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Exploring Minority Enclave Areas in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver

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Executive Summary

The population of immigrants and members of Visible minority groups in Canada is concentrated in the three largest metropolitan areas of Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver. Further, there are pronounced variations within these cities, and researchers and policy analysts have become increasingly interested in the tendency of some groups to form ethno-specific enclaves in certain neighbourhoods. (Note that in this study, "Mixed Minority Enclaves" are those in which visible minorities constitute 70 or more percent of the population without a dominant group; "Minority Group Enclaves", or "Polarized enclaves", are those in which visible minorities constitute 70 or more percent of the population, but with a single group that is at least twice the size of any other.) In large measure, this interest reflects the assumption that residential segregation might challenge social cohesion. It is widely believed that people are more likely to interact across ethno-cultural or religious lines, for example, if they live in proximity rather than in separate areas of the city.

Surprisingly, given the long history of urban-based immigrant settlement in Canada, we know little about the socio-cultural dynamics of minority enclave areas. Are enclaves "parallel societies", where residents adopt counter-mainstream attitudes? Within enclaves, is there cross-cultural communication, or are they places of relative ethno-cultural isolation? Are they socially stable, that is, places that help people maintain their way of life and identity for long periods of time, even permanently? Or are they or just weigh stations on a road to integration, with residents living in them briefly before dispersing to more diverse neighbourhoods? These are important questions but, given our research base, they are premature.

This study is designed to be a kind of preliminary step, laying down a set of basic points that are primarily factual in nature. The analysis is confined to the three metropolitan centres with the largest immigrant and visible minority populations, Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV). A relatively new approach has been adopted, based on neighbourhood typology that was introduced by Poulson, Johnston and Forrest (2001) and adapted for Canada by Walks and Bourne (2006). Each Census Tract in these three urban regions is assigned one of five neighbourhood types, which range from areas that are mainly White to ethno-specific visible minority enclaves. There are two particularly useful elements of the neighbourhood typology system. First, it enables a quick identification of enclave areas using a common-sense definition. Secondly, a number of other researchers inspired by this method have documented the neighbourhood structure of large cities across several relevant countries, and Canadian statistics can be set in an international comparative framework. In general, the degree of ethno-cultural mixing in the residential spaces of Canadian cities is less than that found in Australia or New Zealand, approximately equivalent to that found in the UK, and more than that found in the United States.

The key questions animating this project, and summarized answers to them, are:

How has the residential geography of Visible Minority groups changed between 1996 and 2006? With a relatively high rate of immigration, and a growing second-generation Visible Minority population, are enclaves becoming more prevalent in MTV?

> The residential geography of Montréal has not changed very much over this period, but there has been a great deal of change in Toronto and Vancouver, so much so that we are beginning to see what one might call a new residential order in these metropolitan areas. One of the core elements of this new order is the growth of Mixed Minority and, especially, Minority Group Enclaves. At present, well over one-quarter of the Visible minority population of both Toronto and Vancouver lives in these settings. But the other element is dispersion, with all parts of the city (including enclaves) becoming highly diverse. Currently there are no

adequate urban models, to help explain the apparently contradictory simultaneous processes of concentration and dispersion.

What is the socio-economic profile of Visible Minority enclaves? Who lives in them? Who does not? Are there systematic differences between these two sub-populations?

Across the three metropolitan areas, recent immigrants (individuals who landed in Canada between 1996 and 2006) are more likely to live in enclaves, as well as individuals who are dedicated to the preservation of their culture (i.e., speak a non-official language in their home). In general, enclaves are associated with a higher level of unemployment than the rest of the city, and their residents are slightly more dependent on government transfers as a source of income; the incidence of low income is also higher in enclaves. However, there are important nuances to this rather negative list of characteristics. Actually, the level of education (university completion) is approximately the same in enclaves as in other neighbourhoods, as is the proportion of residents able to purchase a home. In other words, there are some systematic differences between residents of enclaves and other areas of the city, but these are not consistent and in many cases the differences are quite small.

Are enclaves ethno-culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous? That is, are they characterized by a number of immigrant / visible minority groups, or are they dominated by single groups?

The methodology used in this study classifies areas as Mixed Minority enclaves when at least 70 percent of the population belongs to a visible minority group and as Minority Group Enclaves when this is true, plus there is a high level of dominance by a single ethno-cultural group. Therefore we might expect relatively little diversity in these areas, especially the latter neighbourhood type. Nevertheless, enclaves are characterized by profound ethno-cultural diversity, particularly in Toronto. If anything, this study demonstrates that enclaves are not mono-cultural landscapes, barring a few exceptions (e.g., see Leloup, 2008).

How do enclaves intersect with religious diversity? As in the previous point, are they typically characterized by populations with a variety of religious affiliations, or monolithic in this respect?

Fewer than half of the residents of enclaves identify with Judeo-Christian religions, which means they are distinct relative to Canadian society as a whole. Nevertheless, enclaves are highly diverse in terms of the religious affiliation of their residents.

What is the relationship between enclaves and poverty? Are enclaves places of socio-economic marginalization and deprivation?

In Montréal, enclaves are part of a much larger landscape of marginalization, one that affects the dominant White population as well as visible minority groups. All of the Census Tracts defined as enclaves in Montréal are places of extreme poverty. On the positive side, relatively few members of visible minority groups live in enclaves in Montréal, and most reside in areas dominated by Whites. But on the negative side, those who do live in these neighbourhoods face significant socio-economic challenges. As noted earlier, given the view that equates enclaves with disadvantage, it is ironic to see that this is only the case in Montréal, the metropolitan area that has the lowest population of Visible Minorities and fewest living in enclaves. The socio-economic profile of enclaves in Toronto and Vancouver is far more complex. There are certainly areas in both cities that are associated with both visible minority populations and extreme poverty. At the same time, in both cities, a far larger number of poor members of visible minority groups live outside enclaves than inside them. In fact, the propensity for visible minority residents of enclaves to be poor in Vancouver is only marginally higher than for the visible minority population in the metropolitan area as a whole.

What is the profile of areas where we find overlapping social isolation (very high ethno-cultural concentration) and socio-economic marginalization (very high poverty rates)? Who inhabits them?

> They tend to be in mid-town locations and not clustered. Visible minority residents of these areas tend to be first-generation immigrants and to have arrived relatively recently in Canada. They tend to speak a non-official language in their home. In Montréal, South Asian-Canadians are most likely to be found in these areas; this is the case for Black-Canadians in Toronto, and Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver. These place-specific patterns demonstrate that there is not a single visible minority group that faces the greatest degree of socio-economic exclusion across all parts of Canada.

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> Canadian-born Italians and Jews are unlikely to consider themselves segregated today, though their parents and grandparents probably did when they lived in the same sort of rough, poor areas that are now home to Chinese and Pakistanis. "Clustering" helped them make it.
>
> Are we watching the same thing happen to new waves of immigrants, as they churn through the urban machinery, throwing off waves of creation and commerce? Or has the machinery broken down, leaving communities trapped and alone?
>
> Before we start talking about ghettos, we need to answer that question.
>
> Saunders, 2009.

Part 1: The characteristics of minority enclaves in MTV in 2006

Introduction: The issues

Over the long postwar period two major issues have largely been considered separately. First, national governments across the global north have framed immigration policies from the perspective of the nation state, usually with the economy and demographic structure of the population in mind. In Canada, immigration policy has been the driving mechanism of population change, especially in the past 20 years. Given the globalization of immigrant admissions, this has led to a pronounced diversification of Canadian society from an ethno-cultural point of view. Secondly, at the same time, the everyday process of immigrant integration, and the ongoing interaction between ethno-cultural groups has occurred at the local scale, particularly in metropolitan areas. There has been little feedback between these scales / processes. For example, the federal government formally consults with provinces when establishing immigration targets, but not with municipalities. Further, although there is a unit of the national immigration ministry (CIC) dedicated to integration, it is not clear that admission policies have been shaped with strong input from this quarter (e.g. see Green and Green, 1999; Li, 2003). From a more academic point of view, the ideas of economists have been taken seriously by national governments when framing immigration policy. Anthropologists, geographers, and sociologists studying the transformation of cities, however, have not been seen as especially relevant at that scale.

The relative isolation between the local and national scales in immigration and diversity policy is, arguably, changing in the 21st century. In part this has been driven by the choices of immigrants and their children, who have become increasingly concentrated in large metropolitan areas. A national map of members of visible minority groups, therefore, would have "hot spots" in a small number of places, with large relatively blank spaces between them. The non-metropolitan cultural landscape of Canada is largely White and Aboriginal, while major cities house globalized populations. This uneven geography calls for a *spatialized* understanding of policies that have been seen as essentially national in scope. Recent fears that have arisen in the wake of 9-11,

[1] I thank the Citizenship and Multiculturalism Division of Citizenship and Immigration Canada for commissioning this report. I also thank the Department of Canadian Heritage for access to the special tabulation of data used in Tables 4, 7 and 8. And I gratefully acknowledge the careful work of Mathew Coyle in extracting and analyzing data, and the production of Figures 1-3. The views expressed in this report are mine alone, as are any errors of fact or interpretation.

the London bombings, riots in Paris, and several other incidents, have intensified this concern, especially since the perpetrators of these events have often been native-born minorities. Attention has turned to the urban environment in an effort to understand issues like the radicalization of youth. In other words, the question of national security is, in part at least, connected to the fabric of city life. In this emerging perspective, the analysis of neighbourhood formation and urban transformation has come to have significance at the national scale.

It is important to understand a deeper assumption involved here. Increasingly, policy analysts have begun to appreciate a point made by urban sociologists and geographers for decades: there is a relationship between the spatial arrangement of society and social relations within it. People are more likely to interact across ethno-cultural or religious lines, for example, if they live in proximity rather than in separate areas of the city. Banal encounters in the everyday can lead to cross-cultural understanding (cf. Sandercock, 2003; Germain, 1997). Conversely, sequestered environments foster interaction *within* cultural communities and, arguably, a lack of understanding between cultures. *Where* people live—the nature of their neighbourhoods—matters, even for national governments which tend to be far removed from the local scale.

Increasingly, the composition of neighbourhoods in metropolitan centres in Canada is set by immigrants and their children. In many ways the behavior of first-generation immigrants is related to their inevitable, and in certain respects *perpetual*, "in-betweenness", born in one country but living in another. They face the full force of the linguistic challenge of settling in a new country and the greatest acculturation hurdles. Certainly their ability to navigate Canadian society improves over time, but we should not expect a complete transformation of their ways of living or identity. Arguably, this is the chief lesson of the theory of migration that gained ascendance in the 1990s: transnationalism provides a helpful way to understand the immigrant experience and the acculturation process (Hiebert and Ley, 2003). According to this view, immigrants inhabit a "social field" that connects their origin and destination settings. They consume media, communicate with friends, and participate in the politics of both places, and maintain economic connections and travel between them frequently. In other words, they build hybrid identities that are the product of social networks stretched across space, and they participate simultaneously in two (or in some cases more than two) places. Residence in a minority enclave facilitates transnational lifestyles, though they can be maintained regardless of residential setting. Cheap long-distance phone rates, the internet, and satellite TV, plus affordable air travel, mean that immigrants who choose to maintain linkages with their origins can do so from their private home, wherever it is located. Nevertheless, living in an enclave environment means that the ability to live both "there" and "here" (not physically, of course, but in the sense of quotidian practices and identity), is much easier.

The relationship between choosing to reside in an enclave neighbourhood and transnationalism has not been demonstrated in the literature. In part this is likely due to the nature of academic disciplinary – or perhaps more accurately methodological – boundaries. Social geographers studying residential space tend to rely upon statistical data, especially the census. Anthropologists have been the most active in theorizing and investigating transnationalism, though scholars from other disciplinary backgrounds have joined them. With few exceptions, this research has been qualitative, relying upon interviews, focus groups, and participant observation. The small number of quantitative studies of transnationalism have not sought to understand the role of neighbourhood settings (e.g., Portes et al., 2002). Hence, the literatures on residential patterns and transnational identities remain largely unconnected.

Moreover, and perhaps even more surprising, there have been hardly any systematic studies of social life in minority enclaves, or the personal inclinations of their residents. Certainly stereotypes circulate on this question. In fact the initial conceptualization of immigrant settlement in the American city was predicated on the idea that residents of enclaves differ from

those in other areas of the city. In the early 20th century, the key sociologists who have come to be known as the Chicago School (cf. Robert Park, Earnest Burgess, and Louis Wirth) argued that immigrants gravitate to enclaves when they first arrive, places where they can come to terms with their new society in the comfort of peers. The Chicago sociologists noted that important institutions develop in enclaves, such as religious communities, mutual aid societies, ethno-religious schools, etc. As well, enclaves foster a market for ethno-specific goods and services that are typically labour intensive, meaning that there are jobs available to newcomers that do not require proficiency in the host language, and entrepreneurial possibilities. "Ethnic economies" therefore become enmeshed with the maintenance of ethnic identities.

For nearly a century, since these ideas were introduced, it has been assumed that residents of enclaves participated in these institutions more than their counterparts living in other areas of the city. The Chicago sociologists believed firmly in the process of assimilation and asserted that newcomers *needed* enclaves when they arrive but would flee their confines as they became fluent in the host language and improved their employment situation. Enclaves would remain, but there would be a steady cycling through of residents, with newcomers arriving to take the place of those moving "upward and outward" to better – and more mixed – residential spaces. Their model of the assimilation process avoided specifying the time it would take for this to happen, only seeing it as relentless. Certainly the Chicago sociologists, and the generations of analysts inspired by them, expected that the children of immigrants would be sufficiently assimilated to eschew enclaves, and would live in "American" suburbs.

Theories of immigrant settlement and integration have progressed considerably since these early formations, and the details of this body of work are beyond the scope of this report. But it is worth noting that researchers have become less certain about the trajectory of assimilation, and now understand ethnic identity to be both more resilient and flexible. If people hold their ethno-cultural distinctiveness longer, especially in an age of multicultural policies, what does this mean for the nature of enclaves? Will they be more stable, that is, not weigh stations on a road to assimilation, but places that help people maintain their way of life and identity for long periods of time, even permanently? Perhaps this is actually a desirable feature of a multicultural society, like Canada. If people choose to live in enclaves for long periods of time, how does this affect their interaction with people from other ethno-cultural backgrounds, and how does it affect their identification with Canada? These are important questions but, given our research base, they are premature.

The issue of segregation has become particularly charged in Europe, where prominent commentators have linked race riots in the UK and France to the effects of segregated urban environments (cf. Amin, 2003, Haddad and Balz, 2006). Those affiliated with the political right see concentrated minority/immigrant neighbourhoods as the result of a deliberate choice made by their inhabitants to embrace cultural isolation, while progressive critics believe that segregation is a response to racism and economic marginalization. Regardless, socio-spatial segregation is seen as an ingredient in social unrest.

