowledged by numerous scholars that Toronto’s expeditious enlargement has drawn heavily upon the post-war influx of foreigners. Immigrants also contributed to the city’s pre-war growth.

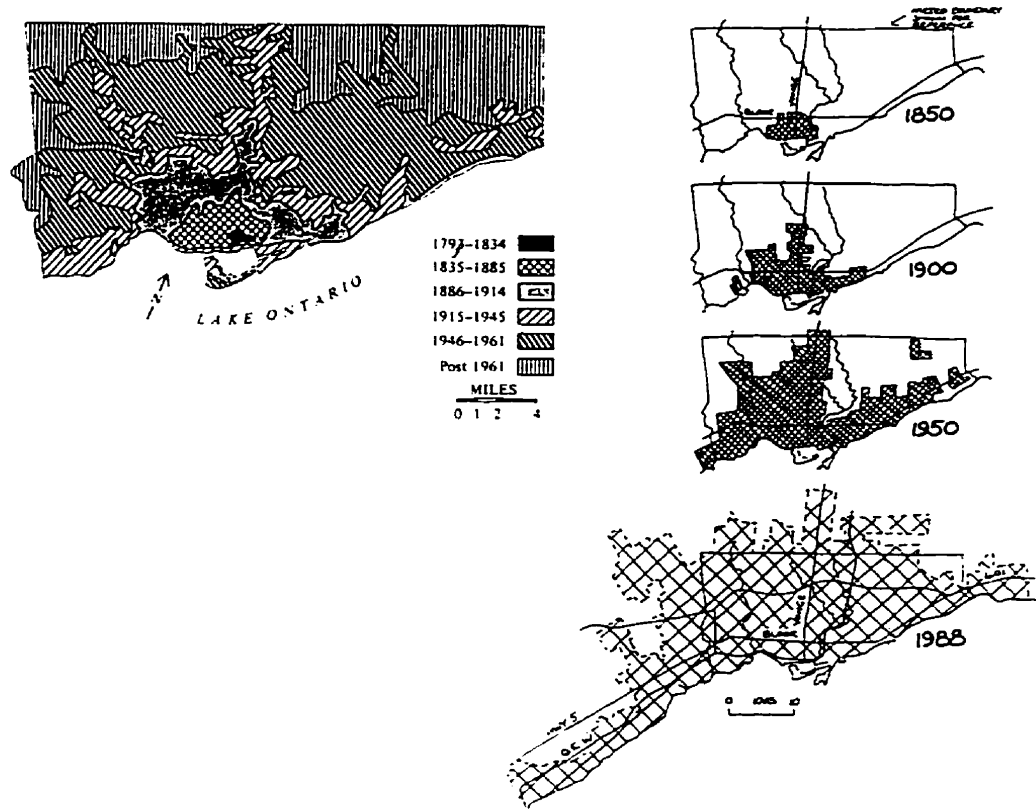
Complimenting and transcending earlier conceptual frameworks, each chapter section associates urban development phases with waves of immigrant entry and ethnic concentration patterns. In order to accomplish this, five primary growth stages associated with planning and housing policy directives implemented by the CMA’s jurisdictional domains were delimited: rapid suburbanization (1945-1965), urban renewal and high-rise construction (1965-1973), high-density nodes and corridors (1973-1983), post-industrial restructuring (1983-1989), and reurbanization (Post-1989). Referring only to urbanization, rather than a link between it and immigration, this periodization complies with the more aggregated national growth trends outlined in Table 53: early post-war (1945-1964), late post-war (1965-1978) and recent (post-1978). Schematic representations of built-up area growth within Metropolitan Toronto are presented in Map 153 to identify the size, shape, and direction of expansion during selected time periods and points.

Table 53. Post-war National Urban Growth Intervals

Period/ Trend	Early Post-war (1954-1964)	Later Post-war (1965-1978)	Recent (Post-1978)
Urban System	Boom and concentration.	Decline and decentralization.	Revitalization and reconcentration.
Economic	Economic acceleration.	Declining growth; intense restructuring; sectoral reorientation; employment suburbanization.	Service sector dominates growth; selective revival of manufacturing.
Demographic	Rapid population growth.	Lower fertility rates and immigrant admissions.	Stable natural increase; aging population.
Urban Form	Rapid suburbanization.	Rapid decentralization.	Continued rapid decentralization.
Development Patterns	Inner-city decline; marginal fringe growth.	Outer suburban and exurban extension.	Outer suburban and fringe proliferation; stable or slow central area growth.

Note: The apparent contradiction between recent urban system and urban form trends is dismissed on the grounds that reconcentration in high-density suburban nodes occurs among already decentralized activities. Decentralization within metropolitan areas, on the other hand, continues to produce a dispersed urban form characterized by a multinucleated pattern (Bourne 1991 and 1993).

Source: Modified after Larry S. Bourne, "Urban Growth and the Quality of Urban Life: A Commentary with Canadian Examples," in Urban Change in a Post-Industrial World, eds. Peter G. Hall and Larry S. Bourne, (Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Centre for Future Studies in Housing and Living Environments, 1991), 26.



Map 153. Growth of Metropolitan Toronto, 1793-1988

Sources: Maurice Yeates, The North American City, 4th ed., (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990), 187; Edward Relph, The Toronto Guide: The City, Metro, The Region, Major Report No. 35, (Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1997), 25.

Ethnic residential distribution is a function of several processes among which the magnitude of immigrant inflows, points of initial settlement and destination of subsequent relocation are paramount. Of these, the number and composition (i.e. source country and socio-economic profile) of various immigrant streams are determined by government policy. Every shift in immigration policy and selection criteria alters the mixture of newcomers most of whom end up living in large urban areas. Continued overseas migrant congregation in major cities contributes to the (sub)urbanization process with ethnicity retaining its importance as a dimension of population heterogeneity and geographic placement (McGahan 1986). It has been hypothesized that a “synchronization” of foreign immigration and expansionary periods of metropolitan growth exists within Canada (Olson and Kobayashi 1993). The revival of immigration during the immediate post-war era and urban-orientation of newcomers significantly contributed to city population augmentation (Caru, Weeks, and Sametz 1964; McVey and Kalbach 1995).<sup>1</sup> While each wave added to housing, infrastructure, and social service demands, it still took a few years for immigration policy changes to become evident on the ground. Canadian post-war immigration policy has been categorized into the following periods: expansionist (1946-1956), recessionist (1957-1962), renewed expansionism (1963-1971), liberalist (1972-1986), and selective (1987-Present) (Green 1976; Anderson and Marr 1987; Hawkins 1988 and 1991). Refer to Figure 17 for the number of yearly arrivals to Canada between 1867 and 1995. These intervals generally coincide with the aforementioned urban growth stages but the time delay factor between immigration waves and changes in urban form and structure cannot be denied. Thus, an examination of the evolution and impact of key policy initiatives pursued by successive governments during each stage can facilitate a better overall understanding of residential distribution patterns among ethnic and immigrant communities.

---

<sup>1</sup> While the relative contribution of immigration to this growth can not be precisely measured due to a lack of emigration data, a strong association exists between 1951-1961 inter-censal immigration rates and urban population increase (Stone 1994).



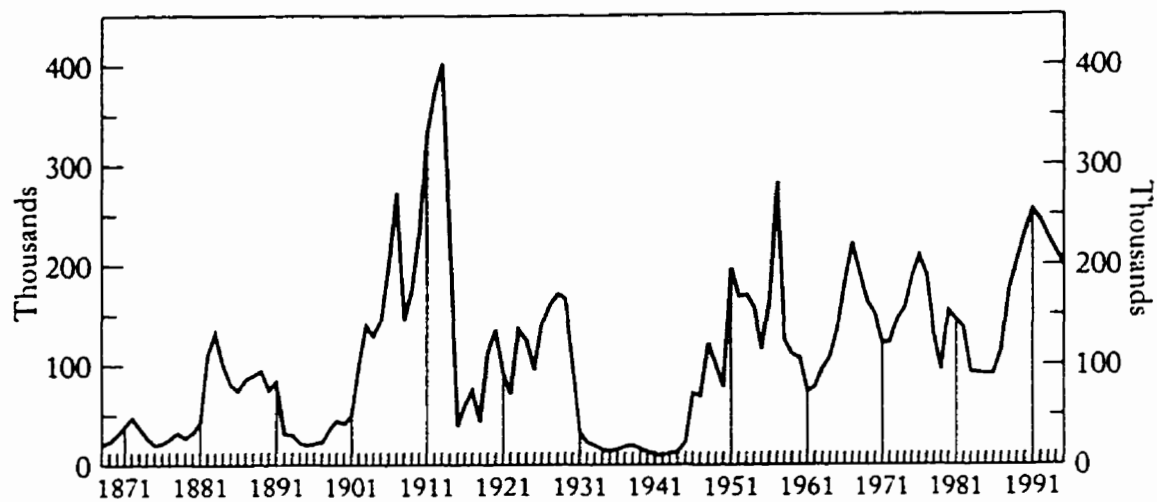


Figure 17. Number of Immigrant Arrivals to Canada, 1867-1995

Source: Leo Driedger, Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 54.

*Rapid Suburbanization (1945-1965)*

The introduction of a metropolitan government in 1953 “formalized...the transformation of Toronto from a city with peripheral settlements into an urban region” (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1979a, 1). Prior to this, Etobicoke, North York and Scarborough were marginally urbanized while areas beyond were primarily rural. The Don Mills townsite, constructed over a ten year period commencing in 1952, established the practice of large-scale, low-density corporate land development throughout the 1950s and subsequent decades during which considerable urban sprawl ensued.<sup>2</sup> Recounting incipient land conversion in North York, Hancock (1968, 205) observed that the pre-1948 phase involved “a modest amount of urbanization on a low-density basis in sporadic development contiguous to the built-up areas of...Toronto and...older community focal points such as Willowdale.” The construction of several sizable yet geographically disassociated districts commenced during the 1948-1950 interval. Subsequent projects proceeded, in accordance with the Don Mills prototype layout, such that North York was incrementally transformed into an urbanized jurisdiction. Elsewhere, expansion assumed a leapfrog pattern as the “most distant portion of a large land assembly” was initially developed with irregular and incremental infill occurring thereafter to produce discontinuous subdivisions (Sewell 1977, 44). The early suburban landscape was physically dispersed, spatially amorphous, socially homogeneous, and oriented towards private vehicles.<sup>3</sup>

This period of rapid suburbanization coincided with an unprecedented influx of displaced persons, refugees, and immigrants. Inner-city neighbourhoods functioned as the

---

<sup>2</sup> Direct descendants of Don Mills, which itself had been engulfed by Toronto’s physical expansion during the late-1960s, include Bramalea in Brampton, Erin Mills and Meadowvale in Mississauga, and Malvern in Scarborough. Thorncrest Village and Humber Valley Village (1948) with their low-density and mixed land-use, now in the midst of suburban Etobicoke, were antecedents for Don Mills.

<sup>3</sup> Weiss (1986, 32-33) asserts that increased automobile use and preference of bigger residential parcels respectively induced “an extensive expansion of transportation networks” and inceptive relocation of housing to outlying areas.

primary point of disembarkment as local housing was filtered down to new arrivals. Succession in discernible areas of Toronto, York and East York was clearly evident and remained so well into the mid-1960s due to an older yet inexpensive housing stock capable of accommodating extended families (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979a; Goldberg and Mercer 1986). It was not until after the Metropolitan Plan of 1958 was approved that publicly assisted housing was constructed in suburban sites. Antecedents to Regent Park, numerous clustered low-rise, low-density, and low-rental residential estates were built throughout North York with the largest being Lawrence Heights (Sewell 1993). A significant proportion of newcomers, however, could not qualify for immediate residency in these units. Some of them were attracted to private-sector high-density apartment complexes and other multiple dwellings which digressed towards suburban neighbourhoods circa 1955 (Jones 1968).

Two phases of immigration policy along with the inception of a third one correlate time-wise with the rapid suburbanization growth stage: the immediate post-war expansionist era (1946-1956), a brief recessionist period (1957-1962), and the beginning of renewed expansionism (1963-1971). Expeditious economic growth, low unemployment, and a labour shortage were experienced between 1946 and 1956 in Canada. Admission regulations were cautiously broadened in 1946, 1947 and 1949 on humanitarian grounds in order to resettle displaced persons (i.e. non-quota immigrants) and to facilitate refugee sponsorship by relatives living in Canada.<sup>4</sup> While there was an attempt to shunt displaced persons to agricultural districts, members of this wave proved to be largely urban-oriented (Green 1976; Hawkins 1988). An immigration policy statement, which furnished official guiding principles until 1962, was introduced in 1947. It envisaged "selective immigration as an instrument of population growth and economic development, at a rate consistent with absorptive capacity" (Hawkins 1988, 117). The selective and absorptive aspects were respectively aimed at preserving Canada's ethno-racial composition and ensuring that intake

---

<sup>4</sup> Immediate post-war entrants significantly expanded Toronto's Jewish population.

volume is adjusted to prevailing employment and labour market requirements.<sup>5</sup> An upsurge of immigration during prosperous business cycles was characteristic of this “tap-on, tap-off approach” (Seward 1988, 4).<sup>6</sup> Moreover, this policy statement led to an emergence of sponsored immigration as an important trend (McGahan 1986).

Procedural clarification, regulation simplification, and the legal framework for immigration management were set forth in the 1953 Immigration Act.<sup>7</sup> Sponsorship rights, occupation restrictions, and ethnic preferences were altered. There was an expansion in the range of sponsorable relatives, abandonment of the contract labour prohibition, and easing of entry regulations with respect to citizenship. Nonetheless, the Act consolidated immediate post-war regulations and continued the preferred nationalities policy (McVey and Kalbach 1995).<sup>8</sup> Amendments passed in 1956 respectively conferred primary and secondary preference to the British and northwestern Europeans provided that the latter comply with economic qualifications (Anderson and Marr 1986). Immigrants from elsewhere could be admitted only if sponsored by close relatives who had the means of supporting them. It was expected that newcomers receive assistance, including the provision of housing, from their sponsors during the initial adaptation stages. This condition was applied in reaction to widespread chain migration involving southeastern Europeans, who were not substantially represented before 1951, during the mid-1950s. It also contributed to the modest increase in the amount of ethnic residential similarity between 1951 and 1961 as observed by Balakrishnan (1978).

---

<sup>5</sup> Absorptive capacity implied that new immigrants would be integrated through easy entry positions along with an abundance of well-paying and stable employment.

<sup>6</sup> For example, there was a sharp decline in admissions during the 1949-1950 recession followed by an increase between 1951 and 1957 (Rao, Richmond and Zubrzycki 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Major policy changes and legislative amendments have generally been “triggered by periods of rapidly rising immigration” and followed by notable intake declines (Kalbach and McVey 1979, 44).

<sup>8</sup> British, French, American, Australian, New Zealand and South African citizens only had to prove a means of support until they found work to qualify for admission (Overbeek 1980).

The first post-war economic boom was nearing an end by late-1957. In response to this recessionary period which lasted until 1961, there was a policy shift from “employment competing” to “employment creating” migration with more emphasis on increasing the proportion of professional and highly skilled newcomers.<sup>9</sup> Settlement, however, continued to occur in large cities. Twenty-six percent of those admitted to Canada between 1946 and 1961 (i.e. 397,707 of 1,507,216 people) took up residence in Toronto alone (International Institute of Toronto 1964). Population growth during the 1946-1961 interval was fueled by significant immigrant influxes into centralized reception areas of Toronto, York and East York where access to affordable rental housing, employment, and public transit existed. Richmond (1967b) notes that 69,000 new arrivals established themselves in Toronto-proper while another 67,000 did so in suburban neighbourhoods during the 1956-1961 phase. By 1961, 42% of Metropolitan Toronto’s foreign-born residents dwelled in Toronto-proper and 58% within its suburbs (Richmond 1967b).

Key provisions of the 1962 Immigration Act revision include the elimination of ethnic discrimination, a further increase in the range of sponsorable relatives, and emphasis of job skills as the main criterion for unsponsored immigrants.<sup>10</sup> Although preferential treatment was repealed, admission restrictions were retained for most non-Europeans, especially Asians. An immediate yet unanticipated impact of the amended sponsorship program was expeditious population expansion in conjunction with ethnic diversification (Richmond 1967; Whitaker 1991). Nearly 10% of the Toronto CMA’s population growth during the suburbanization period (1961-1966) was attributable to net migration with just

---

<sup>9</sup> Ignoring a 1957 Royal Commission report recommending sustained immigration, even during moderate recessionary periods, federal authorities continued to implement policies associated with pro tem human resource requirements right up to 1984 (Stafford 1994). Intake fluctuations corresponded to unemployment rates (McVey and Kalbach 1995).

<sup>10</sup> Labour quality was stressed in light of a concurrent shortage of highly skilled workers and a high unemployment rate among semi- and unskilled residents (Hawkins 1988). A notable increase in the number of West Indian immigrants since 1962 has been attributed to the implementation of admission regulations contingent upon education, professional training, and occupational qualification. Otherwise, the settlement patterns of upwardly mobile Caribbean individuals arriving from the United Kingdom throughout the mid-1960s promoted an already dispersed placement of small West Indian enclaves.

over than half of this share being composed of newly arrived immigrants (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1970b). Residential dissimilarity values failed to decline between 1961 and 1971 due to increased ethnic heterogeneity via immigration as well as the magnitude and direction of British suburban relocation during the 1960s (Richmond 1972; Balakrishnan 1978 and 1982; Richmond and Kalbach 1984). Since educational attainment and occupational qualifications were not important selection criteria for nominated relatives, their job prospects were not that great which, in turn, meant that the range of suitable housing was often limited to the same neighbourhoods or even homes of those who sponsored them.<sup>11</sup> This accommodation arrangement contributed to the increasing visibility of ethnic enclaves while minimizing the susceptibility of new arrivals to a competitive market for affordable inner-city housing (Anderson and Marr 1987). Most independent immigrants gravitated to private-sector apartment units which were increasingly available in suburban locales (Richmond 1967b).

#### *Urban Renewal and High-Rise Construction (1965-1973)*

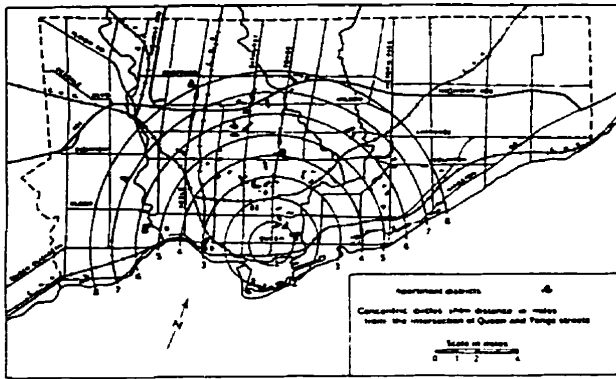
This interval is distinguished by an extension of the built-up area to encompass nearly all of Metropolitan Toronto and the phenomenal population growth therein. It also includes the urban renewal projects and the extensive high-rise apartment construction within the city centre (Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979a; Bryant and Lemire 1993). Known for their high-density, enclosed environments and income homogeneity, Regent Park North, an assemblage of three-floor units constructed between 1949 and 1957, and Regent Park South, composed of several 15-story structures built during the 1957-1959 period, set the stage for an active slum clearance program which involved Moss Park (1965), Don Mount (1966) and Alexandra Park (1966). Location

---

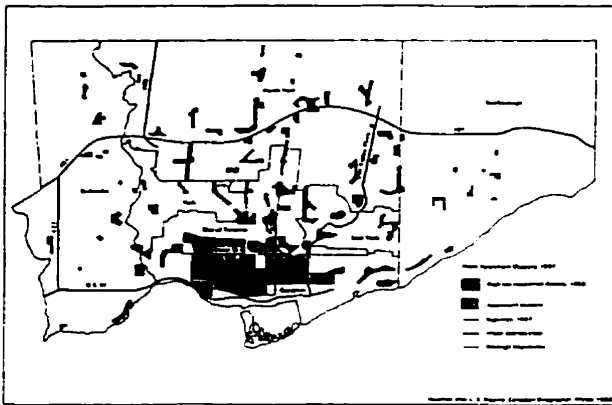
<sup>11</sup> Post-arrival dwelling location, as noted by Burnley and Kalbach (1984), depends upon whether sponsors participated in the suburbanization process.

discretion increased after 1965 when policy amendments stipulated that publicly-owned housing could be provided in any suitable zone including vacant suburban sites, underdeveloped inner-city land, and cleared spots in blighted areas. The construction of 340 apartment buildings containing at least twenty floors took place during the 1965-1973 interval (Nader 1975). Of these, 142 were located in downtown Toronto. Their distribution had a considerable impact on the housing market structure, metropolitan form, and population allocation. Map 154 depicts the spatial assignment of apartments in Metropolitan Toronto during 1960, 1967 and 1973. It shows an increasing proliferation and intensification of apartment clusters along with most major pre-1960 nodes (e.g. Parkdale, Regent Park, the Annex, Davisville, High Park and Forest Hill). A decentralized apartment belt past the five mile radius along with recognizable concentrations dispersed throughout the built-up area were evident in 1960 (Kerr and Spelt 1965). The construction peak, reached in 1967, is exemplified by major projects in St. James Town and Riverdale. By 1973, apartment units were increasingly scattered with strips noticeable along Yonge Street, Bathurst Street, and Finch Avenue. A large portion of suburban public housing became indistinguishable from private-sector undertakings which were often clustered together in close proximity to major arterials or expressways. Immigrants, because of their specific accessibility requirements and reliance on public transit, moved into these suburban buildings. Their choice in public and limited dividend housing was often constrained.