Before we search for the *meaning* of enclaves, we need more systematic information. This study is designed to be a kind of preliminary step, laying down a set of basic points that are primarily factual in nature. I will also engage in some interpretation, but the emphasis here will be on surveying available data to *begin* to answer important questions. At this point, the analysis will be confined to the three metropolitan centres with the largest immigrant and visible Minority populations, Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver (MTV). The questions at the heart of this project are:

- How has the residential geography of Visible Minority groups changed between 1996 and 2006? With a relatively high rate of immigration, and a growing second-generation Visible Minority population, are enclaves becoming more prevalent in MTV?

- What is the socio-economic profile of Visible Minority enclaves? Who lives in them? Who does not? Are there systematic differences between these two sub-populations?
- Are enclaves ethnoculturally homogeneous or heterogeneous? That is, are they characterized by a number of immigrant / Visible Minority groups, or are they dominated by single groups?
- How do enclaves intersect with religious diversity? As in the previous point, are they typically characterized by populations with a variety of religious affiliations, or monolithic in this respect?
- What is the relationship between enclaves and poverty? Are enclaves places of socio-economic marginalization and deprivation? If we find that most enclaves are both ethno-culturally distinct and impoverished, that could signal the potential for future social tension.
- Where are the areas of concern, where we find overlapping social isolation (very high ethno-cultural concentration) and socio-economic marginalization (very high poverty rates)?
- What is the profile of these areas of concern? Who inhabits them?

I have also completed a companion report to this, which focuses on the inter-generational dynamics of enclaves; that is, do second-generation-Canadians gravitate to these areas or avoid them (Hiebert, 2009)?

Framing the analysis: Defining key terms

There are five key terms that are used to discuss the residential patterns of immigrant and minority groups: dispersion; segregation; concentration; enclaves; and ghettoes (or ghettoization). There is a lot of confusion over these terms, since they are often used differently by academics and in popular discourse. To avoid such ambiguity I will define them carefully and endeavor to use them consistently.

Segregation is akin to separation and is said to occur when two or more groups occupy different residential spaces within the same city or region. Segregation should be seen to occur on a continuum, rather than as an either/or situation. At one end of the spectrum, a group may be more prevalent in one area of the city than another, meaning that subtle processes of segregation are involved. For example, people of a particular faith may have a tendency to live near their place of worship, but still live among people of other religious backgrounds. This would constitute a low degree of segregation and the socio-spatial pattern may not even be noticed by casual observers from outside the group. In this case the converse of segregation—that is, **dispersion**—is the most appropriate term.

Scholars employ the term **concentration** to indicate a medium degree of segregation. In a general sense, a group is said to be concentrated when it comes to be identified with an area (or several areas), but its degree of segregation is still modest. More importantly, the neighbourhoods inhabited by the group would also house many members of other groups. Concentration, therefore, implies a combination of segregation and dispersion.
The term **enclave** is used for the areas in which a specific group dominates the population. I will provide an operational definition of enclaves below, but simply state here that they are places instantly recognized within the popular imagination of the city, such as *Chinatown*, *Little Italy*, etc.

Moving further along the continuum, a group is said to be **segregated** when most of its members live in proximity, and when the areas it inhabits are widely seen to be its "turf". In this situation, members of the group mainly encounter co-ethnics in the residential setting, though there is some mixture of other groups as well.

Finally, the extreme case of segregation is **ghettoization**. The term ghettoization should be used carefully, though, and only for those situations when three conditions apply: the vast majority of the members of a group lives in the same area (or a small number of areas); the group constitutes the vast majority of the population of the area (or areas); and the area(s) is also associated with socio-economic marginalization. Instances of classic ghettoization have been rare. Modern exceptions are the Warsaw Ghetto of WWII, designated areas for Black residential settlement in South African cities during the apartheid regime and, more recently, the decision by several local authorities in Italy, such as the government of Milan, to designate separate spaces for Roma (Gypsy) people, complete with fences and gates regulating movement into and from these areas. Municipal governments justify this policy of segregation on two grounds: that Roma people are nomadic and ill-adapted to 'regular' urban environments, and that they need to be protected from racist incidents in the wider society (there have been a number of violent attacks on housing occupied by Roma people). Inevitably, though, by separating Roma from other groups, this policy further racializes the population and severely limits its opportunities for integration (Sigona, 2005).

Ghettos emerge when political and/or other institutions, such as the housing market, operate to restrict the residential choices of certain groups, channeling them to the most undesirable neighbourhoods (Thabit, 2003). They are the product of racialization, where particular minority groups are judged by the majority to be genetically and socially inferior (Wacquant, 2001). There is always a degree of involuntary behaviour in the formation of ghettos, whereas ethnic enclaves arise when members of a group choose to live in close proximity (Boal, 1976). This point is made particularly well by Peach (1996) who distinguishes between "good" (voluntary) vs. "bad" (coerced) segregation.

The consequences of ethnic segregation have been discussed at length by geographers and sociologists. In early statements by the Chicago School, enclaves were deemed beneficial as long as individuals only resided in them temporarily. Further, those who remained in enclaves were seen as insufficiently assimilated and therefore at fault. Since then, assessments have been more complex, with several basic strands of thought. First, some continue to see segregation as indicative of a reluctance to assimilate, and believe that enclaves and ghettos reproduce social exclusion because their inhabitants adopt anti-mainstream attitudes (cf. Lewis, 1969; for a critique, see Bauder, 2002). This point is echoed in the American *underclass* debate. This term was introduced in the Unites States to refer to multiply deprived individuals living in stigmatized neighbourhoods, who experience a form of poverty from which there is virtually no escape. The term applies mainly to African- and Latino-Americans who lack higher education, skills that are in demand, and any apparent means to achieve upward social mobility. Many are raised in single-parent families on social assistance. Conservative commentators believe that these places foster a *cycle of poverty*, with high rates of social assistance, and where youth are often criminalized, and destined to replicate the marginalized situation of their parents (for Canadian work reaching similar conclusions, see Kazemipur and Halli, 1997; 2000).

Secondly, more critical interpretations of these areas focus on the institutional practices that perpetuate segregation (Massey and Denton, 1993). From this point of view, segregated landscapes are both the result of inequality and also a mechanism for the reproduction of inequality. These scholars see a close association between the racialization of minorities, and their relegation to ghettoized environments.

Finally, a third group of scholars has sought to reconcile the classic view of the Chicago School, that residents of segregated areas gain certain benefits, with these later critical perspectives, arguing that segregation can have both beneficial and deleterious effects (Peach, 1996; Logan et al. 2002). For them, the causes and consequences of segregation, and the establishment of enclaves, are *empirical* questions. An area of high ethno-cultural concentration (i.e., an enclave)

may or may not be associated with limited economic opportunities and disenchanted youth. I adopt this view in this analysis, intending to survey the characteristics of minority enclaves rather than see them as inherently problematic. I see concentration and even moderate levels of segregation in essentially neutral terms *unless they are also associated with economic marginalization*.

Methodology 1: Identifying enclaves

For this analysis, I have adopted a relatively new approach, based on neighbourhood typology, that was first introduced by Poulson, Johnston and Forrest (2001) and adapted for Canada by Walks and Bourne (2006). Poulson et al. begin by differentiating between neighbourhoods that are dominated by the host community (i.e., White) vs. those dominated by (Visible) Minorities. Within host community areas that are least 50 percent White, they further distinguish between two types: "Isolated host community" areas where members of Visible Minority groups are largely absent (less than 20 percent of the population), and "Non-isolated host community" areas, which include between 20 and 50 percent Visible Minorities. In more recent work they have adopted the label "White citadels" for those areas that are at least 80 percent White (Johnston et al., 2002; Poulson et al., 2002; Johnston et al., 2003).

In areas where members of Visible Minority groups represent at least half of the population, there are four neighbourhood types. They define "Associated assimilation-pluralism" areas as those with between 50 and 70 percent Visible Minorities, places, they believe, where the host population remains significant in the composition of the area. Secondly, they use the term "Mixed minority enclaves" for areas that are at least 70 percent Visible Minority but that do not have a particular dominant ethno-cultural group. They use the term "Polarized enclaves" for neighbourhoods where at least 70 percent of the population is Visible Minority and one group is at least twice the size of any other (meaning that it must be close to half, or more, of the entire population. Finally, when at least 30 percent of an ethno-cultural group lives in areas where it forms at least 60 percent of the population (which, more or less by definition, are "Polarized enclaves"), they label these areas of exceptionally high concentration "Ghettoes." I would add the point that the term ghetto is only appropriate for these areas if they also are associated with a high degree of poverty. In any case, there is no ethno-cultural group in Canada that has such a high degree of concentration. In Vancouver, 19.4 percent of the South Asian population lives in Census Tracts where that group accounts for at least 60 percent of the population, well below the 30 percent threshold defined in the literature. The second-closest group is the Chinese-origin population in Toronto, with 12.1 percent.

There are two particularly useful elements of the neighbourhood typology system just described. First, it enables a quick identification of enclave areas using a common-sense definition that is difficult to fault. Secondly, Poulson, Forrest, and Johnston, plus a number of other researchers inspired by their method, have documented the neighbourhood structure of large cities in a number of countries. I can therefore set the MTV statistics on this measure into an international perspective, and will do so below.

Before turning to describe the data used in this project, and framing the analysis in more detail, however, I will pause to rename the types of areas defined by Poulson et al., using straightforward terminology. For the remainder of the report, these terms will be used:

- Type I: "White" areas, or "Isolated host communities" (where Visible Minorities constitute less than 20 percent of the population)
- Type II: "White-dominant" areas, or "Non-isolated host communities" (where Visible Minorities constitute between 20 and 50 percent of the population)
- Type III: "Mixed, Visible Minority-dominant" areas. Or "Assimilation-pluralism enclaves" (where Visible Minorities constitute 50 to 70 percent of the population)

- Type IV: "Mixed Minority Enclaves" (where Visible Minorities constitute 70 or more percent of the population without a dominant group)
- Type V: "Minority Group Enclaves", or "Polarized enclaves" (same as the above, but with a single group that is at least twice the size of any other)
- Type VI: "Ghettoes" (where a single Visible Minority group constitutes at least 60 percent of the population; at least 30 percent of the group lives in these types of areas; and the incidence of low income is double that of the larger metropolitan population)

Note that I will use the simple term "enclave" to refer to the combination of neighbourhood Types IV and V.

Methodology 2: Data and analytic approach

The first step for this project will be to use standard census statistics from 1996, 2001, and 2006 to classify each Census Tract in Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver according to the neighbourhood typology outlined above, using the five categories that range from "White" areas to Minority Group Enclaves (the sixth category, ghettoes, will not be used because it is not relevant for the Canadian case, at least not at this time). This will enable a simple catalogue of the degree of enclave formation. The key question is, what is the relative proportion of Whites and Visible Minorities living in these different neighbourhood types, and how is that ratio changing over time? Of course, the probability of enclaves emerging is related to two things: the ratio of Visible Minorities in a city, and the degree of concentration of Visible Minorities. On the former point, if the ratio of Visible Minorities exceeds 50 percent, and if members of these groups are evenly dispersed, all neighbourhoods would be dominated by Visible Minority groups (Type III). Further, if 70 percent of the population of a city is Visible Minority, and there is even dispersion, then all neighbourhoods would be Mixed Minority Enclaves (Type IV). It is important, therefore, to keep the overall ratio of Visible Minority groups in mind when interpreting these statistics. In particular, that ratio is much higher in Toronto and Vancouver compared with Montréal, and our expectations should be adjusted accordingly (Hou, 2004).

Next, a basic statistical profile of members of Visible Minority groups living in the different neighbourhood types will be discussed, with particular attention given to a comparison of those living inside vs. outside enclaves. For this part of the analysis, two types of data have been compiled. First, several variables have been extracted from the 2006 census profile series, which depict the general characteristics of the population residing in Census Tracts. These include: the percentage employed and unemployed; the percentage of immigrants and recent immigrants; the average income of individuals and households; etc. In addition, a special tabulation of census data has been commissioned based on the "individual universe" of the master file of the 2006 Canadian census.[2] For each Census Tract in MTV, the following variables have been cross-tabulated: immigration status; Visible Minority status; incidence of low income; sex; age; home language; and educational attainment. This will enable—at least for these variables—a more precise examination of the difference between members of Visible Minority groups who live inside / outside enclaves. Hopefully, this will help us better understand the dynamics involved in residential choices / constraints. For example, if residents of enclaves are systematically poor, it follows that living in those locations is probably based on constraint rather than choice. Alternatively, if there is little socio-economic differentiation between residents of enclaves vs. those in dispersed settings, it is likely that there is more choice involved.

[2] I thank the Department of Canadian Heritage for access to these data.

I will then turn to focus more directly on the characteristics of enclaves and their residents. As noted earlier, it is important to see whether the cultural composition of enclaves is generally homogeneous or heterogeneous. By definition, we know that at least 70 percent of the residents of these areas are members of a single group but, beyond this, what does the rest of the population look like? Is it made up of many groups, or just a few? The answer to this question gives some indication of the *potential* for inter-cultural interaction in these neighbourhoods. For this part of the study, a different scale of analysis will be employed. Census tracts, with an average of more than 5,000 residents, are too large to obtain a useful measure of population diversity. Instead, a simple count will be made of the number of single-origin ethnic groups (as defined in the 2006 census) and used for the *Dissemination Areas* classified in each neighbourhood type. In this case, we will see whether enclaves are less culturally diverse, or approximately as diverse, as other areas of the city.

Unfortunately, the 2006 census did not include a question on religious affiliation. Therefore I will turn, out of necessity, to 2001 data, in an effort to document the religious composition of different neighbourhoods types and, where possible, discuss the degree of religious diversity within them. For this part of the analysis, the large number of religious affiliations held by Canadians will be radically simplified into: Judeo-Christian religions; South- and East-Asian religions; Muslim; Other religions; and No religion.

The next part of the analysis is, arguably, the most important: an investigation of the relationship between enclaves and economic marginalization. Are enclaves places of diminished opportunity or just places that happen to be culturally unique (cf. the quotation that begins this study)? This aspect of the study will employ the special tabulation mentioned previously and will be based on the logic of a two-by-two table, with one dimension defined by residence inside / outside an enclave, and the other by residence inside / outside a high-poverty area (defined as having twice the population experiencing low income compared with the total metropolitan area). On one diagonal of this table, we would find those areas that fit the widespread assumption that enclaves coincide with marginalized opportunities (i.e., places that are not enclaves, and not in the high-poverty category in one cell, vs. places that both enclaves and have a high proportion of low-income residents in the other cell). The two off-diagonal cells of the table represent more complex situations. They are places that are either enclaves without high ratios of low-income populations, or areas of the city that are economically marginalized, but are not associated with large Visible Minority populations. The critical question is, what is the relative balance between the four types of cells in the table, for Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver? If most Census Tracts are "on diagonal" then the relationship between enclaves and marginalization is clear and direct; if not, there are other factors at play.