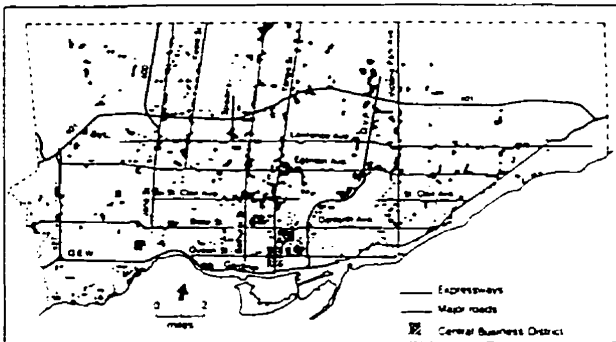
Redevelopment plans were relinquished in 1972 following citizen activism against large-scale spot clearance and the Treffan Court superblock proposal (Sewell 1993). Subsequent municipal housing strategy focused on rehabilitation, conversion, and intensification, rather than demolition, along with selective high-density, low-rise apartment and townhouse construction (Nader 1975). Since 1975, no public high-rise blocks were produced. Even the declining number of immense private-sector apartment towers were built on increasingly centralized sites. New additions to the high-density stock have been in the form of luxury condominiums in prime downtown locations, co-operative and non-profit



Apartment districts .....  
 Concentric circles show distance in miles from the intersection of Queen and Yonge streets



Major Apartment Clusters, 1967  
 High net residential density 1956  
 Apartment clusters  
 Subways, 1967  
 Major expressways  
 Borough boundaries



Expressways  
 Major roads  
 Central Business District

Map 154. Apartment Clusters in Metropolitan Toronto, 1960, 1967 and 1975

Sources: Donald Kerr and Jacob Spelt, The Changing Face of Toronto, Memoir No. 11, (Ottawa: Mines and Technical Services, Geographical Branch, 1965), 116; Jacob Spelt, Toronto, Canadian Cities Series, (Toronto: Collier MacMillan Canada, 1973), 123; George A. Nader, Cities of Canada: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives, Volume 1, (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1975), 74.



units (City of Toronto Planning and Development Department 1986; City of Toronto Housing Department 1992).

The core and inner suburban districts were no longer functioning exclusively as immigrant disembarkment points. Initial settlement points by the lower-income immigrants of the mid-1960s to early-1970s, however, still coincided with the centralized clusters of financially accessible housing units (Kerr and Spelt 1965; Morrison 1978; Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1979a). Primary concentrations were identified by Spelt (1973) as Regent Park, Moss Park and Alexandra Park which were universal reception areas before and after renewal.<sup>12</sup> A survey conducted between 1970 and 1972 of 300 household heads living in Toronto's high-rise buildings shows that immigrants, who had been in Canada less than six years, accounted for 55% of those sampled (Social Planning Council of Toronto 1973).<sup>13</sup> Urban dispersal and decentralization, in conjunction with local real estate market idiosyncrasies, were affecting CMA residential patterns. Social displacement began as segments of the older core housing stock were razed and redeveloped (e.g. St. James Town and Old Chinatown) or purchased by upper-income households (Bunting and Filion 1996). Suburban reconcentration among members of established ethnic communities and their Canadian-born constituents was initiated during this period. Areas of second and subsequent settlement reflected the preservation of ethnic identity beyond traditional inner-city enclaves and greater access to home ownership. Since 1970, independent overseas arrivals started to establish themselves in dispersed medium- and high-density suburban rent-controlled apartment and townhouse units designed to accommodate various types and sizes of households (Relph 1997). Sponsored individuals

---

<sup>12</sup> Alexandra Park was home to Polish newcomers throughout the 1920s, Ukrainians in the 1930s, and various European groups, including Greeks, during the 1960s.

<sup>13</sup> St. James Town was originally aimed at the lifestyle of young, upwardly mobile individuals and functioned as such for about ten years after which it became an immigrant reception area due to its central location and affordability (Relph 1997). A social analysis of conducted by Stanford (1988) indicates that this area has a greater apportionment of foreign-born tenants than all of Toronto. At least half of all household heads were born abroad with most of them residing in buildings owned and managed by the private-sector. Statistics reveal that 10% of inhabitants arrived in 1987, 29% since 1981, and 60% were admitted a decade ago.

could not qualify for assisted housing until arrangements with their guarantors terminated (Miron 1993). Shared residence with relatives or friends in suburban locales was often the only viable dwelling option for them.

New immigration legislation and a renewed expansionist posture coincided with improving economic conditions and employment opportunities for skilled workers during the 1963-1971 interval. The 1966 White Paper on immigration policy proposed a continued emphasis on the admission of unsponsored individuals possessing trades qualifications (i.e. the open placement category) while “achieving reasonable control” over the movement of nominated relatives (i.e. the unselected category) in response to “difficulties experienced by...unskilled [persons] in the Canadian labour market” (Hawkins 1988, 160).<sup>14</sup> Acknowledging that changing economic and technological conditions necessitated a shift from an ethnic-based (preferred states) to a universal admission approach, the 1967 Immigration Act established a points system based on three administrative categories for immigrant selection: independent, sponsored (dependents), and nominated (relatives). Henceforth, skill, educational attainment, and occupational need were required for entry by independent and nominated settlers.<sup>15</sup> The new selection system furnished an enhanced degree of control over international migration influxes and “the means for gearing immigration more closely to labour force needs” (McVey and Kalbach 1995, 85). Intended destinations among independent class applicants, for example, were taken into account in terms of regional employment demands (Stafford 1994). There was a steady decline in the number of annual intakes into Canada between 1967 and 1973 but the Toronto CMA absorbed the largest share (25-30%) which contributed to about 20% of its

---

<sup>14</sup> For example, 81% of all 1965 Greek arrivals were sponsored (Richmond and Goldlust 1982). These individuals were subject to neither an assessment of their educational achievement or occupational qualifications. Many of them, according to 1971 and 1981 crosstabulations, had an elementary education. As such, this stream did not significantly contribute to the CMA's labour force skill level.

<sup>15</sup> In essence, there was a de facto replacement of ethno-racial discrimination with professional/vocational discrimination (Overbeek 1980).

yearly population growth (Hawkins 1988).<sup>16</sup>

Changes in immigrant stream characteristics, as observed by Kalbach (1994, 350), “can produce significant shifts in ethnic composition...in a relatively short period of time.” There was an appreciable increase in the number of immigrants from less developed countries with above average education levels and occupational training once the points system was applied (McVey and Kalbach 1995). For instance, the West Indian community expansion was mainly a product of this immigrant stream whose socio-economic profile did not greatly differ from that of most Canadian-born residents (Hawkins 1988; Balakrishnan 1991).<sup>17</sup> It was during the 1965-1971 interval that new arrivals began to establish themselves in traditionally British inner-borough neighbourhoods because central area redevelopment projects had significantly depleted the housing stock of immigrant reception zones such as Cabbagetown (Hill 1976). The future predisposition among the Greeks to a multinucleated residential pattern can be traced to the use of several urban entry points by its 1967-1968 influx whose arrival was facilitated by nomination agreements (Nagata 1969; Chimbos 1980). Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong admitted during 1968 and shortly thereafter contributed to Chinatown West’s visibility, expansion, and durability (Wong 1980; Johnston 1983; Lai 1988). They also precipitated the formation of Chinatown East as a residential district and port of entry. Reception area saturation, caused by massive immigration waves (e.g. Chinatown West), prompted a shift or displacement of newcomer disembarkment districts.

Statutory amendments were introduced in 1973 to deal with the rising number of illegal immigrants who applied for permanent residence in Canada after their tourist, employment or student visa expired. Widespread abuse of special status adjustment and amnesty programs nearly resulted in their termination. Political pressure applied by ethnic

---

<sup>16</sup> Toronto’s annual immigrant intake was 40,000 between 1967 and 1970 (Hawkins 1988).

<sup>17</sup> Others were admitted after employment visa regulations were revised in 1973 to enable the admission of low-cost temporary labour (Stafford 1994).

communities, especially Chinese and Greek interest groups from Toronto, convinced federal authorities to uphold the family reunification principle and prevent further deportations.<sup>18</sup>

### *High-Density Nodes and Corridors (1973-1983)*

Transportation issues led to two antithetical urban growth options: centralization or decentralization. Four development possibilities were advanced for the latter alternative: bi-nodal (i.e. a second commercial centre in Downsview), regional subcentres, corridor development along several principal thoroughfares, and dispersed development with commercial sprawl. The second variant was promoted in the 1976 Metroplan and adopted as the “Centres Policy” in the 1980 version which called for “multi-functional, compact,...intensely developed [subcentres]” in central North York, Scarborough and Mississauga (Sewell 1993, 219). Intermediate focal points were to be developed along rapid transit lines (i.e. corridors) linking the core with major subcentres while increased residential density was prescribed to the entire metropolis. Thus, multinodality was increasingly “imposed” upon a “developing concentric-dispersed” spatial form containing some pronounced linear elements (Russwurm 1980, 351). Metropolitan growth between 1976 and 1981 was achieved by means of a north and westward expansion of “urbanized suburbs” in a comparatively condensed mode (Simmons and Bourne 1989, 42). Nodal expansion was also noted around fringe communities such as Newmarket and Aurora. Similar observations were made for the 1986-1991 interval by Bourne and Olvet (1995). Nonetheless, sprawl continued apace within Metropolitan Toronto until around 1985 (Relph 1997).

Domiciliary alternatives accessible to newly admitted immigrants were frequently available in suburban apartment concentrations. An unequal distribution, rather than an

---

<sup>18</sup> Among those subject to deportation orders were 804 Greek sailors who jumped ship in Toronto between 1963 and 1964 (Hawkins 1988).

inadequate supply, of housing introduced a new social dimension to suburban districts - increased ethnocultural diversity that was augmented by the migration of earlier entrants and continued absorption of recent arrivals. In some instances, outer suburban areas, such as Brampton and Mississauga, concurrently became more urbanized and diversified in terms of housing stock and ethnic origin (Sarick 1994). Composite ethnic and immigrant placement were not immediately evident because of dispersed and incremental subdivision construction as well as the fact that recent intakes tend to relocate numerous times before stabilizing themselves. Proto-ethnic neighbourhoods were (un)intentionally established during some of these movements. Preliminary municipal research on population redistribution acknowledged the shifting concentration of new immigrants to apartment clusters in North York and Scarborough (Toronto Star 04 June 1979). The final report authored by Chamberlain (1980, 30) states that: "Many of the new immigrants are not locating in the traditional reception areas of [Toronto's] west and east end but rather are moving to suburban locations, notably apartment complexes." This transition was attributed to lower vacancy rates and increasing housing costs in Toronto.

The 1974 Green Paper signaled another turning point in immigration policy. It explicitly specified that the role of international migration would be to address economic and employment needs. Emphasis was placed upon "slow, controlled growth in the face of uncertainties about the impacts of higher population growth rates on economic conditions" (Stafford 1994, 323). The government's ability to structure demographic patterns through extreme policy shifts (i.e. the tap-on, tap-off approach) was minimized. In an effort to elevate intake levels and realize an enhanced balance among the three immigrant streams, the points system was revised. All applicants would be assessed and admitted in accordance with annual intake quotas (per stream) based on prevailing labour market conditions and provincial demographic needs (Hawkins 1988; McVey and Kalbach 1995). The desirability of dispersing immigrants throughout Canada's urban system was recognized as a critical issue in the Green Paper yet no explanation was provided as how to "steer" newcomers to

less densely populated cities with adequate housing and employment opportunities to facilitate their integration (Anderson and Marr 1987; Hawkins 1988; McVey and Kalbach 1995).<sup>19</sup> As such, immigration continued to be focused upon and contribute to the growth of metropolitan areas. The equitable distribution issue would resurface in the mid-1990s due to legitimate concerns about Toronto's economic capacity to cope with the continuing overseas influx (Schachter 1994).

Passed as legislation in 1978, the 1976 Immigration Act's most significant provisions included: a statement of fundamental policy objectives (i.e. family reunification, non-discrimination, a humanitarian concern for refugees, and promotion of national demographic, economic, and cultural goals), a new planning and management system, an establishment of admissible classes, and major changes with respect to exclusion, control, and enforcement.<sup>20</sup> Given broader powers to set target levels, the government increased the proportion of family and refugee class entrants and reduced that of independent immigrants to address economic circumstances (Seward 1988; Kalbach 1994).<sup>21</sup> Urban populations also began to assume an even more pronounced degree of ethno-racial diversity due to a marked growth in the number of visible minority settlers from Asia, Latin America, and Africa.<sup>22</sup>

In terms of spatial distribution, newcomers admitted under the family reunification clause inevitably ended up in areas where their sponsors resided with many initially living with their relatives (Balakrishnan 1991; Balakrishnan and Hou 1995). Coinciding with

---

<sup>19</sup> The continued propensity of immigrants to settle in metropolitan areas, it was argued, contributed to rapid population growth rates and ongoing development pressures on adjacent arable land.

<sup>20</sup> More weight was given to demographic goals while occupational experience, employability, language proficiency and age were given greater attention than educational attainment among independent class applicants (McCracken and Jenness 1994).

<sup>21</sup> For example, rising and high unemployment during the 1979-1982 recession led to an intake containment, especially among migrant workers without prearranged contacts, while refugee admission was expanded (Stafford 1994; McCracken and Jenness 1994).

<sup>22</sup> Prior to this, ethnic diversity within Metropolitan Toronto was "limited to something that one sampled" (Schachter 1994, B3). People had to visit specific neighbourhoods or enclaves to experience the city's multicultural mix.

destinations of their sponsor's secondary intra-urban migration, these areas were often suburban. For instance, many upwardly mobile Chinese households who relocated to Scarborough during the late-1970s and early-1980s began to sponsor their relatives from Hong Kong. This trend is confirmed the higher segment (7%) of the Chinese community involved in this accommodation sharing arrangement during 1981. Similarly, LQ mapping of 1978-1981 Greek immigrants in 1981 shows that they were concentrated in diverse parts of Scarborough and North York where previous arrival phases congregated as well as outer suburban areas which previously contained a marginal Greek representation. Accentuated suburban cluster dispersion among West Indian arrivals since the mid-1970s has also been observed (Stevens 1978; Carey 1985). Independent immigrants also gravitated to large cities, especially those in which members of their ethnic group were already present. Given their higher educational and occupational qualifications, they could choose from a wider selection of neighbourhoods in which to settle thereby having the opportunity to bypass traditional inner-city reception areas. Tracts of excessive overrepresentation among the latest British entrants in 1981, for instance, were widely dispersed throughout outer suburban and fringe locations. LQ maps also exposed two emerging British reception areas in northern Brampton and central Ajax. Government sponsored refugees, namely Southeast Asians and Central Americans, were inclined toward settling in centralized neighbourhoods where they frequently became entrapped for extended periods due to limited occupational skills, financial resources, and linguistic capacity. Although 1978-1981 (aggregate) admissions continued to register relatively high dissimilarity and concentration levels, they were not exclusively overrepresented in well-defined inner-city districts. Concentration scattering was emerging as a distinctive, rather than deviative, manifestation of settlement configurations according to LQ mapping of ethnicity by immigration period for 1981. Locational variance between each subsequent intake interval reflects the decentralization and dispersion of apartment complexes within Metropolitan Toronto along with the CMA's overall suburbanization (Richmond and Kalbach 1980). Moreover, RCE index values

indicate that 1978-1981 arrivals were either settling in decentralized locales or relocating there in a narrower time span than their predecessors.<sup>23</sup>

### *Post-Industrial Urban Restructuring (1983-1989)*

As Metropolitan Toronto reached maturity by the early-1980s, a second and ongoing development wave (1986-1990) extended into exurban areas (Hughes 1995). The urban envelope had spread outwards by 1989 such that ethnic communities were evident in Markham and Unionville (Relph 1997). Urban form, in the context of industrial decline and resultant sectoral realignment, continued to display a galactic, multinodal configuration containing “internally homogeneous and spatially segmented concentrations of similar...social groups” (Bourne 1991b, 21). Residential and employment growth were still being directed to suburban nodes and selected core area locales. A downtown intensification, or reurbanization, strategy involving infill housing in underutilized sites and the conversion and adaptive reuse of older structures for mixed-uses was also implemented to regulate urban form and population distribution (Gartner 1995; Campsie 1995). Elevated residential density levels were stipulated for new suburban land transformation in conjunction with an insistence on contiguous property development and provision of alternative housing options. Consolidation was promoted along arterial routes in an effort to constrain the rapid rural to suburban then urban growth sequence in fringe communities such as Aurora and New Market (Bryant and Lemire 1993).

---

<sup>23</sup> Crosstabulations involving ethnicity, immigration period, tenure, and mobility status show that Jamaicans are more inclined towards housing rental and intra-urban migration than other ethnic communities. Since newcomers are generally predisposed to renting during the first five years after admission, frequent relocation can be interpreted as a component of their continual search for appropriate and affordable accommodation (CMHC 1994 and 1996).



In terms of social implications, Campsie (1995, 25) evaluates intensification as “particularly inappropriate in a multicultural city...where diverse urban forms should be able to emerge.” New settlers were progressively being thrust into outlying yet scattered enclaves as redevelopment and adaptive reuse began to curtail their central area counterparts’ absorption capacity (Bourne 1991b). Immigration and mobility data confirm this assertion. The CMA’s ethnic composition experienced significant diversification to the point where some subdivisions were being planned with guidance from cultural interpreters to ensure that concerns and preferences of prospective homeowners were addressed (Hughes 1995). Another phenomenon that has been accorded limited discussion is the provision and location of ethno-specific non-profit and co-op housing.<sup>24</sup> Often built in the form of row-housing, townhouses and apartment buildings, these endeavours are primarily owned and operated by more prosperous and institutionally complete ethnic communities. Yet newcomers and established households of other nationalities are often domiciled in these units due to anti-discriminatory legislation. These initiatives, depending upon where they exist, can either create additional enclaves or compliment entrenched ones. This sector is becoming an increasingly important source of new rental and ownership accommodation as the supply of rental housing stock declines and the average price of homes continues to rise beyond the means of new and recent admissions (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto 1989).

Although economic recovery and stable growth were resumed in Metropolitan Toronto by 1983, continued admission and newcomer convergence upon large cities during the post-industrial transformation phase resulted in a mismatch between employer requirements and newcomer’s skills (Waldinger 1989). Immigration policy was quickly reformulated in 1984 such that it contributed to the economic restructuring and expansion

---

<sup>24</sup> Initiated in 1981, the incremental replacement of public with non-profit housing is a direct result of government policy alterations - namely, curtailed financial assistance for new residential projects (Weiss 1986).

process.<sup>25</sup> The immigrant entrepreneur and investor programs were respectively introduced in 1984 and 1986 while new independent category selection criteria were applied since 1985.<sup>26</sup> Further amendments to the Immigration Act included a more restrictive refugee determination process (1987) and a reduction of the annual assisted relatives quota (1988). Immigrant spatial distribution among and within urban areas, however, was still beyond government jurisdiction.

Most business migrants went directly to Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal. They had the economic resources to purchase properties in outlying districts immediately upon arrival or shortly thereafter (Balakrishnan 1991; Nash 1994). Many of them used existing suburban enclaves, such as Agincourt, as initial settlement points during the 1988-1991 interval. Indeed, there was an ongoing debate in major Canadian cities throughout the late-1980s as to whether urban sprawl was attributable to business immigrants. It was suggested that they contributed to the appreciation of suburban real estate prices and rental housing costs thereby inducing other residents to seek less expensive outer suburban and fringe area dwellings (Johnson 1992; Fincher 1997). Some of those with substantial capital to invest participated in subdivision development and inner-city ethnic enclave revitalization projects. Business immigrants, it was assumed because of their higher income would have high physical mobility and hence reduced domiciliary differentiation. In contrast, Jamaican arrivals (1988-1991) with lower incomes did register high concentration and dissimilarity scores. Yet their overall decentralization pattern was not consistent with the capital needed assumption for such a pattern. Housing market circumstances played a greater role in this

---

<sup>25</sup> Stafford (1994) determined that annual admission level expansions since 1984 have been influenced by political agenda (i.e. a supply-side economic strategy) rather than demographic considerations. A direct linking of migration and capital was intended to promote economic development and job creation. The connection between immigration and demographics slowly reemerged during the late-1980s when it was argued that newcomers are needed to "maintain a desired population size in the face of declining fertility,...counter the effects of an aging population,...and...generate positive economic growth" (Stafford 1994, 299).