The areas where Minority Enclaves are also economically marginalized will be mapped, for each of the three metropolitan areas. Are these "areas of concern" in particular areas of the city, or scattered? Finally, I will discuss the socioeconomic profile of members of Visible Minority groups residing in these areas of concern, concentrating on measures of age, educational attainment, and home language.

The context: A general profile of the socio-cultural composition of Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver

Table 1 provides a general statistical portrait of MTV. Of the three metropolitan areas, Montréal has received the smallest number of immigrants relative to its total population and therefore has the lowest proportion of Visible Minority residents (just slightly higher than that of Canada as a whole). Since the relative number of new immigrants—arriving in the 1990s and first part of the 2000s—is far lower in Montréal than the other two cities, it follows that the proportion speaking a non-official language in the home most of the time, is also lowest. The profile of Visible Minority

groups provides an indication of the major source regions of immigrants to Montréal in recent years. Montréal is the only city where Blacks constitute the largest Visible Minority group, and it also houses the largest relative number of Arabs and Latin Americans within MTV. Meanwhile, Montréal's relative share of Asian minorities—particularly Chinese, South Asian, Filipino, Korean, and Japanese—is well below that of the other two metropolitan areas. Interestingly, Montréal's cultural composition is related to its demographic structure. With a smaller share of new immigrants, especially those from Asia, households in Montréal are considerably smaller, on average, than their counterparts in Toronto and Vancouver. This pattern may also be related to the more reasonable cost of housing in Montréal, and also the lower propensity for home ownership there.

Montréal is also distinctive from a socio-economic point of view. While the educational attainment of Montréal's population is generally higher than that of Canada as a whole, it is considerably lower relative to Toronto and Vancouver. This, plus the smaller average household size in that city, translates to a much lower level of household income in Montréal compared with the other two metropolitan areas, and higher rates of unemployment, utilization of government transfer income, and incidence of low income. We can therefore realistically expect to see a large number of immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups struggling with low income in Montréal.

The profile of Toronto is quite different from that of Montréal. The ratio of immigrants and Visible Minorities is highest in Toronto of any metropolitan area in Canada (and, indeed, any city in the global north). Toronto's immigrant population is much more recent than that of Montréal and more heavily weighted towards Asia, especially South Asia, although Toronto also houses a very large number of those identifying as Black. Given the recency of its immigrant community, and its cultural composition, it is not surprising to see that the use of a non-official home language is highest in Toronto compared to the other two cities (only marginally so in the case of Vancouver).

Of the three cities, the economy of Toronto was the most favourable in 2005/6, with the highest employment rate, the least unemployment and incidence of low income, and the lowest dependence on government sources as a form of income. The educational attainment of the Toronto population is also the highest of the three cities, and so too are both personal and household levels of income; on the latter point, it is worth noting that the average household is larger in Toronto that in Montréal or Vancouver, suggesting that more households are able to rely upon multiple adult incomes. The rate of home ownership is also highest in Toronto. Putting this all together, we might expect that immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups would fare best in Toronto, which may be one of the factors that has attracted such large numbers of both to that metropolitan area.

Finally, most of the statistics included in this portrait for Vancouver are between those for Montréal and Toronto, but considerably closer to the latter. The ratio of immigrants, recent immigrants, and members of Visible Minority groups is nearly as high in Vancouver as Toronto, as is the proportion speaking a non-official language in their home, though the ethno-cultural profile of Vancouver is distinct. The proportion of Chinese-Canadians is, by far, highest in Vancouver, and that city also houses the highest relative number of residents of Korean, Japanese, and Filipino ancestry. The population of Indo-Canadians is also significant in Vancouver. Vancouver has far fewer numbers of other Visible Minority communities, particularly those identifying as Arab, Latin American, or Black.

On several other important measures, the statistics for Vancouver are virtually the same as those for Toronto. The Vancouver population is well educated, relative to Canada as a whole, and the labour force participation rate is quite high, with an exceptionally low unemployment rate.

However, incomes figures in Vancouver lag behind those of Toronto, at the individual and, especially, household scale (despite the fact that household size is roughly comparable in Vancouver and Toronto). As a result, we find slightly lower figures for home ownership in Vancouver and a considerably higher incidence of low income—which approximates the corresponding figure for Montréal. This last statistic is sobering, and suggests that immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups may face similar economic challenges in Vancouver as in Montréal.

Analysis: Enclave dynamics in Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver

The evolving social landscapes of MTV

Immigration has been an important component of demographic growth throughout Canadian history. There have been two fundamental developments in immigration policy since the end of WWII. The first occurred in the 1960s, when Canada abandoned its traditional practice of preferred admission for those of European ancestry, leading to a pronounced internationalization of the sources of Canadian immigration. The second occurred in the mid-1980s, at an interesting conjuncture. Canada was recovering from a crushing recession and, for the first time, demographers began to raise serious questions about the long-term impact of falling fertility and concomitant population ageing (Teitelbaum and Winter, 1985).

The federal government introduced sweeping changes to immigration policy that set the tone for a multi-party consensus that is still with us today. The transformation was so far-reaching that it is probably best described as the institution of a new *philosophy* of immigration. This entailed seeing immigration as both an economic stimulus and as necessary for demographic replacement, calling for higher numbers (Li, 2003). Accordingly, the overall annual target of the program was dramatically raised from about 85,000 permanent arrivals in 1985 to 250,000 in 1992.

The national target for immigrants has remained in the 225,000–275,000 range since the early 1990s, with minor adjustments made from year to year. Significantly, the target was maintained even during the recession of the early 1990s, when unemployment rates were high (also true of the current economic crisis). This was unprecedented, and reflected the new philosophy of immigration. Some 2.2 million permanent residents were added to the Canadian population in the 1990s, and approximately the same number will be added in this decade. These numbers are exceptionally high by OECD standards, when scaled against the Canadian population of around 33 million.

With such a large proportion of recent immigrants arriving from non-European sources, the ratio of Visible Minorities in the Canadian population rose substantially in the 1990s and has continued along this trajectory into the current decade. As of 2006, one in six Canadians are members of Visible Minority groups. But this population is far from evenly spread across the country. According to the census, 68.2 percent of all Canadians 15 years old or more live in a Census Metropolitan Area; the corresponding figure for members of Visible Minority groups is much higher, at 96.1 percent. Moreover, 72.5 percent of Visible Minorities in this age group reside in MTV (as opposed to 34.5 percent of Canadians as a whole). Clearly, there is much potential for enclave development in these three cities.

Given that the rate of immigration to Montréal has been relatively modest, the proportion of Visible Minorities in the metropolitan area has only increased by a few percent, from 12.2 percent of the population in 1996 to 16.5 in 2006. Nevertheless, there have been some significant shifts in the social landscapes of Montréal (Table 2a). In 1996 and 2001, the vast majority of Whites lived in "White" neighbourhoods, where they constituted at least 80 percent of the population. A much smaller number lived in mixed areas where Whites constituted the majority (Type II). By

2006, this stark pattern began to change a little, and the ratio of Whites in "White" neighbourhoods fell from about 82 to 75 percent. This change would have been associated with a greater potential for interaction between Whites and Visible Minorities, especially since the ratio of Whites in the second and third neighbourhood categories (both mixed types) increased.

The social geography of Visible minority groups in Montréal evolved more rapidly during these years. Throughout the period, nearly half resided in White-dominant areas (though this percentage dipped in 2001). But the ratio of Visible Minorities in "White" neighbourhoods fell considerably, with a distinct shift towards areas that were ethno-culturally mixed but with 50 percent or more or their residents Visible Minorities (Type III). There were also slight increases in the number living in Mixed Minority and Minority Group Enclaves.

Overall, the changes in Montréal over this important decade were modest in scale. The trajectories of Whites and Visible Minorities were consistent; in both cases the ratio living in Types II and III neighbourhoods (the most ethno-culturally mixed) increased.

The situation was quite different in Toronto, the city that experienced the most substantial increase in the proportion of Visible Minorities in the population, from 32 in 1996 to 43 percent a decade later (Table 2b). The tendency for Whites to live in "White" neighbourhoods was far lower in Toronto than Montréal, which makes sense given the different population composition of the two cities. Also, the proportion of Whites in these neighbourhoods declined over the decade. In fact there was a rough symmetry between the 7 percent decline of Whites in "White" neighbourhoods and the increasing proportion living in Mixed, Visible Minority-dominant areas. Still, it is noteworthy that, in a metropolitan area where Whites represent 57 percent of the population, well over a third reside in areas that are at least 80 percent White. This does speak to a degree of separation between Whites and Visible Minorities.

But the real change during the 1996-2006 period has been in the social geography of Visible Minority groups in Toronto. In 1996, 57 percent of the Visible Minority population lived in areas where Whites dominated (the first two categories). By 2006 this figure had fallen to less than 35 percent, a rather remarkable development. There was some growth in the proportion residing in areas dominated by Visible Minorities but with mixed populations (Types III and IV). However, the primary shift, which nearly matches the drop in those living in the first two neighbourhood types, was the growth of the ratio in Minority Group Enclaves, of some 19 percent. As of 2006, over a quarter of Toronto's Visible Minority population lives in a Minority Group Enclave—with less than 5 percent of the White population located in the same areas of the city.

The degree of change in Vancouver has been equally profound. As in Toronto, there has been a net reshuffling of Whites from "White" neighbourhoods to mixed areas that contain a majority of Visible Minority residents (Table 2c). The fact remains, though, that although Whites comprise about 58 percent of the population, just over a third live in areas that are overwhelmingly White (the first category).

Visible Minority groups in Vancouver have had a very similar trajectory to their counterparts in Toronto. The ratio living in areas where Whites dominate (the first two categories) fell from approximately 57 to 35 percent. A somewhat higher proportion of Visible Minorities live in areas where they constitute a small majority of the population (Type III). Surprisingly, in contrast to Toronto, the number residing in Mixed Minority Enclaves declined quite sharply; this has become a rare residential configuration in Vancouver. Meanwhile, as in Toronto, the ratio of Visible Minorities in Minority Group Enclave areas jumped from less than 7 percent to just over one quarter.

On one level, 2006 census data reveal a clear pattern: in Toronto and Vancouver, the rise in the Visible Minority population was associated with a much larger tendency for members of Visible Minority groups to live in enclaves. This was not generally the case in Montréal, which saw a much more modest increase in the proportion of Visible Minorities in its population. The critical question, of course, is what does this mean? To begin to answer this question, we must look at the characteristics of the different neighbourhood types in greater detail.

Who lives in enclaves? Who doesn't?

Table 3 (parts a, b, and c) provides a statistical overview of the residents of the five major neighbourhood types in MTV, replicating the profile used in Table 1. Clearly, the socio-economic and socio-cultural composition of these areas varies substantially. In most cases, the differences are predictable, but there are also some surprises.

Given that only about 16 percent of Montréal's population identifies as a member of a Visible Minority group, from a statistical point of view, if everyone was evenly distributed across the metropolitan area, everyone would live in the first neighbourhood type (80 percent or more White). In fact, just over two-thirds of the Montréal population can be found in this situation (Table 3a). Most of the other third reside in the second neighbourhood type, where Whites are in the majority. Only 5 percent of the population is distributed across the three types associated with minority dominance.

From a socio-economic point of view, the five types of neighbourhoods can be reduced to three (Type I, Type II, and Types III to V). The first type is distinctive and is, in general, privileged compared with the rest of the city. Just over 90 percent of the residents of this area are White. Few immigrants reside in this part of Montréal, especially newcomers, and a very small proportion speak a non-official language in their home. All Visible Minority groups are under-represented in Type I neighbourhoods, as well. Labour market participation is high in these areas, and unemployment low, but it is interesting to note that the level of educational attainment in them is only about average. Nevertheless, personal and household incomes are well above average in "White" Census Tracts, a low ratio of that income is associated with government transfers, and a majority own their homes. Given these characteristics, the incidence of low income is well below the metropolitan average.

The socio-economic situation of the 5 percent of the population living in neighbourhood Types III, IV and V could hardly be more different, in most respects (Table 3a). A disproportionate number of immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups (by definition) lives in these areas. A large majority of residents are tenants, which is to be expected given the relatively poor personal and household incomes associated with these areas (well below half the metropolitan average in the latter case). In fact, the ratio of personal incomes in Type I vs. Type V Census Tracts is double which, as we will see below, is far higher than in either Toronto or Vancouver. So, too, is the incidence of low income, which is more than double the metropolitan average; as might be expected, government transfers are a significant source of income for residents in these areas of Montréal. The educational composition of the population is rather exceptional, given this set of socio-economic characteristics: the proportion of university-educated residents is actually higher in these neighbourhood types than the metropolitan area as a whole. In other words, there appears to be a lot of wasted human capital associated with the residents of these areas.

In the Montréal area, the socio-cultural and socio-economic characteristics of Type II neighbourhoods are between those of the others just reviewed. In general, though, their residents are not especially well off, with lower incomes and higher poverty rates that the metropolitan average. In Montréal, there appears to be a fairly straightforward relationship

between socio-economic status and neighbourhood type. The higher the proportion of Visible Minorities and immigrants, the greater the degree of economic marginalization.

In Toronto, as in Montréal, the Census Tracts falling into the first neighbourhood type are associated with socio-economic privilege (Table 3b). Again, about 90 percent of residents in these areas are White, and about three-quarters are Canadian born. Incomes are considerably higher than the metropolitan average, unemployment is rare, and home ownership is common. About one in ten individuals living in these areas experiences low income, well below the Canadian and metropolitan average. The real difference in the nature of these areas of Toronto, compared with Montréal, is that they only house about one-quarter of the population (24.1 percent) as opposed to over two-thirds in the latter case.

A little over one-third (36.3 percent) of Toronto's residents live in the second neighbourhood type, Census Tracts dominated by Whites (20 to 50 percent). These areas are, in general, highly mixed from an ethno-cultural point of view (discussed in greater detail below). In almost all respects, the socio-economic characteristics of people living in this neighbourhood type approximate the average for the metropolitan area as a whole, meaning they are reasonably affluent. The only difference is that the proportion of Visible Minorities found in these areas is low.

Conversely, about 60 percent of those living in the third neighbourhood type identify as members of Visible Minority groups (Table 3b). These Mixed, Visible Minority-dominated areas are also culturally varied, though are associated with a high ratio of newcomers, as well as more established immigrants, and about one-third speak a non-official language in their home. Personal and household incomes are below the metropolitan average, but not exceptionally so (about 10 percent in the latter case). The unemployment rate is above average, as is the incidence of low income. Again, these discrepancies are not large, a situation that is reflected in the fact that residents of Mixed, Visible Minority-dominated areas are not much more likely to utilize government transfers as a source of income compared with the metropolitan population as a whole.