<sup>26</sup> The business immigration program was actually established in 1978 when the "entrepreneur" and "self-employed" classifications were recognized but it was not until 1984 that business migrants were promoted to second rank (in overseas processing) after family class and refugee intakes.

case. Higher inner borough land costs, reasonably priced outer suburban homes, the placement of high-density apartment buildings and townhouse complexes, and the selectivity (i.e. socio-economic profile) of recent intakes better explain the dispersed Jamaican residential configuration of 1991 (Balakrishnan 1991; Olson and Kobayashi 1993; Murdie 1992 and 1994; Henry 1994).

### *Reurbanization (Post-1989)*

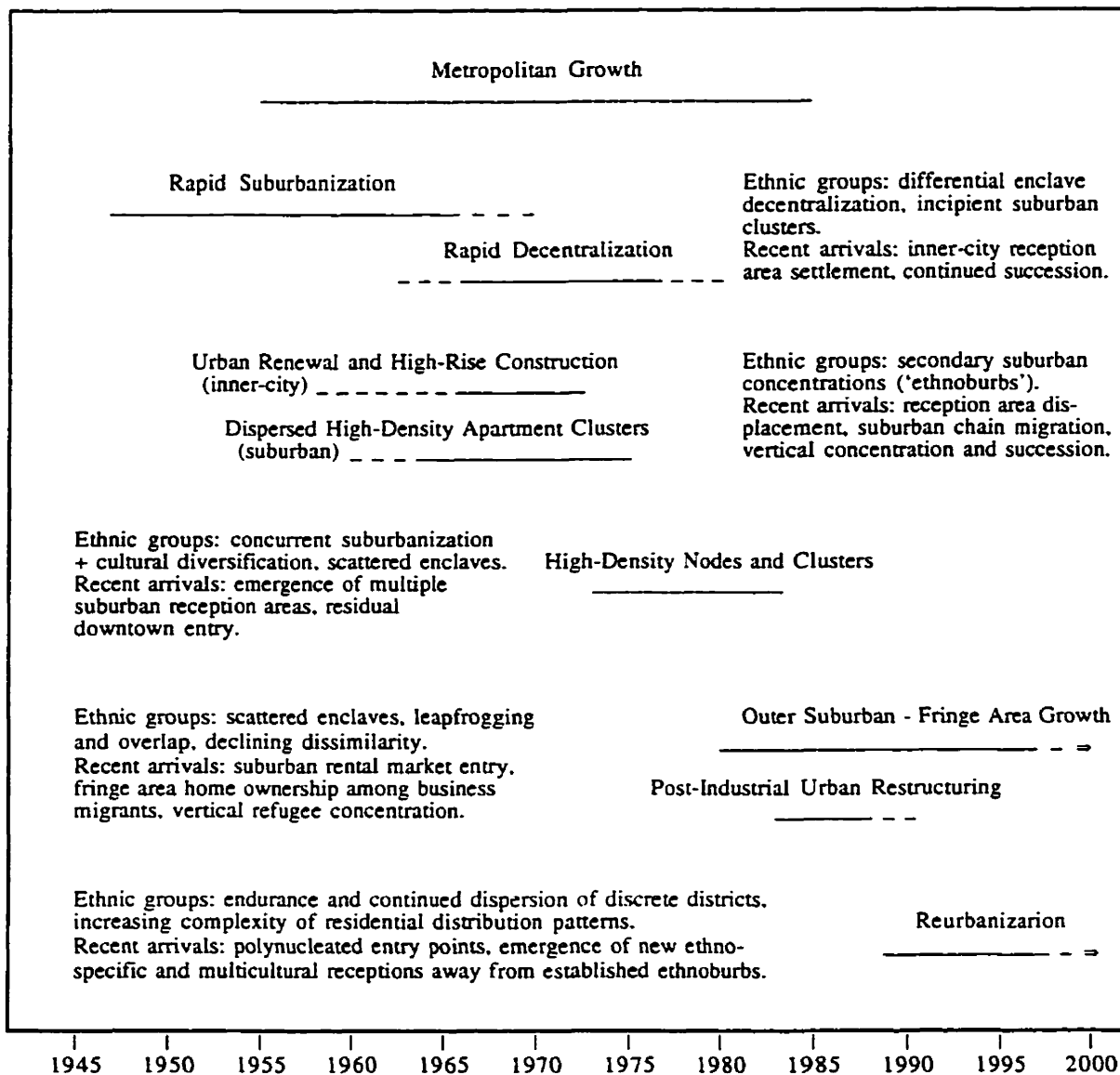
Low-density peripheral sprawl and non-contiguous fringe area development continue to produce a discontinuous urban realm (Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto 1991a). The term 'reurbanization' has been applied to infer "a moderate reversal" of suburban population and employment flows and the "emergence of higher-density nodes within the suburbs as a result of the spatial reconcentration of activities already decentralized from the urban core" (Bourne 1993, 8). Given the changing form of suburbanization, three alternative urban structure concepts were identified and assessed by the geopolitical entities composing the Greater Toronto Area (GTA): spread, centralization, and nodal. Respectively, they focus upon continued and uncontrolled low-density suburban/fringe sprawl; intensification of new high-density (re)development at specific sites within the existing urban envelope, especially Metropolitan Toronto; and limited intermediate-density suburban expansion within and around existing communities along with redevelopment, revitalization and reuse (IBI Group 1990). Since the GTA had already begun to develop a multi-centred urban form and since Metropolitan Toronto planning directives included growth to centres, corridors, and mixed-use development, the urban node option was implemented because of its provisions for a comprehensive array of housing, density, and population mixtures in a relatively more compact form.

In terms of ethnic spatial distribution, a polynucleated metropolis can best be described by a 'shot gun' residential distribution pattern. Dispersed concentrations are

sustained by such a pattern. New immigrants are integrated into the urban system through ethno-specific and/or multicultural reception areas located away from established ethnoburbs. Proposed rezoning to permit rental in single-detached homes would further substantiate such a configuration and would serve to facilitate immediate suburban residency and further encourage chain migration. For example, both inner-city (e.g. Regent Park) and suburban public housing projects (e.g. the Jane-Finch and Birchmount-Finch areas) have been targeted for redesign to lower densities. Redevelopment plans for Regent Park North call for the razing of old low-rise apartments and barracks-like townhouses and their replacement with new private-sector mixed tenure structures. Upon completion, the area “would be transformed from an enclave for destitute single mothers and new immigrants on welfare into a neighbourhood of residents with mixed incomes” (Phillip 1997, A10). Moss Park, Lawrence Heights and parts of St. James Town are also prospective candidates. Further immigrant and refugee dispersion and decentralization would be a direct outcome of such public housing stock alterations.

To recapitulate the discussion of the last twenty pages, a chronological summary of post-war residential placement among ethnic groups and recent immigrant arrivals corresponding with each of the Toronto urban development phases discussed above is presented in Figure 18. The graph suggests that the residential distribution patterns of different ethnic groups follow a sequence of adjustment and response to changes in the location of available and accessible housing. That part of the cause may also be the effect is not denied here.

The traditional practice of reducing immigrant intakes during economic downturns was ignored by Canada in 1990 when annual limits for the next five years were substantially raised, foreign worker admission requirements were simplified, and the family class definition was tightened. Government hearings determined that Canada could absorb 150,000 to 200,000 newcomers annually without any serious social or economic difficulties (McCracken and Jenness 1994). Major definition and procedural revisions were introduced



**Figure 18. Linking Urban Form Development and Ethnic Distribution Patterns**

**Note:** Dashed segments preceding and succeeding development stages respectively represent antecedent and residual growth. Arrows denote anticipated trend continuation.

in the 1992 Immigration Act amendment to provide more effective management of refugee determination and immigrant selection. Economic arguments for immigration surmounted demographic ones such that a greater degree of importance was placed upon linking it with economic and human resource development policies. Short-term labour market conditions were considered when intake levels were set in order to avoid newcomer influxes during high unemployment periods (Whitaker 1991). Preference was given to applicants with greater skills margins and business migrants who could adjust and contribute to a rapidly changing post-industrial economy (Inglis, Birch and Sherington 1997).<sup>27</sup> Selection regulations were streamlined in 1996 such that independent immigrants were assessed according to language proficiency, professional qualifications, and occupational adaptability (Sarick 1996). It was expected that they would seek jobs and shelter outside ethnic enclaves and networks. Income level assessments for guarantors and binding ten year contracts between sponsors and immigrants were introduced in 1997 to eliminate sponsorship defaults and fraudulent social assistance claims (Peirol 1997). This measure will likely result in fewer such immigrants and in proportionately more instances of nominated relatives residing with their guarantors.

The government's desire to control the regional impacts of international migration resulted in a clause stipulating that "immigration officers may impose specific conditions on immigrants with respect to their place of residence" (Hiebert 1994, 257). Entry was granted to individuals possessing specific skills which were required in a particular region of Canada provided that they agree to live there for at least two years. Once again, nothing was mentioned about how this conditional admittance would be enforced. By 1993, the Immigration Minister proposed a reduction of immigrant flows towards the three main metropolitan destinations. Attempts to control settlement geography produced marginal impacts since the Charter of Rights guarantees freedom of movement. Once landed,

---

<sup>27</sup> Service sector growth within the context of urban economic restructuring requires both high and low skilled workers (Waldinger and Bozorgmeher 1996).

immigrants can not be told where they must reside. Thus, the Toronto CMA continued to attract the largest number of foreign, especially family class, migrants whose influx have offset urban population decline and stimulated suburban growth (Sarick 1994; DeMara 1995). Twenty percent of all 1993 admissions into Canada (55,695 immigrants) intended to settle in Metropolitan Toronto (Carey 1995). A large enough number of recent (i.e. 1988-1991) arrivals have settled in decentralized enclaves to have a measurable effect upon ethnic residential distribution patterns. This assertion is substantiated by statistical evidence which reveals widely scattered clusters of moderate concentration which exclude centralized entry points. These nodes cover a range of housing types and tenure options.<sup>28</sup> Immigration accounted for almost 60% of the CMA's population growth by 1996 and its contribution was forecast to be at least 67% by 2021 (Valpy 1996).

### **Formulating an Explicative Model of Ethnic and Immigrant Residential Patterning**

The foregoing analysis and discussion revealed that spatial articulation, in the form of enclave settlements, continues to exist among ethnic collectivities and their foreign-born constituents. They also demonstrate that ethnicity, as an indicator of Shevky and Bell's (1955) segregation construct, is still an important dimension of urban social space. This research underscores the sectoral and nodal arrangements' ongoing significance and utility in describing enclave placement and suburban movement (Berry 1965; Murdie 1969; Hill 1976; Ray 1977). Localization among the reference and study populations, however, does not exclusively correspond to either of these arrangements; each group has its own distinct signature. Neighbourhood differentiation according to ethnicity exhibits an increasingly

---

<sup>28</sup> Immigration policy reorientation towards those with the means of supporting themselves is apparent in the substantially increased share of ownership among recent Chinese arrivals (from 49% in 1981 to 74% in 1991).

complex geographic pattern characterized by declining residential separation along with greater enclave deconcentration and dispersion. To this end, Multiethnic inhabitants are spatially indistinguishable from their British counterparts. Other groups display peculiar distributions distinguished by enduring concentrations within or near the urban core which function as residual reception areas along with dispersed and often fragmented enclaves which, as locations of second or subsequent relocation, have attracted ensuing immigrant arrivals.<sup>29</sup> These observations echo many of the urban sociology findings discussed in the literature review. The study and reference groups generally follow settlement patterns and community types described in Agocs' (1977, 1979, 1981) spatial typology. For instance, the suburbanized-clustered combination corresponds to Toronto's Jewish transplanted community, Jamaican reception centres, along with Chinese and Greek new suburban settlements. Aterritorial Britons and Multiethnics follow the suburbanized-dispersed variant. There is less classification clarity among centralized populations because Aboriginal enclaves are dispersed while residual communities and urban villages associated with segments of the Greek and Chinese entities are clustered. Nonetheless, this research confirms the formation of ethnic concentration nodes during the peripheral movement of previous immigrant arrivals (Davies and Murdie 1993). Residential congregation among all immigrants, according to arrival period, follows a traditional pattern of declining concentration and increasing dispersion with length of time since admission into Canada. Recent intakes, although more concentrated than their forerunners, are increasingly scattered throughout the CMA, especially within Metropolitan Toronto. An examination of settlement patterns by ethnicity and admission interval revealed a much more pronounced 'shot gun' dispersion. These observations necessitate further investigation and an alternative explanation of spatial reality which accounts for urban form and housing location. Since this research focuses upon contemporary trends, a composite representation

---

<sup>29</sup> While some ethnic communities maintain protracted periods of concentration despite suburban relocation, none of their constituents inhabit clusters which can be classified as permanent ghettos maintained by involuntary segregation (Boal 1976).



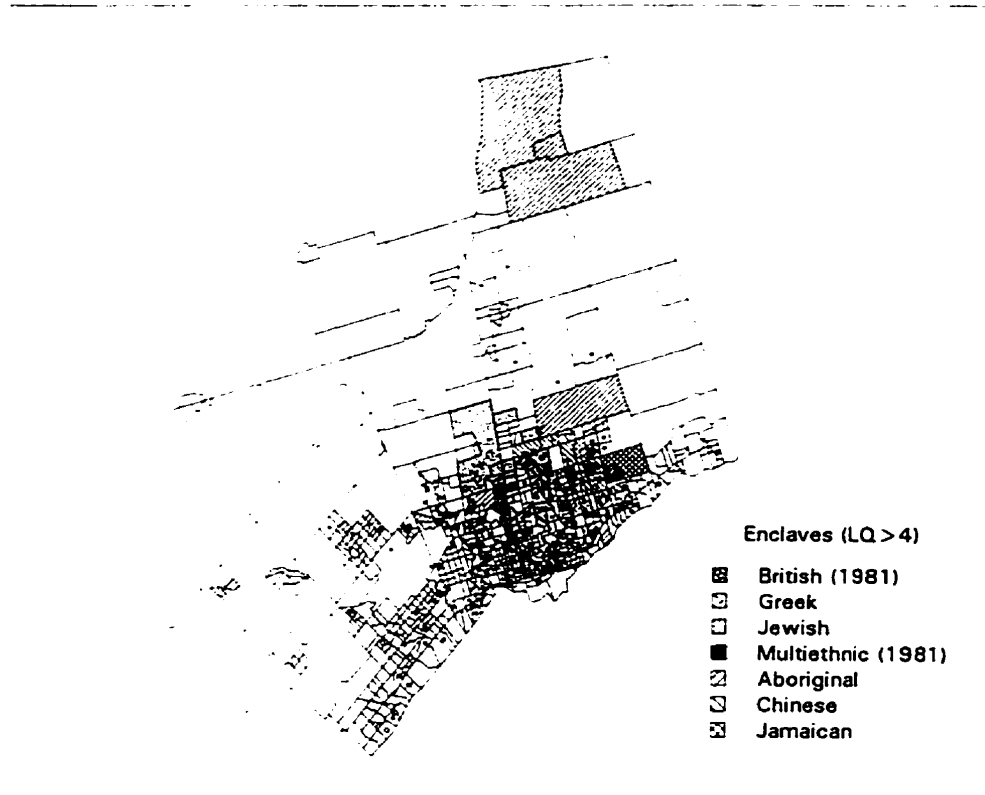
of ethnic enclave locations evident in 1991 along with concentration areas among 1978-1981 entrants according to ethnic origin and 1988-1991 aggregate arrivals, constitute the next step in formulating an explicative model.<sup>30</sup> Exceptionally high LQ values equal to and greater than four are charted to determine whether newcomers initially take up residence within existing ethnic localizations.

Several patterns are evident in Maps 155 and 156. A minor yet appreciable segment of 1978-1981 arrivals (20.84%) resided outside of Metropolitan Toronto. Initial residence in the outer suburbs, particularly western ones, and a few urbanized fringe districts took place among some Britons (7.56%), Greeks (4.26%), Multiethnics (27.36%) and Aboriginals (9.88%).<sup>31</sup> None of these entry points contained, or were in close proximity to, elevated population densities associated with each of the aforementioned groups. Immigrant settlement configurations at the metropolitan scale comply with traditional assumptions insofar as overseas migrants are inclined to establish themselves in or near centralized and suburban neighbourhoods where their compatriots congregated (refer to Map 156). There were also numerous instances in which recent admissions belonging to one ethnic unit penetrated in areas associated with that of another collectivity. Although Jewish resettlement primarily occurred along the Bathurst axis' western portion as well as the Bayview area, some 1978-1981 arrivals did register high agglomeration levels in peripheral census tracts

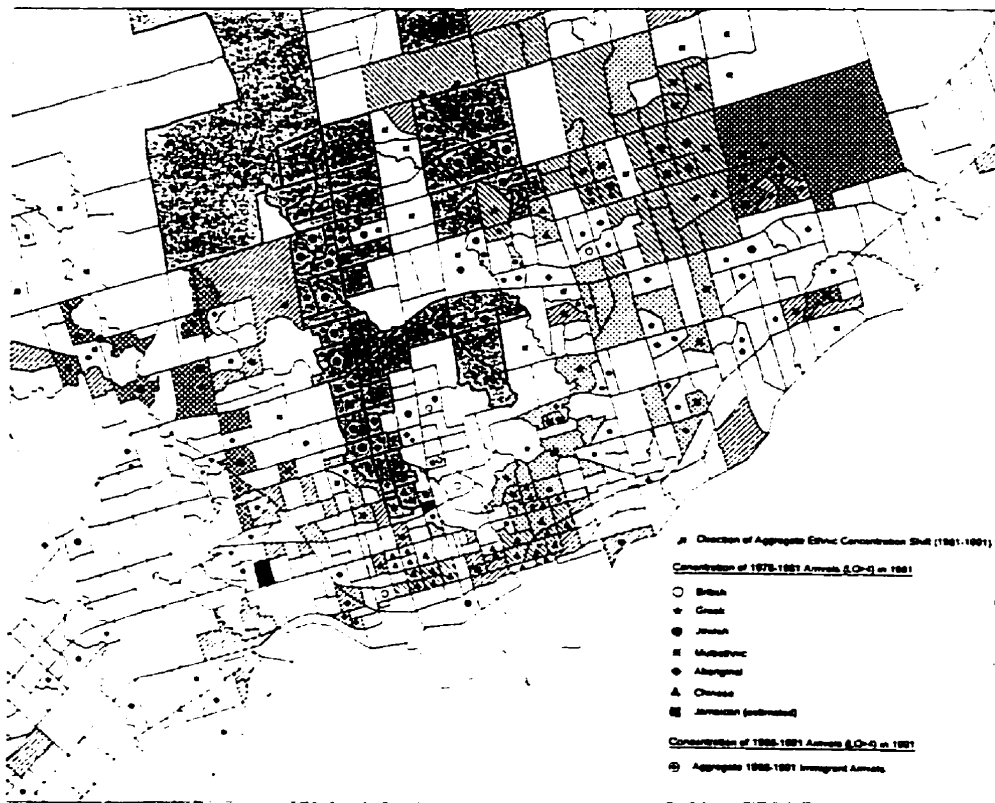
---

<sup>30</sup> The territorial integrity of primary inner-city and secondary suburban ethnic enclaves, with certain exceptions, was fairly stable between 1981 and 1991. Hence, data based upon the latest censal year is employed. Jamaican enclaves are based on 1991 aggregate community data and immigrant concentrations reported in previous research (Stevens 1978; Carey 1983; Henry 1994; Ray 1994).

<sup>31</sup> These figures represent the proportion of 1978-1981 entrants that lived in census tracts where  $LQ \geq 4$ . The respective shares of 1978-1981 intakes dwelling outside of Metropolitan Toronto but within the CMA for the British, Greek, Multiethnic, and Aboriginal communities are: 36.57%, 7.75%, 29.55% and 11.94%.



Map 155. Ethnic and Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Toronto CMA, 1991



Map 156. Ethnic and Immigrant Settlement Patterns, Metropolitan Toronto, 1991

belonging to the eastern concentration band.<sup>32</sup> Chinese landings gravitated towards existing inner-city enclaves. The shift towards suburban reception areas among this community is not strongly reflected by the 1981 data since it gained momentum thereafter. Congruent to their established counterparts' aterritorial nature, residential placement among British and Multiethnic external migrants are indicative of the emerging trend towards increasing cluster dispersement. Hellenic multinodality was reinforced by recent intakes. A noteworthy directional deviation directed towards western York was also discerned. Estimates based on 1991 data and secondary sources indicate that Jamaicans were assembled in dispersed pockets which coincide with suburban multiple dwelling clusters.