In many ways, residents of the fourth neighbourhood type—the 6 percent of the population living in Mixed Minority Enclaves—face the greatest economic challenges. The prevalence of low income is highest in these Census Tracks, at nearly 30 percent, and individuals in these areas rely most on government transfers as a form of income. The rate of unemployment is highest in Mixed Minority Enclaves, and home ownership is relatively uncommon compared with metropolitan Toronto as a whole (though still at 57 percent). Altogether, immigrants comprise 63 percent of the population of this neighbourhood type, and 15 percent are newcomers.

While the proportions of immigrants (including newcomers) and members of Visible Minority groups are actually marginally higher in Minority Group Enclaves, residents of these areas are, arguably, better off financially than their counterparts living in more mixed neighbourhoods (Type IV; Table 3b). Their average personal income is lower, but their household income is actually higher, and the rate of unemployment is lower, as is the incidence of low income. In fact, the income of households in Minority Group Enclaves is only 12 percent below that of the metropolitan average, though it must be shared between 3.4 persons as opposed to the metropolitan figure of 2.8. The rate of home ownership is also above-average in Minority Group Enclaves, suggesting that a large proportion of the households in these areas dedicate much of their income to this form of equity.

Nearly half a million residents of Vancouver live in "White" neighbourhoods (about 23 percent of the population), which are distinct in terms of their socio-economic characteristics (Table 3c). As in the other cities, these areas are associated with a much higher ratio of Canadian-born

individuals, and few newcomers, than the metropolitan region as a whole. Visible Minorities comprise just over 12 percent of the population of these areas, slightly more than we have seen in Montréal and Toronto. Average personal and household incomes are highest in "White" neighbourhoods, and the rate of unemployment and incidence of low income are lowest. Yet the level of educational attainment in the Census Tracts that fall into this category is actually less than we might expect, especially the proportion of university graduates, which is 27.4 percent compared with the metropolitan average of 30.9 percent.

As we have seen in Toronto, the second type—White-dominated neighbourhoods—contains the largest number of people, 36 percent of the total population. The Census Tracts in this category house a large number of immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups, though the proportions of both are a little less than the metropolitan region as a whole. While the level of education is highest in this neighbourhood type, and personal incomes are above average, the rate of unemployment approximates the metropolitan total, as do household incomes (in general, households tend to be small) and the incidence of low income. The rate of home ownership is actually below the metropolitan average. Putting these points together, White-dominated areas are complex from a socio-economic perspective.

Half of the residents of Vancouver's Mixed Visible Minority-dominated neighbourhoods (Type III) are immigrants, and over half (by definition) identify as members of Visible Minority groups (Table 3c). Given the ethno-cultural composition of the city, the largest groups in these neighbourhoods are of Chinese, South Asian, and Filipino origin, but there is a considerable scattering of other communities as well. Households tend to be large in these areas; although personal incomes are low, household incomes are not far from the metropolitan average and the rate of home ownership is reasonably high. The incidence of low income is marginally above-average, as is the utilization of income from government sources. In other words, the socio-economic status of Type III neighbourhoods is below that of the metropolitan average, but not by a great deal.

The fourth neighbourhood type—Mixed Minority Enclaves—is rare in Vancouver and only houses 1.4 percent of the population. The socio-economic characteristics of these areas are quite close to those of Minority Group Enclaves. Most residents of both neighbourhood types are first-generation immigrants (over 60 percent) and, of course, a large majority are Visible Minorities. Over 10 percent of the population of these areas arrived in 2001 or later, meaning that many are still engaged in the initial settlement process. Households are typically large, and the prevalence of low income is relatively high. The level of educational attainment of these areas is well below that of the metropolitan average, and personal incomes are particularly low. Government transfers constitute a significant source of income for residents of these neighbourhoods. Despite these challenges, the ratio of home ownership matches that of Vancouver as a whole.

* * *

The data in this section support several important points. First, it is abundantly clear that the relative socio-economic structure of areas dominated by Visible Minorities is quite different across the three metropolitan areas examined here (cf. Bauder and Sharpe, 2002). The degree of socio-economic differentiation between Whites and Visible Minorities is greatest in Montréal. Most members of Visible Minority groups in that city are dispersed in White-dominated areas, but those who live in more concentrated residential environments face significant economic challenges (Table 3a). Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this point is that, in the city where enclaves are the least developed, living in enclave areas appears to be associated with the greatest economic penalty. The degree of socio-economic difference between inhabitants of enclaves and the general society is less in Toronto and Vancouver than Montréal. For example, if we simply calculate the ratio of household income in Type I vs. Type V neighbourhoods across the metropolitan areas, we find that it is: 1.90 in Montréal, vs. 1.37 in both Toronto and Vancouver (based on the Median Household Income row of Tables 3a, b and c). There is also a much larger

gap in the proportion of individuals experiencing low income across the neighbourhood types in Montréal compared with the other two cities.

Secondly, following from this point, we cannot conclude that the socio-economic gradient between enclaves and other parts of the city is either large or unidirectional, at least in Toronto and Vancouver. True, in every city, the first neighbourhood type—which is sometimes labeled as a "White citadel" in the literature—is associated with a much higher socio-economic situation than the other four. But the degree of socio-economic differentiation between the other four neighbourhood types is not that large. In Toronto, for example, the average household income associated with the residents of Mixed, Visible Minority-dominant areas (Type III) is $63,300, compared with $69,400 in White-dominant (Type II) areas (Table 3b). Obviously the latter number is higher, but by less than 10 percent. Also, as noted, residents of Minority Group Enclaves (Type V) are actually a little better off than those of Mixed Minority Enclave (Type IV) Census Tracts. The gap in the proportion of individuals experiencing low income, across neighbourhood Types II through V, is also not that large, especially in Vancouver (Table 3c).

Finally, the socio-economic differences across neighbourhood are inconsistent, and depend on the measure used. These differences are largest when we compare cultural characteristics, such as the proportion of immigrants or the use of non-official languages in the home. They are also reasonably large for selected socio-economic variables, most notably personal income. But, as already noted, differences in household income across neighbourhood types are more muted (cf. Ley, 1999). Further, in Toronto and Vancouver, home ownership rates in Types III through V neighbourhoods are essentially the same as the metropolitan averages of the two cities (Tables 3b and c).

The relationship between educational attainment and neighbourhood type also defies a simple logic. In Toronto, the proportion of individuals who have completed a university degree is highly consistent regardless of neighbourhood type. In Vancouver, the percentage with a completed university degree is actually fractionally *higher* in Minority Group Enclaves compared with White areas (Types V vs. I). This suggests that residents of *all* neighbourhood types value education, and is at variance with any attempt to portray enclaves as places with counter-mainstream values (cf. the underclass thesis advanced in the US, discussed earlier in this report).

Members of Visible Minority groups inside and outside enclave areas

All of the statistics presented in the preceding section are based on the total population of people in each neighbourhood type. But this aggregate analysis could mask important differences within the Visible Minority population. Perhaps members of Visible Minority groups living in White- vs. Minority areas differ more profoundly than the population as a whole in the same areas. That is, members of Visible Minorities with different characteristics (e.g., education, income) may choose to live in different residential settings. In some cases this may not actually be a choice: those experiencing low income may reside in enclaves because they cannot afford to live elsewhere.

To address these major questions, I have secured a special tabulation of the 2006 census for Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver, commissioned on my behalf by the Department of Canadian Heritage. Unfortunately, due to technical limitations, the tabulation only includes a few relevant variables, and is confined to the Visible Minority population as a whole, plus the three largest groups within it (Chinese, South Asian, and Black). It would be helpful, in a future research project, to build a more extensive tabulation that would enable a more comprehensive analysis of the Visible Minority residents across the neighbourhood types of these cities.

Note that these data were also used for another project, which focuses on the distribution of immigrant cohorts across the neighbourhood types in MTV, with special emphasis on the

relationship between the residential structure of immigrants and 1.5- and second-generation Canadians (Hiebert, 2009). Given the detailed analysis of this issue elsewhere, with one exception (the level of education of the second generation), I will not concentrate on it here. Isolating the Visible Minority population enables us to see differences across the neighbourhood types with greater clarity. Actually, there is little age differentiation between neighbourhood types in Montréal, but the values for each of the other measures vary considerably (Table 4, Part a). Members of Visible Minority groups who live in neighbourhoods where Visible Minorities form the majority of the population (Types III to V) are: more prone to speak a non-official language at home; less likely to have completed a university education; and more likely to experience low income. Moreover, the *general* gap in educational attainment is amplified for the second generation.

The situation in Toronto is more subtle. Again, there is no particular relationship between age and residential location in terms of the five neighbourhood types. The relatively small number (6 percent) of Toronto's Visible Minority population living in "White" neighbourhoods are relatively distinct: the level of educational attainment is highest for this group, a pattern that appears to be passed on to the second generation. Their propensity to speak a non-official language in the home is low, and the proportion experiencing low income is also low. At the same time, the degree of differentiation across the other neighbourhood types—which account for 94 percent of the Visible Minority population—is not especially strong (apart from the tendency to speak a non-official language in the home). For example, the incidence of low income is only marginally higher for residents of Minority Group Enclaves (Type V) compared with those in "White-dominated" areas (Type II), or in fact any of the areas where Visible Minorities account for more than 50 percent of the population. The proportion with a completed university degree is also fairly consistent across neighbourhood Types II through IV (though the propensity for the second generation to attain a university degree is higher among those living in Type II neighbourhoods).

The patterns just described for Toronto also hold for Vancouver. Again, the small fraction of the Visible Minority population living in Census Tracts classified as Type I are better off than their counterparts in the rest of the metropolitan area. As we have seen in Montréal and Toronto, the relationship between home language and neighbourhood type is clear: families who speak a non-official language in the home appear to gravitate to areas with higher concentrations of Visible Minority residents. But the degree of differentiation for the educational attainment and incidence of low income variables is substantially less. For example, the gap in the proportion experiencing low income between Type I and V areas is less than 6 percent (21.3 vs. 27.0 percent), and the propensity for the second generation to complete a university degree is only 4.3 percent less in the latter areas.

Summarizing this section, the social gradient between members of Visible Minority groups living in "White" vs. "Non-White" areas in Montréal is relatively steep, and certainly much larger than in either Toronto or Vancouver. In Montréal, the socio-economic characteristics of residents living in minority-dominated neighbourhoods suggests that these have emerged in marginalized parts of the city. In Toronto and Vancouver, on the other hand, residents of enclaves are culturally distinct (i.e., they tend to speak a non-official language in their home), but are not so different from those living in more dispersed patterns in terms of their educational characteristics or risk of poverty.

Enclaves and ethno-cultural diversity

It would be logical to assume that the degree of ethno-cultural diversity would differ across the neighbourhood types used in this analysis. We have already seen that between 85 and 90 percent of the residents of the first neighbourhood type in each of the three cities is White. Conversely, in Toronto and Vancouver, about 80 percent of residents in neighbourhood Types IV

and V are members of Visible Minority groups. It is also clear that enclaves are portrayed in the media as homogeneous. For example:

> If it weren't for the snow and salt in the parking lot, Plaza McLaughlin Village outside Toronto could as easily be in New Delhi. There is goat and lamb for sale at the Doaba meat shop. The latest Bollywood hit, *Guru*, is at West End Video. You can do your taxes, go to the doctor and book a flight in Punjabi. And the clock in the photocopy shop shows the time in New Delhi. The only Caucasian faces are the officers at Brampton's community policing station. (Jiménez, 2007)

We might expect, therefore, relatively little cultural diversity in neighbourhood Types I, IV, and V, and much more in Types II and III. If this is the case, the potential for everyday cross-cultural interaction would be higher in the mixed areas of the city and lower in those that are more mono-cultural. That is, of course, the message of the quotation from the Jiménez article, that the Indo-Canadian enclave in Brampton is a place apart, where Indo-Canadians only encounter people from their own group in their neighbourhood (with the exception of police officers).

To test this conjecture, I turned to the Dissemination Area (DA) scale. All of the data explored in this study thus far has been at the scale of Census Tracts, which is commonly used in urban analysis. However, Census Tracts are too large to study the social geography of diversity properly, since they house, on average, more than 5,000 people. In such a large group, there is bound to be a lot of ethno-cultural diversity. DAs, on the other hand, are the smallest standard unit for which Statistics Canada releases data. In Vancouver, for example, the average DA houses 627 people, or approximately 240 households. In some cases, this would be a single, large apartment building, or it would be an area covering several city blocks in a suburb. There are just over 3,300 DAs in metropolitan Vancouver. We are much more likely to find a difference in the degree of diversity at this scale than if we compare Census Tracts.

The methodology for this part of the study is straightforward. Each DA in MTV was classified according to the neighbourhood typology used at the CT scale. For each CMA, a large table was extracted from the census with DAs as rows and all of the 250 or so Ethnic Origin groups defined by Statistics Canada as columns. Note that, for this purpose, each cell of the table indicates the number of people in the DA who identified that particular ethnic origin either alone or in some combination with other origins (to use the terminology of Statistics Canada, the table included both Single and Multiple Ethnic Origin responses). A count of the number of non-zero cells was made for each row of the table, indicating the number of ethno-cultural groups in each DA. To use Vancouver as an example, the range in the number of ethno-cultural origins is quite wide. Out of the 3,300 DAs in the metropolitan area, only one is mono-cultural, a particularly small DA with 105 Chinese-Canadians and no-one else. There are only two other DAs with fewer than 5 ethno-cultural groups and, again, both hold small populations. The average number of groups per DA is 24—a high number when you consider that the average population size is only 627—and the most culturally diverse DA includes people from 61 ethno-cultural origins.

The resulting data are presented in Table 5. In general terms, the second and third neighbourhood types house, on average, populations with greater ethno-cultural diversity, but not by much. In Montréal, Mixed Minority Enclaves (Type IV) are actually the most diverse parts of the city, which is also true in Toronto. In both Montréal and Toronto, "White" areas are the least culturally diverse but, even so, contain an average of nearly 18 groups in Montréal and 24 in Toronto. That is, they are hardly mono-cultural. In Vancouver, enclaves (Types IV and V areas) are less culturally diverse than other Census Tracts but, again, contain an average of about 18 ethno-cultural groups per DA.

The message from Table 5 is quite clear: all parts of these three metropolitan areas are culturally diverse (on this point, for the case of Toronto, see Qadeer et al., 2008). There are a tiny number of exceptions, such as the single DA (out of over 3,000) in Vancouver that only houses one group, but these cases are truly exceptional. Enclaves, such as "Chinatown", "Punjabi Market", "Little Italy", and so on, may be associated with single cultural groups in the popular imagination, but this is decidedly not the case in reality (Qadeer and Kumar, 2006). The same is true of what I have labeled "White" neighbourhoods; they too are culturally diverse, though most of the groups within them are of European origin.