Apartment buildings situated in tracts containing eminent concentrations of newly arrived individuals, as per immigration period and mobility records, are identified in Map 157. Instead of arbitrarily specifying these structures within applicable spatial units, locational precision was increased by consulting apartment cluster maps (Kerr and Spelt 1965; Spelt 1973; Nader 1975) and air photos taken in 1991. The geographic arrangement of 1978-1981 entrants according to ethnic origin concentration is presented in terms of dots which identify overrepresentation in individual high-rise building complexes.<sup>33</sup> Enclave-oriented settlement, particularly among Jews and Jamaicans, is sustained by the presence of numerous apartment buildings which supply immediate post-arrival accommodation. Spillover into adjacent tracts is also attributable to the prevalence and accessibility of cheap rental units. The apparent invasion of one ethnic population's latest immigrants into another origin group's enclave can be partially explained by shifting apartment vacancies. There were also several incidents involving concurrent congregation among two or more ethnic communities in suburban districts which do not register high population densities for any particular ethnicity. These zones disclose polyethnic or universal ports of entry (such

---

<sup>32</sup> The number of immigrants according to ethnic origin and arrival period were not available for 1991.

<sup>33</sup> It cannot be ascertained from published census information in which particular building(s) overrepresentation occurs. While not shown, aggregate 1978-1981 arrivals were concentrated (LQ = 4-5) in a tract, containing single-detached homes and other multiple dwellings, associated with Chinatown East.



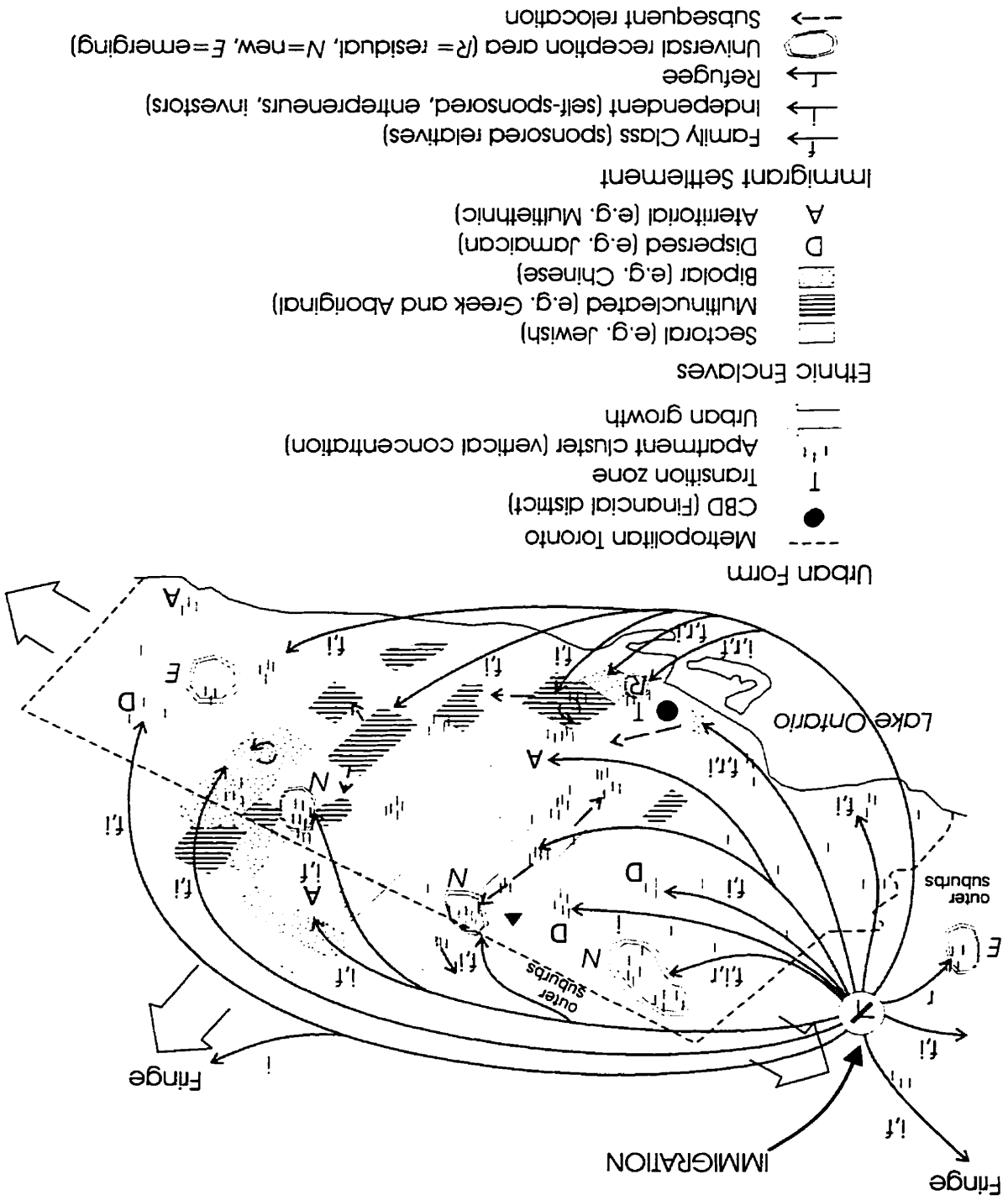
as around Fairview Mall in North York). Decentralized and scattered pockets of external migrant overrepresentation coincide with Chinese and Jewish enclaves thus indicating that most 1988 and 1990 admissions belonged to these two groups.

Using the two previous composite maps and conceptual model presented in Figure 10, a schematic model of immigrant settlement and ethnic residential patterns, based on prevailing and emerging spatial trends conducive to domiciliary inventory, is developed (refer to Figure 19). This model focuses upon and relates the interaction among three major determinants of residential configuration: urban form, ethnic enclaves, and immigrant settlement.<sup>34</sup> Items subsumed under each causal factor respectively relate to development initiatives associated with the post-industrial and reurbanization urban growth stages, the spatial manifestation of ethnic diversity and differentiation, and metropolitan entry points connected to various immigrant streams. It has been emphasized that different waves of post-war newcomers are incorporated into the urban fabric during various expansionary phases. Emerging spatial trends also affect social differentiation patterns. As such, further elaboration of these factors is necessary. Multinodality, diffusion, and fragmentation are indicative of a post-modern cityscape (Mahieu 1994). A monocentric layout, albeit with a less influential core area, does not negate the emergence or existence of nodal arrangements since “internally homogeneous and spatially segmented concentrations of similar social groups” are primarily located in suburban locales (Bourne 1989b, 21). Redevelopment, intensification, and adaptive reuse projects have further reduced the transition zone’s capacity to absorb new immigrants in terms of housing stock filtration and ethnic succession. Consequently, fewer recent intakes are establishing themselves in the nearby residual reception areas. The progressive decentralization and dispersion of inexpensive and available rental accommodation continues to attract various immigrant streams thereby

---

<sup>34</sup> Six factors were noted in the conceptual model. Of these, immigration policy and internal differentiation have been taken into consideration as they stand. Prevailing economic circumstances and housing market mechanisms, social mix directives along with employment decentralization and dispersion are discussed in terms of urban form. The influence of ethno-specific social service agencies upon settlement patterns has not been addressed since this research does not investigate institutional completeness.

Figure 19. Schematic Model of Ethnic and Immigrant Residential Distribution



producing scattered suburban entry points. New and emerging reception areas inevitably involve a pronounced degree of vertical concentration (Ray 1994; Vincent 1995). Isolated pockets are also formed by newcomers who select housing on the basis of ethnic affiliation yet their population base is insufficient to form ethnoburbs of excessive internal homogeneity (Darroch and Marston 1987). Arrows representing urban growth show the direction of low density sprawl and envelope extension which have contributed to outward enclave expansion and the evolution of fragmented clusters (Darroch and Marston 1987). New construction activity is expected to take place outside of Metropolitan Toronto where fewer development constraints exist. A locational shift in the supply of new housing is anticipated as remaining vacant lands near full development and apartments become increasingly available in the outer suburbs due to development diversification (GTA 1993). The extent of built-up area enlargement and location of affordable housing will continue to influence ethnic and immigrant settlement patterns.

Ethnicity has emerged as an important factor in explaining social segmentation within cities (Berry 1965; Darroch and Marston 1971; Forman 1976; McVey and Kalbach 1995). Recognizing the increasing complexity of social differentiation within the context of a changing urban form, the Social Mosaic Hypothesis acknowledges ethnic origin as one of several axes of divergence (Bourne 1989). Locational bias variation is a product of enhanced diversification. As such, the different types of enclaves in Figure 18 disclose the spatial organization and directional movement of ethnic communities according to dissimilarity, concentration and centralization indices as well as configurations identified in previous research (Berry 1965; Murdie 1969; Boal 1976; Ray 1997; Agocs 1977, 1979 and 1981). Arbitrarily dispersed and aterritorial arrangements substantiate the presence of residential patterns which exist at a finer resolution than rings, wedges, and nodes (Knox 1987; Davies and Murdie 1993). Ethnic suburbanization occurs as a set of simultaneous processes: residential mobility among an established ethnic collectivity's members who have achieved socio-economic parity with the host society (i.e. relocation to single-detached

suburban dwellings) and spillover migration from centralized enclaves into adjacent districts among another segment of the same group or continued outward expansion along prior geographical lines (e.g. Jews).

Immigration policy and settlement criteria have determined intake levels, socio-economic profiles and extent of ethnic diversity associated with successive waves. Initial settlement points are strongly influenced by the educational, occupational, linguistic, and financial characteristics of each stream (Balakrishnan and Kralt 1984). Centralized enclaves were typical of earlier entrants who settled in distinct ethnic neighbourhoods due to lower educational attainment and employment skills (Balakrishnan 1991). Selection criteria have been instrumental in facilitating settlement cluster scattering to the point where inner-city concentrations have become residual reception areas.<sup>35</sup> Nominated and sponsored individuals tend to establish themselves in areas of secondary settlement thereby sustaining multinucleated patterns indicative of chain migration (Richmond 1967a; Burnley and Kalbach 1984). Independent class admissions usually gravitate to diverse suburban enclaves containing various tenure options. Those with sufficient financial resources are capable of securing immediate exurban residency. As previously noted, recent admissions from new source countries do not necessarily have areas of (horizontal) residential concentration in which to initially enter into due to a relatively small constituency which impedes cluster formation and institutional completeness.<sup>36</sup> Ethnic diversity is escalating as newcomers are selected on the basis of admission criteria rather than preferred states. The interaction of urban form, ethnic diversity, and immigration policy has dispersed immigrant settlement patterns and created an increasingly complex ethnic spatial arrangements.

---

<sup>35</sup> Refugees from divergent source countries and without relatives or friends often find temporary accommodation in transition housing (e.g. downtown hostels) then move to affordable rental units in suburban locales. Readily available private-sector units are generally too expensive for social assistance allowances so many refugees end up in subsidized housing arrangements (City of Toronto Housing Department 1992b).

<sup>36</sup> This is particularly true of immigrant streams that have "arrived as a succession of class fragments" (Olson 1991, 51). Socio-economic differences impede ethnic homogeneity and the desire for residential proximity in terms of collective adjustment and integration.



## CHAPTER 11

### RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

#### Research Overview

A fundamental question was posed at the commencement of this dissertation: Are ethnic groups displaying a new dispersed (i.e. 'shot gun') pattern of residential location? It was hypothesized that newly arrived immigrants, including those belonging to visible minorities, no longer follow domiciliary configurations as prescribed by traditional urban ecological models and that some never did. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that both established and recent ethnic groups are demonstrating a changing spatial pattern characterized by increasing dispersion and enclave scattering.

Focusing upon the three most recent decennial censuses with an emphasis on 1981 and 1991, the dynamic nature of residential patterns among selected ethnic communities and period of immigration was examined using the Toronto CMA as a laboratory and seven ethnic groups as case studies. The literature review established that urban social geographic thought experienced a series of conceptual and methodological reorientations and refinements. Changing urban form and structure in addition to increasing social complexities, have also incited a reexamination of socio-spatial reality including that of ethnicity. A nascent conceptual model describing various spatial outcomes relative to primary destinations of initial immigrant settlement and subsequent relocation was developed according to propositions discussed in the literature review.

Three dimensions of spatial differentiation (evenness, centralization and concentration) were measured and thematic crosstabulations generated to ascertain whether anticipated distributional trends were materializing or traditional ones persisted. Most ethnic collectivities maintained intermediate and stable dissimilarity levels. The greatest and

least amount of domiciliary separation were maintained by Jewish and Multiethnic inhabitants respectively. Although the Index of Dissimilarity values seem to have declined with increased residency since immigrant admission, as per traditional assumptions, the latest intakes enumerated in 1981 and 1991 also exhibit a higher degree of residential integration. The extent of spatial concentration, as measured by Location Quotient (LQ), has also been comparatively stable with only minor fluctuations. Exceptionally elevated values, indicative of localization, were noted by Jews, Aboriginals and the Chinese. Cartographic representations of LQ values reveal that members of the British reference population are not overrepresented in any dwelling districts which substantiates using them as a good reference group. Indicative of ethnic amalgamation and an emergent identity, Multiethnic individuals display an aterritorial distribution that excludes marginal congregation overlap with any cultural groups from which potential members may be drawn. Multiple nuclei apportionments are noted among the Hellenic and Chinese communities whose downtown enclaves persist despite declining territorial integrity due to inter-enclave spillover and increasing newcomer penetration while suburban enclaves are being formed and expanded. Aboriginals and Jamaicans are primarily concentrated in scattered pockets with the latter group concurrently maintaining inner-city and suburban clusters which, however, coincide with low amenity domains along railway corridors. The latter ethnic unit is predisposed to residency in rental complexes.

Concentration levels according to immigration period, mobility status (i.e. external migrants) and ethnic origin by admission interval diminish with increased time since entering Canada. Recent arrivals consistently registered higher LQ values in 1991 but the location of census tracts in which they were concentrated was increasingly scattered when compared to 1981 patterns. Ethnic groups display unique yet internally variable and less predictable immigrant localization configurations which are collectively characterized by cluster dispersion among the latest intakes who enter the metropolitan area via secondary

enclaves or new outer suburban and multicultural ports of entry. This observation strongly confirms the emergence and endurance of the hypothesized 'shot gun' distribution model.

The analysis of selected mobility, tenure and socio-economic variables indicates that non-movers prevailed amid nearly all ethnic units with intra-urban relocation being most common among mobile individuals. These observations also applied to the latest immigrant arrivals. Accommodation in rental housing is more typical of visible minorities (i.e. Aboriginals and Jamaicans) along with all recent arrivals irrespective of ethnicity. Newly admitted Greek and Chinese persons in 1981 and 1991 displayed a greater predisposition towards ownership. Chain migration, as approximated by census family status data, was present within the Greek, Chinese and Jamaican communities. Suburban residency among Jewish, Multiethnic and Chinese people is partially reflected by a greater segment of each collectivity possessing post-secondary educational achievement. Household income levels tend to be higher when British, Jewish and Multiethnic people are considered, average yet increasing among the Greeks and Chinese, and considerably lower for Aboriginals and Jamaicans. With respect to the latest immigrant arrivals in 1991, average household income figures indicate that earning levels among newcomers generally increase with length of residency in Canada. Jewish and Jamaican households are respectively representative of the higher and lower ends of the income spectrum.

At the outset of this dissertation, it was suggested that urban form and immigration flows change concurrently and that newcomers enter the metropolitan environment during various stages of its development. The dynamic nature of urban form was thus proposed as alternative contextual environment in which to explain ethnic as well as immigrant residential distribution. Linkages were established between metropolitan growth periods and overseas migrant settlement patterns. Since newcomers primarily rent during the immediate post-arrival phase, the shifting location and dispersion of affordable housing, especially apartment clusters, was examined and found to correspond with and influence points of initial settlement. Revisions were then made to the conceptual model such that it more

accurately reflects the increasing complexity of ethnic habitation configurations within and immigrant entry into metropolitan areas.

In closure and in reference to the research question and hypotheses, it can be affirmed that ethnic and immigrant areal apportionment is increasingly complex, less predictable, and dispersed. The 'shot gun' pattern is less evident among ethnic groups when native- and foreign-born members are combined. Those reporting a Multiethnic identity displayed the greatest extent of divergence in terms of residential congregation. As a collectivity, they are highly dispersed while foreign-born members are excessively concentrated in scattered pockets. Measurements of selected residential differentiation dimensions confirm the existence of an aggregate ethnic mosaic and increased spatial dispersion among individual ethnic groups.

### **Concluding Remarks**

As with any exploratory research, a supplementary objective is to present suggestions for additional inquiry. There is much scope for more detailed investigations and methodological improvements in terms of measurement, analysis and inter-urban comparability. Independent replication under slightly varied conditions, such as additional or other ethnic groups within the same or different CMA, would strengthen the validity and generalizability of findings presented herein. An extension of inquiry could also reveal and reduce potential errors by considering other dimensions of residential separation such as clustering and exposure. Otherwise, post-1991 census data should be examined to determine whether observed patterns and processes have continued apace. It would also furnish an opportunity to measure and map ethnic and immigrant settlement configurations during the current reurbanization phase of metropolitan development.

The complexity of post-arrival domiciliary mobility patterns among newcomers ought to be studied in greater detail. Confidentiality considerations prevent such an

investigation from being conducted using public census records. Notwithstanding the commissioning of Statistics Canada to produce custom tabulations, independent survey research, using multiple data collection methods, is encouraged to complement and advance existing knowledge. A recent initiative in this direction has been launched by a team of academic geographers and social workers. This longitudinal project will examine housing experiences among recently arrived immigrants and refugees in Toronto (Murdie 1997). Case studies of the housing search process among three ethnic collectivities being monitored (Polish, Jamaican and Somali) are of particular interest as they may provide clues about directional movements and neighbourhood placement by way of household search space.

Crosstabulations were restricted to the assessment of selected variables and aimed at the generation of comparative thematic profiles. Correlation and/or regression analyses could be conducted to measure the strength of relationships between variables influencing intra-urban mobility as well as tenure and ownership patterns over time. Proximity to work place by ethnic origin and immigration period should be examined in terms of economic restructuring and sectoral reorientation which themselves have contributed to the reorganization of urban fabric (Simmons and Bourne 1989). Also, the number of ethnic groups could be expanded somewhat. The suggestions presented above indicate that numerous aspects of ethnic and immigrant spatial articulation remain relatively unexplored. Any one of these proposed studies would contribute to urban social geography's factual base.

APPENDIX A

CENSUS ETHNIC ORIGIN QUESTIONS, 1971-1991

1971 Census of Canada

Question on Ethnic or Cultural Group:

15. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this country?

English -  Native Indian -  Polish  French  Newfound  Scottish  German  Irish  Dutch  Ukrainian  Italian  Jewish  Norwegian  Other, write here \_\_\_\_\_

1981 Census of Canada

Question on Ethnic Origin:

16. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor belong on first coming to this country?

(See Guide for further information)

Native Peoples  French  English  Irish  Scottish  German  Italian  Italian  Ukrainian  Dutch (Dutchlands)  Polish  Jewish  Chinese  Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

1991 Census of Canada

Question on Ethnic or Cultural Group:

15. To what ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestor(s) belong?

Note: Write most people of Canada now descend as Canadian, information about their ancestor(s) has been collected since the 1981 Census to reflect the changing composition of the Canadian population and is needed to ensure that everyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or cultural background, has equal opportunity to share fully in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada. Therefore, this question refers to the origin of this person's ancestor(s).

See Guide.

Examples of other ethnic or cultural groups are: Portuguese, Greek, Indian from India, Filipino, Filipino, Vietnamese, Japanese, Lebanese, Italian, etc.

French  English  German  Scottish  Italian  Irish  Ukrainian  Dutch (Dutchlands)  Polish  Jewish  North American  Indian  Other ethnic or cultural group(s) - Specify \_\_\_\_\_

Source: Pamela M. White et al. "Measuring Ethnicity in Canadian Censuses," in *Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality*, Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, Statistics Canada and the United States Department of Commerce (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993), 257-260.

## CATEGORIZATION TAXONOMY

### **Mark-in Entries**

Mark-in entry groups are included and arranged on the basis of frequency response in the previous census. The ordering was altered in 1991 to reflect the “changing relative size” of Canada’s ethnic populations more accurately while the list of example ethnic origins was expanded to include the largest unlisted groups (Statistics Canada 1992a). Newly arrived ethnic groups do not automatically obtain a mark-in entry; inclusion is based upon numerical strength. Consequently, ethnic organizations instruct their members to report a specific identity in an effort to “secure a place on the census questionnaire list” (White 1993, 50).

### **Write-in: “Other (Specify)”**

This is the place where respondents register an ethnic origin which is not included among those listed in the mark-in section. The third write-in space was deleted in 1991 because of a low response rate in 1986. Figures are tabulated and published in census catalogues for groups with a significant numerical presence. After 1961, for example, persons of Greek ancestry recorded their answer in the write-in section while corresponding figures are printed under the heading ‘Greek.’ Answers from individuals specifying an origin not included elsewhere in the ethnic origin classification taxonomy were allocated to the appropriate ‘not included elsewhere’ (n.i.e.) category in 1991 or the corresponding ‘not elsewhere specified’ (n.e.s.) or ‘not otherwise specified’ (n.o.s.) counterparts in 1971 and 1981. For example, write-ins stating “Macedonian” were automatically attributed to the Yugoslav nos designation before political pressure was brought upon the Canadian government to include this regional identity as an ethnic one.

Origins listed in Appendix B follow the United Nations Standard Geographical Groupings in those cases where “specific geographical areas are used to categorize ethnic and cultural groups” (Statistics Canada 1992a, 63). Missing ancestral groups which are not listed in published catalogues due to insufficient numbers are included in special microfiche files.

Only one space was provided for write-in answers for the 1971 and 1981 Censuses. Respondents who identified with two or more ethnic groups other than those indicated as mark-ins were compelled to choose one group over another (Statistics Canada 1984a). This selection process could have been based upon either a conscious or random decision. The first written answer was coded in instances where two or more ethnic origins were noted. Non-response or provision of either “indecipherable” or unclassifiable responses were resolved, according to Statistics Canada (1984b), by assigning an answer derived from other household members ancestry or the family unit’s language characteristics (usually mother tongue) if possible. ‘Bavarian,’ for instance, would be registered as German while ‘Alsatian’ would be coded as either German or French. Answers not corresponding to pre-set ethnic categories are neither included in special records or published in census catalogues under the “other” or “unknown” classifications (Statistics Canada 1986). The non-response rate is traditionally low (e.g. 2.3% in 1981) and very tolerable (White 1993).

Possible misinterpretations of the ethnicity question are disclosed in a study of ethnic origin transfer from parents to children. Data analysis was based upon a sample of 16,000 two-parent families from British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and the Territories. Fifty-nine percent of the households were composed of parents with different ethnic backgrounds. Rather than having a corresponding proportion of children with multiple origins, the ethnicity of one parent was registered for the offspring in 49% of the mixed families. Another five percent of the sampled families recorded origins that was different from either parent (e.g. Canadian or English) or a combination of both parents’ ancestries. (Statistics Canada 1984b).



## Nomenclature Consistency

The temporal comparison of ethnic origin data is affected by the consistency of categories. While most of the European origin classifications have been invariable since 1971, that of other groups has differed in accordance with response rates (refer to Table 1). Many aggregate categories are actually heterogeneous. Individuals from different island backgrounds, for example, were collectively classified as "West Indian" in 1971 and as "Caribbean" in 1981. By 1991, this group was broken down into several components, including Jamaican (refer to Table 2). An enumeration of 1981 single ethnic origin figures for persons born in Jamaica indicates that 37.2% were categorized as Caribbean, 44.8% as British, 5.7% as Black, and 2.8% as Other Black (Statistics Canada 1984b). A reported origin of Jamaican was coded to Caribbean for the 1981 Census (Statistics Canada 1986). Canadian immigration statistics (country of last permanent residence by year of landing) indicate that persons from Jamaica and Haiti dominate the Caribbean group. Since the majority of Haitians reside in Montréal, it is reasonable to assume that West Indian and Caribbean categories can be used as proxies for ethnic Jamaicans in the Toronto CMA.

Terms used to describe the aboriginal populations differed slightly in 1991. The label "North American Indian" replaced "Status Indian" and "non-Status Indian." This removed an element of confusion, as in 1981 when the categories were considered "within the realm of ethnicity" (White 1993, 48). Eskimo was added in 1991 to avoid response error but the category "Inuit/Eskimo" is presented as "Inuit" in published catalogues. Other aboriginal origins (e.g. tribal and band origins) were recorded as "Amerindian, nos, nes" in 1981 and as "Other Aboriginal" in 1991 which was combined with the North American Indian self-coded answer. In 1981, the "Metis" category replaced the "Non-band Indian - on reserve" and "Non-band Indian - off reserve" designations which were used in 1971 while "Band Indian" and "Non-band Indian" were substituted with "Status Indian" and "Non-Status Indian."

Table 54. Comparison of Ethnic Origin Classifications, 1971-1991

1991	1981	1971
British: English Scottish Irish Welsh Other British n.i.e.	British: English Scottish Irish Welsh British n.o.s. <sup>1</sup> Other British <sup>1</sup>	British: English Scottish Irish Welsh
Greek <sup>2</sup>	Greek	Greek
Jewish	Jewish	Jewish
Aboriginal: North American Indian Metis Inuit/Eskimo Other Aboriginal	Aboriginal: Status Indian Non-Status Indian Metis Inuit Amerindian, n.o.s., n.e.s.	Aboriginal: Band Indian Non-Band Indian Non-band Indian - on reserve (Blank) - off reserve Inuit
Chinese	Chinese	Chinese
Jamaican	Caribbean	West Indian
Multiethnic	not available	not available

Notes: n.i.e. = not included elsewhere, n.e.s. = not elsewhere specified, and n.o.s. = not otherwise specified.

<sup>1</sup> Clerically attributed to English, Scottish, Irish, or Welsh.

<sup>2</sup> In 1991, Greek Cypriot was coded as a multiple response of Greek and Cypriot due to a low response rate in 1986 when the category was introduced. This is an example of over-fragmentation which renders the ethnic classification meaningless (White 1993).

Table 55. Classification Taxonomy of Caribbean Origins

1971	1981	1986	1991
	Haitian	Haitian	Haitian
West Indian	Caribbean	Jamaican Puerto Rican Other Caribbean nie Other West Indian	Jamaican Puerto Rican Other Caribbean nie Other West Indian nie Barbadian Cuban

Notes: The West Indian category was divided into Caribbean and Haitian in 1981 while the Caribbean group itself was further subdivided into Jamaican, Puerto Rican, Other Caribbean n.i.e., and Other West Indian in 1986. In 1991, Barbadian and Cuban were distinguished from the Other West Indian classification from which they emerged. There is no column for the 1976 Census because the ethnic origin question was not included.

## **Random Rounding and Area Suppression**

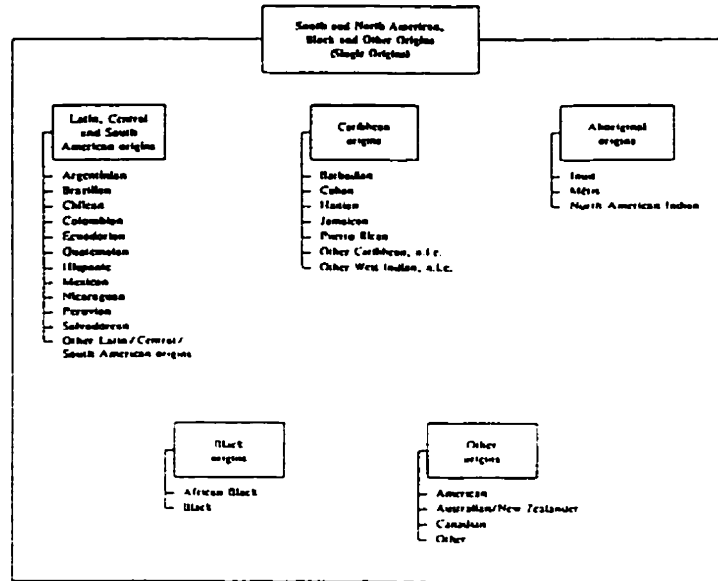
With the exception of total population counts, all figures, are randomly rounded up or down to a multiple of 5 or 0 to avert the possibility of relating small figures to specific persons (e.g. 23 might become 20 or 25). Since totals are independently rounded, they do not necessarily equal the sum of individual rounded figures entered in census table rows and columns. Minor differences can be expected for corresponding totals and cell values. This confidentiality procedure provides protection against direct, residual or negative disclosure without adding significant error to the census data. The degree of distortion resulting from random rounding when cells are aggregated is not substantially increased. Except for instances in which a small number values are involved, rounding errors tend to 'cancel out' when the same cells are re-aggregated.

The area suppression procedure is also applied to the entire User Summary Tape (UST) and Basic Summary Tape (BST) programs and sample data files affecting Profile Series B bulletins. It serves to avoid disclosure as well as the dissemination of insignificant and potentially deceitful information associated with extremely small census tracts or subdivisions. These tracts and figures are deleted from tabulations whenever self-enumeration and canvasser areas respectively contain less than 50 and 25 persons. Nonetheless, suppressed data are incorporated in aggregated subtotals and totals while basic population counts collected on a 100% basis can be obtained for 'missing' areas. Geographic entities with fewer than 250 residents are deleted from UST and BST income distribution tables, including the 1981 UST fiche versions.

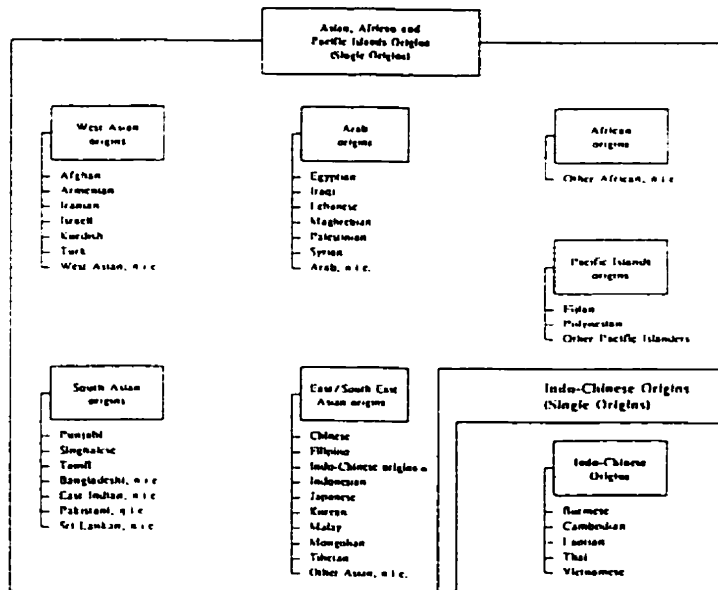
APPENDIX B

CLASSIFICATION OF ETHNIC ORIGIN GROUPS

South and North American, Black and Other Origins (Single Origins)



Asian, African and Pacific Islands Origins (Single Origins)



Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census Dictionary (Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1992), 29-30.

Notes: n.i.e. = not included elsewhere

• Refer to the Indo-Chinese Origins (Single Origins) figure for more detail.

## APPENDIX C

Table 56. Number of Census Tracts per Population Range for Ethnic Origin and Mobility Status, 1981-1991

Year, Ethnic Origin, and Mobility Status	<u>P o p u l a t i o n R a n g e</u>					
	0-80	80-225	225-500	500-970	970-1925	1925+
<u>1981</u>						
British	9	1	21	61	176	340
Greek	378	152	55	18	5	0
Jewish	462	70	30	15	14	17
Multiethnic	487	119	2	0	0	0
Aboriginal	582	25	1	0	0	0
Chinese	325	176	71	22	12	2
1976 Arrivals	117	232	192	58	9	0
<u>1991</u>						
British	13	45	145	273	296	40
Greek	559	188	49	12	4	0
Jewish	666	52	38	19	26	17
Multiethnic	12	9	75	273	351	92
Aboriginal	809	3	0	0	0	0
Chinese	318	238	128	69	40	19
Jamaican	418	208	133	44	8	1
1986 Arrivals	115	186	224	180	81	6
1990 Arrivals	456	284	67	4	1	0

## APPENDIX D

Table 57. Number of Census Tracts per Population Range for Immigration Period and Ethnic Origin by Immigration Period, 1981-1991

Year, Period, Ethnic Origin	P o p u l a t i o n   R a n g e					
	0-160	160-295	295-455	455-680	680-1050	1050+
<b>1981</b>						
Pre-1945	422	131	42	8	5	0
1945-1954	139	233	156	69	10	1
1955-1964	86	155	168	125	61	13
1965-1970	110	170	123	111	68	26
1971-1974	241	146	110	61	39	11
1975-1977	335	152	68	33	14	6
1978-1981	383	137	50	28	10	0
BR Pre-1945	526	72	8	2	0	0
BR 1945-1954	555	52	1	0	0	0
BR 1955-1964	487	107	11	3	0	0
BR 1965-1970	490	94	17	5	2	0
BR 1971-1974	559	42	4	1	2	0
BR 1975-1977	585	20	3	0	0	0
BR 1978-1981	598	9	1	0	0	0
GR Pre-1945	608	0	0	0	0	0
GR 1945-1954	608	0	0	0	0	0
GR 1955-1964	600	0	0	0	0	0
GR 1965-1970	597	8	3	0	0	0
GR 1971-1974	605	3	0	0	0	0
GR 1975-1977	608	0	0	0	0	0
GR 1978-1981	608	0	3	0	0	0
JE Pre-1945	590	10	5	4	1	0
JE 1945-1954	594	8	1	0	0	1
JE 1955-1964	597	10	1	0	0	0
JE 1965-1970	604	3	0	0	0	0
JE 1971-1974	606	2	1	0	0	0
JE 1975-1977	605	2	3	0	0	0
JE 1978-1981	604	0	0	1	0	0
MU Pre-1945	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1945-1954	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1955-1964	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1965-1970	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1971-1974	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1975-1977	608	0	0	0	0	0
MU 1978-1981	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB Pre-1945	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1945-1954	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1955-1964	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1965-1970	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1971-1974	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1975-1977	608	0	0	0	0	0
AB 1978-1981	608	0	0	0	0	0
CH Pre-1945	608	0	0	0	0	0
CH 1945-1954	608	0	0	0	0	0
CH 1955-1964	607	1	0	0	0	0
CH 1965-1970	595	11	2	0	0	0
CH 1971-1974	589	14	3	2	0	0
CH 1975-1977	593	12	1	2	0	0
CH 1978-1981	587	13	6	2	0	0
<b>1991</b>						
Pre-1961	105	206	252	160	79	10
1961-1970	121	224	252	159	48	8
1971-1980	137	176	156	164	113	66
1981-1987	304	172	155	103	65	13
1988-1991	341	161	137	91	59	25

Notes: BR = British, GR = Greek, JE = Jewish, MU = Multiethnic. AB = Aboriginal, CH = Chinese. Jamaican immigration data unavailable for 1981.

## GLOSSARY

***Assimilation*** - The process where by immigrants are absorbed into the mainstream society. An immigrant's distinctive characteristics (i.e. culture, language, and ethnic identity) are abandoned and/or subsequently lost.

***Census Tract*** - A permanent, compact, socially homogeneous geostatistical area established in small urban neighbourhood-like enclosures within large urban-centred regions. The population of census tracts normally ranges between 2,500 and 8,000 residents.

***Centralization*** - The tendency to congregate in areas close to an urban area's central business district. Centralization is distinguished from *concentration* on the grounds that the latter term denotes increasing population density only. Centralization is measured by the *Index of Relative Centralization*.

***Chain Migration*** - A population movement whereby individuals migrate to a particular destination and are subsequently followed by their families, distant relatives, and friends. The inhabitants of a specific locality in the country of origin emigrate and settle in areas where their family, relatives and/or friends reside. Ethnic concentrations are formed when newcomers join their compatriots who have (re)located themselves outside the original reception area.

***Clustering*** - The process whereby people and/or activities are in close spatial proximity. Clustering affords the 'critical mass' required for community development. A cluster may be indicated on a map by means of symbols; usually dots.

***Concentration*** - The process or result of increasing the relative population density in a given area(s). Concentration is measured by the *Location Quotient*.

***Dispersion*** - The degree of scatter or spread usually measured as an average deviation from some central value (e.g. mean and standard deviations) or the redistribution of an urban population from an existing centre. In spatial analysis, the type of dispersion or deconcentration is described in terms of a continuum ranging from *clustered*, through random, to uniform.

***Ethnic Group*** - A collectivity within a larger population sharing or identifying with a distinct culture (actual or perceived) and united by a sense of common origin, heritage, or ancestry based on race, nationality, and geographic origin or some combination thereof. The core group is assumed to be relatively stable with membership additions and losses due to migration, cultural assimilation, exogamy, life cycle perceptions of ethnic identity as well as births and deaths.



***Ethnic Origin*** - The social category of national identity according to which respondents classify themselves. The census questions related to this term are listed below and in Appendix A:

1961: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you and your parental ancestor belong on first coming to this continent?"

1971: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you and your parental ancestor (on the male side) belong on first coming to this continent?"

1981: "To which ethnic or cultural group did you and your ancestors belong on first coming to this continent?"

1991: "To which ethnic or cultural group(s) did this person's ancestors belong?"

***Ethnic Status Theory*** - Individuals aspiring to preserve their ethnic identities are predisposed to form enclaves. Community perpetuation is possible with the establishment of an institutional structure. Ethnic group's residential segregation will persist in spite of upward mobility and class differences. Observed variation in geographic mobility within the enclave is due to ethnic variables rather than subgroup socio-economic inequities such as education and income. Linguistic assimilation leads to an increased chance of a dispersed residential pattern. Intra-urban migration may result in social status change but individuals remain members of their ethnic community.

***Evenness*** - The representation of a sub-population with respect to the majority population throughout an area such as census tract. Uneven distribution implies that a sub-population's members are overrepresented in some areas and underrepresented in others. The *Index of Dissimilarity* is used to measure evenness.

***Gentrification*** - A process in which professional, middle and upper class people purchase, move into, renovate, and restore large, older but structurally sound *inner-city* homes. Its spatial incidence depends on the location of house types most amenable to upgrading and access to employment and recreational activities in the central area. Changes occur in neighbourhood's social character (i.e. poorer inhabitants are displaced) as well as property value and tenure (i.e. from affordable, privately rented, multiple family accommodation to expensive owner-occupied dwellings).

***Immigrant Population*** - Persons born abroad who have been granted permanent residence and citizenship in Canada. The 1991 Census definition was expanded to include refugee claimants along with holders of employment and student authorizations and Minister's permits.

***Index of Dissimilarity*** - A statistical measure used to determine the relative *evenness* between two specific subgroups (e.g. ethnic groups) with respect to residential differentiation. It shows the percentage of one population that would need to redistribute itself in order to have the same percent distribution by spatial units as the other population.

***Index of Segregation*** - A statistical measure used to determine the degree of residential separation of a particular subgroup with respect to the total remaining metropolitan population.

***Integration*** - The process whereby immigrants are incorporated into the mainstream society and participate in its institutions while retaining their identity.

***Inner-city*** - A loosely defined high-density area of mixed low-income housing, retail and light manufacturing located at or close to the city centre.

***Location Quotient*** - The ratio between the percentage of one population in an area and that of the total population in the same area. It describes the a particular group's relative *concentration* or representation with a given area. Spatial patterns are exposed by plotting these ratios onto *census tract* diagrams.

***Mixing*** - The process in which members of two populations are found in equal numbers in a particular residential area. This term is also known as 'social mix(ing).'

***Natural Area*** - A relatively homogeneous spatial unit (e.g. neighbourhood) delimited by informal boundaries such as topographical features and/or transportation routes which is the result of unplanned urban growth. Natural areas and their inhabitants are distinguished from each other and the heterogeneous urban environment by their internal uniformity (i.e. shared characteristics) and physical individuality. The resulting spatial pattern is a complex mosaic of segregated zones.

***Relative Centralization Index*** -. A statistical measure of the degree of congregation in a central area (i.e. proximity to the urban core). It indicates the relative share of a group's members that would have to change their place of residence to match the degree of centralization of another group's members.

***Residential Concentration Index*** - A statistical measure of local density that accounts for the effects of an ethnic group's total size. It indicates the proportion of households in a particular area (e.g. *census tract*) that are of the same ethnic group relative to the same group's total city-wide population.

***Segregation*** - The spatial separation or isolation of sub-groups by forced (involuntary) or voluntary residence. This dissimilarity in residential distribution exists when sub-group members are not uniformly distributed relative to the wider population. *Involuntary segregation* occurs when a specific social, racial, or ethnic group is required by law or custom to reside in designed area. *Voluntary segregation* is the result of self-selection whereby individuals choose to identify with and settle in areas already inhabited by people with similar social, racial, or ethnic characteristics. It is possible to have segregation without concentration (e.g. randomly distributed neighbourhoods in which a specific ethnic group dominates).

***Social Distance*** - The degree to which an individual is willing to associate with other from distinct ethnic and/or racial groups.

***Socio-economic Status*** - A stratification of classification of the population according to the amount of income, years of education, and occupational prestige. While it is possible to relate socio-economic status to life expectancy, organizational membership, political participation, and religious behaviour, it should be noted that income, education and occupation do not always correspond with life styles and consumption habits.

***Transition Area*** - An area of the inner-city characterized by obsolescent and dilapidated housing in multiple occupation, derelict land in varying degrees of deterioration, and declining industry. It is often home to those with low wages and provides residential opportunities for new immigrants.

***Visible Minority*** - An ascribed status in which a group is differentiated from the majority of inhabitants by physiological characteristics, such as skin pigmentation and facial form, and social customs such as self-presentation (e.g. clothing). The 1991 Census Dictionary defines 'visible minorities' according to the Employment Equity Act (1986) which states that members of this group includes persons, other than Aboriginals, "who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in [skin] colour." The following ethnic origin groups are generally regarded as composing visible minorities: Blacks, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indo-Pakistanis, West Asians and Arabs, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Indonesians and Pacific Islanders. This variable is derived from the ethnic origin question because the Census does not ask respondents to identify their race or colour. Visible minorities data was derived for the 1981 and 1991 Censuses in conjunction with other ethno-cultural information (i.e. mother tongue, home language, place of birth and religion).