Enclaves and religious diversity

There is also an extensive degree of religious diversity in enclaves. Unfortunately, since there was no question on religious identity in the 2006 census, 2001 data had to be used to explore this issue. The large number of religions recorded in the census was reduced to the five major groups included in Table 6: Judeo-Christian; South- and East-Asian religions (Buddhist, Hindu, and Sikh); Muslim; Other (a small category); and No religion.

In Montréal, the city with the lowest ratio of recent immigrants, a large majority of the population holds Judeo-Christian beliefs (87 percent). This proportion is much lower in Toronto, at 69 percent, and lower still in Vancouver, at just over half of the population. The figures for "No religion" are, essentially, the mirror image of the numbers for Judeo-Christian religions, ranging from 8 percent in Montréal to 35 in Vancouver. The proportion holding any other form of religious belief is lowest in Montréal, at about 5 percent, and between 13 and 14 percent in Toronto and Vancouver. The relative ratio of Asian religions and those affiliated with Islam echoes the immigrant profile of the three cities (i.e., the Asian category is largest in Vancouver, as is the Muslim category in Toronto).

The distribution of religious affiliation groups across neighbourhood types is, as might be expected, uneven. "White" areas of all three cities overwhelmingly house individuals who are either Judeo-Christian or who identify themselves as irreligious (in all three metropolitan areas these categories combine to about 96 percent of the population of Type I Census Tracts). There is a steady reduction in the ratio identifying with Judeo-Christian religions as we move from the left to the right of the table, but there are important differences between the metropolitan areas. In Montréal, well over half of the residents of enclaves (Types IV and V areas) are either Jewish or Christian. The corresponding percentages in Toronto and Vancouver are about 45 and 33 percent. Again, this pattern reflects the overall profile of recent immigrants to the three metropolitan regions.

The key point in these data is the high degree of religious diversity in enclaves, relative to other areas of the city (cf. Agrawal and Qadeer, 2008; and D'Addario et al., 2008); that is; the ethno-cultural complexity of these areas is reflected in their religious composition. It is also worth considering the impact that local places of worship have on the well-being of their followers, and how they can provide bridges between ethno-cultural groups, though these topics are beyond the scope of this study (cf. Ley, 2008).

Enclaves and landscapes of poverty

We have already seen that members of Visible Minority groups living in enclaves tend to face greater economic challenges than those who are in more dispersed residential environments, and that this relationship is more clearly defined in Montréal compared with Toronto and Vancouver. Table 7 provides additional detail on this issue, by classifying the Visible Minority population (15 years old or more) in each of the metropolitan areas into a simple 2x2 format. The columns distinguish between high-poverty Census Tracts that are associated with double the incidence of

low income compared with the average across MTV—that is, 38 percent or more—vs. all other areas . The rows of the table distinguish between Census Tracts that fall into the fouth or fifth neighbourhood types (Mixed Minority Enclaves or Minority Group Enclaves) vs. areas where Visible Minorities make up less than 70 percent of the population. We could conclude that enclaves represent a major impediment for people if all of the Visible Minority population would fall into the upper-left, or lower-right cells of the table. In that case, enclaves would be places of high poverty, in stark contrast to more dispersed areas that housed the better-off Visible Minority population.

In Montréal (Table 7, Part a), just over 307,000 members of Visible Minority groups live in areas of the city that are neither associated with high poverty nor a minority enclave. Another 100,000 are in areas where Visible Minorities represent less than 70 percent of the population, but are economically marginalized. Many of these individuals are scattered in various parts of the metropolitan area. As noted earlier, only about 4 percent of Montréal's Visible Minority population lives in enclaves but, for those who do, all of these areas are associated with extreme poverty. This is not to say that all of the areas of extreme poverty in Montréal house a high proportion of Visible Minorities, as Figure 1 clearly demonstrates. The population experiencing low income in Montréal is very large (in fact larger than the population experiencing low in come in all four of the Atlantic provinces, combined). There are *many* areas with extreme poverty in Montréal that are "White". Nevertheless, the Contingency Coefficient for Part a of Table 7 is high because the lower-left cell is empty: there are no minority enclave Census Tracts in Montréal that are not also places of economic marginalization.

The absolute Visible Minority population living in high-poverty enclaves is much larger in Toronto, at 89,000 compared with 16,000 in Montréal (Table 7, Part b). At 5.4 percent of the total Visible Minority population, this is the largest proportion that falls into the poor enclave category in any of the three metropolitan areas. However, in Toronto we also see much larger numbers of Visible Minority groups classified in the "off-diagonal" portions of the table: about 3 percent are included in the upper-right cell and nearly one-third in the lower-left cell. In other words, a significant number—approximately 44,000—members of Visible Minority groups live in high-poverty areas that are not enclaves, and much higher number—well over half a million—live in enclaves that are not associated with extreme rates of poverty. In fact, about 14 percent of those in enclaves, generally, can be found in high-poverty enclaves, compared with 100 percent in Montréal. The Contingency Coefficient for this part of the table corroborates the conclusion that the relationship between enclaves and poverty is less direct in Toronto than in Montréal (.177 vs. .307).

And this relationship is even less clear in Vancouver, where the proportion of the Visible Minority population situated in enclave / high-poverty areas is less than 3 percent. Thirty percent of the Visible Minority population of Vancouver is classified in "non-diagonal" cells: about 4 percent in the upper-right cell and 26 percent in the lower-left.

Why do we find such a differentiated pattern across the metropolitan areas included in this study? Unfortunately, the data explored here is insufficient to answer this question, but I would speculate that it is the product of the inter-relationship between four factors: the profile of immigrants to each city which, as we saw earlier, is quite specific; the configuration of the labour market and general economy in each city, which is also specific; the institutional environment, which would include elements such as programs designed to equalize opportunities (some of which are consistent between cities; some of which are not); and the extent of racism in society as a whole and, especially, among employers and landlords (according to the Ethnic Diversity Survey, this also varies between cities in Canada).

Areas of concern in MTV: Intersections of enclaves and poverty

Figures 1-3 depict the social geography of Mixed Minority Enclaves and Minority Group Enclaves on the one hand, and areas of extreme poverty on the other. The "orange zone" (extreme poverty) is especially extensive in Montréal, and includes inner-city areas and a scattering of suburbs that are relatively near the core of the city (with a few quite distant exceptions). The small number of enclave / high-poverty areas are located in the mid-suburb range and are fairly clustered.

The extensive suburbanization of new immigrants, and therefore the Visible Minority population, in Toronto is plainly visible on Figure 2. The more favourable economic circumstances of Toronto can be seen in the relatively small number of "orange zones" compared with Montréal. Although it is well beyond the scope of this project, many of these are located in areas of social housing. In any case, a few of the areas where enclave / high poverty overlap are located in the inner-city, but most are in a ring of suburbs that are associated with North York and Scarborough (both now part of the amalgamated City of Toronto; see Murdie, 1994). The largest cluster of these Census Tracts is in the Jane-Finch (or Black Creek) area, but the number located in Scarborough is also notable.

There is also a mix of inner-city and suburban Census Tracts classified as enclaves in Vancouver, especially in the south-eastern part of the City of Vancouver, and the municipalities of Richmond and Surrey. The "orange zone" areas are mainly in the inner city and along the main transportation route that extends from it in a south-eastern direction. Note that the orange area on the west part of the map is an anomaly and reflects the low income of students living in residence at the University of British Columbia! The small number of Census Tracts that are both areas of enclave populations and extreme poverty are mainly in suburban regions.

* * *

The ethno-cultural and socio-economic profile of Visible Minority residents of poor enclaves is provided in Table 8. The first pair of rows of the table indicates the Visible Minority population—15 years or older—for each metropolitan area and the proportion that resides in Census Tracts that are classified as both enclaves (Type IV or V neighbourhoods) and places of extreme poverty (38 percent or more below LICO). The figures in the remaining rows are percentages for a variety of sub-populations, enabling us to see which members of Visible Minority groups are most likely to live in these highly disadvantaged parts of the city.

In all three cities the propensity to live in a poor enclave is much higher for first-generation immigrants and declines steeply for the children of immigrant parents and third (plus)-generation members of Visible Minority groups. As might be expected, within the first-generation immigrant population, individuals who arrived recently (1996-2006) are also more likely to live in poor enclaves. It is not surprising, therefore, that individuals who speak a non-official language in their homes—who are for the most part recent immigrants—are disproportionately located in poor enclaves. Despite the significant challenges suggested by these data, these are encouraging patterns that accord with a view that the immediate immigrant generation achieves some mobility over time, enabling them to move to more favourable residential areas. This is also true, generally, for the children of immigrants, and their grand-children, though there is a fraction of the Visible-Minority, Canadian-born population that appears to be "stuck" in these areas of marginalization.

As we have seen throughout this analysis, age does not appear to be an important factor in determining which people live in poor enclaves. Nor, surprisingly, is education, at least in this case. In Montréal and Toronto, individuals who have completed a university education are less likely to live in a poor enclave than those with a high school diploma or less, but the difference

between these sub-groups is not especially large, and the pattern in Vancouver is actually in the opposite direction. That is, education (at least in Montréal and Toronto) helps individuals avoid deeply disadvantaged areas, but does not do so consistently.

Finally, the composition of specific Visible Minority groups in poor enclaves differs considerably across the three metropolitan areas. Toronto is distinct in that it is the only city where those of Black origin are more likely to live in a poor enclave than members of other groups (Murdie, 1994). This may reflect the large, relatively recent number of African refugees settling in Toronto, but the data here are insufficiently detailed to confirm this conjecture. South Asians appear to face the greatest economic challenges in Montréal and are therefore more likely to be located in poor enclaves. This is also the case in Toronto, but not in Vancouver. In that city, the Chinese-origin group is most clearly associated with poor enclaves—especially given its size relative to the other two groups included in this study.

In many ways, the last row of the table is the most interesting, showing that about 90 percent of the Visible Minority population of Montréal does *not* live in a poor enclave, and the corresponding figures for Toronto and Vancouver are 90 and 95 percent, respectively. In other words, members of Visible Minority groups experiencing poverty are not generally "captured" in poor enclaves; most live in other residential environments.

An international perspective on the social geographies of MTV

As noted earlier, the neighbourhood typology used in this study has been applied to a number of countries, by Poulson, Forrest, and Johnston, and other researchers. The results of a dozen of these analyses are provided in Table 9, which can be used in an approximate way to understand the social geography of Canadian cities in comparison with those of other immigrant receiving cities around the world. I say "approximate" because the researchers have used different geographical units and slightly different definitions of the neighbourhood types. The best comparison is provided by Johnston et al. (2007), who have made a concerted effort to use similar data and spatial aggregations in the five countries included in their study (though even their work is plagued by different national definitions of ethno-cultural identity).[3] Unfortunately, data from the mid-decade censuses has not been available long enough to see the publication of articles using 2006 information.

According to Johnston et al. (2007) the five countries they investigated fall into three broad groups. In general, cities in Australia and New Zealand are associated with the greatest degree of ethno-culturally mixed neighbourhoods, as seen in the high ratio of population in the second neighbourhood type in those countries. At the other end of the spectrum, cities in the USA stand out as the most segregated with, by far, the highest proportion of their population in the sixth category, ghettoes. Remarkably, one in five residents of Los Angeles lives in this type of neighbourhood, a situation that is especially prevalent among Latinos.

Johnston et al. argue that Canada and the UK represent intermediate cases. I would add Sweden to this list, based on research by Brama (2008). In Canada and the UK (based on national data from all metropolitan areas combined), a high proportion of the population live in the first neighbourhood type, and Polarized enclaves (i.e., Minority Group Enclaves) and Ghettoes are rare. While this conclusion is valid at the national scale of analysis, important nuances emerge when we shift to the metropolitan scale. The social landscapes of Toronto and

[3] Johnston et al. use Dissemination Areas for their classification of neighbourhood types in Canada, a much finer spatial scale then the Census Tracts used for this analysis. Their methodology is more sensitive to micro-patterns of concentration and does identify a small number of what they have termed "ghettoes". Note, however, that they do not incorporate economic marginalization in their definition of ghettoes, only the degree of residential concentration.

Vancouver are quite distinct relative to the rest of the country, with more ethno-cultural mixing on the one hand (Type II areas) as well as a much greater propensity for Minority Group Enclaves. That is, Toronto and Vancouver are *both* more ethno-culturally mixed *and* contain more ethno-culturally specific areas than other parts of Canada. This is a dynamic that is not generally appreciated or understood in the literature.

Discussion and conclusion

There is no consensus about the issue of enclaves in Canada, whether we consider media coverage, policy documents, or academic scholarship. Within each of these spheres, some writers are alarmed by what they see as a growing convergence of immigrant, Visible Minority groups, and poverty in Canadian metropolitan areas. Another cause for concern has been the perceived isolation of enclaves from mainstream Canadian society, whether or not they are also landscapes of poverty. Others are less concerned, believing that enclaves are socially complex areas that facilitate integration. A systematic content analysis of the portrayal of enclaves in the Canadian media is beyond the scope of this report, but it is clear that reporters and columnists who have addressed this issue tend to represent either one of these views on enclaves: as places that show Canadian multiculturalism is leading to a fragmentation of culture and the emergence of "parallel lives" (e.g., Jiménez, 2007); or as places that enable newcomers to come to terms with Canadian society in the way described in my earlier discussion of the Chicago School (e.g., Grewal, 2008; Saunders, 2009). I begin this discussion by reviewing a few of the key claims made by academics who see enclaves as problematic vs. those who do not, and then turn to summarize the results of this study, to see how it contributes to this larger conversation.

There are three major strands of thought in the arguments made by Canadian academics who are deeply concerned about Visible Minority enclaves. First, there is the view that the nature of immigrant integration is taking a new form in Canada. Immigrants from European origins are able to follow the familiar "upward and outward" trajectory that has been common for many decades, achieving rapid socio-economic mobility and dispersing into mainstream neighbourhoods. Conversely, largely due to racist exclusion, members of Visible Minority groups face more restricted opportunities and band together in the face of these barriers, and create resilient enclaves that are set apart from the mainstream, increasingly in suburban locations. Fong and Gulia (2000), for example, argue that members of Visible Minority groups live in worse neighbourhoods than Whites, and that Black-Canadians face the worst forms of exclusion in this respect. Given the social distance between dominant, White mainstream society, and Visible Minority groups, residential segregation may continue even if Visible Minority immigrants and their children achieve economic mobility (Balakrishnan and Hou, 1999; Balakrishnan et al., 2005; Mendez, 2008).[4]

Secondly, echoing elements of the underclass debate in the United States, some authors believe that there is growing evidence of marginalized spaces in Canadian cities that are associated with immigrants and Visible Minority groups (for a non-academic analysis of immigrant poverty in Toronto, see United Way, 2004). Kazemipur and Halli (1997, 2000) have presented one of the more pessimistic treatment of the enclave issue, using the term "extreme isolation" to convey their belief that the neighbourhoods inhabited by poor immigrants and Visible Minority groups will result in the inter-generational transmission of poverty between Visible Minority immigrants and their children.