## REFERENCES CITED

- Adelman, Howard. "Canadian Refugee Policy in the Postwar Period: An Analysis." In Refugee Policy: Canada and the United States, ed. Howard Adelman, 172-223. Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1991.
- Agocs, Carol. "Ethnic Neighborhoods in City and Suburbs: Metropolitan Detroit, 1940-1970." Ph. D. dissertation, Wayne State University, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnic Groups in the Ecology of North American Cities." Canadian Ethnic Studies 11 (2) (1979): 1-17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnic Settlement in a Metropolitan Area: A Typology of Communities." Ethnicity 8 (1981): 127-148.
- Allen, James P. and Eugene Turner. "Spatial Patterns of Immigrant Assimilation." Professional Geographer 48 (2) (1996): 140-155.
- Alonso, William. "A Theory of the Urban Land Market." Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association 6 (1960): 149-187.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Location and Land Use. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Anderson, Grace M. and William Marr. "Immigration and Social Policy." In Canadian Social Policy, 2nd ed., ed. Shankar A. Yelaja, 88-114. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987.
- Anderson, Kay. Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875 - 1980. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Anderson, T. R. "Social and Economic Factors Affecting the Location of Residential Neighborhoods." Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association 9 (1962): 161-170.
- Andrews, William A., ed. Urban Studies. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1976.
- Armstrong, Chris. "Community Struggles to Throw Off Effects of Crippling Stereotype." Globe and Mail (Toronto), 13 August 1994, A1, A6.

- Austin, C. Murray. "Communications Technology and Urbanization: Geographic Implications in a Post-Industrialism." In The Role of Geography in a Post-Industrial Society: Proceedings of an International Conference, Vechta, 08-12 September 1986, ed. Hans-Wilhelm Windhurst. 57-68. Vechta, Germany: Vechtaer Druckerie und Verlag GmbH and Company, 1988.
- Badets, Jane and Tina W. L. Chui. Canada's Changing Immigrant Population. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1994. Catalogue number 96-311E.
- Baine, Richard P. and A. Lynn McMurray. Toronto: An Urban Study. Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1984.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. "Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas of Canada." Canadian Journal of Sociology 1 (1976): 481-498.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Changing Patterns of Ethnic Residential Segregation in the Metropolitan Areas of Canada." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 19 (1) (1982): 92-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Immigration and the Changing Ethnic Mosaic of Canadian Cities. Report Submitted to the Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy. Ottawa: National Health and Welfare, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Immigration and Urban Development. Discussion Paper No. 91-10. London: University of Western Ontario, Population Studies Centre, 1991.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and Feng Hou. The Changing Patterns of Spatial Concentration and Residential Segregation of Ethnic Groups in Canada's Major Metropolitan Areas, 1981-1991. Discussion Paper No. 95-2. London: University of Western Ontario, Centre for Population Studies, 1995.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and John Kralt. "Segregation of Visible Minorities in Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver." In Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities, ed. Leo Driedger, 138-157. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and K. Selvanathan. "Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Canada." In Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, eds. Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger, 75-89. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.
- Balakrishnan, T. R. and Zheng Wu. Housing Patterns and Ethnicity in Selected Canadian Cities. Discussion Paper No. 91-4. London: University of Western Ontario, Population Studies Centre, 1991.

- Barr, Jane, Myriam Mansour, and Allan Nash. "The Annotated Bibliography of Canadian Immigration Research, 1982-1992." [[http://artsci\\_ccwin.concordia.ca/geog/BIBLIO.html](http://artsci_ccwin.concordia.ca/geog/BIBLIO.html)], 1993.
- Barrett, F. A. *Residential Search Behaviour: A Study of Intra-Urban Relocation in Toronto*. Geographical Monographs No. 1. Downsview: York University, Department of Geography, 1973.
- Bassett, Keith and John Short. Housing and Residential Structure: Alternative Approaches. London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Development and Diversity in Urban Geography." In Horizons in Geography, eds. Derek Gregory and Rex Walford, 175-193. London: MacMillan, 1989.
- Bell, Wendell. "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods." In Community Structure and Analysis, ed. Marvin B. Sussman, 61-92. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.
- Berry, Brian J. L. "Internal Structure of the City." Law and Contemporary Problems 30 (1) (Winter 1965): 111-119.
- Bilodeau, Paul. "Metro's Natives Struggle to be Noticed." Toronto Star, 31 December 1985, A14.
- Birch, David L. "Toward a Stage Theory of Urban Growth." Journal of the American Planners Association 37 (1971): 78-87.
- Blau, Peter M. Inequality and Heterogeneity: A Primitive Theory of Social Structure. New York: Free Press, 1977.
- Boal, Frederick W. "Ethnic Residential Segregation." In Social Areas in Cities: Spatial Processes and Form, eds. D. T. Herbert and R. J. Johnston, 41-79. London: Wiley, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Immigration and Ethnicity in the Urban Milieu." In EthniCity: Geographic Perspectives on Ethnic Change in Modern Cities, eds. Roseman, Curtis C., Hans D. Laux, and Gunther Thieme, 283-303. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1996.
- Bordessa, R. "Real Estate Salesmen and Residential Relocation Decisions." Canadian Geographer 22 (1978): 334-339.

Bourne, Larry Stewart. "Market, Location, and Site Selection in Apartment Construction." Canadian Geographer 12 (4) (1968): 211-226.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Geography of Housing. London: Edward Arnold, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Are New Urban Forms Emerging? Empirical Tests for Canadian Urban Areas." The Canadian Geographer 33 (4) (1989): 312-328.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Addressing the Canadian City: Contemporary Perspectives, Trends, and Issues." In Canadian Cities in Transition, eds. Trudi E. Bunting and Pierre Filion, 25-44. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991a.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Urban Growth and the Quality of Urban Life: A Commentary with Canadian Examples." In Urban Change in a Post-Industrial World, eds. Peter G. Hall and Larry S. Bourne, 17-29. Ottawa: CMHC, Centre for Future Studies in Housing and Living Environments, 1991b.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Reurbanization Revisited: The Transformation from Concept to Planning Strategy." Plan Canada (May 1993): 7-9.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Role of Gentrification in the Changing Ecology of Income: Evidence from Canadian Cities and Implications for Further Research." In Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life: Proceedings of the IGU Commission on Urban Development and Urban Life, eds. Gerhard O. Braun et al., 561-574. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994.

\_\_\_\_\_. Urban Growth and Population Redistribution in North America: A Diverse and Unequal Landscape. Major Report No. 32. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1995.

Bourne, Larry Stewart. and Gerald Barber. "Ecological Patterns of Small Urban Centres in Canada." Economic Geography 47 (1971): 258-265.

Bourne, Larry Stewart and David F. Ley, eds. The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Bourne, Larry Stewart and Anthony E. Olvet. New Urban and Regional Geographies in Canada: 1986-1991 and Beyond. Major Report No. 33. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1995.

Bourne, Larry Stewart. et al. Canada's Ethnic Mosaic: Characteristics and Patterns of Ethnic Origin Groups in Urban Areas. Major Report No. 24. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1986.

- Boyd, Monica. "Measuring Ethnicity in the Future: Population, Policies, Politics and Social Science Research." In Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality. Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, Statistics Canada and the United States Department of Commerce, 529-545. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993.
- Brant, Clare. "Wigwamen - A Native Non-Profit Housing Corporation." In Urban Native Housing in Canada, Research and Working Paper No. 19, eds. Marvin Lipman and Clare Brant, 12-17. Winnipeg: University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, 1986.
- Brearton, Steve. "The Evolution of the Danforth." Toronto Life 30 (13) (September 1996): 14-15.
- Breton, Raymond. Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants. Montréal: Social Research Group, 1961.
- Breton, Raymond et al. Ethnic Pluralism in an Urban Setting: Conceptual and Technical Overview of a Research Project. Research Paper No. 121. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1981.
- Bryant, Christopher R. and Daniel Lemire. Population Distribution and the Management of Urban Growth in Six Selected Urban Regions in Canada. Toronto: Intergovernmental Committee on Urban and Regional Research, 1993.
- Bunting, Trudi E. "Social Differentiation in Canadian Cities." In Canadian Cities in Transition, eds. Trudi E. Bunting and Pierre Filion, 286-312. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Bunting, Trudi E. and Pierre Filion. "The Dispersed City: Its Spatial and Temporal Dynamics." In The Dynamics of the Dispersed City: Geographic and Planning Perspectives on the Waterloo Region, Publication Series No. 47, eds. Pierre Filion, Trudi E. Bunting, and Kevin Curtis, 10-54. Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1996.
- Burgess, Ernest W. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project." In The City, eds. R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. E. McKenzie, 47-62. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.
- Burnet, Jean. "Multiculturalism in Canada." In Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities, ed. Leo Driedger, 65-79. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987.



- Burnley, Ian H. "The Ecology of Greek Settlement in Melbourne, Australia." International Migration 10 (4) (1972a): 161-177.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "European Immigration and Settlement Patterns in Metropolitan Sydney, 1947-1966." Australian Geographical Studies 10 (1972b): 61-78.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "International Migration and Metropolitan Growth in Australia." In Urbanization in Australia: The Post-War Experience, ed. Ian H. Burney, 99-117. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Immigrant Absorption in the Australian City, 1947-1971." International Migration Review 4 (4) (Summer 1975): 319-333.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Southern European Populations in the Residential Structure of Melbourne, 1947-1971." Australian Geographical Studies 14 (1976): 116-132.
- Burnley, Ian H. and Warren E. Kalbach. Immigrants in Canada and Australia: Urban and Ecological Aspects. Volume 3. Downsview, ON: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Programme, 1984.
- Burton, I. "A Restatement of the Dispersed City Hypothesis." Annals of the American Association of Geographers 53 (1963): 285-289.
- Butler, Edgar W. Urban Sociology: A Systematic Approach. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976
- Campbell, J. Map Use and Analysis, 2nd ed. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown Publishers, 1991.
- Campsie, Philippa. The Social Consequences of Planning Talk: A Case Study in Urban Intensification. Research Paper No. 190. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1995.
- Camu, P., E. P. Weeks, and Z. W. Sametz. Economic Geography of Canada. Toronto: MacMillan, 1964.
- Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC). Immigrant Housing Choices, 1986. Ottawa: CMHC, Research Division, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Immigrants and the Canadian Housing Market: Living Arrangement, Housing Characteristics and Preferences. Ottawa: CMHC, Research Division, 1996.

- Carey, Elaine. "Islanders Remain Islands Apart: Most Blacks Here are West Indians but Few Things Bring Them Together." Toronto Star, 14 July 1983, D1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jews Helped to Build Toronto: They Have Lived Here Since 1856, Adding a Unique Flavour to the City." Toronto Star, 11 August 1983, D1-D2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Immigrants Make GTA the Leader in Population Growth." Toronto Star, 16 August 1996, A3.
- Cater, John and Trevor Jones. Social Geography. London: Edward Arnold, 1989.
- Chamberlain, Simon. Toronto in Transition: Demographic Trends in the Toronto Region. Report prepared for the Committee on Population Redistribution. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, Policy and Research Division, 1980.
- Chimbos, Peter D. The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980.
- Choldin, Harvey M. Cities and Suburbs: An Introduction to Urban Sociology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1985.
- Chudacoff, Howard P. "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium-Sized City." Journal of American History 60 (1973): 76-93.
- City of Toronto Housing Department. City of Toronto High-Rise Apartment Construction Study. Research Report No. 92-003. Toronto: City of Toronto Housing Department, Policy and Research Section, 1992a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Refugee Housing Study. Research Report No. 92-004. Toronto: City of Toronto Housing Department, Policy and Research Section, 1992b.
- City of Toronto Planning Board. A Report on the Ethnic Origins of the Population of Toronto. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning Board 1960.
- City of Toronto Planning and Development Department. Ethnic Change: 1951-1971. Research Bulletin No. 8. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Social Change in Toronto: A Context for Human Services Planning. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1983.

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Toronto Region: Population Trends and Projections. Research Bulletin No. 25. Toronto: City Planning and Development Department, Research and Information Section, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. High-Rise Apartments in the City of Toronto - The Issue of Conservation: A Working Paper. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. City Plan '91: Language Groups and Immigration, Metropolitan Toronto - 1971-1988. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1991.
- “Cities Want to Change Immigrant Distribution.” Calgary Herald, 09 July 1994, A3.
- Clark, Audrey N. Longman Dictionary of Geography. Harlow, U. K.: Longman, 1985.
- Clark, David. Urban Geography: An Introductory Guide. London: Croom Helm, 1982.
- Clark, William V. “Residential Patterns: Avoidance, Assimilation and Succession.” In Ethnic Los Angeles, eds. Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, 109-147. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Clatworthy, Stewart, Jeremy Hall, and Neil Loughran. “Urban Aboriginal Organizations: Edmonton, Toronto, and Winnipeg.” In Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas. Proceedings of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations Conference on Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Area, ed. Evelyn J. Peters, 25-81. Kingston, ON: Queen’s University Press, 1995.
- Comeau, Pauline and Aldo Santin. The First Canadians: A Profile of Canada’s Native People Today. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Publishers, 1995.
- Con, Harry et al. From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada. Toronto: McClelland Limited, 1982.
- Conzen, Kathleen Niels. “Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues.” The Journal of American History 66 (3) (December 1979): 603-615.
- Couclelis, Helen. “Location, Place, Region, and Space.” In Geography’s Inner Worlds: Persuasive Themes in Contemporary American Geography, eds. Ronald F. Abler et al., 215-223. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

- Coutts, Jane. "Study Shows Immigrants Key to Metro Growth: Young Families Moving to Suburbs, Young Adults Settling in the City." Globe and Mail, 20 April 1993, A12.
- Cressey, Paul F. "Population Succession in Chicago, 1898-1930." American Journal of Sociology 44 (1938): 59-69.
- Darroch, A. Gordon and Wilfred G. Marston. "Ethnic Differentiation: Ecological Aspects of a Multidimensional Concept." International Migration Review 4 (1) (Fall 1969): 71-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Social Class Basis of Ethnic Residential Segregation: The Canadian Case." American Journal of Sociology 77 (November 1971): 491-510.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Patterns of Urban Ethnicity." In Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities, ed. Leo Driedger, 111-137. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987.
- Davies, Wayne K. D. Factorial Ecology. Aldershot, U. K.: Gower Press, 1984.
- Davies, Wayne K. D. and Robert A. Murdie. "Measuring the Social Ecology of Cities." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 52-75. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Social Complexity of Canadian Metropolitan Areas in 1986: A Multivariate Analysis of Census Data." In The Changing Canadian Metropolis: A Public Policy Perspective, Volume 1, ed. Frances Frisken, 203-235. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California and the Canadian Urban Institute, 1994.
- Deacon, Nadine A. "Geographic Factors and Land Use in Toronto." Canadian Geographic Journal 19 (2) (August 1944): 80-99.
- DeMara, Bruce. "Migration into Metro Increasing, Figures Show: New 'Trend' Reverses 16 Years of Decrease." Toronto Star, 05 January 1995, A6.
- Deskins, Donald Richard, Jr. Residential Mobility of Negroes in Detroit, 1837-1965. Michigan Geographical Publication No. 5. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Department of Geography, 1972.
- Douramakou-Petroleka, Lia. "The Elusive Community: Greek Settlement in Toronto, 1900-1940." In Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945, ed. Robert F. Harney, 257-278. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.

Driedger, Leo. "Ethnic Boundaries: A Comparison of Two Neighbourhoods." Sociology and Social Research 62 (1978): 193-211.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnic and Minority Relations." In Sociology, 3rd ed., ed. Robert Hagedorn, 273-303. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Ethnic Factor: Identity and Diversity. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Urban Factors: Sociology of Canadian Cities. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.

\_\_\_\_\_. Multi-Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Driedger, Leo and Glenn Church. "Residential Segregation and Institutional Completeness: A Comparison of Ethnic Minorities." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 11 (1) (1974): 30-52.

Duffy, A. "Blacks in Near-Ghettos, Study Says." Toronto Star, 07 October 1991.

Duncan, Otis D. "Review of Social Area Analysis." American Journal of Sociology 61 (1955): 84-85.

Duncan, Otis D. and Beverly Duncan. "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indices." American Sociological Review 20 (1955): 210-217.

Etzioni, Amitai. "The Ghetto: A Re-evaluation." Social Forces (March 1959): 255-262.

Fabbro, I. "The Social Geography of Metropolitan Toronto: A Factorial Ecology Approach." Downsview: York University, Department of Geography, 1986. Unpublished paper.

Felka, Sandra. Personality Differences and Urban Residential Choice: A Case Study of Toronto's German Community. Discussion Paper No. 40. Downsview: York University, Department of Geography, 1991.

Feschuck, Scott and Erin Anderssen. "Overhaul of Immigration System Recommended: Panel Calls for Streamlining of Refugee Process, Language Tests for Workers Seeking to Immigrate to Canada." Globe and Mail, 07 January 1998, A5.

- Filion, Pierre and Trudi E. Bunting. "Space and Place: The Social Geography of the Dispersed City." Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1995. Unpublished paper.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Space and Place: The Social Geography of the Dispersed City." In The Dynamics of the Dispersed City: Geographic and Planning Perspectives on the Waterloo Region, Publication Series No. 47, eds. Pierre Filion, Trudi E. Bunting, and Kevin Curtis, 89-112. Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1996.
- Filion, Pierre, Trudi E. Bunting, and Kevin Curtis, eds. The Dynamics of the Dispersed City: Geographic and Planning Perspectives on the Waterloo Region. Publication Series No. 47. Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1996.
- Fincher, Ruth. "Urban Geography in the 1990s." In The Student's Companion to Geography, eds. Alisdair Rogers et al., 104-110. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Environmental Claims About the Impacts of Immigrants." In Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared, Volume 2, eds. Howard Adelman et al., 488-512. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Fong, Eric. "A Comparative Perspective on Racial Residential Segregation: American and Canadian Experiences." Paper presented at the annual conference of the Canadian Institute of Planners/American Planning Association/Ontario Professional Planners Institute, Toronto, 08-12 April 1995.
- Foran, Janice M. "A Comparative Factorial Ecology of Quebec City, Edmonton and Hamilton: An Analysis of the Internal Structure." B. A. thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1976.
- Freeman, Linton C. and Morris H. Sunshine. Patterns of Residential Segregation. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1970.
- Frideres, James. Native Peoples in Canada: Contemporary Conflicts, 3rd ed. Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada Incorporated, 1988.
- Fulford, Robert. "Do Canadians Want Ethnic Heritage Freeze-Dried?" Globe and Mail, 19 February 1997, C1.
- Gad, G., R. Reddie, and J. Punter. "Ethnic Differences in the Residential Search Process." In The Form of Cities in Central Canada: Selected Papers, Research Publication No. 11, eds. Larry S. Bourne, R. D. Mackinnon, and James W. Simmons, 168-180. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

- Galster, George C. "On the Measurement of Metropolitan Decentralization of Blacks and Whites." Urban Studies 21 (1984): 465-470.
- Gans, Herbert J. The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans. New York: The Free Press, 1962.
- Gartner, John. "Toward a Liveable Metropolis." Plan Canada 35 (2) (March 1995): 16-20.
- Gillis, A. R. "Urbanization and Urbanism." In Sociology, 3rd ed., ed. Robert Hagedorn, 517- 554. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1986.
- Glickman, Yacov. "Russian Jews in Canada: Threat to Identity or Promise of Renewal?" In Multiculturalism, Jews, and Identities in Canada, eds. Howard Adelman and John H. Simpson, 192-284. Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1996.
- Godrey, Brian J. Neighborhoods in Transitions: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities. Berkley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Goering, John and Modibo Coulibaly. "Public Housing Segregation in the United States." In Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in West Europe and the United States, eds. Elizabeth D. Huttman, Winm Blauw and Juliet Saltman, 305-334. Durham, NC: Duke University, 1991.
- Goldberg, Michael A. and John Mercer. The Myth of the North American City: Continentalism Challenged. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- Goldberg, Suzanne. "Scarborough's Chinatown Having Some Growing Pains." Globe and Mail, 04 June 1984, M3.
- Goldfarb, Martin. "Hard Working Brings Success, Chinese Say in Survey." Toronto Star, 10 November 1985, A15.
- Goodall, Brian. The Penguin Dictionary of Human Geography. Harmondsworth, U. K.: Penguin Books Limited, 1987.
- Gordon, Milton. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

- Gorrie, Peter. "Farewell to Chinatown: An Era of Isolation Ends with the Transition to Toronto's Suburbs." Canadian Geographic 111 (4) (August-September 1991): 17-28.
- Gray, John J. "Chinatown Moves to the Suburbs." Globe and Mail, 13 April 1992, A13.
- Greater Toronto Area. GTA 2021 - The Challenge to Our Future: A Working Document. Toronto: Office for the Greater Toronto Area, 1993.
- Green, Alan G. Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1976.
- Griffith, Daniel A. and Carl G. Amrhein. Statistical Analysis for Geographers. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991.
- Grimes, Seamus. "Residential Segregation in Australian Cities: A Literature Review." International Migration Review 27 (1) (Spring 1993): 103-121.
- Guest, Avery M. "Residential Segregation in Urban Areas." In Contemporary Topics in Urban Sociology, ed. Kent P. Schwirian, 268-336. Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press, 1977.
- Guest, Avery M. and James A. Weed. "Ethnic Residential Segregation: Patterns of Change." American Journal of Sociology 8 (5) (March 1976): 1088-1111.
- Hancock, Macklin L. "Flemington Park, A New Urban Community." In Planning the Canadian Environment, ed. L. O. Gertler, 205-228. Montréal: Harvest House, 1968.
- Harding, Michele. The Chinese Community in Toronto. Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto Series, No. 2. Toronto: City of Toronto, Department of Public Health, Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, 1989a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Greek Community in Toronto. Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto Series, No. 4. Toronto: City of Toronto, Department of Public Health, Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, 1989b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Native Canadian Community in Toronto. Ethnocultural and Health Profiles of Communities in Toronto Series, No. 1. Toronto: City of Toronto, Department of Public Health, Health Promotion and Advocacy Section, 1989c.