Finally, Smith and Ley have added another dimension to this debate. In earlier work, based on the 1996 census (Ley and Smith, 2000), they saw relatively little evidence of socio-economic

[4] Note that Balakrishnan et al. believe that this could be interpreted as evidence of successful Canadian multiculturalism; that is, minority groups are able to achieve economic mobility but choose to reside in separate areas.

deprivation in areas where Visible Minority immigrants congregated in Canadian cities. However, after analyzing the 2001 census, and meeting with immigrants in focus groups in Toronto and Vancouver, they have revised this view (Smith and Ley, 2008). In the years between 1996 and 2001, they see a degree of convergence between enclaves and poverty. That is, the number of neighbourhoods where residents face multiple barriers is growing, though still not to the extent seen for Latinos and Blacks in the USA. Nevertheless, Smith and Ley document the social stigmatization felt by residents of these areas in Vancouver and, especially, Toronto, and argue that they suffer from a triple burden (they are immigrants, members of Visible Minority groups, and are associated in the public eye, and by potential employers, with dysfunctional neighbourhoods). Residents are constrained in their residential choice, and locate to these areas because that is all they can afford, and then suffer the consequences.

These are powerful arguments that are difficult to ignore, but there is another interpretation of enclaves in the literature as well. First, it is important to acknowledge the fact that residential concentration or segregation occurs for different reasons in different urban contexts (Bauder and Sharpe, 2002; Fong and Wilkes, 2003). It follows that the socio-economic nature of enclaves therefore vary, that some are more associated with disadvantage than others. Secondly, in certain circumstances, enclaves provide a "critical mass" of co-ethnics that provide advantages for their residents, particularly newcomers searching for jobs (Qadeer and Kumar, 2006). Thirdly, in some cases, enclaves arise out of the propensity for minority groups (both of European and Visible Minority backgrounds) to purchase housing, and are closely associated with intricate sub-markets in the real estate system (Myles and Hou, 2004; Haan, 2005). Finally, Qadeer and Kumar challenge the belief that enclaves are "separate" social worlds that inhibit interaction between their residents and mainstream society: "Enclaves are not a barrier to social inclusion, but even if they were there are no policy instruments in a democratic and market-oriented society to direct people away from living in neighbourhoods of their choice." (2006: p15).

Before reflecting further on these themes in the academic literature, the findings of this study are summarized in relation to the questions posed at the outset of this report.

How has the residential geography of Visible Minority groups changed between 1996 and 2006? With a relatively high rate of immigration, and a growing second-generation Visible Minority population, are enclaves becoming more prevalent in MTV?

> The residential geography of Montréal has not changed very much over this period, but there has been a great deal of change in Toronto and Vancouver, so much so that we are beginning to see what I would call a new *residential order* in these metropolitan areas. One of the core elements of this new order is the growth of Mixed Minority and, especially, Minority Group Enclaves. At present, well over one-quarter of the Visible Minority population of both Toronto and Vancouver live in these settings. But the other element is dispersion, with all parts of the city (including enclaves) becoming highly diverse. We do not have adequate urban models, yet, to help us understand the apparently contradictory simultaneous processes of concentration and dispersion.

What is the socio-economic profile of Visible Minority enclaves? Who lives in them? Who does not? Are there systematic differences between these two sub-populations?

> Across the three metropolitan areas, recent immigrants are more likely to live in enclaves, as well as individuals who are dedicated to the preservation of their culture (i.e., speak a non-official language in their home). In general, enclaves are associated with a higher level of unemployment than the rest of the city, and their residents are slightly more dependent on government transfers as a source of income; the incidence of low income is also higher in

enclaves. However, there are important nuances to this rather negative list of characteristics. Actually, the level of education (university completion) is approximately the same in enclaves as in other neighbourhoods, as is the proportion of residents able to purchase a home. In other words, there are some systematic differences between residents of enclaves and other areas of the city, but these are not consistent and in many cases the differences are quite small.

Are enclaves ethno-culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous? That is, are they characterized by a number of immigrant / Visible Minority groups, or are they dominated by single groups?

The methodology used in this study classifies areas as Mixed Minority enclaves when at least 70 percent of the population belongs to a Visible Minority group, and as Minority Group Enclaves when this is true, plus there is a high level of dominance by a single ethno-cultural group. Therefore we might expect relatively little diversity in these areas, especially the latter neighbourhood type. Nevertheless, enclaves are characterized by profound ethno-cultural diversity, particularly in Toronto. If anything, this study demonstrates that enclaves are not mono-cultural landscapes, barring a few exceptions (cf. Leloup, 2008).

How do enclaves intersect with religious diversity? As in the previous point, are they typically characterized by populations with a variety of religious affiliations, or monolithic in this respect?

Fewer than half of the residents of enclaves identify with Judeo-Christian religions, which means they are distinct relative to Canadian society as a whole. Nevertheless, enclaves are highly diverse in terms of the religious affiliation of their residents.

What is the relationship between enclaves and poverty? Are enclaves places of socio-economic marginalization and deprivation?

In Montréal, enclaves are part of a much larger landscape of marginalization, one that affects the dominant White population as well as Visible Minority groups. All of the Census Tracts defined as enclaves in Montréal are places of extreme poverty. On the positive side, relatively few members of Visible Minority groups live in enclaves in Montréal, and most reside in areas dominated by Whites. But on the negative side, those who do live in these neighbourhoods face significant socio-economic challenges. As noted earlier, given the view that equates enclaves with disadvantage, it is ironic to see that this is only the case in Montréal, the metropolitan area that has the lowest population of Visible Minorities and fewest living in enclaves. The socio-economic profile of enclaves in Toronto and Vancouver is far more complex. There are certainly areas in both cities that are associated with both Visible Minority populations and extreme poverty. At the same time, in both cities, a far larger number of poor members of Visible Minority groups live outside enclaves than inside them. In fact, the propensity for Visible Minority residents of enclaves to be poor in Vancouver is only marginally higher than for the Visible Minority population in the metropolitan area as a whole.

Where are the areas of concern, where we find overlapping social isolation (very high ethno-cultural concentration) and socio-economic marginalization (very high poverty rates)?

These areas are depicted on Figures 1-3. They tend to be in mid-town locations and not clustered.

What is the profile of these areas of concern? Who inhabits them?

Visible Minority residents of these areas tend to be first-generation immigrants and to have arrived relatively recently in Canada. They tend to speak a non-official language in their

home. In Montréal, South Asian-Canadians are most likely to be found in these areas; this is the case for Black-Canadians in Toronto, and Chinese-Canadians in Vancouver. These place-specific patterns demonstrate that there is not a single Visible Minority group that faces the greatest degree of socio-economic exclusion across all parts of Canada.

* * *

How, then, does this study fit within the literature on enclaves discussed earlier, particularly the tendency to see enclaves in polarized ways as *either* problematic *or* instrumental for their residents? I believe this analysis of 2006 census data lends partial support to both views.

We know from a host of studies that there is a gap in the economic well-being of immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups on the one hand, vs. Whites and the Canadian born on the other. These are not simply abstract socio-economic differences: they exist in the lived experience of everyday residential environments. Given that members of Visible Minority groups earn lower incomes than Whites, other things being equal, wherever there is a concentration of these groups in a residential neighbourhood, it is likely to have a lower socio-economic status than the city as a whole. This is not the "fault" of the people involved, but is an inevitable outcome of the relationship between the dynamics of the labour and housing markets in Canada. Socio-economic differences *become* socio-spatial differences.
Enclaves, then, arise for a combination of reasons: in certain instances they emerge in the area of the city with the lowest housing prices; they represent a place where marginalized groups can build collective institutions to support a better life—including places of worship, commercial zones with associated jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities, and a general feeling of belonging; and they are places where group identities flourish and therefore have an attractive power for individuals who value and seek to maintain their cultural identity. This list of causal factors includes elements of constraint *and* elements of choice. For each actual enclave, the mix of these factors will be different.

In Montréal, generally, the first factor appears to predominate in the development of enclaves, with attendant consequences. In Vancouver, the first two factors are evident to a degree, but the third appears to be the most important: only a few enclave Census Tracts there are associated with the extreme marginalization and stigmatization that is discussed in the literature. Toronto, by far the most important destination of new immigrants, and the metropolitan area with the largest population of Visible Minorities, sits between the Montréal and Vancouver situations. In Toronto we see the most complex mix of "constraint" and "choice" factors in the emergence of enclaves, and we should be wary of any attempt to generalize these areas of the city in singular ways.

What does this imply for public discourse and policy? First, we need to stop asking whether enclaves are, simply, good or bad for their residents, and whether they represent the success or failure of multiculturalism policy. If there are different *kinds* of enclaves, these become facile questions. Secondly, public policy should address the constraints that cause immigrants and members of Visible Minority groups to gravitate to marginalized enclaves (e.g., promote labour market equity, adequate income security for poor Canadians regardless of their ethno-cultural origin, and the provision of social housing), but should avoid pathologizing enclaves in general, since most are not associated with socio-economic marginalization or cultural isolation. Thirdly, I believe the argument made by Musterd (2003) in the European context is pertinent: after weighing the evidence he finds that the dispersion of marginalized residents out of segregated neighbourhoods, through state policy, does not necessarily raise their level of opportunity or standard of living. In short: poor enclaves, where they exist, are a symptom of deeper problems, not a disease. You cannot cure that disease by treating just the symptom.

Table 1: Statistical profile of Canada and MTV, 2006

	Canada	Montréal	Toronto	Vancouver
Total population	31,612,897	3,635,571	5,113,149	2,116,581
Total private dwellings	12,437,470	1,525,740	1,801,255	817,230
Owned (%)	68.4	53.4	67.6	65.1
Average household size	2.5	2.3	2.8	2.6
Median household income ($)	53,634	47,979	64,128	55,231
Non-official home language (%)	11.1	12.3	26.9	26.1
Immigrant status and period (%)				
Non-immigrants	79.3	78.2	52.8	58.5
Immigrants	19.8	20.6	45.7	39.6
Before 1991	10.9	10.7	22.7	18.5
1991 to 2000	5.3	5.3	14.2	13.9
2001 to 2006	3.6	4.6	8.8	7.2
Population group (%)				
Total visible minority population	16.2	16.5	42.9	41.7
Chinese	3.9	2.0	9.6	18.2
South Asian	4.0	2.0	13.5	9.9
Black	2.5	4.7	6.9	1.0
Filipino	1.3	0.7	3.4	3.8
Latin American	1.0	2.1	2.0	1.1
Southeast Asian	0.8	1.3	1.4	1.6
Arab	0.9	2.8	1.1	0.4
West Asian	0.5	0.4	1.5	1.3
Korean	0.5	0.1	1.1	2.1
Japanese	0.3	0.1	0.4	1.2
Visible minority; n.i.e.	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1
Multiple visible minority	0.4	0.3	1.2	1.1
Not a visible minority	83.8	83.5	57.1	58.3
Educational attainment (%)				
No high school diploma	23.8	22.0	19.7	17.3
High school or equivalent	25.5	22.4	25.5	27.0
Some post-secondary	32.6	34.6	28.0	31.0
University degree	18.1	21.0	26.7	24.6
Labour force participation rate	66.8	66.5	68.3	66.8
Employment rate	62.4	61.9	63.7	63.0
Unemployment rate	6.6	6.9	6.7	5.6
Median income ($) (15 years +)	25,615	25,161	26,754	25,032
Composition of income (%)				
Earnings	76.2	74.8	80.5	78.0
Government transfers	11.1	12.2	8.1	8.8
Other	12.7	13.0	11.4	13.2
Incidence of low income (%)	15.3	21.1	18.4	20.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Community Profiles

Table 2: Distribution of Whites and Visible Minorities by neighbourhood type, MTV, 1996-2006

	White			Visible minority		
	1996	2001	2006	1996	2001	2006
Part a: Montréal						
I "White" areas	82.3	82.4	75.3	42.1	39.4	33.3
II Mixed, White dominant	16.7	15.8	22.3	47.7	42.6	47.9
III Mixed, Vis. Min. dominant	0.8	1.7	2.1	7.6	13.7	14.5
IV Mixed minority	0.1	0.2	0.2	2.9	3.6	3.1
V Minority enclave	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.8
Visible Minority (%)				12.2	13.6	16.5
Part b: Toronto						
I "White" areas	44.7	42.8	37.7	9.8	8.3	6.0
II Mixed, White dominant	44.8	41.9	41.9	47.2	36.4	28.7
III Mixed, Vis. Min. dominant	7.2	11.8	13.7	23.4	30.1	27.4
IV Mixed minority	1.3	1.7	2.2	9.3	11.7	11.1
V Minority enclave	0.9	2.0	4.4	7.8	13.5	26.2
Visible Minority (%)				31.6	36.8	42.9
Part c: Vancouver						
I "White" areas	46.8	41.7	35.1	12.6	9.1	6.9
II Mixed, White dominant	41.1	42.1	41.3	44.3	35.6	28.4
III Mixed, Vis. Min. dominant	9.2	13.1	18.4	30.7	31.6	36.6
IV Mixed minority	1.0	0.5	0.4	6.5	3.7	2.7
V Minority enclave	1.1	3.6	4.8	6.5	18.9	25.5
Visible Minority (%)				31.1	36.9	41.7

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Census Tract profiles (total population)