- Harney, Robert F. "Ethnicity and Neighbourhoods." In Cities and Urbanization: Canadian Historical Perspective, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter, 225-245. Mississauga, ON: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1990.
- Harris, Chauncy D. and Edward L. Ullman. "The Nature of Cities." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 242 (November 1945): 7-17.
- Harris, Richard. Unplanned Suburbs: Toronto's American Tragedy, 1900 to 1950. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Hartshorne, Truman Asa. Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography, 2nd ed. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1992.
- Harvey, David. The Condition of Postmodernity: An Inquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Harvey, Robin. "Jews in Bathurst St. Area a 'Close-Knit Group': Signs of Cultural, Religious Heritage are Everywhere in Neighbourhood." Toronto Star, 29 August 1984, A6.
- Hawkins, Freda. Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern, 2nd ed. Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared, 2nd ed, Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.
- Hawley, Amos and Otis Dudley Duncan. "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal." Land Economics 33 (4) (November 1957): 337-364.
- Head, Wilson. The Black Presence in the Canadian Mosaic. Toronto: Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1975.
- Hecht, Alfred. "The Journey-to-Work Distance in Relation to the Socio-Economic Characteristics of Workers." Canadian Geographer 18 (4) (1974): 367-378.
- Hecht, Alfred, Robert G. Sharpe, and Amy C. Y. Wong. Ethnicity and Well-Being in Central Canada: The Case of Ontario and Toronto. Marburger Geographische Schriften, Volume 92. Marburg, Germany: Lahn, 1983.
- Heller, Liane. "Greek Community is one of Tradition." Toronto Star, 21 July 1983, D1-D2.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "British Gain New Pride in Their Heritage." Toronto Star, 08 September 1983, D1-D2.
- Henry, Frances. Housing and Racial Discrimination in Canada: A Preliminary Assessment of Current Initiatives and Information. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Caribbean Diaspora in Toronto: Learning to Live with Racism. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Herberg, Edward N. Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1989.
- Herbert, David T. "The Spatial Dimensions: Geographers and Urban Studies." In Urban Social Research: Problems and Prospects, eds. Valdo Pons and Ray Francis, 171-194. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.
- Herbert, David T. and Colin J. Thomas. Urban Geography: A First Approach. Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons, 1982.
- Hiebert, Daniel. "Integrating Production and Consumption: Industry, Class, Ethnicity, and the Jews of Toronto." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 199-213. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Canadian Immigration: Policy, Politics, Geography." Canadian Geographer 38 (3) (1994): 254-270.
- Hill, Daniel. "Negros in Toronto." Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1960.
- Hill, Frederick I. Canadian Urban Trends: Metropolitan Perspective, Volume 2. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1976. Catalogue No. SU32-5/1976-2.
- Hilton, A., L. Potvin and I. Sachdev. "Ethnic Relations in Rental Housing: A Social Psychological Approach." Journal of Behavioural Science 21 (1989): 121-131.
- Holden, Alfred. "Prosperity has Chinatown Ready to Burst at Seams." Toronto Star, 08 April 1985, A6.
- Hooper, Nadine A. "Toronto: A Study in Urban Geography." M. A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1941.

- Hoover, Edgar Malone and Raymond Vernon. Anatomy of a Metropolis: The Changing Distribution of People and Jobs Within the New York Metropolitan Area. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Horowitz, Donald L. "Ethnic Identity." In Ethnicity: Theory and Practice, eds. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, 111-140. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Hoult, Thomas Ford. Dictionary of Modern Sociology. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1969.
- House, D. Contemporary Entrepreneurs: The Sociology of Residential Real Estate Agents. Westport, CT: Greenview Press, 1977.
- Hoyt, Homer. The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in the United States. Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1939.
- Hughes, John. "Wanted! A New Fred Gardiner to Save the GTA." Ontario Planning Journal 10 (2) (March-April 1995): 3-5.
- Hulchanski, J. David. Barriers to Equal Access in the Housing Market: The Role of Discrimination on the Basis of Race and Gender. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1993.
- Hulchanski, J. David and Richard Drdla. "And Housing for All: Opening the Doors to Inclusive Community Planning." Plan Canada (May 1993): 19-26.
- Humphreys, J. S. and J. S. Whitelaw. "Immigrants in an Unfamiliar Environment: Locational Decision-Making Under Constrained Circumstances." Geografiska Annaler 61B (1979): 8-18.
- Huttman, Elizabeth D. and Terry Jones. "American Suburbs: Desegregation and Resegregation." In Urban Housing Segregation of Minorities in West Europe and the United States, eds. Elizabeth D. Huttman, Winn Blauw and Juliet Saltman, 335-356. Durham, NC: Duke University, 1991.
- IBI Group. Greater Toronto Area Urban Structure Concepts Study: Background Report No. 2 - Minimal Growth Option. Toronto: IBI Group, 1990.
- Inglis, Christine, Anthony Birch, and Geoffery Sherington. "An Overview of Australian and Canadian Migration Patterns and Policies." In Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared, Volume 1, eds. Howard Adelman et al., 3-30. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto. Newcomers in Transition. Toronto: International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, 1964.

Isajiw, Wsevolod W. "Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework." In Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality. Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, Statistics Canada and the United States Department of Commerce, 407-427. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993.

Jackson, Peter and Susan J. Smith. Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation. London: Academic Press, 1981.

\_\_\_\_\_. Exploring Social Geography. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984.

James, David R. and Karl E. Taueber. "Measures of Segregation." In Sociological Methodology, ed. Nancy Tuma, 1-32. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1985.

James, Royson. "Immigrants Prop Up Population." Toronto Star, 20 April 1993, A6.

Jencks, Charles. The Language of Post-modern Architecture. New York: Rizzoli, 1984.

Jenkins, Anthony. Home, Sweet Home: Real Estate Brokerage in Canada. Vancouver: Fraser Institute, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Street Slang: The Unvarnished, Really Offensive Toronto." Globe and Mail, 25 March 1995, D5.

Johnson, Graham E. "Ethnic and Racial Communities in Canada and Problems of Adaptation: Chinese Canadians in the Contemporary Period." Ethnic Groups 3 (1992): 151-174.

Johnson, James H. Urban Geography: An Introductory Analysis, 2nd ed. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1972.

Johnston, David. "When the Government Asks for 'Ethnic Origin' it Gets More than One Straight Answer." Montréal Gazette, 24 February 1993, A2.

Johnston, Ronald John et al. Dictionary of Human Geography. New York: The Free Press, 1981.

- Jones, Murray. "Metropolitan Man, Some Economic and Social Aspects." In Planning the Canadian Environment, ed. L. O. Gertler, 235-249. Montréal: Harvest House, 1968.
- Jupp, James, ed. The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins. North Ryde, NSW: Angus and Robertson Publishers, 1988.
- Kalbach, Warren E. Historical and Generational Perspectives of Ethnic Residential Segregation in Toronto, Canada: 1851 - 1971. Research Paper No. 118. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ethnic Residential Segregation and Its Significance for the Individual in an Urban Setting. Research Paper No. 124. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Growth and Distribution of Canada's Ethnic Populations, 1871-1981." In Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities, ed. Leo Driedger, 82-110. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Limited, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnic Residential Segregation and Its Significance for the Individual in an Urban Setting." In Ethnic Identity and Inequality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City, eds. Raymond Breton et al., 92-134. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Growth and Distribution of Canada's Ethnic Populations, 1971-1981." In Perspectives on Canada's Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues, eds. Frank Trovato and Carl F. Grindstaff, 342-357. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Kalbach, Warren E. and Wayne W. McVey. The Demographic Bases of Canadian Society, 2nd ed. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1979.
- Kantrowitz, Nathan. Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis Residential Patterns Among White Ethnic Groups, Blacks and Puerto Ricans. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
- Kasher, Robert J. Passport's Guide to Ethnic Toronto: A Complete Guide to the Many Faces and Cultures of Toronto. Lincolnwood, IL: Passport Books, 1997.
- Kerr, Donald and Jacob Spelt. The Changing Face of Toronto. Memoir No. 11. Ottawa: Mines and Technical Services, Geographical Branch, 1965.

- Kim, I. "The Koreans: Small Business in an Urban Frontier." In New Immigrants in New York, ed. N. Foner, 219-242. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Kingston, John. Longman Illustrated Dictionary of Geography, 6th ed. Harlow: Longman, 1988.
- Knox, Paul. Urban Social Geography: An Introduction, 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman Scientific and Technical, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Urbanization: An Introduction to Urban Geography. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1994.
- Kobayashi, Audrey L. "Representing Ethnicity: Political Statistexts." In Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality. Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, Statistics Canada and the United States Department of Commerce, 513-525. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993.
- Kralt, John and E. Richard Shillington. Atlas of Residential Concentration for the Census Metropolitan Area of Toronto. Ottawa: Multiculturalism Canada, 1986.
- Krotki, Karol J. and Dave Odynak. "The Emergence of Multiethnicities in the Eighties." In Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, eds. Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger, 415-437. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.
- Krotki, Karol J. and Colin Reid. "Demography of Canadian Population by Ethnic Group." In Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John W. Berry and Jean A. Laponce, 17-59. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Kumove, Leon. The Social Structure of Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, Planning Department, 1975.
- La Gory, Mark and John Pipkin. Urban Social Space. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1981.
- Lai, David Chueyon. Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988.
- Lake, Robert and Susan Cutter. "A Typology of Black Suburbanization Since 1970." Geographical Review 70 (1980): 107-181.

- Larkin, Robert P. and Gary T. Parsons. Dictionary of Concepts in Human Geography. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983.
- Laslett, John H. M. "Historical Perspectives: Immigration and the Rise of a Distinctive Urban Region, 1900-1970." In Ethnic Los Angeles, eds, Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, 39-75. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Laws, Glenda. "Implications of Demographic Changes for Urban Policy and Planning." Urban Geography 15 (1) (1994): 90-100.
- Lee, G. Won. Ethnicity in Edmonton: A Statistical Report. Edmonton Area Series Report No. 32. Edmonton: University of Alberta, Department of Sociology, 1984.
- Lee, Trevor, R. "The Role of the Ethnic Community as a Reception Area for Italian Immigrants in Melbourne, Australia." International Migration 8 (1-2) (1970): 50-64.
- Lewinberg, Frank. "Reurbanization: The Context for Planning Growth." Plan Canada (May 1993): 10-13.
- Ley, David F. A Social Geography of the City. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Inner City." In Canadian Cities in Transition, eds. Trudi E. Bunting and Pierre Filion, 313-348. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Gentrification in Recession: Social Change in Six Canadian Inner Cities." Urban Geography 13 (1992): 230-256.
- Ley, David F. and Larry Stewart Bourne. "Introduction: The Social Context and Diversity of Urban Canada." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 3-30. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Ley, David F. and Susan Smith. Is There an Immigrant "Underclass" in Canadian Cities? Vancouver: Vancouver Centre of Excellence, 1997.
- Lieberson, Stanley. "Suburbs and Ethnic Residential Patterns." American Journal of Sociology 67 (6) (May 1962): 673-682.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ethnic Patterns in American Cities. New York: The Free Press, 1963.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Impact of Residential Segregation on Ethnic Assimilation." Social Forces 40 (1): 52-57.

\_\_\_\_\_. "An Asymmetrical Approach to Segregation." In Ethnic Segregation in Cities, eds. Ceri Peach, Vaughn Robinson and Susan Smith, 61-82. London: Croom Helm, 1981.

Lu, Vanessa. "Hong Kong, Canada: Mall Brings Kowloon Here." Toronto Star, 10 November 1996, B1, B4.

Lundrigan, M. "Invisible Walls: Barriers to Housing." Canadian Housing 9 (1992): 8-10.

MacKie, Marlene. "Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Discrimination." In Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada, 2nd ed., eds. Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay E. Goldstein, 219-239. Toronto: Butterworths, 1985.

McAndrew, Brian. "Chinese are Moving to Suburban 'Asiancourt'." Toronto Star, 14 May 1984, A6.

McCracken, M. C. and R. A. Jenness. Immigration Settlement in Ontario. Paper No. 7. Prepared for the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Government of Ontario. Toronto: Infometrica Limited, 1994.

McCaskill, D. N. "The Urbanization of Canadian Indians to Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver: A Comparative Analysis." Ph. D. dissertation, York University, 1979.

McGahan, Peter. Urban Sociology in Canada, 2nd ed. Toronto: Butterworths, 1986.

McInnes, Craig. "Census Balance Shifts Away from French, British Origins: Far-Flung Ethnic Listings Rise - And so do Plain Canadians." Globe and Mail, 24 February 1993, A14.

McNenly, Pat. "Jews Living Downtown Core a Diverse Group, Sociologist Says." Toronto Star, 05 January 1987, A7.

McVey, Wayne W. and Warren E. Kalbach. Canadian Population. Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1995.



- Mahieu, Ron. "Intra-Metropolitan Relocation of Work Places: The Case of Stockholm." In Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life: Proceedings of the IGU Commission on Urban Development and Urban Life, eds. Gerhard O. Braun et al., 379-387. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994.
- Mahler, S. "First Stop, Suburbia." Report on the Americas 26 (1) (1992): 20-25.
- Maidman, Frank. Native People in Urban Settings: Problems, Needs, and Services. Toronto: Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting, 1981.
- Mann, Michael. The International Encyclopedia of Sociology. New York: Continuum Publishing Corporation, 1984.
- Marcus, Roberta and Donald V. Schwartz. "Soviet Jewish Émigrés in Toronto: Ethnic Self-Identity and Issues of Integration." In The Jews in Canada, eds. Robert J. Brym et al., 402-420. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Massey, Douglas S. "Ethnic Residential Segregation: Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review." Sociology and Social Review 69 (3) (1985): 315-350.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. "The Dimensions of Residential Segregation." Social Forces 67 (2) (December 1988): 281-315.
- Matwijiw, Peter. "Ethnicity and Urban Residence: Winnipeg, 1941-71." Canadian Geographer 23 (1979): 45-61.
- Mayhew, Susan and Anne Penny. The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Geography. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Mehta, Surinder K. "Patterns of Residence in Poona (India) by Income, Education, and Occupation." In Comparative Urban Structure in the Ecology of Cities, ed. Kent P. Schwirian, 398-412. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974.
- Mercer, John. "New Faces on the Block: Asian Canadians." Canadian Geographer 32 (4) (1988): 360-362.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Canadian City in Continental Context: Global and Continental Perspectives on Canadian Urban Development." In Canadian Cities in Transition, eds. Trudi E. Bunting and Pierre Filion, 45-68. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- Miller, David. "Metro Chinatown Now a Series of Cities but Spadina Ave. is Still the Core of Oriental Culture." Toronto Star, 28 March 1986, A6.
- Miller, Earl. "Planning in a Multicultural City." City Planning Magazine 7 (1) (1988): 6-7.
- Miron, R. J. "Demography, Living Arrangement, and Residential Geography." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 76-102. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Moghaddam, Fathali M. "Ethnic Segregation in a Multicultural Society: A Review of Recent Trends in Montréal and Toronto and Reconceptualization of Causal Factors." In The Changing Canadian Metropolis: A Public Policy Perspective, Volume 1, ed. Frances Frisken, 237-258. Berkley: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California and the Canadian Urban Institute, 1994.
- Monkhouse, F. J. and H. R. Wilkinson. Maps and Diagrams: Their Compilation and Construction, 2nd ed. London: Methuen and Company, 1963.
- Monsebraaten, Laurie. "Immigrants Help Revive Riverdale: Ethnic Mix Makes This Working-Class Area Tick." Toronto Star, 16 July 1984, A6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "80 Homes Planned for Aboriginals." Toronto Star, 08 March 1995, A7.
- Montgomery, Catherine and Jean Renaud. "Residential Patterns of New Immigrants and Linguistic Integration." Canadian Geographer 38 (4) (1994): 331-342.
- Moore, W. G. The Penguin Dictionary of Geography, 6th ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984.
- Morrison, P. S. "Residential Property Conversion: Subdivision, Merger and Quality Change in the Inner City Housing Stock, Metropolitan Toronto, 1958-1973." Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1978.
- Moyer, Roger. "A Comparative Factorial Ecology: Kitchener-Waterloo, 1971 and 1981." B. A. honours thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1984.
- Muller, Thomas. Immigrants and the American City. New York: New York University Press, 1994.

- Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. Housing Intensification: Metropolitan Plan Review. Policy Report No. 2. Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Policy Development Division, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Study of the Reurbanization of Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Policy Development Division and Berridge, Lewinberg, Greenberg Limited, 1991a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Guidelines for the Reurbanization of Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department, Policy Development Division and Berridge, Lewinberg, Greenberg Limited, 1991b.
- Murdie, Robert A. The Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951 - 1961: An Essay on the Social Geography of the City. Research paper No. 116. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Residential Structure of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951 - 1981." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Regional Science Association, 29-30 May 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Social Housing in Transition: The Changing Social Composition of Public Housing in Metropolitan Toronto. Ottawa: CMHC, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Blacks in Near-Ghettos? Black Visible Minority Population in Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority Housing Units." Housing Studies 9 (4) (1994): 435-496.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Housing Experiences of New Canadians: Comparative Case Studies of Immigrants and Refugees in Greater Toronto." American Ethnic Geographer 5 (1) (Winter 1997): 6.
- Murray, Maureen. "Hong Kong Exodus Transforms Markham." Toronto Star, 05 February 1995, A14.
- Nader, George A. Cities of Canada: Theoretical, Historical and Planning Perspectives, Volume 1. Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1975.
- Nagata, Judith A. "Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the City of Toronto, Canada: A Situational Approach." International Migration Review 4 (1) (Fall 1969): 44-70.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "One Vine, Many Branches: Internal Differentiation in Canadian Ethnic Groups." In Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada, ed. Jean Leonard Elliott, 173-181. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1979.
- Nagler, Mark. Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Natives in Toronto. Ottawa: St. Paul University, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, 1970.
- Nash, Alan. The Economic Impact of the Entrepreneur Immigrant Program. Ottawa: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Recent Developments in Canadian Immigration Policy." Canadian Geographer 38 (3) (1994): 258-269.
- Neumann, Brigitte et al. Immigrant Integration and Urban Renewal in Toronto. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1973.
- Neuwirth, Gertrude. The Settlement of Ethiopian Refugees in Toronto: An Exploratory Study. Ottawa: Policy Analysis Directorate, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989.
- Nipp, Dora. "The Chinese in Toronto." In Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945, ed. Robert F. Harney, 145-175. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.
- Northam, Ray M. Urban Geography. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979.
- Olson, Sherry H. "Ethnic Strategies in the Urban Economy." Canadian Ethnic Studies 33 (2) (1991): 39-64.
- Olson, Sherry H. and Audrey L. Kobayashi. "The Emerging Ethnocultural Mosaic." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 138-152. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Division. Jamaicans: Ontario Ethnocultural Profiles. Toronto, 1982.
- Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting (OTFNPUS). Demographic Studies of Native People in Urban Settings. Toronto: OTFNPUS, 1981a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Urban Natives and Their Communities: Community Reports. Volume 1. Toronto: OTFNPUS, 1981b.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Urban Natives and Their Communities: A Statistical Description of Migration Problems and Services Experiences. Volume 2. Toronto: OTFNPUS, 1981c.
- Opoku-Daapah, Edward. Somali Refugees in Toronto: A Profile. Toronto: York Lanes Press, 1995.
- Owusu, Thoms Y. "The Adaptation of Black African Immigrants in Canada: A Case Study of Residential Behaviour and Ethnic Community Formation Among Ghanaians in Toronto (Ontario)." Ph. D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996.
- Overbeek, Johannes. Population and Canadian Society. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.
- Pahl, R. "Urban Social Theory and Research." Environment and Planning 1 (1969): 143-153.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Whose City? 2nd ed. Hamondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Socio-Political Factors in Resource Allocation." In Social Problems and the City, eds. D. Herbert and D. Smith, 33-46. London: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Palen, J. John. The Urban World, 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1992.
- Palm, Risa. "Factorial Ecology and the Community of Outlook." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 63 (September 1973): 341-346.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Geography of American Cities. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Palmer, Ron, Dan Leeming, and Bruce Hall. Planner's Guide to Toronto. Toronto: Canadian Institute of Planners, 1995.
- Park, Robert E. Race and Culture. New York: Free Press, 1950.
- Peach, Ceri. Urban Social Segregation. London: Longman, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Conflicting Interpretations of Segregation." In Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation, eds. Peter Jackson and Susan J. Smith, 19-33. London: Academic Press, 1981.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Dissolution and Growth of Ethnic Areas in American Cities." In The Expanding City: Essays in Honour of Professor Jean Gottman, ed. John Patten, 277-294. London: Academic Press, 1983.
- Peach, Ceri et al., eds. Ethnic Segregation in Cities. London: Croom Helm Limited, 1981.
- Pearson, E. and B. Celine. Community Consultation Report: Access to Permanent Housing for New Canadians. Toronto: Whyy Mee Family Counselling Foundation of Metro Toronto, 1991.
- Peirol, Paulette. "Immigrant Sponsor Rules Tightened: Crackdown on Fraudulent Social Assistance Claims Rules Out Inmates, Previous Defaulters as Guarantors." Globe and Mail, 19 March 1997, A6.
- Peng, Jimao. "A Community in Motion: The Development of Toronto's Chinatown and Chinese Community, 1947-1981." Ph. D. dissertation, University of Guelph, 1995.
- Peters, Evelyn J. "Demographics of Aboriginal People in Urban Areas." In Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Areas. Proceedings of the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations Conference on Aboriginal Self-Government in Urban Area, ed. Evelyn J. Peters, 5-23. Kingston: Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Peterson, William and Renee Peterson. Dictionary of Demography: Terms, Concepts and Institutions. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Petsimeris, Peter. "The Ethnic and Social Division of a World City: The Case of London." In Managing and Marketing of Urban Development and Urban Life: Proceedings of the IGU Commission on Urban Development and Urban Life, eds. Gerhard O. Braun et al., 251-266. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1994.
- Philip, Margaret. "A Noble Marketing Venture: Bramalea Ltd. Successfully Catered to Ontario's Growing Chinese Population." Globe and Mail, 21 March 1992, B1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Regent Park Back on the Drawing Board: A Toronto Housing Experiment 50 Years Ago that became a Social Disaster is Getting a Second Chance." Globe and Mail, 22 May 1997, A10.
- Picard, André. "Half of Canada's Jews Pick Toronto as Home: Study Notes 'Demographic Revolution' Where Population Doubles in 20 Years." Globe and Mail, 17 February 1995, A8.