Table 3a: Characteristics of residents, by neighbourhood type, Montréal, 2006

	Neighbourhood types					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Population, 2006 - 100% data	2,484,293	963,553	150,281	23,535	6,639	3,628,301
%	68.5	26.6	4.1	0.6	0.2	100.0
Number of Census Tracts	584	235	34	5	2	860
Total private dwellings	1,034,490	415,435	60,450	9,065	2,215	1,521,655
Owned (%)	60.4	41.6	23.2	10.0	13.1	53.5
Average household size	2.4	2.3	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.3
Median household income ($)	58,373	44,686	32,356	26,704	30,702	53,405
Non-official home languages (%)	5.9	22.4	42.3	46.2	42.4	12.1
Immigrant status and period (%)						
Non-immigrants	85.9	62.2	40.1	32.1	34.8	77.2
Immigrants	12.3	34.6	54.3	62.7	53.9	20.3
Before 1991	7.1	17.6	21.8	18.4	18.9	10.6
1991 to 2000	2.8	9.0	17.3	21.7	19.8	5.2
2001 to 2006	2.4	7.9	15.2	22.5	15.1	4.5
Population group (%)						
Total visible minority population	7.9	29.3	56.9	78.0	70.3	16.2
Chinese	0.9	3.9	5.4	9.1	5.2	2.0
South Asian	0.5	3.2	13.7	18.2	14.2	1.9
Black	2.4	8.5	14.6	15.6	15.5	4.6
Filipino	0.2	1.0	3.4	10.7	21.4	0.6
Latin American	1.2	3.6	5.1	5.6	5.0	2.1
Southeast Asian	0.7	1.9	4.0	8.9	4.9	1.2
Arab	1.3	5.2	8.3	7.9	1.7	2.7
West Asian	0.2	0.8	1.1	0.5	1.4	0.4
Korean	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
Japanese	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1
Visible minority, n.i.e.	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.1
Multiple visible minority	0.2	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.3
Not a visible minority	90.8	69.3	42.0	21.4	22.7	82.5
Educational attainment (%)						
No certificate, diploma, etc.	21.6	22.1	28.6	27.3	19.3	22.0
High school certificate	22.5	22.1	22.8	22.4	27.3	22.4
Other post-secondary	30.4	26.2	22.5	21.0	20.5	28.9
University degree	25.4	29.6	26.0	29.1	32.4	26.6
Participation rate	68.5	63.4	58.6	58.0	57.8	66.7
Employment rate	64.7	57.7	50.2	48.4	49.5	62.1
Unemployment rate	5.7	9.2	14.4	16.8	15.6	7.1
Median income $ (15 years +)	28,753	22,483	16,294	13,935	14,450	26,450
Composition of income (%)						
Employment income	77.7	72.9	66.7	63.9	63.7	75.9
Government transfers	11.1	15.4	24.4	29.4	29.3	13.0
Other	11.2	11.8	8.8	6.8	7.0	11.2
Prevalence of low income (%)	18.6	30.4	45.2	58.8	61.8	23.2

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Census Tract profiles (total population)

Table 3b: Characteristics of residents, by neighbourhood type, Toronto, 2006

	Neighbourhood types					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Population, 2006 - 100% data	1,231,778	1,853,519	1,003,231	306,054	710,907	5,105,489
%	24.1	36.3	19.7	6.0	13.9	100.0
Number of Census Tracts	279	361	185	52	118	995
Total private dwellings	459,945	692,165	338,710	96,350	210,195	1,797,365
Owned (%)	74.6	65.7	64.5	57.0	69.0	67.6
Average household size	2.6	2.6	2.9	3.2	3.4	2.8
Median household income ($)	83,633	69,399	63,333	56,514	61,119	69,716
Non-official home languages (%)	9.5	23.6	33.7	40.8	48.3	26.7
Immigrant status and period (%)						
Non-immigrants	73.0	54.7	42.1	35.1	32.2	52.3
Immigrants	25.2	42.9	55.2	62.7	65.4	45.4
Before 1991	18.0	23.3	25.0	24.4	24.1	22.5
1991 to 2000	4.5	12.0	18.5	23.4	25.9	14.1
2001 to 2006	2.7	7.6	11.7	14.8	15.4	8.7
Population group (%)						
Total visible minority population	10.5	33.7	59.4	78.7	81.5	42.5
Chinese	2.1	6.3	12.5	16.9	23.5	9.5
South Asian	2.1	8.3	18.7	26.9	33.0	13.4
Black	1.7	6.2	9.8	15.5	9.8	6.9
Filipino	1.0	3.4	5.0	6.2	3.8	3.4
Latin American	0.8	2.3	2.7	2.3	1.5	1.9
Southeast Asian	0.5	1.2	2.2	2.5	1.7	1.4
Arab	0.3	1.0	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.0
West Asian	0.4	1.5	2.0	2.1	2.2	1.5
Korean	0.6	1.3	1.4	0.6	1.1	1.1
Japanese	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4
Visible minority, n.i.e.	0.2	0.7	1.3	2.0	1.6	0.9
Multiple visible minority	0.4	1.1	1.6	2.1	1.7	1.2
Not a visible minority	88.5	65.5	39.7	21.0	17.9	56.7
Educational attainment (%)						
No certificate, diploma, etc.	17.5	19.2	21.0	22.4	22.1	19.7
High school certificate	25.3	24.6	25.9	27.3	26.8	25.5
Other post-secondary	23.9	23.0	21.8	21.4	18.8	22.3
University degree	33.2	33.1	31.2	28.7	32.2	32.3
Participation rate	70.2	69.5	66.9	66.3	65.7	68.4
Employment rate	66.6	65.1	61.9	60.3	60.2	63.9
Unemployment rate	5.0	6.4	7.7	9.1	8.5	6.8
Median income $ (15 years +)	35,060	29,259	24,609	21,557	20,769	28,101
Composition of income (%)						
Employment income	82.1	82.0	81.2	80.1	81.6	81.7
Government transfers	6.0	8.7	10.9	13.5	11.9	9.2
Other	11.8	9.3	7.9	6.4	6.6	9.1
Prevalence of low income (%)	9.9	17.8	23.2	29.7	26.4	18.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Census Tract profiles (total population)

Table 3c: Characteristics of residents, by neighbourhood type, Vancouver, 2006

	Neighbourhood types					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Population, 2006 - 100% data	491,140	759,988	551,292	28,596	285,560	2,116,576
%	23.2	35.9	26.1	1.3	13.5	100.0
Number of Census Tracts	100	149	103	5	52	409
Total private dwellings	194,800	322,960	197,090	8,805	93,355	817,010
Owned (%)	75.0	59.3	64.6	63.9	65.2	65.2
Average household size	2.5	2.3	2.8	3.2	3.0	2.6
Median household income ($)	67,410	57,302	53,636	51,871	49,196	57,526
Non-official home languages (%)	6.7	19.3	36.9	50.6	52.6	25.9
Immigrant status and period (%)						
Non-immigrants	77.0	61.9	47.8	37.8	36.1	57.9
Immigrants	21.1	34.5	49.3	60.4	61.4	39.3
Before 1991	13.8	16.5	21.0	27.8	24.8	18.3
1991 to 2000	4.6	11.6	18.6	22.3	24.8	13.7
2001 to 2006	2.6	6.4	9.7	10.4	11.7	7.2
Population group (%)						
Total visible minority population	12.3	32.7	58.2	82.0	78.0	41.3
Chinese	3.6	12.4	26.6	30.3	40.0	18.0
South Asian	2.6	5.8	14.3	29.4	22.2	9.8
Black	0.6	1.1	1.2	0.8	0.8	1.0
Filipino	1.0	3.2	5.3	12.0	5.9	3.7
Latin American	0.6	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.1	1.1
Southeast Asian	0.6	1.0	2.3	4.9	3.1	1.6
Arab	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.4	0.3
West Asian	0.6	2.2	1.2	0.3	0.6	1.3
Korean	1.3	2.6	2.7	0.4	1.1	2.1
Japanese	0.8	1.6	1.1	0.6	0.8	1.2
Visible minority, n.i.e.	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
Multiple visible minority	0.4	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.0
Not a visible minority	86.9	66.3	41.0	17.7	21.3	57.8
Educational attainment (%)						
No certificate, diploma, etc.	15.7	14.2	19.1	27.7	23.8	17.3
High school certificate	28.0	25.8	27.1	28.6	28.1	27.0
Other post-secondary	28.8	25.5	22.9	17.8	19.2	24.6
University degree	27.4	34.4	30.7	25.7	28.7	30.9
Participation rate	68.3	68.7	65.5	64.4	61.9	66.8
Employment rate	65.5	65.0	61.3	60.2	57.7	63.1
Unemployment rate	4.2	5.5	6.4	6.6	6.7	5.6
Median income $ (15 years +)	31,488	28,195	22,096	18,970	18,590	25,950
Composition of income (%)						
Employment income	80.4	81.3	79.5	77.5	77.8	80.1
Government transfers	7.3	7.7	10.2	14.2	12.5	9.0
Other	12.2	11.0	10.3	8.3	9.6	10.9
Prevalence of low income (%)	9.8	17.2	19.4	19.0	22.3	16.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Census Tract profiles (total population)

Table 4: Characteristics of Visible Minority residents, 15 years old or more, by neighbourhood type, 2006

	Neighbourhood type					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Part a: Montréal						
Population (%)	32.5	49.6	14.0	3.0	0.8	
Age						
15-29	29.7	30.8	31.5	28.6	29.4	30.5
30-44	35.9	34.3	35.8	37.8	35.5	35.1
45 or more	34.4	34.9	32.7	33.6	35.2	34.4
Home lang.						
Non-official	35.6	46.5	55.4	56.9	50.4	44.5
Education						
High school	39.3	43.3	53.1	51.0	52.6	43.7
Post-sec	25.2	24.6	21.3	20.9	19.2	24.2
University	35.5	32.1	25.5	28.1	28.3	32.1
2nd generation	26.9	23.7	18.0	14.7	11.2	24.1
Income						
<LICO	28.6	37.1	48.9	51.6	51.8	36.5
Part b: Toronto						
Population (%)	5.9	28.9	27.5	10.9	26.8	
Age						
15-29	26.0	28.3	29.0	29.0	28.2	28.4
30-44	34.0	33.5	32.7	33.4	32.5	33.1
45 or more	40.0	38.2	38.3	37.6	39.2	38.5
Home lang.						
Non-official	31.5	41.6	48.3	50.3	58.9	48.4
Education						
High school	36.2	40.8	44.5	49.2	48.6	44.6
Post-sec	20.6	20.4	19.0	19.8	17.2	19.1
University	43.2	38.8	36.5	31.0	34.2	36.3
2nd generation	38.4	32.6	27.8	22.1	26.4	29.6
Income						
<LICO	17.3	22.4	24.5	26.4	24.7	23.7
Part c: Vancouver						
Population (%)	6.6	27.8	37.0	2.7	25.9	
Age						
15-29	28.9	27.8	27.7	26.7	27.6	27.8
30-44	30.2	30.9	30.1	30.1	28.8	30.0
45 or more	40.9	41.3	42.2	43.1	43.6	42.3
Home lang.						
Non-official	40.9	51.9	61.5	64.9	68.7	59.4
Education						
High school	39.9	39.3	46.4	57.8	53.3	46.1
Post-sec	19.7	19.0	18.2	16.5	16.2	18.0
University	40.4	41.6	35.4	25.8	30.6	36.0
2nd generation	30.6	34.5	29.1	24.4	26.3	30.0
Income						
<LICO	21.3	27.3	27.3	22.9	28.2	27.0

Source: 2006 Census, Statistics Canada. Based on the Department of Canadian Heritage's custom data products

Table 5: Average number of ethnic origin groups in each neighbourhood Type, MTV, 2006

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Montréal	17.7	21.8	24.0	26.7	22.0	20.0
Toronto	23.6	25.8	26.7	28.4	23.7	25.3
Vancouver	24.8	27.0	24.3	18.5	17.4	24.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 census, Dissemination Area profiles

Table 6: Neighbourhood types, by religious affiliation, MTV, 2001 (%)

	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Part a: Montréal						
Judeo-Christian	90.8	79.3	62.1	55.1	57.4	87.4
S&E Asian	0.9	4.2	14.7	21.5	6.6	2.1
Muslim	1.4	7.1	13.5	13.9	16.0	3.0
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
No religion	6.9	9.4	9.6	9.3	20.0	7.5
Part b: Toronto						
Judeo-Christian	80.1	72.6	59.1	46.5	44.9	69.2
S&E Asian	1.7	6.5	14.4	22.0	21.0	8.3
Muslim	1.3	5.0	9.4	13.6	11.1	5.6
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
No religion	16.7	15.7	16.9	17.8	22.9	16.8
Part c: Vancouver						
Judeo-Christian	61.0	53.3	44.0	32.3	32.9	51.4
S&E Asian	2.5	8.9	15.2	34.7	27.2	10.4
Muslim	1.2	3.4	3.4	3.8	3.0	2.7
Other	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3
No religion	35.0	34.0	37.1	29.1	36.6	35.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 2001 census, Census Tract profiles

Table 7: Enclaves, by incidence of low income, Visible Minority population, 2006, MTV

Part a: Montréal

	<LICO						
	Less than double			High			
	Number	Row %	Total %	Number	Row %	Total %	Total
Other neighbourhoods	307,380	75.4	72.6	100,040	24.6	23.6	407,420
Enclaves	0	0.0	0.0	16,065	100.0	3.8	16,065
Total	307,380		72.6	116,105		27.4	423,485
Contingency Coefficient	0.307						

Part b: Toronto

	<LICO						
	Less than double			High			
	Number	Row %	Total %	Number	Row %	Total %	Total
Other neighbourhoods	975,800	95.7	59.7	43,545	4.3	2.7	1,019,345
Enclaves	527,250	85.6	32.2	88,790	14.4	5.4	616,040
Total	1,503,050		91.9	132,335		8.1	1,635,385
Contingency Coefficient	0.177						

Part c: Vancouver

	<LICO						
	Less than double			High			
	Number	Row %	Total %	Number	Row %	Total %	Total
Other neighbourhoods	459,080	94.8	67.6	25,330	5.2	3.7	484,410
Enclaves	177,175	91.0	26.1	17,560	9.0	2.6	194,735
Total	636,255		93.7	42,890		6.3	679,145
Contingency Coefficient	0.07						

Source: 2006 Census, Statistics Canada. Based on the Department of Canadian Heritage's custom data products

Table 8: Profile of enclave / high poverty areas, MTV, 2006

	Montréal	Toronto	Vancouver
Total	422,495	1,635,610	679,010
(%)	3.8	5.4	2.6
Immigrant generation			
First	4.1	5.8	2.9
Second	2.4	3.4	1.0
Third	1.5	4.1	0.8
Immigration period			
1996-2006	5.0	7.4	4.1
Before 1996	3.4	4.6	2.2
Visible Minority group			
Black	2.7	7.5	0.9
Chinese	3.5	3.8	4.6
South Asian	7.0	6.5	0.5
Age			
15-29	3.6	5.7	2.2
30-44	4.0	5.9	2.8
45 or more	3.7	4.9	2.7
Education			
High school or less	4.5	6.4	2.3
Post-secondary	3.2	5.1	2.3
University degree	3.3	4.4	3.1
Non-official Home language	4.7	6.3	3.4
<LICO	5.4	10.5	4.9

Source: 2006 Census, Statistics Canada. Based on the Department of Canadian Heritage's custom data products

Table 9: Findings of studies using the neighbourhood typology approach, various countries

	Isolated host communities	Non-isolated host communities	Assimilation-pluralism enclaves	Mixed minority enclaves	Polarized enclaves	Ghettoes
Australia						
National (2001)	51.3	46.8	1.4	0.3	0.2	0.1
Johnson et al. 2007						
Sydney (2001)	22.3	52.6	5.0	20.1	0.1	0.0
Poulsen et al. 2004						
Sydney (2001)	27.7	57.9	11.2	1.7	1.4	0.0
Melbourne	23.3	62.3	11.9	0.9	1.6	0.0
Perth	23.8	73.4	2.7	0.0	0.1	0.0
Forrest et al. 2006						
Canada						
National (2001)	67.5	24.5	4.1	0.5	2.1	1.4
Johnson et al. 2007						
Toronto (2001)	29.6	40.3	18.5	8.0	3.3	0.0
Vancouver	27.6	40.7	21.5	2.7	7.4	0.0
Winnipeg	66.0	26.8	5.9	1.2	0.0	0.0
Montréal	76.2	19.8	3.1	0.6	0.0	0.0
Walks and Bourne 2006						
Montréal (2006)	68.5	26.6	4.1	0.6	0.2	0.0
Toronto	24.1	36.3	19.7	6.0	13.9	0.0
Vancouver	23.2	35.9	26.0	1.4	13.5	0.0
This study						
New Zealand						
National (2001)	40.6	42.7	12.0	2.9	1.8	0.0
Johnson et al. 2007						
United Kingdom						
England and Wales (2001)	61.8	25.8	5.8	3.3	1.6	1.7
Johnson et al. 2007						
London (1991)	60.6	33.1	3.6	1.8	0.8	0.0
Johnson et al. 2002						
United States						
National (2000)	55.7	21.7	5.9	1.4	1.9	10.8
Johnston et al. 2007						
New York	39.7	22.8	8.3	9.6	10.1	9.5
Chicago	18.3	10.5	3.6	0.8	0.4	9.8
Los Angeles	7.5	22.9	13.3	8.4	5.8	19.5
*Johnston et al. 2003**						
Sweden						
Goteborg (2000)	65.2	24.0	5.7	5.0	0.0	0.0
Brama 2008						

* Author's calculations

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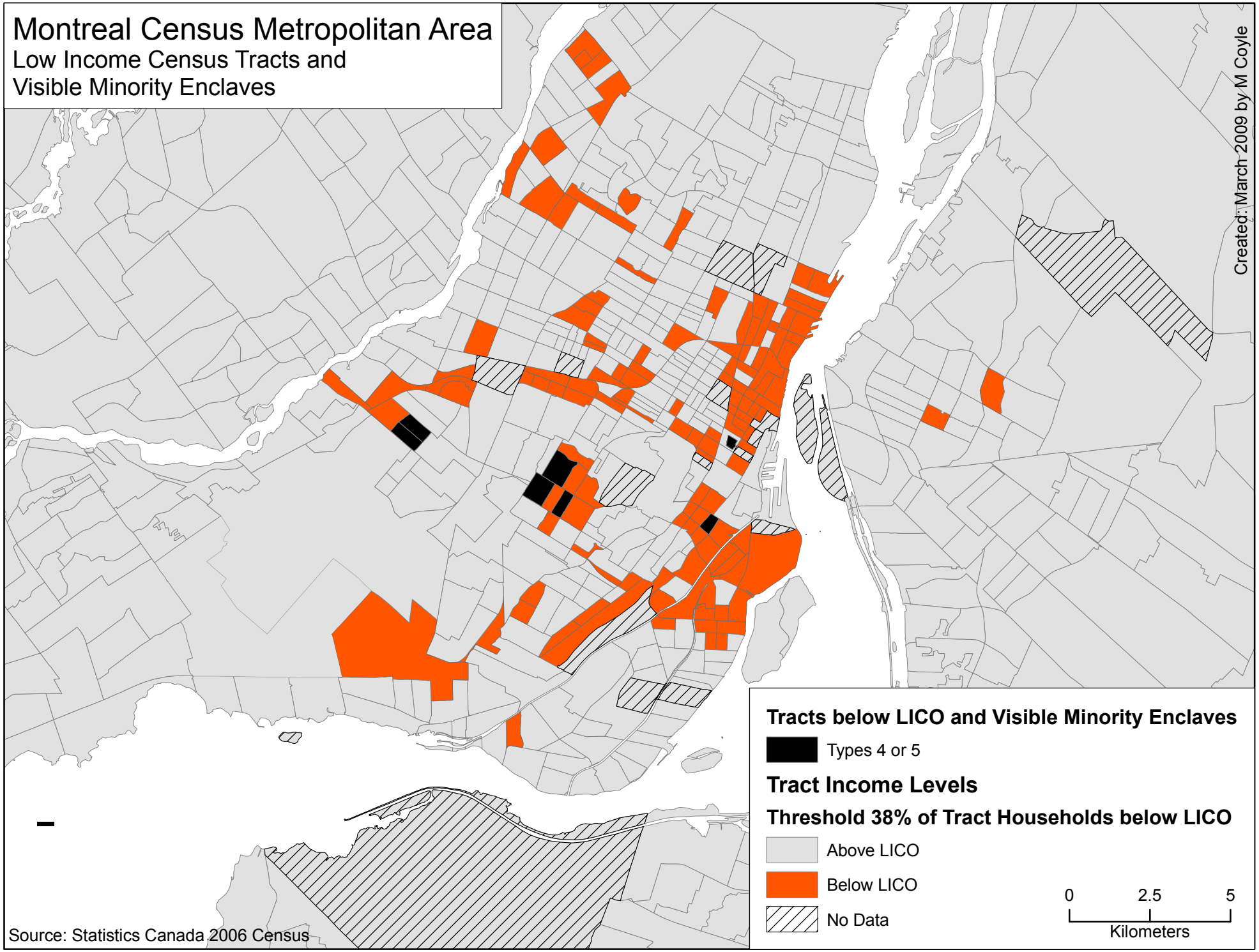
Montreal Census Metropolitan Area
Low Income Census Tracts and
Visible Minority Enclaves
Created: March 2009 by M Coyle
Tracts below LICO and Visible Minority Enclaves
Types 4 or 5
Tract Income Levels
Threshold 38% of Tract Households below LICO
Above LICO
Below LICO
No Data
0
2.5
5
Kilometers
Source: Statistics Canada 2006 Census

Figure 1

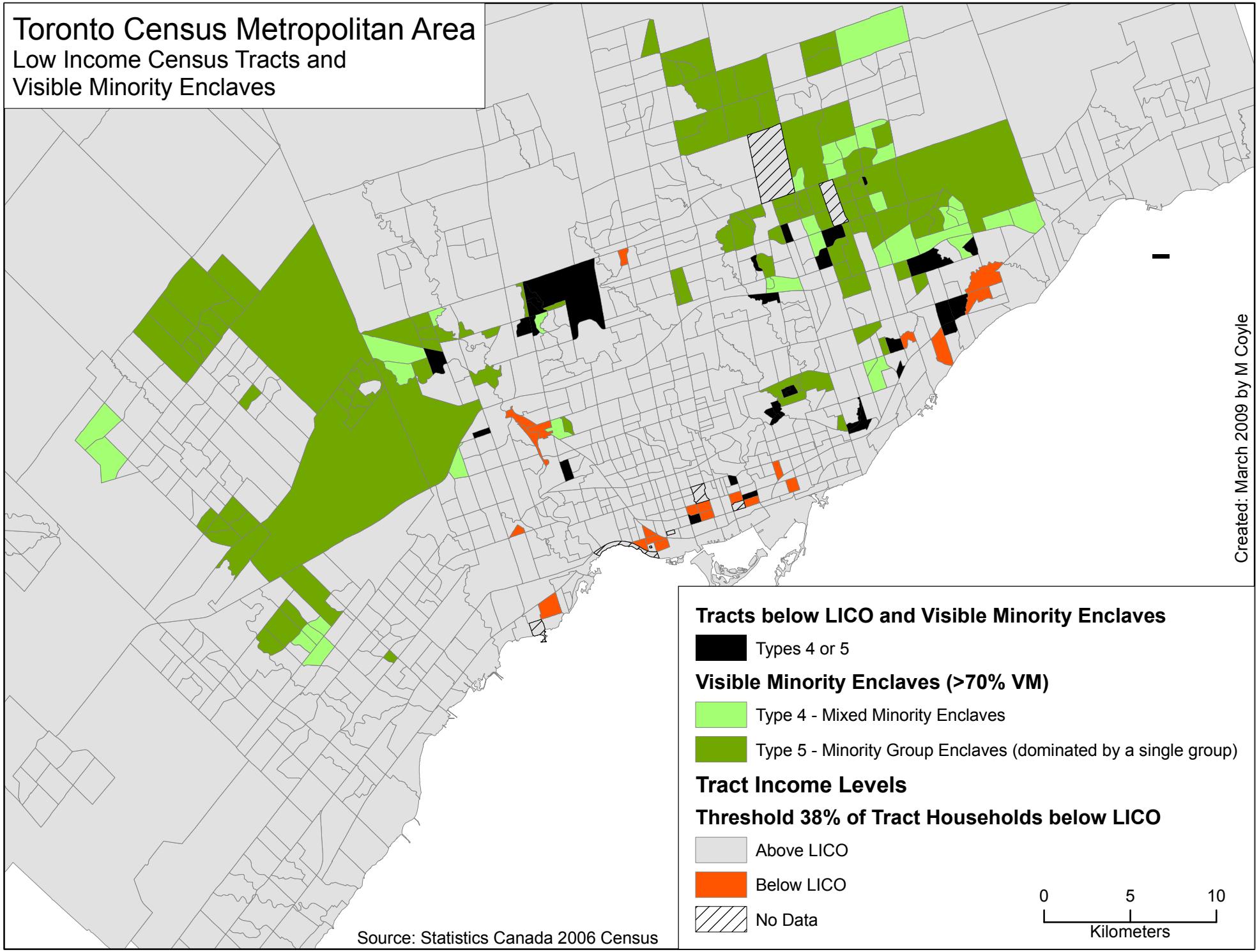
Toronto Census Metropolitan Area
Low Income Census Tracts and
Visible Minority Enclaves
Created: March 2009 by M Coyle
Tracts below LICO and Visible Minority Enclaves
Types 4 or 5
Visible Minority Enclaves (>70% VM)
Type 4 - Mixed Minority Enclaves
Type 5 - Minority Group Enclaves (dominated by a single group)
Tract Income Levels
Threshold 38% of Tract Households below LICO
Above LICO
Below LICO
No Data
0
5
10
Kilometers
Source: Statistics Canada 2006 Census

Figure 2

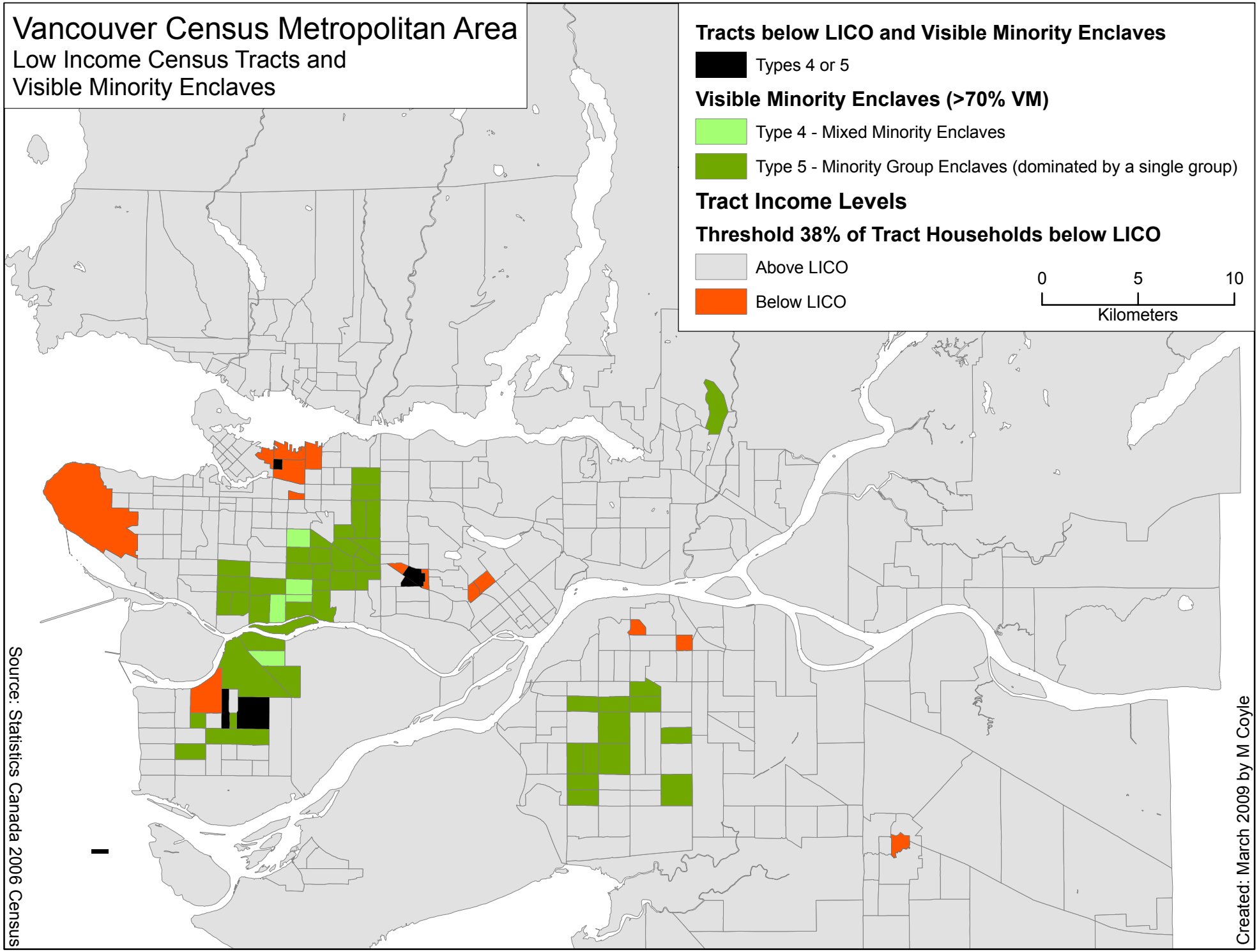
Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area
Low Income Census Tracts and
Visible Minority Enclaves
Tracts below LICO and Visible Minority Enclaves
Types 4 or 5
Visible Minority Enclaves (>70% VM)
Type 4 - Mixed Minority Enclaves
Type 5 - Minority Group Enclaves (dominated by a single group)
Tract Income Levels
Threshold 38% of Tract Households below LICO
Above LICO
Below LICO
0
5
10
Kilometers
Source: Statistics Canada 2006 Census
Created: March 2009 by M Coyle

Figure 3