Prairie Research Associates. The Relationship Between Newcomer Tenants and Their Landlords. Winnipeg Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council, 1992.

Quann, D. Racial Discrimination in Housing. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1979.

Rabinovitz, Francine F. and William J. Siembieda. Minorities in Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1977.

Race Relations Committee of Kitchener-Waterloo (RRCKW). Racial Discrimination and Rental Accommodation in Kitchener-Waterloo. Kitchener, ON: RRCKW, 1991a.

\_\_\_\_\_. Substandard Housing in Kitchener-Waterloo: A Focus on Ethnic Minorities. Kitchener: RRCKW, 1991b.

Ram, Bali, Mary Jane Norris, and Karl Skof. The Inner City in Transition: Focus on Canada. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1989. Catalogue No. 98-123.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Inner City in Transition." In Prespectives on Canada's Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues, eds. Frank Trovato and Carl F. Grindstaff, 380-399. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Ramcharan, Subhas. "The Economic Adaptation of West Indians in Toronto, Canada." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 13 (1976): 295-304.

Rao, G. Lakshmana, Anthony H. Richmond, and Jerzy Zubrzycki. Immigrants in Canada and Australia: Volume 1 - Demographic Aspects and Education. Downsview: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Programme, 1984.

Ray, Brian. "Immigrants in a 'Multicultural' Toronto: Exploring the Contested Social and Housing Geographies of Post-war Italian and Caribbean Immigrants." Ph. D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Immigrant Settlement and Housing in Metropolitan Toronto." Canadian Geographer 38 (3) (1994): 262-265.

\_\_\_\_\_, ed. Ethnicity in the Metropolitan Region of Montréal, 1991. Montréal: McGill University, Department of Geography, 1995.

Ray, Brian K. and E. G. Moore. "Access to Home Ownership Among Immigrant Groups in Canada." Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 28 (11) (1991): 1-29.

- Ray, D. M. "From Factorial to Canonical Ecology: The Spatial Interrelationships of Economic and Cultural Differences in Canada." Economic Geography 47 (1971): 344-355.
- Ray, Michael. Canadian Urban Trends, Volume 3. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1976.
- Redick, Richard W. "Population Growth and Distribution in Central Cities, 1940-1950." American Sociological Journal (1956): 38-48.
- Relph, Edward. The Toronto Guide: The City, Metro, The Region. Major Report No. 35. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1997.
- Rex, J. and R. Moore. Race, Community and Conflict. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Richmond, Anthony H. Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto. Downsview: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Programme, 1967a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Post-War Immigrants in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto. Downsview: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Programme, 1972.
- Richmond, Anthony H. and John Goldlust. Family and Social Integration of Immigrants in Toronto. Downsview: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Program, 1982.
- Richmond, Anthony H. and Warren E. Kalbach. Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendants. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1980.
- Rogers, Alisdair. "Key Themes and Debates." In The Student's Companion to Geography, eds. Alisdair Rogers et al., 233-252. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.
- Rose, James A. "Cities of Oceania." In Cities of the World: World Regional Urban Development, 2nd ed., eds. Stanley D. Brunn and Jack F. Williams, 195-223. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1993.



- Roseman, Curtis C., Hans D. Laux, and Gunther Thieme, eds. EthniCity: Geographic Perspectives on Ethnic Change in Modern Cities. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1996.
- Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. Aboriginals in Urban Centres: Report on the National Round Table on Aboriginal Urban Issues. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1993.
- Royce, Anya Peterson. Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Russwurm, Lorne H. "The Developing Spatial Form of Canadian Cities." In Essays on Canadian Urban Processes and Form II, Department of Geography Publication Series No. 15, eds. Richard E. Preston and Lorne H. Russwurm, 273-361. Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Department of Geography, 1980.
- Sabagh, Georges and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. "Population Change: Immigration and Ethnic Transformation." In Ethnic Los Angeles, eds. Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, 79-107. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Said, A. Findings on the Somali Community in the City of York. Toronto: City of York Community Services, 1991.
- Sarick, Lila. "Immigrants Skip Downtown Stage." Globe and Mail, 28 December 1994, A1, A4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Canada Strives to Woo Upscale Immigrants: After 25 Years Officials are Doing a Sales Job Again - But Only Certain People Need Apply." Globe and Mail, 07 June 1995, A1, A4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "New Immigrant Selection Rules Put on Hold: Regulations Aimed at Streamlining Criteria for Skilled Workers Sidelined because of Complaints." Globe and Mail, 09 January 1996, A8.
- Sarre, P. "Choice and Restraint in Ethnic Minority Housing: A Structuralist View." Housing Studies 1 (1986): 71-86.
- Scarborough Housing Education for Newcomers (SHEN). Housing and New Immigrant Communities: A Consultative Forum. Scarborough, ON: SHEN, 1992.
- Schachter, Harvey. "Toronto is a Changed Metropolis: Immigration has Brought Many Tensions." Montréal Gazette, 21 December 1994, B3.

- Schwab, William A. Urban Sociology: A Human Ecological Perspective. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Sociology of Cities. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992.
- Seward, Shirley B. "Policy Context of Immigration to Canada." In Policy Forum on the Role of Immigration in Canada's Future, Policy Forum Series No. 15, eds. Charles M. Beach and Alan G. Green, 3-8. Kingston: , Queen's University, John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, 1988.
- Sewell, John. "Alternatives to the Suburbs." In The Second City Book, eds. James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross, 41-47. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company Publishers, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Shape of the City: Toronto Struggles with Modern Planning. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Sharpe, Robert G. "The Residential Geography of Visible Minorities in Vancouver, Toronto, and Montréal." Revised version of a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of Geographers, Miami, Florida, 1992.
- Shevky, Ershef and Wendell Bell. Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Conceptual Procedures. Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 1955.
- Simmons, Alan B. "New Wave Immigrants: Origins and Characteristics." In Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, eds. Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger, 141-159. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.
- Simmons, James W. and Larry S. Bourne. Urban Growth Trends in Canada, 1981-1986: A New Geography of Change. Major Report No. 25. Toronto: University of Toronto, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, 1989.
- Simmons, James W. and Robert Simmons. Urban Canada, 2nd ed. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1974.
- Small, John and Michael Witherick. A Modern Dictionary of Geography. London: Edward Arnold, 1986.

- Smith, P. J. and P. W. Moore. "Cities as a Social Responsibility: Planning and Urban Form." In The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities, eds. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, 343-366. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Soberman, Richard M. Choices for the Future. Toronto: Metropolitan Plan Review, 1975.
- Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (SPCMT). A Study of the Needs and Resources of Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: SPCMT, 1970a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Trends Affecting the Development of Social Services in Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: SPCMT, 1970b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Families in High-Rise Apartments: A First Study. Toronto: SPCMT, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Metro's Suburbs in Transition: Part 1. Toronto: SPCMT, 1979a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Metropolitan Social Profile: A Guide to Social Planning Facts in Metropolitan Toronto. Toronto: SPCMT, 1979b.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Metropolitan Social Profile: A Guide to Social Planning Facts in Metropolitan Toronto. Volume 1. Toronto: SPCMT, 1984.
- Soja, Edward. Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory. London: Verso, 1989.
- Spate, James L. and John J. Macionis. The Sociology of Cities. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.
- Spears, John. "Mad About Malls - 'Ethnic Ghetto' or Meeting Need: Debate Rages About Two Proposed New Asian Malls." Toronto Star, 04 July 1995, B1-B2.
- Spector, A. N. "The Real Estate Agent: The Search for Housing and Development of Housing Markets." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, Victoria, British Columbia, 1979.
- Spelt, Jacob. Toronto. Canadian Cities Series. Toronto: Collier Macmillan Canada, 1973.

- Stafford, James. "Welcome but Why? Recent Change, in Canadian Immigration Policy." In Perspectives on Canada's Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues, eds. Frank Trovato and Carl F. Grindstaff, 322-341. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Stanford, Barbara. St. James Town Revitalization: Social Analysis. Toronto: City of Toronto Planning and Development Department, 1988.
- Statistics Canada. Population: Reference Maps. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1971. Catalogue No. 92-712.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Reference Maps: Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1982. Catalogue No. 99-906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Limitations to the Use of Ethnic Origin Data to Quantify Visible Minorities in Canada. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984a. Catalogue No. 92X-315.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Census Metropolitan Area/Census Agglomeration Program: A Review, 1941-1981. Working Paper No. 8. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1984b. Catalogue No. 99-978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. User's Guide to 1981 Census Data on Ethnic Origin. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986. Catalogue No. 99-949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1991 Census Dictionary. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1992a. Catalogue No. 92-301.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Census Metropolitan Areas, Census Agglomerations, and Census Tracts: Reference Maps. Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1992. Catalogue No. 92-320.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Income: 1991 Census Technical Report. Reference Products Series. Ottawa: Minister of Industry, Science and Technology, 1994. Catalogue No. 92-340E.
- Stearns, Linda B. and John R. Logan. "Measuring Segregation: Three Dimensions, Three Measures." Urban Affairs Quarterly 22 (1986): 124-150.
- Stevens, Victoria. "Jamaicans in Metro See Rapid Changes." Toronto Star, 15 June 1978, A10.

- Stone, Leroy G. "Urban Development in Canada." In Prespectives on Canada's Population An Introduction to Concepts and Issues, eds. Frank Trovato and Carl F. Grindstaff, 365-379. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- "Suburbs Getting Immigrants: Toronto's Ethnic Mix Changing." Toronto Star, 04 June 1979, A3.
- Taylor, Edward. "Conflict, Group Affiliation and Social Adjustment: The Case of West Indians in Toronto." M. A. thesis, University of Guelph, 1969.
- Teixeira, Jose C. "The Role of 'Ethnic' Sources of the Information in the Relocation Decision-Making Process: A Case Study of the Portuguese in Mississauga (Ontario)." Ph. D. dissertation, York University, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ethnicity, Housing Search and the Role of the Real Estate Agent: A Study of Portuguese and Non-Portuguese Real Estate Agents in Toronto." Professional Geographer 47 (2) (1995): 176-183.
- Teixeira, Jose C. and Robert A. Murdie. "The Role of Ethnic Real Estate Agents in the Residential Relocation Process: A Case Study of Portuguese Homebuyers in Suburban Toronto." Urban Geography 18 (6) (1997): 497-520.
- Theodorson, George A. and Achilles G. Theodorson. A Modern Dictionary of Sociology. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1964.
- Thompson, Allan. "British Dominance Fades in Metro, Census Finds." Toronto Star, 24 February 1993, A2.
- Thompson, Bryan. "Newcomers to the City: Factors Influencing Initial Settlement and Community Growth Patterns." East Lakes Geographer 8 (1973): 50-78.
- Thompson, Richard H. Toronto's Chinatown: The Changing Social Organization of an Ethnic Community. New York: AMS Press Incorporated, 1989.
- Timms, D. W. G. "Social Bases to Social Areas." In Social Areas in Cities: Spatial Processes and Form, Volume 1, eds. D. T. Herbert and R. J. Johnston, 19-39. London: John Wiley and Sons, 1976.
- Trovato, Frank and Shiva S. Halli. "Ethnicity and Geographic Mobility." In Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Racial and Cultural Variations, eds. Shiva S. Halli, Frank Trovato, and Leo Driedger, 75-89. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990.

- Valpy, Michael. "A Shoehorn in Toronto's Future." Globe and Mail, 12 January 1996, A15.
- Varady, David P. Ethnic Minorities in Urban Areas: A Case Study of Racially Changing Communities. Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishing, 1979.
- Veltman, Calvin et al. Evolution de la Localisation Residentielle de Principaux Groupes Ethniques et Immigrants, Montréal, 1971-1981. Montréal: Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique - Urbanisation, 1986.
- Vincent, Isabel. "Ethnic Communities Definitely on the Rise." Globe and Mail, 01 November 1995, A12.
- Waksman, Adi. "Jews in City Centre: Proud, Diverse and Alive." Canadian Jewish News (Toronto), 22 February 1996, 25-26.
- Waldinger, Roger. "Beyond Nostalgia: The Old Neighbourhood Revisited." New York Affairs 10 (1987): 1-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Immigration and Urban Change." Annual Review of Sociology 15 (1989): 211-232.
- Waldinger, Roger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. "The Making of a Multicultural Metropolis." In Ethnic Los Angeles, eds, Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, 3-37. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.
- Wallace, Marcia. "Immigration Policy: A Timeline." Presented during Ph. D. Comprehensive Examination, University of Waterloo, 01 December 1995.
- Walmsley, D. J. and G. J. Lewis. People and Environment: Behavioural Approaches in Human Geography, 2nd ed. Harlow: Longman Scientific and Technical, 1993.
- Ward, David. "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettos in American Cities: 1840-1920." Annals of the Association of American Geographers 58 (1968): 343-359.
- Ward, Olivera. "The Chinese: Metro's Chinese 'Feel Confidence' in City." Toronto Star, 10 November 1985, A1, A12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Jewish Community: Jews are No Longer 'Outsiders' in Metro." Toronto Star, 08 December 1985, A1, A8-A9.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Anglo Saxons: They No Longer Rule Roost in Metro." Toronto Star, 15 December 1985, A1, A14.
- Weinfeld, Morton. "Ethnic Assimilation and the Retention of Ethnic Cultures." In Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John W. Berry and Jean A. Laponce, 238-266. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Weiss, Ann C. "The Changing Residential Structure of Toronto's Core." M. A. thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1986.
- Whitaker, Reg. Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation. Canada's Ethnic Groups Series, Booklet No. 15. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991
- White, Michael J. American Neighborhoods and Residential Differentiation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1987.
- White, Pamela M. et al. "Measuring Ethnicity in Canadian Censuses." In Challenges of Measuring an Ethnic World: Science, Politics and Reality. Proceedings of the Joint Canada-United States Conference on the Measurement of Ethnicity, Statistics Canada and the United States Department of Commerce, 223-267. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1993.
- Wilson, Ann M. Housing Needs and General Well-Being of Immigrants and Refugees in Calgary. Ottawa: CMHC, 1992.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." American Journal of Sociology, 44 (1938): 1-24.
- Wong, Yee Amy. "The Relocations of Chinatown in Toronto." B. A. thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "An Examination of the Geographic and Socioeconomic Spaces of Ethnic Groups in Toronto: A Core-Periphery Perspective." M. A. thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1982.
- Wong, Tony. "Hong Kong Money Likes GTA." Toronto Star, 10 November 1996, A1, A16.
- Xie, Jing. "Housing Search Behaviour: A Case Study of New Chinese Immigrants in Metropolitan Toronto." M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1991.

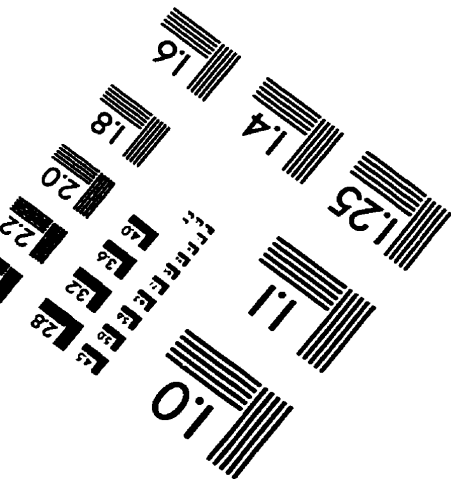
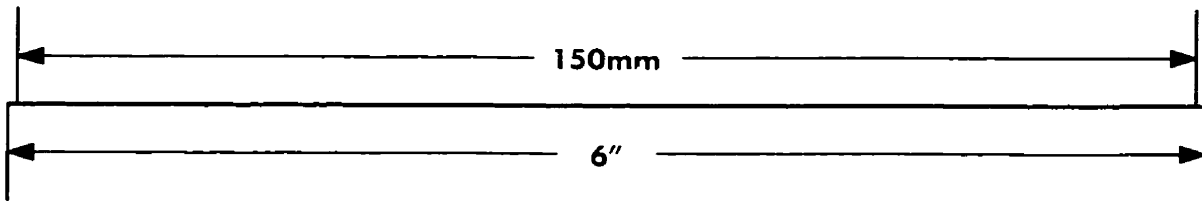
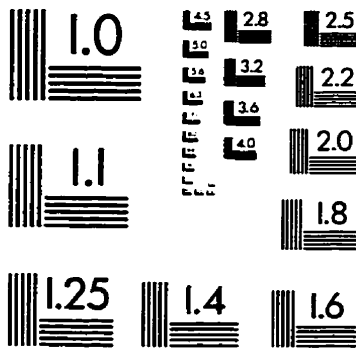
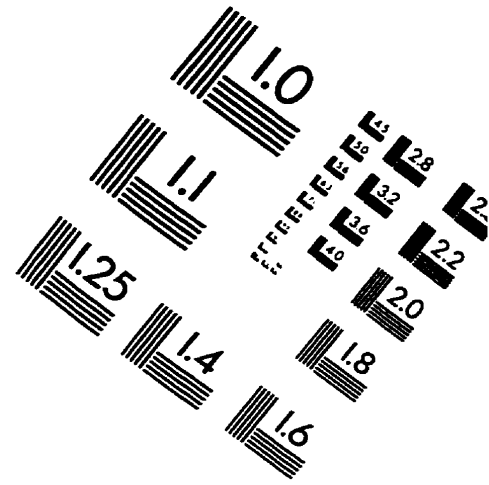
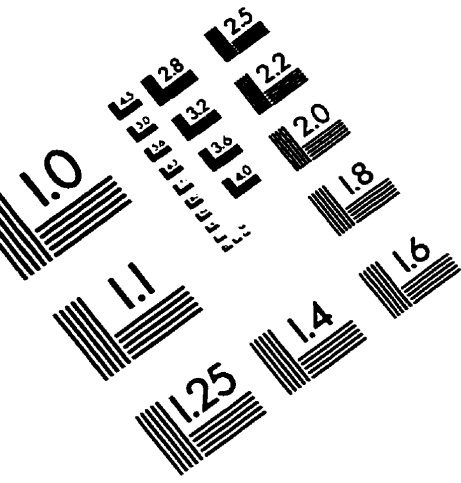
Yeates, Maurice. The North American City. 4th ed. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1990.

Zhou, M. Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Zunz, Oliver. "The Organization of the American City in the Late Nineteenth Century: Ethnic Structure and Spatial Arrangement in Detroit." Journal of Urban History 3 (4) (August 1977): 433-466.



# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE .inc  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993. Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved

